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Jain-Buddhist Dialogue:
Material from the Pāli Scriptures

I.B. Horner Memorial Lecture 1997

What exactly did the Buddhists know concerning the Jains? This has been an intriguing question which has given rise to various studies, the first of them being Jacobi's valuable observations in his introduction to the translation of two major Jain canonical works, the Sīyagada and the Uttarajjñāyā (1895). Miss Horner herself, in 1946, briefly considered the subject in her article "Gotama and the other sects", some years after Leumann's book Buddha und Mahāvīra (1922), and before Bhagchandra Jain Bhaskar's Jainism in Buddhist Literature, published in Nagpur in 1972. Several other articles could also be mentioned and will be referred to in due course. In recent years, the relationship between the Buddha and the Jains has been at the center of a gentlemen's controversy between R. Gombrich and J. Bronkhorst.3

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I am grateful to Peter Skilling for reading a draft of this paper and giving useful suggestions and additional references. — Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in A Critical Pāli Dictionary. Other abbreviations are: BEI = Bulletin d’Études Indiennes; BHSD = F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary; BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies; CSCD: Chāthā-Sangāyana CD-ROM; Jaina Path = P.S. Jaini, The Jaina Path of Purification (Delhi, 1979); Jaina Śūtras = H. Jacobi, Jaina Śūtras, Part II (Oxford), 1895; JOIB = Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda; WZKS = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sudasiens.

1JAOS 66 (1946), pp. 283–89.

2There have been other less well-known attempts at comparisons such as Wolfgang Bohn, Die Religion des Jīna und ihr Verhältnis zum Buddhismus (München, 1921), 36 pp. (extract from Zeitschrift für Budhismus).

Therefore, it might not be out of place to review and assess the available data — which means that what I will write owes much to my predecessors — and provide another picture which can be compared with “Buddhists and Buddhism in the Earlier Literature of the Śvetāmbara Jains”.

I will address issues pertaining to Jain practices, Jain doctrine, and ways of argumentation, after assessing the contexts wherein relevant information is embedded in Pāli scriptures. As far as possible, I will maintain an awareness of chronology and avoid conflating texts of different periods: what the commentaries by Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapāla, dating at least from the fifth century A.D., or the sub-commentaries report about the Jains may a priori be different from what the Pāli canon states. I shall thus deal with the Buddhists and the Jains rather than with the Buddha and Mahāvīra or the Buddha and the Jains.

Pāli literature does not use the term “Jain”. The generic designation for them as followers of the Jina or the Jinas (“the Conqueror(s)”) became common from at least the ninth century onwards. This is not surprising since the word jina is not used at this stage as a proper name but as a general title of rather wide scope. There is not much variety in the designations: in Pāli the word khapaṇaka (Pkt khavanaya, khamanaya, khamaga; Jain Skt ksapaṇaka) is represented by a single late occurrence in the Abhidhammapadipika-tīkā. Otherwise the usual

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The only biographical detail about Mahāvīra himself known from the Pāli tradition seems to be the record that he died at Pāvā. The literary garb which clothes this report, for instance the suggestion that Upāli’s conversion to Buddhism was an indirect reason for Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta’s death or the narrative of subsequent disputes between surviving monks, is no reason to reject it. Pāvā, a small town in Bihar, is indeed the place Jain Śvetāmbara sources connect with Mahāvīra’s death, and this connection is responsible for the important place Pāvā occupies on the map of Jain tīrthas. The Jain leader’s personal image in the Pāli scriptures is rather negative: he did not have a very strong impact on his disciples, if we are to judge, for example, from the Vinaya episode where he failed to prevent Siha from going to the Buddha, let alone the harsh criticisms of the inconsistency and other defects of his teachings which led to the serious turmoil after his death. As for his charisma, the reports are equally unfavourable: his claims to omniscience and miraculous powers are openly denied.

The very use of the term nigaṇṭha as a designation for the Jains is a convincing sign of the faithfulness of the Pāli tradition (both canon and
commentaries). The fact that Pāli nīgāṇṭha is clearly recognized as a Jain term is shown by the etymological explanation occasionally recorded in the Pāli commentaries, an etymology which is ascribed to the Jains and actually attested in their own tradition:

We do not have defilements which are like knots, we are free of the defilements of obstruction, hence the name Nīgāṇṭha.10

This statement accords with Jain texts, where the traditional image of the spiritual “knots” (already known from several Upaniṣads) is felt as being conveyed by the word nīggaṇṭha in the commentaries.11 Thus Pāli sources do not seem to bear trace of any malicious or derogatory interpretation of the term. The fact that nīgāṇṭha is used as the normal designation of Jain ascetics in the oldest Jain sources (śramanic poetry as well as disciplinary books) confirms its antiquity. The phonetic aspect of the word (nīgāṇṭha, with a single -ga-, and the prefix ni- instead of nir-) are supported by Pkt nīyaṇṭha and also point to an old form.12

References to Jains occur in two main contexts:

1. The first context, which is mainly represented in the canon itself, portrays a spirit of confrontation, the ultimate aim being to show the superiority of the Buddhist position. These are the dialogues in which a Jain approaches the Buddha with the intention to challenge him. The

10Ambākaṃ ganthana-kileso, paḷi-bujjhana-kileso natthi, kilesa-gañṭhi-rahitā mayan ti evam vādīya laṛdhā-nāma-vasesa Nīgāṇṭha, Ps II 234,8–10 (ad M I 198,12, Nīgāṇṭho Nāṭhaputtō).


14W. Halbfass, op. cit., p. 199.
In any case, the result is that in Pāli scriptures Jainism always appears in performance and never in abstracto. Contextual elements are meaningful. They are part of the rhetoric of persuasion. Thus the conditions in which the Buddhist-Jain dialogue takes place are interesting in themselves. To wit: The common context has individual Niganṭhas going of their own accord to the Buddha for discussion or inquiry. This very fact places them in an inferior position because it is they who are in need of the other’s instruction. Facing them, the Buddha appears as a teacher who can never be embarrassed and is much more powerful than Niganṭha Nātaputta himself. For instance, when prince Abhaya, speaking on behalf of his Jain master, comes to question the Buddha about the modes of a Tathāgata’s speech, the Buddha immediately understands how tricky and double-edged his question is. The commentary says: “With a single word the Buddha could smash the question which [Abhaya] had been preparing for four months, exactly as a stroke of lightning would crush the top of a mountain.”

When, elsewhere, the Niganṭha Saccaka expresses his wish to ask a question, the Buddha’s answer is “Ask whatever question you wish”, and this simple sentence is the starting point for lengthy explanations in the commentary, which states that there is nothing the Buddha cannot consider, that this sentence draws attention to his omniscience and as such makes him different from Pratyekabuddhas or other special beings. The non-Buddhist can only be silenced or regularly entangled in self-contradictions. To take up the words of a commentary: “The Buddha is a hundred times, a thousand times, a hundred thousand times better at debates than a Niganṭha.” and is the only one able to lead his Jain opponent to Enlightenment. So the fact that in Buddhist scriptures a Jain approaches a Buddhist is not a matter for surprise: on the contrary, it seems obvious that the former will have much to learn from the latter. But when, exceptionally, a Buddhist approaches a Niganṭha, the oddity of the situation cannot escape the commentator’s sharp eye. Thus when the Saṃyutta-nikāya states that “the Buddhist layfollower Citta once went to a Niganṭha”, the commentary has:

Why did a Buddhist layman, who has himself mastered traditional learning, who knows the Buddhist teaching, approach a naked Jain deprived of all glamour? — In order to be free from blame and also in order to refute. As a matter of fact, the Jains express the following criticism. They say, “The followers of the monk Gotama resemble stumps of hard acacia wood; they do not receive anybody in a friendly way.”

This passing remark expresses the tension which must have existed between the members of the two communities. It underlines the fact that the Buddhist follower engages in dialogue with other faiths merely in concession to public opinion, that the dialogue will not be a genuine one, and that it is certainly not motivated by a desire to learn or to be exposed to new ideas! Exactly the opposite takes place when the initiator of the dialogue is a Niganṭha. In such a case, the commentary explains that he does not approach the Buddha with an intention to refute but with an intention to hear the Law.

The animosity and competition between the two leaders and their followers is emphasized by the commentaries: what prompted Niganṭha Nātaputta to send prince Abhaya to the Buddha was a desire to get even because the Buddha had attracted some lay-followers away from his fold. When the commander-in-chief Sīha, a Jain lay-follower (niganṭha-sāvaka), informs his spiritual leader about his intention to approach Gotama, he is not encouraged to do so, to say the least:

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16Ps II 274.7ff.
17Ps II 276.19-20; see also Ps III 110.7-8.
18Ps II 276.5ff.: the difference between two categories of individuals: the sāvaka-veneyyas who can be enlightened by sāvakas and Buddhas, and the buddha-veneyyas who can be enlightened only by the Buddhas.
19Spk III 100.6 on S IV 297-98 (Citta-saṃyutta: 8. Niganṭha).
20E.g. Ps II 280.31-33.
But how can you, Śīha, being one who asserts an ought-to-be-done, go to see the recluse Gotama who asserts an ought-not-to-be-done? For, Śīha, the recluse Gotama asserts an ought-not-to-be-done, he teaches a doctrine of an ought-not-to-be-done, and in that he trains disciples.\textsuperscript{22}

Advice that he does not obey.

The methods of teaching are a part of the apologetic strategy as well. There are of course several cases in the suttas where the Buddha slowly convinces his opponent of his wrong views by instilling his own right views and adjusting his discourse to him.\textsuperscript{23} But there are also situations in which real argumentation is conspicuously absent and replaced by a show of almost miraculous powers. See, for instance, the story of Garahadimna, a lay-follower of the Niganthas, and Sīrigutta, a Buddhist lay-follower, told in the commentary of the Dhammapada. The Niganthas’ claim to omniscience — knowledge of past, present and future — is harshly satirized and fully annihilated on the day they come for food to Sīrigutta. Having been unable to detect the trap the Buddhist layman has set for them, they all fall into a ditch and get a thrashing. When the Buddha’s turn comes, he already has the advantage of suspecting that the Niganthas are going to retaliate and can thus prepare himself. His method for converting the Jain layman is to impress the public by producing a miracle: lotus flowers spring up from charcoal.\textsuperscript{24}

Here there is no dialogue, only open conflict resulting in installing a balance of power between two irreconcilable opponents. One wins, the other loses altogether.

The investigation which follows does not pretend to be exhaustive. It will single out a few striking points about Jainism which are highlighted in the Pāli scriptures.

First comes the problem of the relationship between the heretic teacher called Nigantha Nātaputta and the doctrine of the “fourfold restraint” (cātu-yama-sāṃvāra) ascribed to him in the nikāyas, especially in the Digha-nikāya (Samaññaphala-sutta and Udāmarika-sīhanāda-sutta), but also in the Upālī-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya and in a stanza of the Saṁyutta-nikāya, where a god speaking for Nigantha Nātaputta describes him as “protected by the fourfold restraint”.\textsuperscript{25} For the last occurrence, indication of the meaning of the compound cātu-yama-sāṃvāra is found only in the commentary. As far as the three other occurrences are concerned, information is available in the suttas themselves, but is not consistent. The Samaññaphala-sutta and the Upālī-sutta expand cātu-yama-sāṃvāra by the four compounds sabbakāra, sabbakāra-bhārī, bharī-yutta, sabbakāra-dhūta and sabbakāra-vāri-phuttha.\textsuperscript{26}

Some translators understand that the first restraint (sabbakāra) concerns water, following the commentaries, which generally take the first vāri to mean “water” in reference to the ban on cold water, whereas they render the three other vāris as vāraṇa. Such a discordance is hard to accept because in a stylistic concatenation such as this one, an identical meaning is to be expected for all the occurrences of the same word — unless word play is at work. Now, Jain sources where both a similar expression with an etymological figure and a Pkt vāri with the meaning “restraint” occur strongly speak in favour of the translation

\textsuperscript{22}Vin I 233.27ff.: I.B. Horner’s translation (Book of the Discipline IV, p. 318).
\textsuperscript{23}For examples of this process see R. Gombrich, How Buddhism Began: The Conditional Genesis of the Early Teachings (London, 1996).
\textsuperscript{24}Dhp-a I 434ff.
\textsuperscript{25}D I 57ff., III 48: M I 377: S I 66.17ff.
\textsuperscript{26}See also Spk I 127.1-8 on S I 66.
“restrained by all restraints” — which is clearly the correct one.27 There is no reason to disagree with this analysis at the level of the canon itself. However, I would like to indicate that the reason Buddhaghosa may have felt entitled to introduce a reference to “water” at some point in this discussion is that in the Upāli-sutta passage where our sequence of compounds occurs, the Jain specific habits and scruples towards the use of cold water are precisely the object of focus. This very feature of the Nigantha’s life provides a basis for the well-known discussion on the relative importance of physical violence compared to mental violence:

There might be a Jain here who, although sick, suffering, very ill, refuses cold water and takes [only] warm water.28

The commentator is well aware of this rule as characterizing the Jains, as well as of its real motivation. He explains: “The Jains refuse cold water because they understand it contains living beings.”29 He is also remarkably conscious of the double connotation of the compound sabbha-vāri-vārita, understanding it to refer to the rejection of cold water or (athavā) to abstaining from all evil.30 Thus it looks as if the Buddhists were deeply struck by the Jain ascetic custom of not using cold water — as other external observers of the Jains have often been — and found it both basic and distinctive.

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It is equally interesting to see how the sub-commentaries explain the compounds sabbha-vāri-vārita, sabbha-vāri-yutta, etc., and differentiate them by placing them in a clear Jain soteriological frame. Thus for the Sumangalavīśālaṇī-tīkā, vāra (“restraint”) in sabbha pāpa-vāranena yutto means saṃvara, a common Jain technical term for the process of warding off entry into the soul of new karmic matter; dhuta (“shaken off”) in dhuta-pāpa is equal to nijjara, a process complementary to the preceding one and which aims at expelling the karmic matter already present in the soul; and phutthā “reached” is expanded as “reaching liberation, i.e. destroying all karmas, through the rejection of all the eight karmas”.

This last detail is an even clearer indication of the commentator’s familiarity with specific, albeit common, Jain terminology and concept. The eight classes of karmas are indeed a topos of Jain dogmatics as early as the canon.31

Whatever the detail, the above definition of the “fourfold restraint” may look somewhat strange because it does not form the list of elements one is entitled to expect in the case of a compact expression containing a figure. The Udumbarīka-sīhanāda-sutta provides what we are looking for:

The ascetic protectively shrouded in the protective shroud of the fourfold restraint
(i) destroys no life; lets no life be destroyed; enjoys not the company of one who destroys life;
(ii) he takes not that which is not given to him ...;
(iii) he speaks no untruth ...;

29 Sītoddaka-paṭikkhito ti Nigaṇṭha satta-sān̄dhyā sītoddakam paṭikkhipanti taṃ sandhāy evam vuttam. Ps III 57.4.
31 Sv-pit I 29b.14–19; see below n. 88 on the interpretation of Nigaṇṭha Nāṇaputta’s doctrine given in the Śrāmāyapalasūtra as incorporated into the Sanghabhedavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, and below pp. 34–35 concerning saṃvara, nijjara and mokkha.
32 E.g. in Viṣṇapannatti 8.10 (see P. Dundas, The Jains (London, 1992), p. 85). They are (1) knowledge-obscuring (jñānāvarana-k); (2) perception-obscuring (darśanāvarana-k); (3) feeling-karma (vedanīya-k); (4) delusory (mohanīya-k); (5) life-karma (āvus-k); (6) name-karma (nāma-k); (7) clan-karma (gotta-k); (8) obstacle-karma (antarāya-k).
As early as 1880 and 1895, H. Jacobi convincingly identified this with the teachings of the twenty-third Jina, Pārśva; and despite Rhys Davids’s rejection, 34 Jacobi’s view must be accepted. The Pāli text tallies perfectly with the concept of cātujjāma as defined in the Jain Thānaṅga. Moreover, the reference to the three viewpoints from which the actions are considered — being done directly, through an intermediary, or through mere approval — is well in accordance with the general Jain formulation of the so-called “great” ascetic vows. Further, the Pāli text of the fourth restraint helps us understand the rare Prakrit term bahiddhādāna which occurs in the corresponding rule. The somewhat general wording used by both traditions implies that it comprises all sorts of external objects which cause the mind to be distracted. When the Jain tradition adopted the fivefold list of restraints devised by Mahāvīra, at which time only this became authoritative, the fourth restraint was then re-interpreted as referring both to the rule of non-possession and to the rule of celibacy.

It is remarkable that the Pāli scriptures know not only of the four restraints prescribed for Jain monks — as just seen — but also those prescribed for Jain laymen (sāvakānam dhamma-): destroying living beings, taking what is not given, acting wrongly in respect of sensual passions, and telling lies are mentioned elsewhere and said to lead to rebirth in hell. 35 This shows that “we would, perhaps, have to differentiate between the Jainistic body of ideas and the person of the niganṭha

34See Dīgha-nikāya translation p. 75 n. 1: “Prof. Jacobi thinks the Four Restraints are intended to represent the four vows kept by the followers of Pārśva. But this surely cannot be so, for these vows were quite different.” For Jacobi’s point of view see “On Mahāvīra and his predecessors”, IA, June 1880, pp. 160–61 (= Kleine Schriften, Wiesbaden, 1970, pp. 799–800) and Jaina Sūtras, pp. xx–xxi.
35S IV 317.27–33.
36Op. cit., p. 134. Cf. p. 137: “The interpreters of early Buddhist sources should turn their attention to the fact that Buddhist remarks which appear to refer to Jainism, possibly reach back in the past, to a time when the person of Mahāvīra had not yet reached its later importance. Even if they may first have been formulated and recorded a certain time after the Buddha’s death, these Buddhist remarks are the oldest testimonies that inform us of the person of Mahāvīra”.
38S I 78.1 = Ud 65.5.
quasi-synonyms, we have to determine what differentiates them. And this is precisely what we are unable to do for the Niganṭhas. Since the term is devoid of descriptive content and does not seem to refer to the appearance or attire of the ascetics as do the other terms, we could suppose that the acelakas and ekasāṭakas are subdivisions of the Niganṭhas. On the other hand, as evidence for Niganṭha Nāṭaputta’s nudity we may adduce the passage of the Devaputta-samyutta where the ascetic “protected by the fourfold restraint” is mocked as “a nude, liar, and leader of pupils” by his opponent.39

A much later source for information on the Niganṭha’s appearance is the Pāli commentaries (which in their final form date about one millennium after the Buddha and Mahāvīra and certainly long after the split between the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, which is alleged to have taken place in the first century A.D.). A significant passage of the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā shows that the Niganṭhas differ from the Ājīvikas: while the latter “go entirely naked, they, at least wear a covering in front.”40 Buddhaghosa expresses the same contrast in the Manorathapūraṇi where he says that the Ājīvikas are naked ascetics, nagga-pabhajita, whereas the Nirgranthas “are covered in their front parts”.41

There are hints from other commentaries. While describing various heretic groups in the Udāna-aṭṭhakathā, Dhammapāla makes use of the compound nagga-niganṭha.42 In Buddhaghosa’s Sāratthapakāsini as well, a Niganṭha is said to be naked.43 This seems to have been the prevalent view, to the extent that some translators did not hesitate to understand the two terms as strictly equivalent. See for instance Burlingame’s rendering of Niganṭha by “The Naked” in the

Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā. This perception was current at least from the sixth to the eighth century A.D., where nirgranthah = nagāṭaka in non-Pāli Buddhist scriptures, as well as outside.44 On the other hand, Dhammapāla’s Udāna commentary also says that the Niganṭhas “wear white cloth” (setapaṭa-niganṭha-rūpa-dhārino).45

Finally, a passage from the Samantapāśādikā deserves special notice precisely because it deals with the costumes of various ascetic groups, with the concern that they should not be adopted by Buddhist monks. There we find the phrase yathā setapaṭa addhapālīka niganṭha pārupanti,46 in which addhapālīka must be in some way connected with Skt ardhapālakas used in some Jain Digambara texts, and thus would be the earliest record of the term. The ardhapālakas are unclothed ascetics who hold in their hands a single piece of cloth in such a way as to cover their nudity when begging for alms. They can be seen on Mathura sculptures. P.S. Jaini’s identification of the ekasāṭakas of the Pāli canon with the Jain ardhapālakas does not seem to apply to the Samantapāśādikā passage (which he did not consider) because there the ekasāṭakas come separately in the list. Moreover, the description of the way they dress is quite different. The interpretation of this conflicting information is problematic. Taken together, Dhammapāla’s statements could mean that he was aware of the existence of two Jain orders, who could be the forerunners of the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras. This

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39See Yaśomitra’s Vyākhya on the Abhidharmaśāstra 405.20: Prajñāvarman’s commentary on the Viśeṣastava vv. 26 and 51 (Skt nirgranthah = Tib. gser bu, gser bu pa) in J. Schneider, Der Lobpreis der Vorzüglichkeit des Buddha, Indica et Tibetica 23 (Bonn, 1993). — Commentary on the Bṛhatājātaka 15.1 (cited by Schlingloff, op. cit., p. 71): the Jain doctrine is called vivasana-samaya in Śāṅkara’s commentary on Brahmasūtra 2.2.33; etc.
40Dhp-a III 489.18–20.
42Ud-a 338.22.
43Śpk III 100.7.
44See Yaśomitra’s Vyākhya on the Abhidharmaśāstra 405.20: Prajñāvarman’s commentary on the Viśeṣastava vv. 26 and 51 (Skt nirgranthah = Tib. gser bu, gser bu pa) in J. Schneider, Der Lobpreis der Vorzüglichkeit des Buddha, Indica et Tibetica 23 (Bonn, 1993). — Commentary on the Bṛhatājātaka 15.1 (cited by Schlingloff, op. cit., p. 71): the Jain doctrine is called vivasana-samaya in Śāṅkara’s commentary on Brahmasūtra 2.2.33; etc.
45Ud-a 330.20; compare Ja V 427.33’ seta-samāṇī (Saccatapāvi): see Bollée, Kuṇḍalajñātaka (London: PTS, 1970), p. 137. “This may be a sneer at the Jainas as is suggested by Francis though they are usually called Niganṭhas. One could also think of the female counterpart of śvetabhikṣu which Sandesara [in JOIB 16 (1966), pp. 120ff.] takes to mean Ājīvika.”
46Sp 1213.6.
is chronologically possible, since the split between the “white clad” and the “naked” apparently took place in the beginning of the Christian era.

The question remains whether nagga should be understood literally as a straightforward designation of the proto-Digambaras, or as an approximation or extended use. In the second case the word could be applied to ascetics who only have with them a piece of cloth in their hands — whether they are called ekasāṭakas or ardhapāṭhakas. They could be described as “naked” because they do not wear any cloth permanently. This extended use of the word would in effect lead to a confusion between Niganthas and other non-Buddhist groups, especially Ājīvikas (who are actually naked). As a matter of fact, some texts suggest that there was indeed a certain amount of confusion or assimilation. The formulaic style, often used in the Buddhist and Jain texts, may well have favoured such a confusion. Thus the phrase nagga-bhogga nissīrika is applied to an Ājīvika ascetic in the prose of a Jātaka, but to a Nigantha in a commentary. 47

To give another example: what are we to think of Acela-Kassapa’s description of his thirty years of ascetic life as “nothing else than nakedness, a shaven head and dusting away the gravel”, 48 when we know that nakedness can be an outward sign of entering the order as an Ājīvika or a Jain monk? What are we to think of the extremely strict rules for begging said to be adopted by the Ājīvikas and the numerous cases prohibiting the acceptance of food which are listed in the Dīgha-nikāya (Kassapa-Sīhanada-sutta), when the litany is so reminiscent of what can be read in the Dasaveyāliya-sutta? 49

Information about the daily routine of the Jain monk has been collected from Pāli sources by W.B. Bollée, who lists significant stereotyped phrases describing food-habits and other behaviour, and shows how they are corroborated by comparable data in Jain texts. 50 Plucking out of the hair is an important Jain practice, and was perhaps also known to the Ājīvikas. In the Pāli scriptures it is criticized as characterizing the heretics, 51 and, significantly, kesalūṇcana (nt.) is also singled out as one of the words listed in the tīrthika-section of the Mahāvyutpatti. When the Therīgāthā (107) depicts the life of Bhaddā as a former Jain nun, she is said to be lūna-kesī. Dhammadā’s precise statement that plucking out was done by applying ashes to the roots of the hair in order to make the process smoother shows his familiarity with its practical side. 52

In the Visuddhimagga-mahātikā the same custom is mentioned in illustration of the wrong view that self-mortification (attakilamathānu-yoga) is the means to liberation. Although the custom is not explicitly ascribed to the Jains in the text, the use of the technical term kesalūṇcana, along with the equally technical term anasana “fasting” or even “fasting unto death”, not attested with this meaning outside Jain contexts, and a reference to nakedness (nagga-sīla) are unmistakable. 53 Similarly a part of the life of the nun Nanduttarā before her conversion to Buddhism has a distinct Jain flavour, as she is said to have undertaken many vows (bahu-vata-samādāna), to have shaved half her head (adṛṇam sīsasa ounikhiṃ, cty munḍemi), to have slept on the ground, and to have abstained from eating at night (ratt-āparatā). 54 They all

48Nathī koci ... uṇātra naggyeyă ca munḍeyyyă ca pāvāla-nilpṇoṭhānāya ca, S IV 300.25-27.
49Compare D I 166.2ff. and the prescriptions included in Dasaveyāliya-sutta 51.

51E.g. Sp 1021.16 and the texts based on it.
52Th-a II 119.30-40 (on Th 235 kesa-massum alocavim, concerning the Ājīvika-follower Jambuka); see also Th-a I 107.1ff. (on Th 107, just mentioned).
54Th 88ff. (whereas Th 87 rather refers to Brahmnic customs). Even if the practice of not eating at night cannot be defined as strictly Jain (in view of D I 5.5 for instance) the use of the term at this point of the spiritual career of Nanduttarā may indicate that she later on gave it up, which she would not have done, had it been a basic rule of Buddhist monastic life. — As for
appear as symbols of the extremely painful ascetic practices favoured by the Jains and dismissed as ineffective by the Middle Path, as explained in several sermons of the Buddha. Thus, for instance, Buddhist ascetics do not pluck out their hair (luṅc-) or shave (muniḍ-), they have it done by a barber (kappakaṇa kesa-massāmi oharapetvā). In brief, a strong connection between severe asceticism and Jainism has become a commonplace and a striking feature for outsiders, as is seen from non-Pāli Buddhist sources as well.\(^\text{55}\)

Among religious practices, the so-called nīgaṇṭha-uposatha is one of the three varieties of uposatha described in the Aṅguttara-nikāya:

The Nīgaṇṭhas invite the layman thus: “Set aside violence (dandaṃ nikkhipāhi) as regards all creatures that exist eastwards beyond a hundred yojanas, likewise towards the east, towards the west, towards the north and towards the south.” ... They call their laypeople on the fasting days, saying “Come here, sir. Abandoning all your clothes, speak thus: ‘I belong to no one; I am nothing to anyone. I own nothing; nothing owns me.’”\(^\text{56}\)

The rhetoric of the passage is meaningful and sounds authentic in content and style. In terms of content, it includes the basic elements of independent “vows” such as the anartha-daṇḍa-vrata, the vow to abstain from harmful activities, the dig- or deśāvakāśika-vrata, a vow concerned with the spatial restriction of the area where activity is performed, and the poṣadha-vrata, mainly characterized by fasting. At an early date these elements were combined in what is known as the sāmāyika ritual, which Jains view as a means for a layman to temporarily renounce everyday activity and cultivate equal feelings towards all beings. For the limited period during which he decides to perform sāmāyika, the layman is “similar to a monk”, as the texts say, giving up for a time all possessions which tie him to the world. Clothes are of course highly symbolic in this respect, and they are indeed given up by today’s Digambara laymen in such a context.\(^\text{57}\)

Clear affirmation of the basic freedom and detachment expressed by the formula “I own nothing, nothing owns me”, quite common in Jain scriptures, is also a part of this ritual and declares the layman’s “determination to ultimately renounce for ever”.\(^\text{58}\) The style of the Pāli passage also looks authentic. It is in conformity with available Jain literature, where we read that such rituals are conducted under the guidance of a spiritual master, and as such always imply a verbal exchange with both the invitation from the master and the recitation of formulas on the lay disciple’s side. Nevertheless, a literal understanding of the statements ascribed to the Jains leads to a biased and restricted analysis: when the layman is exhorted to kindness towards creatures that exist in a certain direction beyond a certain limit, the Pāli text interprets it as partial compassion; when he expresses his detachment, it is understood as falsehood, because his family bonds are still in existence. The text does this quite skillfully, since the description of every feature of the ceremony is immediately followed by a demolishing critique. Finally, at the conclusion, the apparent faithfulness of the picture handed down by the Aṅguttara-nikāya is totally spoiled:

Then, as soon as that night has passed, [the layman] reclaims all that he has “given away”. This I declare as is good as stealing.

\(^{55}\)See Prajñāvarman’s Udānavarga-vivaraṇa II.13 (edition by M. Balk (Bonn, 1984): 174.29): “The Nirgrantha has such a view, such a statement, to wit: ‘The very liberation is to be desired by means of harsh austerities’”. IV.10 (254.17): “The Nirgranthas, because they desire liberation, practise extremely difficult austerities”. (Translations provided by P. Skilling.)

\(^{56}\)A 1 206.sff.: translation from Jaina Path p. 223. This passage had been translated and examined by H. Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras, pp. xvii–xix, but his conclusions need revision. Another passing reference to nīgaṇṭha-uposatha in Ud-a 296.7.

\(^{57}\)See Jaina Path, p. 223.

\(^{58}\)Jaina Path, loc. cit.
Suppose a layman has accepted the vow of conduct, restraint, renunciation, atonement and fasting, for such a one, do the belongings so stolen become non-belongings for him? — Yes, they do.

If that be so, then how do you maintain that while searching for these, he searches for his own belongings and not for someone else's belongings? — A layman who is seated in a sāmāyika feels that "silver is not mine, wealth, grains, pearls, gems, conchs, diamonds, jewels are not mine". But then he has not renounced his "mineness", for which I maintain that he searches for his own belongings, and not for someone else's belongings.

Suppose a layman is seated in sāmāyika in the monks' lodge when, per chance, a rogue enjoys the company of his wife; then, does he enjoy the company of the layman's wife or of the layman's non-wife? — Surely, he enjoys the company of the layman's wife.

Suppose the layman is under the vow of conduct, etc., then does the wife become non-wife? — Yes, she does.

If that be so, how do you maintain that the rogue enjoys the company of the layman's wife, not of his non-wife? — A layman who is under the vow of conduct, etc., has a feeling in his mind that "my mother is not mine, my father is not mine, my brother is not mine, my sister is not mine, my wife is not mine, my son is not mine"; but his link of affection with them is not broken.60

That at least the Pāli commentators had some acquaintance not only with major Jain practices but also with their intrinsic motivations as viewed by the Jains themselves has already been briefly indicated in the discussion of vāri and its connection with water. It is also shown by a story in the Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā. When some Buddhist monks argue that the Niganthas are better than the acelakas because they cover their front parts, and therefore show a sense of shame (sahirikā), the Niganthas reply that shame is not the determining motivation:

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There are creatures, they say, such as dirt and dust which are provided with sense and life. We cover in order that they should not fall in the vessels we use for getting alms.61

As P.S. Jaini notes,62 the passage attests to Dhammapāla’s accuracy. It is a clear reference to the Jain conception of ahīṃsā. Protection of minute living beings is indeed the reason the Jains adduce for using a covering cloth for the alms bowl, whether they wear clothes or not. At the same time, the Niganthas’ remark serves as a starting point for a polemic which is echoed in various Jain texts. The Buddhists’ arguments adduced in the remaining part of the story are precisely the stock arguments of the opponents of the Digambaras, and they in part reveal why this group of naked ascetics has declined at some periods of history. Their nudity has been misinterpreted as a sort of shocking exhibitionism, while they themselves understand it as a sign of detachment, abandonment of possessions and overcoming of passions, while the Śvetāmaras themselves list nakedness among the casual troubles (parīśaha) which monks may have to overcome.63 Thus the Buddhist position expressed in the Dhammapada-āṭṭhakahathā is representative of the position of all external and unsympathetic observers, and it produces a caricature of the almost pathological care of the Jains for all forms of life and their proverbial ahīṃsā.

This anecdote is one of the texts that focuses on the conception of ekendriya-jīvas, those beings who have only the sense of touch.64 As early as their canonical scriptures, the Jains recognize five classes of such living beings: earth bodies, water bodies, fire bodies, air bodies, and plants. Although the situation is rather intricate, there are clear hints to show that whenever reference is made to this question in the Pāli scriptures, it is taken as an external belief, coming from the “people”, more likely from certain people, namely non-Buddhist groups, whose pressure is instrumental in creating rules for the protection of plants, earth and fire, although it cannot be recognized as such.65 But it is not openly and straightforwardly shared and adopted by Buddhist ascetics as a concept. On the contrary, sporadic references suggest that the belief is clearly deemed specific to the Jains (or the Ājīvikas): ek’indriyani ti kāy’-indriyenēva ek’indriyam, niganthānam acelakānam matam, says the Vajirabuddhi-ṭhikā (6th–7th cent.), or khapaṇaka-bhāṣāya rukkho pi pāni, says a commentary on the Abhidhammapadipīka.66 Such statements would surely not be found had the idea made its way into Theravādin ideology. Moreover, as indicated by L. Schmithausen, the word ekendriya has no true counterpart outside Pāli sources.67

The clearest example is the debate opposing Buddhists and non-Buddhists regarding the drinking of unboiled water in the Mūlandapaṇha.68 In view of what has been said earlier regarding the interpretation of vāri as “water” in the commentaries and the strong connection between refusal of cold water and Niganthas, these titthiyas are certainly Jains. Their refusal is motivated by the presence of one-sensed beings in the water (udakam jīvati ... ek’indriyam samaṇa Sakyaputtiyā

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62 “Jaina Monks from Mathura”, p. 489. This passage had already been briefly commented upon by H. Jacob, “On Mahāvīra and His Predecessors” (1880), p. 159 (= Kleine Schriften, p. 798).
63 See Dundas, The Jains, p. 44.
64 I here try briefly to summarize (and supplement) what can be gathered from the information found in L. Schmithausen, The Problem of the Sentence of Plants in Earliest Buddhism (Tokyo, 1991).
65 See Schmithausen, op. cit., §§ 5.4–5.5, 9.1f., 10.1; § 15.2; § 17.1.
66 Respectively p. 379 (§ 969) and p. 364 (§ 545) of the Burmese editions (references traced through the CSCD). For non-Pāli Buddhist sources see, for instance, the Tarkajāvāla on Bhāvaviveka’s Madhyamakāraṇḍaya-kārikā, p. 230 in Sh. Ida, Reason and Emptiness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism (Tokyo, 1980), p. 230 (nine subdivisions of jīvas according to the number of senses they have: one for earth, water, fire, wind, and plants; two for certain kinds of insects; three for others; four for yet others; five for quadrupeds, birds, and human beings) and the Vimalaprabhā-ṭhikā on the Laghuśīlakāratantra (Sarnath, 1986), p. 269 (ṣad-jīva-kāya).
68 Mil 258.38–62.17 (VI.10 Udakam jīvati”).
This page contains a text discussing Jain-Buddhist dialogue and the religious practices of both traditions. The text mentions the characteristics of non-Buddhist ascetics and the conflict between Jainism and Buddhism. It also references specific verses from Buddhist scriptures. The text notes that the Jain view of dāna (gift-giving) is different and that the Buddhist stance on this practice is more strict. The text concludes by discussing the religious context in which these practices are understood, emphasizing the importance of proper wisdom and understanding in religious matters.
amhañ). (ii) On the other hand, however, if a mleccha puts a man on a spit and roasts him, taking him for an oil-cake, or does the same to a small boy he thinks is a gourd, in our opinion he is not soiled with killing a living being (na lippai pāṇa-vahena amhañ). (iii) If someone puts a man or a small boy on a spit and roasts it on a fire taking it for a lump of oil-cake, it is legally acceptable for Buddhists as a fast-breaking meal (Buddhāna taṃ kappai pāranae). 72

The question of violence and cannibalism is not addressed here in an abstract context, but precisely, as in the Jātaka, in the context of alms and offering of alms. The next stanzas of the same chapter could be a reply to the Buddhist position expressed in the Jātaka verse:

"[Even] when eating this meat in abundance we are not at all stained by evil" (no ivalippamō vayaṃ raenam) — Thus the unbelievers speak; unworthy people; fools; desirous of sensual pleasures. Whosoever eats food of this kind unknowingly does wrong. Virtuous people do not think of doing that. Even mentioning it is wrong. Out of compassion for all living beings the sages, the Jains, avoid blameful faults, are afraid of them and avoid food especially prepared for them (uddīṭha-bhatta). They hate to terrify living beings, laying aside violence against all beings. Therefore they do not eat food of this kind. This is the traditional right practice among recluses of our fold. (2,6,38-41)

This point of contention has remained irreconcilable through the centuries: when later Jain texts express a position on Buddhism, they continue to portray their ascetics as meat-eaters without any dietary restraint and they show some contempt towards them, considering their laxity as unbefitting for a proper monastic life. 73 The fact that different attitudes towards alms were fundamental to the definition of the two groups' religious identities is proved by anecdotes adduced in Prakrit commentaries when defining the notion of samyakva “orthodoxy” for the layman. Respecting orthodoxy means not indulging in the various forms of heretical practices, and such stories often have as protagonists a Jain and a Buddhist (called bhikkhu or rattapaḍa “red-clothed”) in a context connected with food. 74

The debate just mentioned is connected with the issue of intentionality and its impact on culpability. 75 The Buddhists consider intention to be a determining factor — absence of cittasya duṣṭatva explaining why the first and last assertions of the Sūyagāda stanzas (above i and iii) are not blameworthy. As the Jain commentator Śīlāṅka (9th cent.) says, quoting their views: "Whatever act has not been mentally formed does not count." 76 On the contrary, they commonly interpret the Jain position as putting too little stress on its importance and viewing mental action as "half an action" (aḍḍha-kamma). 77 However, this is not accurate. In the earliest Jain tradition the notion of intentionality is not meant "to restrict the applicability of the general prohibition against taking life ... but is made a direct component of the definition of violence". 78 The distinction between "intended" and allegedly "unintended" violence is invalid, and carelessness (pramāda), which

72 W.B. Bollée’s new translation (with minor adjustments) in “Adda or the Oldest Extant Dispute between Jains and Heretics (Sūyagāda 2.6). Part Two”, Journal of Indian Philosophy 27 (1999), pp. 411–37 (Part 1 concerns the Ājīvikas: to be published in Muni Jambuvijaya Felicitation Volume). The older translation by Jacoby (Jaina Sītras, pp. 414ff.), although valid on the whole, is less accurate. These observations also hold for the other extract given below.


74 See the Āvāṣyaka-commentaries connected with the transgressions of orthodoxy or R. Williams, Jaina Yoga (London, 1963; reprint Delhi, 1983), p. 46.


76 Manasākālpiṣṭa karma caiva na gacchati asmat-siddhānte, Sanskrit commentary on Sūyagāda 2.6,28.

77 See for instance M I 372 and Abhidharmakośa (Chap. IV), p. 2 and 155 in L. de La Vallée Poussin’s translation.

78 Ph. Granoff, op. cit., p. 37.
leads to the performance of unintended deeds, is strongly reviled as being action itself. Hence the Buddhist position that unintended violence can be excused because it has ignorance as its root is invalid. For the Jains, this cannot be a good reason, since ignorance causes the accumulation of additional karma and bondage. As such it cannot systematically be put forward as an excuse for bad deeds.

Non-violence is defined by right knowledge and proper behaviour, intention being also one factor in this process. However, the possibility of observing complete abstention from all types of violence is not self-evident, and this was a sensitive question which opponents of the Jains did not fail to ask. This is shown, for instance, in the Upālīsutta, where the respective importance of bodily activity, verbal activity, and mental activity is discussed using the Jain technical terms: kāya-dāṅga, vāca-dāṅga, and mano-dāṅga (in contrast with the Buddhist term kamma). 79 Although the Jain position emphasizes the gravity of the first, Upālī has to admit that mere walking implies an unavoidable violence and results in killing many small creatures. In order to resolve the dilemma he must contradict his first statement and assume that there is no blame if the creatures are killed unintentionally. In fact, such pragmatic attitudes also developed among the Jains themselves; according to a famous sūtra, violence occurs when it arises from passion. 80 Hence there may be factual violence without bondage of karma, and, conversely, violence without actual killing. What follows is found in a Jain — not a Buddhist — text:

It is the intention that ultimately matters. From the real point of view, a man does not become a killer only because he has killed or because the world is crowded with souls, or remain innocent only because he has not killed physically ... Even if a person does not actually kill, he becomes a killer if he has the intention to kill ... For it is the intention

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which is the deciding factor, not the external act, which is inconclusive. From the real point of view, it is the intention which is violence, whether it materialises into an evil act of injuring or not. There can be non-violence even when an external act of violence has been committed and violence even when it has not been committed. 81

The conception of karma is certainly one of the main issues considered in Pāli scriptures. The Jain position as viewed by the Buddhists is clearly stated in several canonical passages where the “three bases for heresy” (tīṇī titthāyatanāni) are discussed. They occur in connection with the theistic view, which explains the individual’s experience of pleasure, suffering, or neither-pleasure-nor-suffering as the creation of a supreme deity (issara-nimmiṇa-hetu), and with the view that this phenomenon is “without cause, without reason” (ahetu apaccaya) as presented in the Anguttara-nikāya, and (in almost identical terms) in the Vibhanga. 82 The two relevant commentaries use a similar wording, but the Vibhanga-āṭṭhakathā goes a step further by ascribing two out of the three doctrines to precise religious groups. Thus ahetu apaccaya is recognized as identifying the Ājīvika doctrine which ascribes everything to Destiny. 83 The statement “whatsoever pleasure, pain, or neither pain-nor-pleasure a man experiences, all this is due to past action” (pubbe kata-hetu, Vibh 367.20–22) is recognized by the commentators as expressing the Jain doctrine: ayam nigāṇṭha-samayo. 84 He further expands:

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80 Cf. Tattvārtha-sūtra 7.8: pramatta-yogā prāṇā-vyaparopaṇān himsā.
82 M II 217.1ff. = A I 173.18ff.; Vibh 367.28–368.3.
84 Vibh-a 497.20. This statement was deemed so characteristic of the Jain doctrine that it found its way into the Śrāmanyaphalasūtra incorporated into the Saṅghabhedaṇavaṣṭu of the Mūlasarvāstivādinavya, edited by R. Gnoli (Rome, 1978), vol. 2, p. 226 §§ 26–28, where it is ascribed to Nīgāṇṭha Nātaputta.
But those who assert this deny both active feeling (kamma-vedanā) and functional feeling (kiriyā-vedanā) and accept only resultant feeling (vipāka-vedanā). They reject seven out of the eight ailsments beginning with that originating from bile (S IV 230) and accept only the eighth (born of kamma-result, kamma-vipāka). They reject two out of the four kinds of volition called profitable, unprofitable, resultant, and functional, they accept only resultant volition.\(^{85}\)

Here the intellectual approach is interesting. The commentator does not refer to the categories and terminology devised by the Jains themselves to explain their position, but rather uses only well-attested Buddhist categories and notions. This process is undoubtedly effective for a Buddhist audience to whom the terms would be familiar because it offers a rather simplistic and mechanistic picture of the Jain view by insisting upon its narrowness. These features are stressed by the stylistic repetition of the phrases "they reject" and "they accept only" and by the repetition of the word vipāka, which ultimately stands out as a key word in the Jain formulation. Exactly as the expression ahetu appaccaya is a Pāli label for the Ājīvikas’ tenet, pubbe kata with maturation as its necessary complement functions as a label of the Jains’. These statements find expression in the poem ascribed to the Elder Samitigutta in the Theragāthā:

Whatever evil was done by me previously in other births, that must now be experienced. No other basic cause exists.\(^{86}\)

His assertion of this belief is an additional reason to consider as a Jain this Elder, whose name “Protected by the samitis” had already been correctly interpreted as an indication of his religious affiliation.\(^{87}\) In the Jain view the emphasis on karma preconditions the soteriological frame and the importance of ascetic practices as a means to annihilate karma. This leads to a kind of architecture where each piece of the building is connected to the others. At the syntactic level this conception is conveyed by a series of statements mutually linked through the stylistic figure kāraṇamāla, quite common in Jain phraseology, even if not confined to it:

Thus by burning up, by making an end of ancient deeds, by the nondoing of new deeds, there is no overflowing into the future. From there being no overflowing into the future comes the destruction of deeds; from the destruction of deeds comes the destruction of anguish; from the destruction of anguish comes the destruction of feeling; from the destruction of feeling all anguish will become worn away.\(^{88}\)

Complementary to the karma-theory is the question of the nature of the soul, for, as is vigorously said by a Prakrit stanza handed down in the commentary on the Laghukālacakrantara: “Sometimes the soul is stronger, sometimes karmas are stronger. This is how the soul and karmas have developed a long-standing hostility.”\(^{89}\) In the sub-

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\(^{86}\)Th 81: K.R. Norman’s translation in Elders’ Verses I.

\(^{87}\)Given these facts, it becomes clear that the dogma pubbe kata-hetu of the Mahābodhijātaka (No. 528), Ja V 238.20ff. should be connected with Nigantha Nātaputta (V 246.12’), even if the verse itself does not establish the connection.


\(^{89}\)Kathai jīvā (Ed. hoi, to be omitted) balio kathai kammā honti baliāṁ | jīvassa a kammassa a pubba-nibaddhāṁ verāi, p. 269. The ultimate source of this stanza is not known, but its occurrence in a modern anthology of maxims such as the Prākṣṭa-sūkta-ratnamālā (Banaras, 1919: No. 123) proves its popularity.
commentary of the Dīgha-nikāya the Jain position is summarized as follows:

The Jains say that the immaterial self has the same extent as the body in which it is located, like the bitter taste in a lemon leaf.\(^{90}\)

The two features of the analysis developed by the Jains in their own scriptures are here aptly underlined: the immaterial character of the jīva and its ability to contract or expand so that it pervades the body it occupies, whether big or small.\(^{91}\) The expression sarīra-parimāṇa corresponds to the sva-deha-parimāṇa of the Jain texts and indicates the co-extensiveness of the soul with the body.\(^{92}\) At the same time, we notice a terminological difference both here and in other passages. Pāli scriptures regularly use attā, where Jain scriptures would favour jīva, which emphasizes the living sentient nature of the soul in contradistinction to non-life.\(^{93}\)

Pāli exegetical literature of the sub-commentaries may seem less fascinating because it takes us further away from the early period and the so-called “original” message of the Buddha, but it has much to offer. From the still largely unexplored world of tīkās valuable information about the Jains can be gleaned. A reference to Jain practices designated by proper technical terms in the Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā has been mentioned above. Furthermore, in this undoubtedly rich and learned

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\(^{90}\)Nimba-panne tittaka-raso viya sarīra-parimāṇo arūpi attā tattha tiṭṭhati ti Niganṭhā, Sv-pīl I 223,18-20.

\(^{91}\)Hence, sarīra-parimāṇa (attā) of Ud-a 339.31 is to be identified as a reference to the Jain position, in the same way as angutthā-parimāṇo, yava-parimāṇo, paramāṇa-p. attā have been recognized as referring to Upaniṣadic, Śāṃkhyā and Vaiṣēṣika ideas by the translator (Oxford: PTS, 1995), n. 305-306, p. 926. The Jain conception is also highlighted in non-Pāli Buddhist sources: see, for example, Prajñāvarman’s Tibetan commentary on the Viśeṣāstava, v. 45: Laghukālacakratra v. 176 (jīvaḥ kāya-ramāṇo).


\(^{93}\)See below, p. 36.

\(^{94}\)Niganṭhānam viya ca loka-thūpi-kāyaṁ apavaggo mokkho ti. Vism-mhṭ 1157-4.5 (= 2.218 of the Burmese edition available on CSCD). For mere practical reasons I here refer to the Nalanda edition, which is the only one available to me in book form at present.

\(^{95}\)Vism-mhṭ 1384.4-87.5 (= CSCD 2, pp. 360–61). Prof. von Hinüber drew this passage to my attention when he visited Paris in winter 1996. — For another expose of the nine Jain categories in a non-Pāli Buddhist source see the Tarkajāla on Bhāvaviveka’s Madhyamakādhīdaya-kārikā, II-B-3-c, in Sh. lida, Reason and Emptiness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism (Tokyo, 1980), pp. 228–30.
are stated to be invalid. The twofold division into physical and mental of all the states of the three planes gives the starting point for an assessment of what the “outside doctrines (bāhiraka) have thought of as being categories”\(^\text{96}\). These categories are shown to be useless and wrong because they are ultimately included in one way or the other within nāma and rūpa. Since the issue concerns “categories” (padattha), each of the heterodoxies discussed is identified with a key phrase which is meant by the Buddhist author to summarize the view in question. Thus pakati-ādi means Sāmkhya, dravyādi means Vaiśeṣika, jīvādi means Jainism, and kāyādi means the doctrine of the Ājīvikas, each of them being then discussed in turn.\(^\text{97}\)

\(^{96}\)Yām ito bāhirakehi padattha-bhāvena parikappatām, Vism-mhṭ 1384.a.

\(^{97}\)1 Sāmkhya (Pāli Kāpila, plur.): the classical expanded list of twenty-five categories with a discussion: matter or basis (pakati or padkhāna), great principle or intellect (mahā or buddhi), sense of ego (ahankāra or asminmatā), subtle elements (tammattāni), senses divided into senses of intelligence (budhi indriyāni), senses of action (kamma\(^\text{t}\)) and mind (mano), elements (bhūtāni), eternal consciousness (puriso) — 2 Vaiśeṣika (no proper name mentioned): list of six categories: substance (dravya), quality (guna), action (kamma), generality (samaṇṇa), particularity (vīsesa), inherence (samavāya). As expected at the period when the text was written (5th–6th cent. A.D.), inexistence (abhāva) is not yet included. It came to be officially included much later, from the 12th century onwards (see W. Halbfass, On Being and What There Is (Delhi, 1993), pp. 69ff.) — 3 Jaina (see below). — 4 Ājīvika (no proper name mentioned): the list of the seven elemental categories (cf. Basham, pp. 16, 262) which form kāya, i.e. earth (pathavi), water (āpa), fire (teja), air (vāyu), life (ātma), joy (sukha), and sorrow (dukkha); and the list of the six colours (here called jāt; cf. Basham, p. 243; more usual is abhijāt): black (kanha), blue (nilā), red (ratta), yellow (piṭa), more frequent “green”, halidha, white (sukka), and extremely white (ātisukka) easily identify this group as such. But in the list of births (gatiyo), i.e. god (sura), human (manuṣya), ghost (petu), animal (tiracchāna), and hell (naraka), the categories pavatti and apavatti would deserve more investigation as they are not as clearly supported by other sources as the others. — For another passage in the Vism-mhṭ dealing with the ideas about salvation of the theists, Ājīvikas, followers of Sāmkhya and Jains, see pp. 1156–57 (= CSCD Burmese ed. 2.218); pp. 1162–63 again about Sāmkhya.

\(^{98}\)The juxtaposition of samvara and nirjarā which make a pair (the only Pāli instance of which is precisely our Vism-mhṭ passage according to the CSCD) may have also been encouraged by stylistic factors (homoeoteleuton). However, variations in the sequence are not unknown: cf. Thānānā 9 (nava-sabbhāva-patthā pannatā), Haribhadra, Sadārāṣramaṁuckṣayā 4.47, etc.

\(^{99}\)Cf. Tattvārtho-sūtra 1.4: jīvājīvāsrava-bandha-samvara-nirjarā-mokṣaṁ tattvam, the locus classicus on the topic.
Only one of them is really easy to identify: āsava-nirodho saṃvaro “stopping the influx of karmic particles, that is saṃvarā” is the Pāli equivalent of Tattvārthasūtra 9.1 (āsava-nirodhaḥ saṃvarah), one of the best known śūtras of this famous treatise. Tracing the sources of the remaining quotations would be helpful for a clearer chronological and geographical assessment of the Pāli ūtikā. But even if their statements do not exactly correspond to what we read in the Tattvārthasūtra or similar works, they are close enough to these texts to show that the information of the Pāli commentator is sound:

Bondage (bandha) is defined as the intimate union of the soul with karmic matter.100

Expulsion of karmic particles (nījara) is said to be the non-occurrence of the natural condition which creates a karmic result101 and thus is meant to stop karmic maturation.

Salvation (mokkha) is “the fact of being free from all karmic matters”,102 an equivalent to Tattvārthasūtra 10.3 kṛtsna-karma-kṣayo mokṣaḥ.

The definition of ajīva is the only one for which no quotation is adduced. All the same, the Mahāśākya’s statement is quite in line with the Jain conception:

Th[is] notion applies to matter (puggala), motion (dhamma), rest (adhamma), space (ākāsa) and time (kāla).103

100 Bandho kamma-puggal' antara-samyo gti vacanato, III 1386.10; compare Tattvārthasūtra 8.2: jīvāh karmano yogyān pudgalān adatate.

101 Kammaphala-ppavatityā pakatiyā appavattī niṣīrā ti vacanato, III 1386.13–14. The Pāli wording is not very straightforward. No similar phrasing could be traced in Jain sources. In Buddhist literature nījara is commonly used as a masculine, whereas the idioms used by the Jains normally use it as a feminine in its technical meaning. The gender-distinction cum meaning-distinction is discussed in P. Skilling, Mahāśūtras II (Oxford, 1997), pp. 414–18.


103 Puggala-dhammādhammākāsā-kālesu ajīva-saṅhā, III 1386.7; compare Tattvārthasūtra 5.1 ajīva-kāśa dharmādhammākāsa-puggalā, and 5.39 kālaś ca; Kundakunda, Pañcāśikāya v. 124.

Jain-Buddhist Dialogue: Material from the Pāli Scriptures

The inclusion of time and its recognition as an independent substance are not taken as self-evident in the Jain tradition, and the status of this concept has been the topic of numerous discussions. Works of Digamba affiliation normally recognize it as belonging to the category of ajīva; this fact could be a clue about the kind of source used by the Pāli commentator. The interpretation of the unique technical meanings of dharma and adharma as principles to ensure the motion (gati) and the steadiness (sthitī) of living beings and matter, to help these functions only, and not as terms of ethics, is fully correct.104 The list of the characteristics of matter agrees broadly with the Jain counterparts. Compare Visuddhimagga-mahāśākya:


and Tattvārthasūtra 5.23:

sparśa-rasa-gandha-varnavantaḥ pudgaleḥ; (24) śabda-bandha-sauksmya-sthāulya-saṃsthāna-bhedā-tamaś chāyātapādoṛyotavantaḥ.

The words for sound, palpability, form (Pāli rūpa/TS varṇa), taste, smell, shape, binding, splitting, subtle(ness), shadow and darkness are the usual ones in such a context. Grossness (TS sthāulya) has no corresponding Pāli term but may be implicit in sukhumā; the distinction between heat (or hot light) and cool light, which is conveyed in the Tattvārthasūtra by the contrasting pair ātapa and uddyoṭa, has a vague parallel in ppabhā and ujjota (corr. for eds. ujñaka). If the unsatisfactory para-aparāghāta may be understood as “composed with another [and] not composed with another” (?), it could be a reminiscence of the distinction between atoms (aṇu) and conglomerates (saṃghāta), which is expected in this environment and at this point of the argumentation,

104 Dhammādhammā jīva-puggalānām gati-ṭhitī-mattatāya tad-avisīśṭhā. Vism-mht 1386.9; compare Tattvārthasūtra 5.17: gati-ṣûnī-upāgrahāu dharmādharmany upakāraḥ; etc.
even if these terms are generally not a part of the above mentioned list in Jain texts.¹⁰⁵

Finally, the way vimokkha is treated is clearly evocative of the method normally applied in Jain exegesis to the analysis of key terms. This method takes the help of various well-determined parameters and finds its full development in the so-called nikṣepa. In its simplest form, the parameters are two, namely dravya and bhāva. The dravya aspect refers to the concrete or literal meaning of a term, while the bhāva aspect refers to its meaning in a spiritual or religious context. Here, the text says, dravya-mokkha implies that a soul is only immateriality, whereas bhāva-mokkha is the absence of any modification in the soul caused by the states of passion, etc.¹⁰⁶ Although with a possible confusion in the contents of the terms, this is roughly reminiscent of a distinction known from some Jain sources, apparently only Digambara. According to them bhāva-mokṣa refers to the process of modification through which the soul is able to annihilate the four karmas that have a vitiating effect upon its qualities (the ghātiya-karmas), whereas dravya-mokṣa refers to liberation from the four determining karmas the function of which is only to generate embodiment and individual particulars.¹⁰⁷

The sub-commentaries seem rather well acquainted with Jain scholasticism and methods of argumentation, especially with the one known as “sevenfold predication” which is so typical. While the technical term satta-bhanga does not seem to occur in the Pāli canon itself, it appears, for instance, in the Sumanḍalavilāsinī-ṭīkā, where sattabhanga-vāda stands as an indirect designation for Jain philosophy. The

commentator’s purpose is to demonstrate “the untenability of the doctrine of the seven predicates, which claims that entities possessing origin, decay, and persistence may be permanent, may be impermanent, and may be inexpressible”.¹⁰⁸ The terms used for defining the triple character of the existent are exactly those of the Jain treatises: upādā-vyaya-dhruvyaya-yuktam sat, to quote just one famous sūtra from the Tattvārtha (5.29). On the other hand, the commentator restricts his list to the three primary predicates of the sevenfold set, which are sufficient for his argumentation:

(1) in a way everything is;
(2) in a way everything is not;
(3) in a way it is unutterable.

The four missing ones are easily obtained by combining those three in different manners:

(4) in a way it is and in a way it is not;
(5) in a way it is, in a way it is unutterable;
(6) in a way it is not, in a way it is unutterable;
(7) in a way it is, in a way it is not, in a way it is unutterable.

The Pāli wording is quite accurate and in full agreement with the Jain counterpart. One immediately notices the basic word siyā, a starting point for the generic term sīyāvāda, which became the standard designation for this process. In the course of the systematic refutation which is then undertaken, one also comes across the typical term anekāntavāda, “the theory of the manifoldness of reality” which considers that each entity consists of diverse forms and modes, of innumerable aspects, and that destruction (i.e. losing the previous form), appearance (i.e. assuming a new modification), and continuity (i.e. persistence of the essential nature) coexist:

¹⁰⁵See Tattvārthasūtra 5.25: anavah skandhās ca, (26) samghata-bhedabhya upadantaye.
¹⁰⁷See the references collected in the Jainendra-Siddhānta-Koṣa (Delhi: Bhāratiya Jānānpitha, 1987) vol. 3, pp. 322–23 (Kundakunda, Pañcāstikāya vv. 150–53; Nemicandra, Dravyasamgraha, v. 37). For the list of the eight karmas see above n. 32.
¹⁰⁸Uppāda-vyaya-dhruvyaya-yuktam sat, siyā niccā, siyā aniccā, siyā na vattabbā ti ādīnā pavattassa satta-bhanga-vādassa ayuttā vibhāvitā hoti, Sv-pj I 198.20–23.
But those who say: “Just as when a crown is made out of a golden pot, the existence of a pot disappears and the existence of a crown arises, whereas the existence of gold remains the same, exactly in the same way, in the case of all properties, one property disappears, another one arises, but the specific property remains” [to them it should be said ...].

This example adduced to illustrate the Jain view and ascribed to its tradition can be recognized as reminiscent of the idea expressed by the Jain Digambara philosopher Samantabhadra (c. A.D. 550) in his Āptamīmāṃsā (3.59):

ghaṭa-mauli-suvannārthi nāsotpāda-sthitīśv ayam
śoka-pramoda-mādhya-sthitam janapātī sa-hetukam.

When the pot is destroyed, the crown is created and the gold stays on, the [same] person desiring [them], experiences pain, joy and neutrality — justifiably.\footnote{Ye pana vadanti ‘yathā suvanna-ghatena makuṭe kate ghata-bhāvo nassati, makuṭa-bhāvo uppajjati, suvanţha-bhāvo tiţhati yeva, evam saha-bhāvānam koci dhammo nassati, koci dhammo uppajjati, sa-bhāvo pana tiţhati’ ti (te vattabbā). Sv-pṭ I 198.29–99.3.}

But the refutation underlines that the Jain way of arguing starts on a wrong basis and is self-contradictory:

What is the gold which remains the same in both the pot and the ornament? If it is said to be materiality, then it is impermanent like sound. If it is said to be an aggregation of materiality, an aggregation

\footnote{My translation. Compare N.J. Shah, Samantabhadra’s Āptamīmāṃsā, Critique of an Authority (along with English translation, introduction, notes, and Akalanka’s Sanskrit Commentary Aṣṭaśati) (Ahmedabad, 1999), p. 55. See also B.K. Matilal, The Central Philosophy of Jainism (Anekāntavāda) (Ahmedabad: L.D. Series 79, 1981), p. 39, along with Kumārila’s explanation in the Mīmāṃsā-sūkta-vārttika. Among other similar examples adduced in this connection by the Jains are the one of the milk and the curd (Āptamīmāṃsā III.66; for the Buddhist interpretation of the same example see, for instance, D I 261.26ff.) or the one of the seed, the sprout, and the tree (Tattvapradīpikā on Kundakunda’s Pravacanasāra 2.9), the pot and the clay (cty on Tattvārthasūtra 5.29).}

\footnote{Sv-pṭ I 199.3ff. Translation (with minor adjustments) from The Discourse on the All-Embracing Net of Views, translated from the Pali by Bhikkhu Bodhi (Kandy, 1978), p. 156.}

In so stating, the Pāli commentator reflects the first among the traditional objections opposed to syād-vāda, i.e. self-contradiction, which he underlines again when he rejects the Jain assertion “There is soul, in a way it is permanent, in a way it is not”.\footnote{Aththi jīvo, so ca sīvā nicco, sīvā anicco. Sv-pṭ I 298.26.} For the Jains, however, syāt and anekānta do not mean uncertain or confusing answers but conditional assertions meant to embrace the complex nexus of reality.\footnote{See the clear, accurate statements of B.K. Matilal, op. cit., a very convenient book which has the advantage of considering the Jain philosophical system together with the objections it has produced from other schools: “The Anekānta doctrine, to be sure, is neither a doctrine of doubt (or even uncertainty) nor a doctrine of probability. Thus syāt means, in the Jaina use, a conditional YES. It is like saying, ‘in a certain sense, yes’. It amounts to conditional approval” (p. 52).}

To conclude: The Buddhists of the Pāli sources are not very different from other external observers, ancient or modern, who have looked at Jain ways of life and conceptions, both in the topics which have caught their attention and in their approach. As far as practice is concerned, they are mainly the question of nudity, extreme asceticism, strict rules for begging, and eating. As far as doctrine goes, they are the Jain categories and the Jain way of looking at living beings with the crucial point of one-sensed living beings. In several cases it is not easy to
distinguish Jains from Ājīvikas, who are shown as sharing ideas or customs. As sharp critics, the Buddhists have emphasized sensitive issues which were fundamental to their opponents, such as the extreme consequences of the theory of non-violence combined with the question of intentionality. They are prompt to denounce the casuistry of the Jain tenets or arguments. As can be seen from stray references given above to non-Pāli Buddhist sources, these points are also those highlighted in the Buddhist perception of Jainism as expressed in Sanskrit or Tibetan texts.

Although the basically polemical attitude of Theravādins has naturally restricted the power of their analyses, confrontation with available Jain texts shows that sound and reliable evidence is clothed in literary garb, that there is a full awareness of Jain technical terminology. The second layer of Pāli exegesis, especially the sub-commentaries written by Dhammapāla, contains valuable material. It seems to reflect a historical context where “Jains” seems to mean rather “Digambaras” than “Śvetāmbaras”. As far as Dhammapāla is concerned, this could be explained by his South Indian milieu, where Digambaras were more numerous than their rivals. But in non-Pāli Buddhist sources — as well as in non-Buddhist sources — there are hints which suggest that Digambaras were also the main, if not the only, target, as if the Śvetāmbara tradition were negligible. This fact has still to be explained.

Nalini Balbir

The Legend of the Establishment of the Buddhist Order of Nuns in the Theravāda Vinaya-Pitaka

Even the Buddhist world has not remained unaffected by the growing awareness of the position of women, and Western Buddhist groups in particular have found it necessary to discuss the attitude of Buddhism to the position of women in society. Clarification of the attitude of early Buddhists towards women, and especially of the position accorded to nuns in the early Buddhist community, may well be expected from a detailed examination of the Vinaya-pitāka. This book of the discipline of the Order rules on many questions regarding the daily life of monks and nuns of the time and also contains much information relating to cultural history. Passages which include references to or indeed exclusively refer to nuns shed light on the attitude towards women in early Buddhism.

Apart from the Bhikkhunivibhanga, which contains those rules of the Pāṭimokkhika that only apply to nuns as well as their histories and the relevant commentaries, there are few passages in the Vinaya-pitaka which specifically relate to women. However, an examination of those passages in the Khandhaka reveals much which renders a consistent evaluation of the position of women in early Buddhism more difficult. In this paper the first section of the tenth chapter of the Cullavagga (Cv X.1 = Vin II 253–56) will be examined for direct and indirect statements regarding the position of women. In this section the events

This is an English translation by Marianne Rankin of the essay “Die Legende von der Einrichtung des buddhistischen Nonnenordens im Vinaya-Pitaka der Theravādin” published in Studien zur Indologie und Budhismuskunde. Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Budhismuskunde für Professor Dr. Heinz Bechert, Reinhold Grünendahl, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, and Petra Kieffer-Pülz, eds. (Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1993), pp. 151–70. The essay has not been revised, but the author has appended a list of additional publications which bear on the subject. Ed.
leading to the establishment of the Buddhist Order of nuns are described. Within this framework, the eight special rules for nuns (garuda-dhamma) were laid down. These were to be accepted by every woman before her entry into monastic life. In addition, this passage contains sayings of the Buddha about women and their influence on Buddhist doctrine.

At the beginning of the first section of the tenth chapter of the Cullavagga, the events immediately preceding the establishment of the Buddhist Order of nuns are described. In general terms these are as follows: the foster mother (and aunt) of the Buddha, Mahâpâjâpâtî Gotamî, is the first woman to ask the Buddha to permit the acceptance of women into the Order in principle. The Buddha does not give his consent to this request of Mahâpâjâpâti, which she repeats three times.\footnote{Vin II 253 (CV X.1.1): sādhu bhante labheyya mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dharmavinvaye agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajjan ti ("It would be good, sir, if women could leave home for homelessness in the dhamma and vinaya expounded by the Tathāgata").} The Legend of the Establishment of the Buddhist Order of Nuns

Mahâpâjâpâti Gotamî, although evidently much grieved, is not completely discouraged. She cuts her hair off, dresses in a robe, and with other women of the Sakya clan, follows the Buddha, who has meanwhile moved on to Vesālī.\footnote{Vin II 254 (CV X.1.3): idam pi te āvuso ānanda dukkhaṁ yam tvaṁ mātugāmassa tathāgatappavedite dharmavinvaye pabbajjam ussukkam akāsi ("This too is a dukkha [misdeemor] on your part, that you made such an effort to further women in the dhamma and vinaya expounded by the Tathāgata").} There Ānanda observes her piteous state and questions her, so she explains the situation to him.\footnote{In the Pāli (Vin II 254) Gotamî says the Enlightened One does not permit (na bhagava anujānati) and in the Bhiksuni-Karmavacanā (Schmidt 1993, 343), women do not attain (na labhate mātṛgrāhām) is said.} Thereupon Ānanda himself takes the matter up. He too expresses Mahâpâjâpâti’s wish three times to the Buddha, but in vain. Later, however, by skilfully steering the conversation\footnote{In his direct request has failed, Ānanda thinks, (CV X.1.3 = Vin II 254): yan nānaṁ aññena pi pariyāyena bhavantam yāceyya ("What if I were to ask the Enlightened One in a different way"). The portrayal in the Cullavagga thus implies intentional manipulation of the Buddha by Ānanda. It is not clear, however, whether the reproaches made to Ānanda during the first council relate to this deliberate manipulation (CV XI.1.10 = Vin II 289): idam pi te āvuso ānanda dukkhaṁ yam tvaṁ mātugāmassa tathāgatappavedite dharmavinvaye pabbajjam ussukkam akāsi ("This too is a dukkha [misdeemor] on your part, that you made such an effort to further women in the dhamma and vinaya expounded by the Tathāgata").} he draws from the Buddha the admission that in principle women are capable of attaining Enlightenment.\footnote{Vin II 254 (CV X.1.3) bhavho ānanda mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinvaye agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajjitaṁ sotāpattiphalam pi sakadāgāmi-phalam pi anāgāmi-phalam pi arahattam pi sacchikātun ti ("Ananda, when women leave home for homelessness in the dhamma and vinaya expounded by the Tathāgata, they are able to realise the fruit of entry into the stream, the fruit of once returner, the fruit of non-returner and [the state of an] arhat").} and by alluding to the many services which Mahâpâjâpâti rendered the Buddha in his youth, Ānanda manages to get the Buddha to agree in principle to Enlightened One] who wishes to permit [the Pabbajjā] rejects it.”.}
the admission of Mahāpajāpati — and thus of women in general — into the Buddhist Order.7

The acknowledgement that women are capable of attaining Enlightenment is fundamental for a definition of the position of women in early Buddhism. It means that in this respect the Buddha regarded men and women as equal.8 This assessment may also have been decisive for the Buddha’s assent to the establishment of an Order of nuns.9 Gustav Roth puts it as follows:10 “The existence of such a view is of fundamental importance for the existence of an Order of Buddhist nuns.”

The agreement to the establishment of the nuns’ Order was not given unconditionally. This may be deduced from the further course of events described in this section of the Cullavagga. Only if Mahāpajāpati is prepared to follow the eight garudhammas (literally, “important rules”) may she (thereby) belong to the Order.11 Although these eight garudhammas serve not only as admission criteria but also as rules to be observed for life by every nun,12 in the Pāli Vinaya13 they are not connected with the Bhikkhunipāṭimokkhā. At the same time, in seven garudhammas there are parallels either in words or in content with the Pācittiya section of the Bhikkhunivibhāṅga.14 As will be explained below, it is possible that it was due to later editing by monks, that a list of the rules that seemed to them most important should be juxtaposed to the eight Pārājika rules applying to nuns.15 As regards the grade of penalty, the garudhammas are on a par with the Sanghadisesa offences. This is shown by the content of the fifth garudhamma (see below). Furthermore, the content of passages in which monks are mentioned in

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7 In contrast, the course of events in the Bhikkunī-Karmavācanā (Schmidt 1993, 441-643) is as follows: Ānanda only asks the Buddha once to grant admission to women into the Buddhist Order. The Buddha answers mā te ... rocaṭām (Pāli: mā te rucci) as in the Pali version and gives as the reason for his answer that the dhamma and vinaya would not last long (no time period is given here!) if women obtain the Pabbajjā and Upasampadā. The comparison of women to diseases follows this (see below) and only then comes the specification of the eight garudhammas to be observed by women.


9 Cf. Horner, 1930, p. 103; cf. Pitzer-Reyl, 1984, p. 19, and cf. Heng-Ching Shih 1991, p. 84. It should be noted here, however, that the attainment of Śrotāpanna rank is not synonymous with the attainment of the lowest grade of the Buddhist monastic path to salvation, as Jens-Peter Laut 1991 (p. 268 and p. 266, n. 55) evidently assumes. In this regard, the text examined by Laut should be checked again to determine whether it does in fact represent the ancient Turkish version of the legend of the establishment of the Buddhist Order of nuns.

10 BhīVin (Mā-L), p. xxi.

11 Vin II 255 (CV X.1.4.): sace Ānanda Mahāpajāpati Gotami aṭṭha garudhamme paṭīghanātā sā ‘v’ assā hotu upasampadā, and Vin II 257 (CV X.2.2.): yadaggena Ānanda Mahāpajāpatigotamī aṭṭha garudhammā paṭīghanātā, tad eva sā upasampammā it.

12 This is expressed in the sentence following each garudhamma (CV X.1.4 = Vin II 255): avam pi dhāmmo sakkatāvā garukatāvā mānena pājëravā yāvajīvatam anattikamanīyo (“This rule is to be respected, honoured, esteemed and observed for life and must not be broken”).

13 Gustav Roth (BhīVin(Mā-L), pp. xxix+f.) has been able to establish that the position of the section within the Vinaya traditions containing the garudhammas is approximately the same across the various Buddhist schools: in the Pāli Vinaya-pitaka, in Fa-Hsien’s translation of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, in the Tibetan version of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, and in the Bhikkunī-Karmavācanā. He thus assumes that the direct connection between the garudhammas and the Bhikkunivibhāṅga found in the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin Vinaya is artificial, diverging from the arrangement in an “original” version.

14 Cf. also BhīPr, pp. 8, 118. This will be examined in more detail when garudhamma 5 is considered below.

15 It is noteworthy that there are thus eight Pārājika rules, eight garudhammas and — in so far as one can include the garudhammas as a category of misdemeanor alongside the other classes of offence of the Bhikkhunivibhāṅga — eight categories of offence for nuns. Thus things are evened up, in that the Bhikkhunivibhāṅga has no Aniyata section and thus contains one category of offence less than the Bhikkhuvibhāṅga.
connection with transgression against the garudhammas leads at least to equating the garudhammas with the Saṁghādīsesa offences. One of the attributes a monk must possess in order to be allowed to instruct nuns is, according to Pācittiya 21 of the Bhikkhuvinibbaṅga, that he should not have offended against a garudhamma. Here the garudhammas listed in the Cullavagga, which are applicable only to nuns, cannot be meant. Probably, as Horner says, the Saṁghādīsesa rules are meant, for the relevant passages of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga dealing with monks who have transgressed the garudhammas, mention parivāsa, a kind of trial period which constitutes part of the punishment for monks who have committed a Saṁghādīsesa offence.

Garudhamma 1 requires “the complete subordination of nuns to monks”. The sequence of the eight rules specific to nuns begins with a stipulation which makes it quite clear that a nun is always beneath a monk in social rank. “A nun, even if she has been ordained for a hundred years, is to make a respectful [verbal] greeting, to stand up, to make the greeting with palms laid together and to carry out the acts of homage to a monk, even if he has only been ordained that day.”

Although it can be established that the wording of this garudhamma is not very close to that of Pācittiya 94 of the Bhikkhuvinibbaṅga (Vin IV 343), a close correlation in content can nonetheless be perceived. At that point in the Bhikkhuvinibbaṅga it is stated that a nun is not permitted to sit in the presence of a monk without having asked his permission. The garudhamma examined here thus goes further than Pācittiya 94, as it appears that a nun who is seated must stand up when a monk approaches, in order to make the necessary gestures of respect. At the same time, Cvi VI.6.5 (Vin II 162) says that women — along with nine other groups of people — are not to be greeted by monks (mātugāmo avandiyo). Nuns, on the other hand, only have the Buddha’s permission to withhold, by means of a dānakaṁma, the respect otherwise due to a monk in exceptional cases (namely if a monk has behaved improperly towards an individual nun or to the Bhikkunī-saṁgha).

In this context, the further course of the narrative in the Cullavagga is interesting. There it is recounted that Mahāpajāpatī — again through the mediation of Ānanda — asks the Buddha to rescind garudhamma 1 and to permit the main criterion of greeting, with the appropriate actions, between monks and nuns to be seniority rather than sex. The Buddha, however, vehemently rejects this suggestion. “That is
impossible, Ānanda.... Ānanda, the adherents of other religious communities, whose dhamma is badly expounded, will not greet women with respect ..., how then can the Tathāgata prescribe a respectful greeting of women?" 26 Thereupon he lays down that a monk who shows respect to a nun commits a dukkata offence. 27 It emerges from this passage that the Buddha definitely regarded himself, and the Order he founded in the context of his wider social milieu and in particular in relation to the other religious communities existing at that time. 28 At the same time this garudhamma shows that at least some of the traditional ideas of the relations between the sexes were taken over into the life in the Buddhist Order, for in Asian countries the manner and sequence of greeting are important etiquette, reflecting the social structure. 29

Garudhamma 2 reads, “A nun shall not spend the rainy season in a residential district where there is no monk.” 30 Pācittiya 56 of the Bhikkhuniṇīvibhanga (Vin IV 313) is identical to garudhamma 2. The definition of abhikkhuko nāma āvāso in the word for word commentary on this Pācittiya rule also contains a reason for the prescription: na sakkā hoti ovādāya vā samvāsāya vā gantuṇā: “It is not possible to go for instruction or samvāsa.” 31 Samvāsa means “living together” and as a technical term in the Vinaya-pitaka “the community which carries out legal action together, recites together and has the same instruction.” 32 Consequently garudhamma 2 is closely connected to garudhamma 3 (see below). During the rainy season, which monks like nuns are to spend at a fixed place, the nuns will be under the control of monks; 33 however, at the same time they will be guaranteed male protection.

Garudhamma 3 states that twice a month a nun is to ask for two rulings from the Order of monks, one regarding the Uposatha day and the other about monks coming to offer instruction. 34 This garudhamma is in complete agreement with Pācittiya 59 of the Bhikkhuniṇīvibhanga (Vin IV 315). The nuns were obliged to ask the monks for information about the Uposatha ceremony as the exact date was determined by the monks. 35

31 Bavil 257, 258: aṭṭhānaṃ etoṃ Ānanda anavakāso .... ime hi nāma Ānanda aṭṭhānaṃ dakkhāta-dahmā nāma vābuddhāvaṇā ... na karissanti, kim aniga pana tathāgato anàyakāsa mātugāmassa abhivādanaṃ ... ti.

32A further example of this is the legend of the establishment of the Uposatha ceremony in Vin I 101-104 (Mv II.1.3). Here too the Buddha — at the suggestion of King Bimbisāra — takes his bearings from the adherents of other religious communities who meet at periodic intervals to make their teachings known.

33 Thus also Horner, 1930, p. 121.

34 Vin II 255: ma bhikkhunīyā bhikkhusaṃghato dve dhammā paccāsīmidadhā paṭissapaccitaṃ vassam vassatthām. – This garudhamma is placed third in the Bhikkhunī-Karmavācānā (see Schmidt 1993, 542/3).

31 Buddhaghosa (Sp. p. 938) explains this: samvāsāyā ti uposathapavāraṇa—puccanatthāya: “For samvāsa is: for the purpose of asking [the date of] Upasaha and Pavāraṇa.” For further information Buddhaghosa refers to the passage of the Pācittiya-rules in the Bhikkhuniṇīvibhanga which relates to the instruction of the nuns.

33 Thus in Vin III 28: samvāsa nāma ekacāmannaṃ ekudīse somaśikkhātā, eso samvāsato nāma, so tena saddhīn n’ athi, tena vuccati asamvāsato ti: “Living together means: common legal procedure, common recitation and the same instruction. One refers to as asamvāsato a person with whom this is not the case.”

34 Vin II 255: anuvaddhamasaṃ bhikkhuniyā bhikkhusaṃghato dve dhammā paccāsīmidadhā uposathapucchakaṃ ca ovāpadassanānānaṃ ca. In the Bhikkhuni-Karmavācānā this garudhamma only states that the nuns are to ask for the assignment of instruction every fortnight. The Uposatha ceremony is not mentioned there (bhikkuniyā Ānanda bhikkho śakāsād [sic] anuvaddhamāsaṃ avavādaṇūsāsani paryesitaṃ). Here this garudhamma is placed second (see Schmidt 1993, 541/2).

35 Barua, 1966, p. 77, assumes that the nuns were unable to set the date. However, Barua does not give proofs in support of this assertion. It may be concluded from the further course of the description in the Cullavagga that the recitation of the Pātimokka was completely taken over by the nuns shortly after the setting down of the garudhammas (CV X.6.1.3 = Vin II 259.260; see also Mv II.36.1 = Vin I 135). Thus the nuns exercised their own administration of justice within their Saṃgha (cf. also Pitzer-Reyl, 1984,
The instruction given to the nuns, the main subject of which was the *garudhammas*, changed over time. At first, the whole Bhikkhuni-samgha visited the monks in order to receive instruction. However, mistrust by “the people” soon led to only two or three nuns at a time being allowed to visit a monk, who had been designated by the Bhikkhusamgha as *bhikkhunovādaka* (“instructor of nuns”), for this purpose (Cv X 9.4 = Vin II 263f.). Monks were forbidden to enter the nuns’ area (*bhikkhunīpāsaya*) to give instruction. This may be concluded from Pācittiya 23 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga (Vin IV 56). During their instruction the monks questioned the nuns as to whether they had kept the *garudhammas*, checking that they had maintained the discipline.

*Garudhamma* 4 and Pācittiya 57 of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga (Vin IV 314) describe the *pavāraṇā* ceremony for nuns: “At the end of the rainy season a nun shall satisfy both orders in three respects: by that which is heard, seen and suspected.” According to the description in the *Cullavagga*, at first nuns did not perform this ceremony at all. Then they performed it only within their order and later, in a third move, the complete order of nuns performed the *pavāraṇā* in front of the order of monks. As this caused trouble in the Bhikkhusamgha, the Buddha decreed that a *pavāraṇā* was first to be completed in the nun’s order. On the following day a nun appointed as spokeswoman by the Bhikkhunīsamgha was to go with the Bhikkunīsamgha to the Bhikkhusamgha and was to carry out the *pavāraṇā* ceremony again (Cv X.19 = Vin II 275f.) in front of the Bhikkhusamgha. Before that, the nuns had asked each other to say whether they had seen, heard or merely suspected any offence. On the following day these proceedings were repeated in front of the order of monks. The nuns’ spokeswomen asked the monks to voice their objections. The monks did not ask for objections from the nuns. Thus the nuns were controlled by two authorities, the monks only by one.

*Garudhamma* 5 stipulates that nuns who offend against a *garudhamma* must perform 14 days of *mānatta* in front of both orders. This *garudhamma* is the only one of the eight *garudhammas* for which there is no equivalent, either literal or in content, in the Pācittiya section of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. However, *garudhammas* 2, 3, 4 and 7 correspond literally to Pācittiyas 56, 59, 57 and 52 of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. There is a contradiction here within the Vinaya regulations as the penalty for a Pācittiya offence does not include the imposition of *mānatta*, which is part of the penalty designated for a Saṃghādisesa offence.

It is also noticeable here that within the series of the eight rules (*garudhammas*), seven regulations delineate the characteristics of these offences, and one rule (*garudhamma* 5) merely defines the penalty. In the categories of offence in the Pātimokkha the penalty is defined either in each rule itself (Pārajīka), or at the end of the category of offence in question (Saṃghādisesa), or in the commentary to the rules.

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37Pitzer-Reyl, 1984, p. 27, sees here “a further instrument of control” over the nuns.
38Detailed regulations for this ceremony for nuns in Cv X.19 (Vin II 275f.); the regulations concerning this for monks are in Mv IV 1.14 (Vin I 159f.).
39Vin II 255: vassaṃ vuttoha bhikkhunīyā ubhatosanghe pakkhamānaṃ tathā pariśīlaṃ tathā pariśīlakāyaṃ vā. – Cf. Hinüber 1968, pp. 157f., section 147. This *garudhamma* is the only one which is in the same place in the Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācana (see Schmidt, 1993, 5a3/4/5) and in the Pāli tradition.
40Cf. BhiPr, p. 123.
41Vin II 255: *garudhammam ajjhāpamāṇaṃ bhikkhunīyā ubhatosanghe pakkhamānattam caritabbaṃ*. In the Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācana (see Schmidt, 1993) this *garudhamma* is placed seventh (5b4/5, 6a1).
42An offence against one of the Pācittiya rules requires a simple confession.
43Here in *garudhamma* 5 it is not a matter of *parivāsa*. Nuns, as opposed to monks, are not obliged to complete a *parivāsa* in the case of a Saṃghādisesa offence (cf. also BD IV, p. 192, n. 2).
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(Visagayya-Păcitiya, Sekhiya); or it may emerge from the designation of the offence itself (Păcitiya, Pătidesaniya). Further rules contain no penalty (Adhikāranā-Samatha), or the penalty is not pre-determined (Aniyata). This inconsistency within the Vinaya regulations can be judged as an indication that the compilation of the eight garudhammas recorded in the Cullavagga does not stem from an original conception, but is the result of a development. Accordingly it is possible that the compilation of the garudhammas which we have before us today is more recent than the rules corresponding to the garudhammas in the Păcitiya section of the Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga.

Garudhamma 6 contains the two most important procedural differences between nuns and monks in bestowing the Upasampadā: "After having obeyed the six precepts for two years, a Sikkhamāna must request Upasampadā from both orders." Only women are subject to the condition of a two year probationary period, and the condition that Upasampadā must be taken twice, with consent from both the nuns' and the monks' Orders. This garudhamma expresses the dependence of the Order of nuns on the Order of monks particularly clearly, as it guaranteed the influence of the monks on the admission of a woman to the Buddhist Order. The final decision whether to receive a woman into the Buddhist Order lay with the monks.

The six precepts to be obeyed by the Sikkhamāna during the probationary period correspond in content to four of the five sīla to be adhered to by lay members: to refrain from killing living creatures, from theft, from falsehood, and from the consumption of intoxicating drink. In addition the Sikkhamāna was not to be unchaste or to eat at the wrong time.

It is remarkable at this point that the Buddha, at the very moment of granting the establishment of a nuns' Order, uses a term (sikkhamāna) without giving any further explanation, although he could not possibly have used it before. The procedure by which a woman became a Sikkhamāna and the rules she was to obey during this time are described in the history of Păcitiya 63 in the Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga, but not at this point in the Cullavagga. So one may presume that this particular garudhamma stems from the time when the Buddhist Order of nuns was already a permanent part of the Buddhist community. It is possible that after the death of the Buddha there was a tendency within the Upasampadā. Now the Sāmaṇerī is given the title Sikkhamāna. If she breaks any of the six precepts during the probationary period, then (2) begins all over again. (3) After completion of the probationary period the Sikkhamāna asks the Order of nuns for Upasampadā. (4) After Upasampadā by the Order of nuns, she is taken by all the nuns to the Order of monks, where she (or rather another nun on her behalf) requests Upasampadā again. Only after the Order of the monks has given her Upasampadā, is she a fully-fledged member of the nuns' Order, a Bhikkhuṇī.

Admission to this probationary period is also formalised by a legal act (kamma), as may be concluded from the history of Păcitiya 63 of the Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga (Vin IV 318f.; cf. BhPr, p. 137).

The progress of a woman up to the attainment of nun's status is thus as follows: (1) A lay member (upāskā) becomes a Sāmaṇerī through the Pabbajjā. (2) As soon as a Sāmaṇerī is 18 years old, she may ask for permission from the Order of nuns, to begin the two year probationary period. The completion of the probationary period is the prerequisite for admission to the Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga. They are formulated as follows: pārājīvāti verāmanīṃ dve vassāni avitikkammasamādānaṃ samādiyāmi, adinnādānaṃ verāmanīṃ ... samādiyāmi, abrahmacarīyā verāmanī ... samādiyāmi, mūsārāda verāmanī ... samādiyāmi, surūneraveraṇa jīpamādāṭṭhaṃ verāmanī ... samādiyāmi, vikālabhοjojanam verāmanī ... samādiyāmi. Cf. also Horner, 1930, pp. 138ff.
the community of nuns to abolish this extra probationary period for nuns. At this, the more conservative members of the order may have felt compelled to give added weight to its institution by giving the ruling in the garudhammas the authority of the Buddha’s words.

Garudhammas 7 and 8 refer to personal relationships between monks and nuns.

Garudhama 7: “A nun is in no way allowed to insult or disparage a monk.”\(^{50}\) This garudhama corresponds to Pācittiya 52 of the Bhikkunīvīhāra (Vin IV 309). Here, according to Horner,\(^{51}\) reference is made to the conflict between the “group of six nuns” and Upāli, described in the history of Pācittiya 52 of the Bhikkunīvīhāra. Thus it is most probable that this garudhama is of a later date when the Order of nuns already existed. On the other hand, the sequence of the origin of individual parts of the Vinaya-piṭaka cannot be clearly determined. Thus, if Oldenberg is correct in his assumption that the histories of the individual rules in the Pātimokkha originated at roughly the same time as the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga, then Horner’s argument is invalid. The result of Horner’s reflections can nevertheless be viewed as correct, because insulting or disparaging behaviour toward monks by nuns would not have required an extra ruling in the Pātimokkha if it had already been regulated in the garudhammas, which according to tradition had been laid down previously. This is particularly unlikely given the fact that an offence against a garudhama entails a considerably harsher punishment (namely fourteen days māṇatta) than neglect of a Pācittiya rule.

Garudhama 8: “From today, for nuns, speaking\(^{52}\) to monks is forbidden, but for monks, speaking to nuns is not forbidden.”\(^{53}\) This garudhama corresponds in content partly to Pācittiya 95 of the Bhikkunīvīhāra (Vin IV 344): yā pāṇa bhikkhunī anokāsakaṭāṃ bhikkhum paṇhām puccheyya, pācittiyan ti (“A nun who puts a question to a monk who has not given her permission [to do so, commits a] Pācittiya [offence]”).

On the one hand, the garudhammas separate the nuns’ Order from the monks’ Order, as they are only valid for nuns; on the other hand they integrate the two Orders, in that they regulate the personal relationship of the nuns to the monks.\(^{54}\) They are thus of fundamental importance in the evaluation of the position of the Bhikkunīs in relation to that of the Bhikkhus. In the garudhammas “the dependence of the Bhikhunīsangha on the Bhikṣusangha is at times quite bluntly expressed”.\(^{55}\) All eight garudhammas express an aspect of the personal subordination of individual nuns to the monks.\(^{56}\) Hermann Oldenberg, in fact, sees the significance of the Bhikṣunīsangha within the early Buddhist community as defined through the garudhammas.\(^{57}\) He is perhaps not going too far when he says,\(^{58}\) “As the wife is under the guardianship of the husband, the mother under the guardianship of her sons, so the Order of nuns is under the guardianship of the Order of monks.” Although the Bhikṣunīsangha is in itself a completely

\(^{50}\)Vin II 255: na bhikkhuniya kenaci pariyāyena bhikkhu akkositabbo paribhāsītabbo. Horner, 1930, points out that there is no rule for monks which forbids them to insult nuns. Insulting a nun by a monk is only mentioned in Anguttara-nikāya V, pp. 70ff. (cf. Horner, 1930, p. 126 and note 2), where it is given as one of ten reasons for suspension from participation in the recitation of the Pātimokkha.

\(^{51}\)1930, p. 158.

\(^{52}\)Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, 1885, p. 324, n. 4, translate vacanapatha by

“admonishing”. Oldenberg, 1959, p. 345, gives reasons why vacanapatha here cannot be taken to mean that a nun is not allowed to speak to a monk at all. He maintains that what is meant is that she is not allowed to call a monk to account for an offence. As against that, the sequence of addressing one another was apparently dependent on social hierarchy and thus “speaking to” in the narrower sense may be intended here.

\(^{53}\)Vin II 255: ajaṭṭhe ovaṇṇa bhikkhunīnaṁ bhikkhūsu vacanapatho, anovaṇṇa bhikkhunīnaṁ bhikkhūsu vacanapatho.

\(^{54}\)See also BhPr, p. 118.

\(^{55}\)BhPr, p. 8. Cf. also Oldenberg, 1959, p. 345.

\(^{56}\)BhPr, p. 8.

\(^{57}\)Cf. Oldenberg, 1959, p. 347.

\(^{58}\)Oldenberg, 1959, p. 343.
independent institution, as a whole it is subordinate to the Bhikkhusamgha. Roth even suspects that the garudhammas were in fact aimed at discouraging women from entering the Order. This interpretation, however, does not seem appropriate to the historical situation. When the Buddha, contrary to contemporary custom, admits women into his Order, he is on new spiritual ground, which demands particular consideration for the views of the “people”.

When Mahāpajāpatī has accepted the eight garudhammas without hesitation, Ananda conveys this to the Buddha. It is only then that the Buddha expresses his misgivings about the admission of women into the Buddhist Order to Ananda, and establishes the consequent importance of keeping the eight garudhammas. Before this, the founder of the religion had explained the consequences of his assent to the establishment of an Order of nuns thus:

59 BhVin(Mā-L), p. xxxi.
60 Vin II 256 (Cv X.1.6) seyyathāpi ānanda puriso mahat taṭākassa paṭigacc’ eva ātim bandheyya yāvad eva udakassa anatikkamaniṇyā, evam eva kho ānanda mayā paṭigacc’ eva bhikkuninām attha garudhammā paññattā yāva jīvam anatikkamaniṇyā ti (“Ananda, just as a man, looking ahead, builds a dam for a great [water] reservoir, so that the water does not overflow, so have I, with foresight, laid down for nuns eight garudhamma which are to be kept for life”).
61 Vin II 256 (Cv X.1.6) sace ānanda nālabhisassā mātugāmo tathāgatappavade pabhajjan ciraṭṭhikam ānanda brahmacariyam abhavissa, vassasahassam saddhammo itthiyeyya, yato ca kho ānanda mātugāmo tathāgatappavade pabhajjito, na dāni ānanda brahmacariyam ciraṭṭhikam bhavissati, pañc’ eva dāni ānanda vassasatāni saddhammo ṭhassati. seyyathāpi ānanda yāni kānicī kulāni bahuthikāni appaṇapikāni tāni suṇṇapadm śivāni honti corehi kumbhathanakehi, evam eva kho ānanda yasmiṁ dhammavinayē labhati mātugāmo … pabhajjan na tam brahmacariyam ciraṭṭhikam hoti. seyyathāpi ānanda sampanne saḷikkhete seṭatiṭṭhā nāma rogajāti nipatati evan tam saḷikkhetaṁ na ciraṭṭhikam hoti, evam eva kho ānanda yasmiṁ dhammavinayē labhati mātugāmo … pabhajjan na tam brahmacariyam ciraṭṭhikam hoti. seyyathāpi ānanda sampanne uccukkhettē maṇjiṭṭhā nāma rogajāti nipatati evan tam uccukkhettāṁ na ciraṭṭhikam hoti, evam eva kho ānanda yasmiṁ dhammavinayē labhati mātugāmo … pabhajjan na tam brahmacariyam ciraṭṭhikam hoti.

62 The numbers given are surely not to be taken literally. Probably, in fact, long periods of time are meant (cf. Horner, 1930, p. 195, n. 3). No time is given in the Bhikkunī-Karmavācana (Schmidt, 1993), 442/3.
63 However, Bhikkunī-Karmavācana (Schmidt, 1993), 442/3.
foster mother led him to wish to protect her interests but also led him into conflict with his wider social milieu, as the decision to include women in the community of the Order was not usual at that time.

Beginning from the assumption that the events recorded in the Cullavagga did in fact take place in this or in a similar way, an attempt has been made to formulate a uniform assessment of women on the part of the Buddha.

B.C. Law takes the view that the rights which were granted to the nuns within the Samgha were not the result of the liberal attitude of the Buddha, but that on the contrary they had been hard won by the nuns themselves. He starts from the assumption that the Buddha himself was against the establishment of the Order of nuns, but had to bow to the persistent entreaties of the women. At the same time, Law believes it probable that the Buddhist Order of nuns was only established after the Buddha's death. This interpretation, however, is not supported by a critical examination of the texts.

In several more recent works on women in early Buddhism it has been unanimously established that in comparison to his contemporaries, the Buddha himself took a progressive attitude toward women. As the idea of the admission of women into ascetic communities was nothing new, the decision to establish an Order of nuns was not so exceptional. However, as Horner states, the Buddha gave a strong further impulse to a new development of his time. In addition, Horner points out that apart from this point in the Cullavagga there are no further proofs in the Vinaya that the Buddha was originally against the establishment of an Order of nuns. Another conjecture expressed in the literature suggests that the reservations of the Buddha regarding the establishment of a nuns' Order was due to his realistic appraisal of the situation of women living the homeless life. It was clear to him that women belonging to no household would be deprived of protection. Transferral of this protecting role to the monks would have meant that they would have had to take on within the Samgha the very role which they had just decided to give up by joining the Order to concentrate on their spiritual development. Although early Buddhism did not differentiate between men and women regarding the ability to achieve Enlightenment, in other areas Kajiyama concludes that social discrimination against women was predominant.

As has been shown, the passage examined here contains eloquent but partially contradictory information regarding the position of women in early Buddhism. On the one hand, the acknowledgement that women, like men, are able to attain Enlightenment illustrates that the Buddha did not discriminate between the sexes in this respect. Such a specific assessment is fundamental for a definition of the position of women within a community in which the declared goal of each member is the attainment of Enlightenment (escape from the cycle of rebirth). In addition, the result of the events described in the first section of Chapter Ten of the Cullavagga, that is, the establishment of the nuns' Order by the Buddha, establishes that the founder of the religion was prepared to take into account the concept of equality of the sexes provided for in Buddhism, documented here by acknowledgement of the full ability of women to attain Enlightenment.

On the other hand, the garudhammas make it clear that a nun is

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64Cf. Law, 1927, p. 66.
66Thus Horner, 1930; Kabilsingh, 1984; Pitzer-Reyl, 1984; and Jordt, 1988, pp. 31-39.
67There were a great many Jain nuns living in Vesālī, where the events leading to the admission of women into the Buddhist Order took place, according to Horner, 1930, p. 108. This statement, however, she only substantiates through one passage, Jātaka 536 (cf. Horner, 1930, p. 108, n. 5). On parallels in the traditions regarding the establishment of Orders of Jain and Buddhist nuns cf. Horner, 1930, p. 102.
71Cf. Kajiyama, p. 70 and Jordt, 1988, p. 34.
always below a monk in social rank. In fact, these particular rules for nuns also ensure that the nuns are guaranteed male protection and knowledgeable instruction. Nevertheless, this is outweighed by the aspect of the control exercised by the monks. The nuns were usually subject to two authorities, the monks to only one, and the final judgement always rested with the monks. Although the Bhikkhuniṣaṃgha was conceived as a completely independent institution in itself, as a whole, nevertheless, it was subordinate to the Bhikkhusaṃgha. The traditional ideas of the relations between the sexes were thus taken over into the life of the Buddhist Order.

It must be added here that the Buddha was probably not able to free himself entirely from the idea of woman as temptress and so did not consent unreservedly to the establishment of a nuns' Order. According to Pitzer-Reyl, an assessment of the position of women in early Buddhism is impossible without taking account of the rule of celibacy, which is fundamental to the Buddhist community (Pārājika 1 of the Bhikkhuviṁbaṅga). As Buddhism is a religion with basically ascetic characteristics, it partly took over from Brahmanism the traditional view that identified woman with a sexuality hostile to Enlightenment (being a distraction from the religious goal). The Buddha evidently saw himself and the Order he founded in the context of his wider social milieu and in particular within the context of the other religious communities which originated at that time. The Buddhist Order was founded in a time of radical spiritual change and Buddhism was but one of many newly established ascetic religious communities. Thus, while it was possible for the Buddha to take the risk of disseminating his new ideas, he must also have been aware that the new would only last if it first gained the acceptance of his contemporaries.

An added complication was that the Buddhist Order had been conceived as dependent on the good will of a lay community and was thus in competition with the other religious communities established at the time. Against this background, the hesitation of the Buddha over the establishment of an Order of nuns is also understandable. On the one hand, he wanted to take into account the concept of equality provided for in Buddhism, and in addition to that there was probably the particular obligation he felt towards his (foster) mother, yet on the other hand, the demands of the wider social milieu could not be ignored. Many passages in the Vinaya indicate that the Buddha was an innovator as well as being a conservative person.

According to tradition, a number of the rules of the Suttavibhaṅga were only drawn up because "the people" complained about the behaviour of the monks or nuns. These complaints are, however, often described as based on misunderstandings and misinterpretations on the part of the laity. Nevertheless the Buddha always reacted by laying down a rule, thus complying with the wishes of "the people". This conformism of the Buddha, documented in the Vinaya, confirms the conjecture that it was his thinking with regard to the understanding of the laity members which was the cause of his hesitation as well as for the subordination of the nuns to the monks. It is possible that he was afraid that if he accorded equal status to women within his Order, it would cost him many members and thus endanger the very survival of the Buddhist Order. Bearing in mind that Buddhism was only one among many contemporary ascetic groups this is more than probable. Nevertheless, while interpreting the histories of the Pāṭimokkha rules, it must be borne in mind that they are probably more recent than the corresponding rules themselves. Often the whole history only represents a "schematic setting for the content of the formula". This leads to the conjecture that the histories of the individual rules of the Pāṭimokkha contained in the Suttavibhaṅga arose for the most part from the need of

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74 Thus Pārājika 2 and Saṃghādisesa 7 of the Bhikkhuviṁbaṅga, Saṃghādisesa 1, Nissagīya-Pācittiya 1, 11, and 12 of the Bhikkhuviṁbaṅga. Cf. also Hecker, 1977, p. 95.
75 BhiPr. p. 185.
the monks and nuns to have a historical basis for each rule.\textsuperscript{76}

The passage examined here contains clear indications that the legend of the establishment of the Order of nuns did not originate entirely from events which actually took place. In view of the chronological succession of the events described, the text seems much more likely to have been extended gradually, reflecting the concerns of various “editors”. According to Horner, it was the men who handed down the texts. It was therefore quite possible that they neglected to transmit some of the passages which referred to women. Only events which were so unusual that they could not be omitted were handed down. She explains,\textsuperscript{77} “It should be remembered too, that monks edited the sayings attributed to Gotama and they would naturally try to minimise the importance which he gave to women.” Possibly the legend recounted in this section of the Cullavagga may be seen as a reflection of such a development. Thus it is also uncertain whether the Buddha himself demanded so complete a subordination of nuns to monks as is laid down in the eight garudhammas.

There was a time lapse between the death of the Buddha\textsuperscript{78} and the final codification of the Vinaya. As the Buddha left his community without a spiritual leader, many problems arose for the then leaderless Sangha. Often the rules for behaviour laid down by the Buddha were inadequate to meet new cases of conflict. Therefore new rules had to be drawn up. These rules were also attributed to the Buddha, the sole “lawmaker” in his lifetime,\textsuperscript{79} in order to prevent any doubt as to their binding character. It is probable that during this period, elements of a patriarchal system gained greater acceptance, altering the concept of equality originally provided for in Buddhism.

\textsuperscript{76}Cf. BhiPr, p. 185. Dieter Schlingloff, 1964, p. 538. takes this view: “In one story or another memories of actual incidents in the community may have been reflected. However, most of the stories are pure invention in order to give reasons for the regulations.”

\textsuperscript{77}Horner, 1930, p. 105.

\textsuperscript{78}Cf. Bechert, 1991.

\textsuperscript{79}Hecker, 1977, p. 90.

It is possible that the compilation of the garudhammas to hand constitutes a later insertion into the Vinaya, which is more recent than the rules corresponding to the garudhammas in the Pācittiya section of the Bhikkhuniśīhābhaṅga. Pointers toward this are the inconsistency in the sequence of garudhammas (see garudhamma 5 in particular); the unsystematic order of the eight garudhammas in the Cullavagga; the difference in the sequence of garudhammas in the traditions of other Buddhist schools,\textsuperscript{80} as well as the parallels both literal and in content in the Pācittiya section of the Bhikkhuniśīhābhaṅga. It is therefore possible that the compilation of the eight garudhammas is not based on an original conception but is the product of a process of development. It may be assumed that some of the garudhammas examined here stem from the time when the Buddhist Order of nuns was already a fixed component of the Buddhist community. Possibly after the death of the Buddha there was a tendency within the nuns’ community to abolish the additional rules for nuns, or at the least, to mitigate them, whereupon conservative members of the Order may have felt compelled to give them added weight by establishing them as the garudhammas.

\textbf{ABBREVIATIONS}


\textbf{BhiPr} Ernst Waldschmidt, Bruchstücke des Bhikṣunci-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāsāvīdānas, Leipzig 1926 (Kleiner Sanskrit-Texte, 3).


\textbf{Cv} Cullavagga.

\textbf{Mv} Mahāvagga.

\textsuperscript{80}A further indication is also the direct link of the garudhammas with the Bhikkhiṇīvīhāranga in the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins. Roth explains (BhiVin(Mā-L), p. xxx), “This throws a clear light upon the tendency which has been observed in regard to the arrangement and the composition of our Bhi-Vin(Mā-L), the tendency being to supply a complete set of the Bhikṣuni-Vinaya as a whole which is consistent in itself.”
The Legend of the Establishment of the Buddhist Order of Nuns


**ADDITIONAL PUBLICATIONS**


Tuvaṭṭati/tuvaṭṭeti Again

One of the rare desī-words in Pāli, tuvaṭṭati,1 is discussed by W.B. Bollée in his article “Notes on Middle Indo-Aryan Vocabulary II”.2 His article follows one by Ludwig Alsdorf,3 who discovered this word in the Aśoka edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Previously, the words of the relevant sentence (P/Q) e kilamte siyāti4 te<n> ugaça samcalitaviye tuvaṭṭitaviye vā at Dhauli had been segmented as tu vaṭṭitaviye. However, as L. Alsdorf rightly pointed out, tu (“but”) is used only in the Gīnār version, while all other versions have cu. This, however, raises a semantic problem concerning the newly discovered Aśoka word tuvaṭṭitaviye, which Alsdorf discussed at some length, using the evidence found in Jain texts. To this Bollée added the relevant Theravāda references.

In both Buddhist and Jain literature, tuvaṭṭati/tuvaṭṭeti and tuvaṭṭai/tuvaṭṭei are usually and correctly assumed to mean “to lie down”. There is no etymology, however, to support this. The traditional derivation as given by Jain commentators is a strange, even desperate, attempt to Sanskritize this word as tvagvartayati (“das drollige Sanskrit-Äquivalent”),5 which seems to be due to purely phonetic considerations (“Lauteschieberei”), but of course, once created, the word almost necessarily developed a semantic life of its own. The second part of the compound must have invited commentators to assume a meaning such as “lying down [and] rolling from one side to the other”.

Unfortunately, the verb tuvaṭṭitaviye stands next to sancaḷitaviye in the Aśoka inscriptions. Although Alsdorf also clearly saw that the Jain parallels are not sufficient to establish the exact meaning of tuvaṭṭitaviye

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1See von Hinüber, 2001, § 72.
3Alsdorf, 1968.
4On siyāti being one word, see von Hinüber, 2001, § 437.
5Alsdorf, 1968, p. 18 = 478.
meaning of the word in Aśokan inscriptions. He therefore turns to the Theravādins for help.

The word occurs in Vinaya contexts for monks and for nuns. The following is said with reference to monks: ... na ekamaṇcē tuvaṭṭitabbaṁ na ekatharaṇā tuvaṭṭitabbaṁ ... yo tuvaṭṭeyya, āpatti dukkaṭaṁ. (“one should not lie down on one bed, one should not lie down under one cover ... whoever lies down [commits] a dukkaṭa offence”).

This rule was adapted for nuns and incorporated into the Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha as Pācītīya XXXI, yā pana bhikkhunīyo deve ekamaṇcē tuvaṭṭeyyum, pācītīyam (“whatever two nuns lie down on one bed [commit] a Pācītīya offence”). The commentary in the Sutta-vibhaṅga explains this as ekāya nipannāya aparā nipajjati (“after one has lain down, another lies down”).

As Bollée points out, this gives a very precise meaning for tuvaṭṭati in a relatively early text. Although it is difficult to date older Pāli literature with any precision, the composition of the Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha can hardly be later than Aśoka, thus pointing to rather early usage for the verb. Later usages in Pāli, such as sayane 'han tuvaṭṭāmi, continue the old meaning.

This would stand in the way of Tieken’s understanding tuvaṭṭati as any sort of “bodily activity”. Therefore, he has to back up his argument with “the accusation made by outsiders with regard to the laxity of the monks and nuns. On the basis of this passage it may be argued that tuvaṭṭa—‘to show excessive activity’ has actually found its way into the canon as a colloquial expression for having sex.” This argument, however, is categorically ruled out by the Vinaya. For, as explained in extenso et ad nauseam in the commentary on Pārājika I, having sex with anybody or anything results in immediate expulsion from the

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7Tieken. 1996.
8Tieken. 1996. p. 17.
9It seems to have escaped the attention of scholars that the meaning of tuvaṭṭāti is also confirmed indirectly by the four iriyāpātha of the Buddhists: gamana, ṭhāna, nisaja, sēyya (CPD s.v. iriyāpātha 2., e.g., S V 78,3).
order. Here, the infraction is only a dukkāta offence for monks, corresponding as usual to a pācittiya for nuns, so that we must follow the commentary in the Suttavibhaṅga, which takes tuvaṭṭeyya to mean nipajjāti. Moreover, Pācittiya XXXI for nuns also corresponds to Pācittiya VI for monks: yo pana bhikkhu mātugāmena sahaseyyam kappeyya, pācittiyaṁ (“Whatever monk should share a bed with a woman [commits] a Pācittiya”). This underlines the fact, if it is necessary to do so, that simply lying down is, as expected, an offence.

Consequently, there is no way to explain away the meaning “to lie down” for tuvaṭṭati. This obviously leaves us with a problem in the Aśokan inscriptions. There does not seem to be, however, much room or even much need to deviate from the usual meaning of tuvaṭṭati, which is amply supported by the texts. It should be kept in mind that it was only because the verbs samcalitaviye and etaviye stood next to tuvaṭṭataviye that Alsdorf was led to assume a meaning involving movement for tuvaṭṭataviye after a rather superficial look at the Jain evidence. The closer examinations made by both Bollée and Tieken show that the fairly rich evidence in Jain and Buddhist literature should not and cannot be overruled by one single passage in an inscription that is still poorly understood despite the effort made and the progress achieved by Alsdorf. He even had to reckon, probably correctly, with mistakes by the engraver in this very passage.

What then is said in the inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugāda in the relevant sentence? It clearly begins with e kilante sivāti “who is exhausted ...”. Then it seems to recommend that this exhausted official should do three things described by three participia necessitatīs, namely samcalitaviye – tuvaṭṭataviye – etaviye. Contrary to the discussion so far, only tuvaṭṭataviye is clear and comprehensible: An exhausted official was simply given the choice of doing what is quite natural, to take some rest. In a similar situation, even the Buddha said shortly before his death: kilanto ’smi Cundaka nipajjissāmi (“I am exhausted, Cundaka, I want to lie down”). The exact connotation of sam-cal- and sam-car- is not known. In Sanskrit they mean respectively, “to quiver, to move away” and “to meet, to approach, to practise”. Nor is the exact connotation of etaviye known. For *etabba is unattested in canonical Pāli texts, and etavya seems to be rare in Sanskrit. In both languages it would be usual to use gantavya gantabba. Thus research somehow seems to have moved in the wrong direction, investigating the obvious and avoiding the obscure.

One thing, however, is made perfectly clear from the way this problem was approached. It is neither wise nor sound methodology to start from an assumed meaning in a single passage in an epigraphic text that is moreover fairly obscure, then try to explain (if not distort) the semantics of words that are well attested in literature.

O. v. Hinüber

WORKS CITED


16 Vin IV 19.31** foll.
17 D II 134.26.
18 See for example Monier-Williams, 1899, s.vv.
Playing with Fire: The *pratītyasamutpāda* from the Perspective of Vedic Thought

The present paper is an attempt to look at the law of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) from the perspective of earlier Vedic thought, rather than that of the Buddhist texts and tradition. This perspective reveals several striking similarities between the Buddha’s chain and the Vedic ideas of creation.

These similarities are reflected in the general structure of both processes and, in many instances, in particular notions denoting their stages. I am, nevertheless, well aware that in their specific contexts the Vedic creation and the Buddha’s *pratītyasamutpāda* displayed a whole gamut of distinct meanings. I am also aware of the fundamental difference between these two processes: the former (the process of the creation of the world) is regarded as desirable; the latter, which leads to suffering, is not.

In my analysis I shall work with the classical formulation of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, consisting of twelve links. I am aware of the existence of different formulations in the Pāli Canon,¹ but taking all of them into consideration goes beyond the scope of this paper and needs a closer collaboration between Vedic and Buddhist scholars.

I am going to show the most important Vedic equivalents of each link and the main lines along which the Buddha’s reasoning may have gone. Since I am not a Buddhologist, I do not attempt to analyze here all the meanings which have been ascribed to these links in Buddhism; I restrict myself to their principal and most general meanings.

I would also like to stress that I am aware that the interpretation of the *pratītyasamutpāda* as a polemic against the Vedic cosmogony tackles only one aspect of this huge problem; as the Buddha said to Ānanda: “This conditioned origination is profound and it appears pro-

¹See Mejor 1994, pp. 136–49.
found (gabhīro cāyam ānanda paṭiccasamuttādo gabhīrāvabhāso ca). The investigation of all the other questions connected with the understanding of the Buddha’s chain remains within the scope of Buddhology.

**Generalities**

On the most general level, the Vedic cosmogony and the pratītya-samutpāda describe the creation of the conditions for subject-object cognition, the process of this cognition, and its nature, which, in both descriptions, is represented by the image of fire.

Inspired by Prof. Richard Gombrich’s investigation, I am inclined to believe that this similarity is neither accidental, nor caused by the Buddha’s inability to free himself from the mental paradigms of his culture. I would rather argue that he formulated the pratītyasamutpāda as a polemic against Vedic thought. Through the identification of the creative process with the process that leads only to suffering, he rejected the Brāhmaṇic way of thinking in a truly spectacular way.

In Vedic cosmogony, the cognitive process is undertaken by the self-cognizing Absolute. The reflexive character of this process is expressed by the word ātman, which denotes both the Absolute itself, the conveyor of the cosmogonic process, and the forms assumed by the Absolute in this process: the world, the human being, the inner Self, and finally the fire altar, which expresses those manifestations on the ritual level. The negation of the ātman’s existence postulated in the Buddha’s doctrine of anattā leads to the conclusion that the whole Vedic cosmogony is based on a false assumption and its acceptance inevitably leads only to suffering.

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5This may have been done not by the Buddha personally, but by the authors who composed the Pāli Canon. In such a case, they would be the ones who disputed with the Veda. Who disputed is less important here than the fact that there was such a dispute.

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7S I 62: api khvāham āvuso imasmīnīva vyāmamatte kaśvāre saññimhi samanake lokān ca paññāpemi lokasamudayaṁ ca lokanirodham ca lokanirodhamāminī ca paṭipadan-ti.
transformations of Agni, fire. The famous Näsadiya (RV 10.129) assembles the Rgvedic cosmogonic ideas into a general model and introduces a new kind of description which uses not only metaphors but also abstract terminology.

The model of creation proposed by the Näsadiya constitutes an important starting point for later philosophic speculations. The essentials of the process change neither in ŚB nor in the oldest Upaniṣads. The differences lie mainly its description. In early ŚB, the cognitive character of the cosmogony is expressed in metaphors, the metaphor of eating food and of the sexual act; in later ŚB and the early Upaniṣads, descriptions using abstract terminology appear more and more frequently, although metaphors are also in use.

It goes beyond the scope of this paper to analyze all the reasons for this continuity in cosmogonic conceptions, but two of them seem to be evident. The first is the Vedic assumption about the basic character of the Rgveda: later literature constitutes its commentary, which has to explain the details of Rgvedic thought rather than to formulate new metaphysical postulates. The second is the possible repetition, under the guidance of a spiritual teacher, of the mystic experience of Rgvedic poets (kavi ṣṭhir), during which the riddle of the world’s creation and existence was solved.

It is possible to find the references to various Vedic texts (RV, ŚB, BU, AU, TU and CU) in the pratītyasamutpāda. It seems that the Buddha chose those cosmogonic descriptions which met two conditions: first, they explicitly express the cosmogony as transformations of the ātman; second, they preserve their cognitive meaning, even if they are taken out of the Vedic context.

At the same time, it seems that the Buddha (perhaps for polemical purposes) aimed greatly to simplify the Vedic ideas: the most important result of this is that he let go the cyclical character of the process: the pratītyasamutpāda is a simple, linear process. And finally, in formulating the notions which denote the successive links of the chain, he used abstract terminology instead of metaphors (which he made much use of in his own explanations).

We could say then, a bit paradoxically, that in this chain the Buddha extracted the essence of Vedic cosmogony and expressed it in explicit language.

1. avidyā

The actual term avidyā does not appear in Vedic cosmogony. But the ability to cognize appears in it. Firstly, the pre-creative state of reality is identified with the state of being unknowable: the Rgvedic Näsadiya describes it as the state in which neither sāt nor āsāt exists. These notions have both ontological and epistemological meaning, so their negation means not only that neither being nor non-being exists in the pre-creative state but also that it is impossible to assert whether anything exists or does not exist. It is a state of total inexpressibility. Using the Buddha’s term, one could call it pre-creative avidyā.

Continuing the description of the creation, the Näsadiya describes the manifestation of the creative power of the Absolute, called tād ēkam, and then describes the appearance of darkness hidden by itself (tāma asīt tāmasā gūḍhām). In the Rgveda, darkness symbolizes the states which are characteristic for night, when no activity physical or mental takes place; cognition begins with the vārṇyaṁ bhārgas of Savitṛ arousing thoughts (RV 3.62.10). The image of darkness which appears after the image of the creative manifestation should be

...āyatanaṁ.

12The only exception is the possible repetition of avidyā in trṣṇā.
13See first of all the concepts trṣṇā and upādāna instead of the image of Agni the fire.
interpreted as expressing the impossibility of cognition.

This inability to cognize is different from the pre-creative one. It is the state in which not every kind of cognition is impossible but only the subject-object one. The two spheres, the hiding and the hidden, mark the future subject-object division. But at this stage of creation both spheres are dark, so still identical, and cognition cannot be performed. Using the Buddha’s term, one could call it creative avidyā.

The later cosmogonic texts usually do not describe the pre-creative state of unknowableness, but very often depict the second, creative inability to cognize, understanding it as the impossibility of subject-object cognition exactly as inferred from the Nāsadīya description. The most explicit text is BU 1.4.: here the Creator (ātman) in the form of man (puruṣavidha) realizes his own singularity: he looks around and he does not see anything else but himself, which indicates not only that there existed nothing aside from himself, but also that he was not able to cognize anything other than himself.

The idea of the inability to cognize, the result of the absence of anything other than the Creator, is also expressed in the suggestive metaphors of Agni the fire, who because of hunger attacks his Creator (ŚB 2.2.4.1–4), and of Death, identified with hunger, who looks for food (BU 1.2.1).

\[2. \text{ sāṃskāra}\]

When the Creator asserts the absence of anything other than himself and his inability to cognize, the wish or desire for the presence of “a second” appears in him. In BU 1.2.1 this wish is expressed in the formula ātmaneṣu sūryaḥ, because “the second” is identical with the Creator; in other words, “the second” is his own ātman.16

This cosmogonic Creator’s wish to create the ātman is sometimes expressed in ŚB by the subjunctive form of the verb sam ākṛt (with or without abhi). Here, Prajāpati wants to build himself (ātmānem) in the form of a fire altar, which is his body and the cosmos at the same time. He exudes from himself his eating (subjective) and eaten (objective) parts. Then, he devours food with his eating part. Thus, Prajāpati builds himself up (ātmānam abhisāṃskaroti), which is a natural consequence of eating.17

For instance, in ŚB 6.2.1 Prajāpati, wishing to find his son Agni hidden in the five sacrificial animals, says: “They are Agni. I want to make them myself” (ŚB 6.2.1.5: ime vā agnir imān evātmānam abhiśāṃskaravi).18 He kills the animals, cuts off their heads, puts them on (upa ādhā), and throws the torsos into the water. Then he looks for the torsos, calling them himself (ātman, ŚB 6.2.1.8: yan imam ātmānam apsu prāpiplavāṃ tam anvīcchāni). He takes water and earth which was in the contact with the torsos of the animals and builds the bricks. Then he thinks: “If I create my true self in this way, I will become a mortal carcass, with the evil unremoved” (ŚB 6.2.1.9: yadi vā idam ittham eva sātmānam abhiśāṃskariṣye martyah kuṇa-pōnapahatapāmā

14Its description appears in the descriptions of liberation, see for example BU 4.3.23–32.

15 BU 1.4.1: ātmaivedam aggra āśīt puruṣavidhah | so 'nukṣyaṁ nāvyad ātmāno 'paśvā; see also AU 1.1: ātmā vā ēdam eka evāgra āśīn nāvyat kimcena miṣāt. It seems justified to associate the idea of winking expressed by the root āmīśa with the idea of being alive and awake, which in its turn is associated with the possibility of cognition. It also seems probable that the idea of being a not-cognizing ātman may constitute one of the meanings of avidyā, which is the source of all the successive events inevitably leading to entanglement in the empiric world. This inevitability is also present in the Vedic cosmogony: once ātman manifested his inability to cognize, the rest of the creative process became a constant attempt to fill the epistemic and ontological gap which appeared in the perfect and full Absolute.

16What follows is the description of the creation and formation of the ātman, which is, first of all, the cosmos (BU 1.2, BU 1.4, AU), but also the human being, and also the innermost self of the cosmos and the human being (AU). The fact that the presence of “the second” is the necessary condition for subject-object cognition is often stated in BU in its descriptions of liberation. e.g. 4.2.14. 4.3.23–32.

17See ŚB 7.1.2, 10.4.2 and 6.2.1 analysed below.

bhavisyāmi). He bakes the bricks in the fire and out of the torsos of the animals he builds the altar; the heads he puts under the altar. Thus he reunites the heads of the animals with the torsos in the fire altar which is himself, his own ātman, and becomes the fire (ŚB 6.2.1.12: tato vai prajāpatir agnir abhavat).

The creation of the second self described in the myth is the creation of the self in the process of eating. Agni’s disappearance from Prajāpati’s range of view corresponds to the images of the internal void felt by Prajāpati, attested in many places in ŚB, which should be identified with hunger. Prajāpati’s desire to find Agni is in fact the desire to eat him. ŚB 6.2.1.15 identifies five animal forms of Agni with food (ānana). The animals are prepared before eating: they are killed and their heads are separated from their torsos. The image of putting on (upā ydhā) the heads refers to the act of eating them, through which Prajāpati puts the heads inside himself. It is not necessary to cook them because they are of fiery nature: they have mouths identified in the Veda with fire. The eating of the fiery heads allows Prajāpati himself to obtain the mouth enabling him to eat food. We may conclude that the image of the cooking of the torsos in the fire symbolizes not only the act of cooking food before it is eaten — lest it be eaten raw, which may cause death — but also the very act of eating food and digesting it in the internal fire of the Creator. Thus, Prajāpati, having eaten the fiery animals, becomes the fire; he confirms his identity with the fire and at the same time he regains himself in his ātman.

It is important to see the similarity between ŚB’s description and the Upaniṣadic descriptions presented above: the image of Agni’s disappearance, and so of his absence, corresponds to the image in which the ātman realizes his singularity, so the absence of any object and the impossibility of its cognition. So it appears that the beginnings of the cosmogony in the Veda could be described in the terms of the pratītyasamutpāda: saṃskāra arises from avidyā.

3. vijñāna

The term vijñāna appears in TU 2 in a significant context. TU 2 describes five ātmans called “buckets” (kosā): one made of food and liquid (annarasamaya), one made of breath (prāṇamaya), one made of the mind (manomaya), one made of consciousness (viṣṇumaya), and one made of bliss (ānandamaya). What the TU is here presenting is the liberating process during which a human being cognizes and realizes ever deeper layers of himself: all the ātmans have the form of man (puruṣavidha) — they have the head, the sides/wings, the feet/tail, and the torso. This means that these ātmans are also the fire altar and the cosmos, exactly like Prajāpati’s ātman in ŚB. They also have the same form of man as the ātman (Creator) from BU 1.4.

If we reverse the process described in TU (which is justified on Vedic grounds), we get the image of the creation of the successive

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19 E.g. 3.9.1.1, 10.4.2.2 where Prajāpati feels empty (rītirvā tiva mene), 7.1.2.1 where the food is flowing out from Prajāpati when he is relaxed.
20 In Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa 21.2.1 (in Levi 1898, p. 25) the creatures run away from Prajāpati fearing that he will eat them.
21 See for example ŚB 7.1.2.4.

22 It is worth noticing that in the very image of hunger the ideas of avidyā and of saṃskāra are present: hunger is both the lack of food and the desire to have it.
23 This identification directs us to the five layers of the fire altar and to the sacrificer’s journey along these layers up to heaven, which is performed during the sacrifice. The above description of TU would probably be the first description of liberating activity understood as the act of climbing up, not only within the cosmos, but also within one’s own body up to the head (which is identified with heaven), since the successively realized kosās are inside the human being.
24 Also the description of the four stages of ātman (see CU 8.7–12) has this twofold meaning of the liberating and the creative process. In later thought (smṛti), the pralaya’s order clearly reverses the order of creation. It is also worth noting that there is a great similarity between the order in which the five ātmans are realized and the stages of yoga in its later formulation: āsana means bodily practice (corresponding to the ātman annarasamaya), prāṇavāma is breath practice (ātman prāṇamaya), nirodha is the cessation of mental perception (ātman manomaya) and of the buddhi’s activity (ātman manomaya).
atmans, that is, of the successive forms of oneself having head, sides/wings, feet/tail, and torso. Now the atman anandamaya symbolizes the pre-creative state, the atman vijnanamaya symbolizes the realization of the highest reality (atman anandamaya). The roots of classical yogic ideas seem to be here.

25See SB 10.4.2.26, where Prajapati, having created three worlds identified with the womb and with the ukha, pours himself into them — made of metres, of hymns, of breaths, and of gods — identified with semen (sa eṣu triṣu lokesākhāyām | yonaum reto bhātam | ātmānam asicēc | chandmayamaṃ stoma-mayaṃ prāṇamayaṃ devatāmayaṃ). The three worlds which are the womb and the ukha, should be identified with the eater (the ukha as the belly, that is, something which eats, appears in SB 7.5.1.38; in BU 1.4.6 the womb and the mouth and the internal part of hands are identified as those parts of atman which are hairless). The Prajapati’s atman — made of metres, made of hymns, made of breaths, made of gods — is the eaten food. And this very act results in creating the new atman of Prajapati, which is expressed in forms of the root sam ikr: “In the course of a half-moon the first body (atman) was made up, in a further [half-moon] the next [body — atman], in a further one the next — in a year he is made up whole and complete” (translation in Eggeling 1989, Vol. IV, p. 354, tasyārdhamāse prathama ātmā samaskriyata dāvīyasi paro dāvīyasi parah samvāsara eva sarvah kritisah samaskriyata). The process of creating a new atman for Prajapati is identified with the building of the fire altar (SB 10.4.2.27); we may presume that his three atmans enumerated above are the three citis of the altar corresponding to the earth, the antariksa, and the sky. One should remember, however, that in the fire altar we have five citis (there are two more: one between the citi corresponding to the earth and that to the antariksa and one between the citi corresponding to the antariksa and that to the sky).

26This seems to contradict the claim made above that the pre-creative state is the state of unknowableness. There are, however, many descriptions in the Upanisads which identify this state with the state in which cognition is impossible (e.g. BU 4.3.23–32, 4.2.14). As explained there, the impossibility of cognition results from the Absolute’s singularity. The idea of this singularity is also present in the notion of ānanda, which is also used to denote the bliss gained in the sexual act, during which the unity of the subject and the object is realized (as far as is possible), and this unity may be interpreted in Vedic thought as the state of singularity of the subject: according to BU 1.4.3, when the atman wants to create his “second self” he splits himself into husband and wife and this division is the very creation of “the second”.

the Creator’s first manifestation, that of his consciousness; the atman manomaya is the appearance of thought and of desire for a second self; the appearance of the atman prāṇamaya and annaramaya is the creation of the second self which is alive and has a body thanks to eating and drinking.

The above description of the cosmogony generally agrees with the cosmogonic descriptions of SB, in which Prajapati, having manifested himself (atman vijnanamaya), wants to create his second self (atman manomaya), and then transforms himself into the eater and the food. Vedic thought identifies the prāṇa with fire, which is the eater, while anna and rasa obviously play the role of food.

BU 4.4.5 supports the cosmogonic interpretation of the reversed process described in TU 2. This lesson gives important evidence for the understanding of vijnana in Buddhism as the transmigrating element, the analysis of which goes beyond the scope of this article. The term vijnanamaya appears here after the description of the dead and (at the same time) liberated atman and is used exactly in the same order as in TU: the atman brahman is made of consciousness, made of mind, made of breath, made of eye, made of ear, made of earth, made of water, made of space. Finally, it appears that the atman is made of the whole cosmos, so we should presume that BU 4.4.5 describes the return of the atman to the world after his death/liberation and his repeated cosmogenesis, in which the atman brahman mentioned in the beginning corresponds with the atman anandamaya in TU.

27Vijnana is the highest cognitive power in the human being, e.g. BU 2.4.5: ātmā vā are draṣṭavyāḥ śrotavayo mantavyo nidehyāṣṭavayo maîtreṇyāḥ ātmān vā are darśanena śravaṇena matyā vijnānenedam sarvam vidītām.

28See note 57.

29sa vā avam ātmā brahma vijnānāmayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaḥ caścaryamayaḥ śrotamayaḥ prāṇavivaha āpmayaḥ vijñānavyāmayaḥ ikṣaṃavaḥ tejamayaḥ karāmayaḥ kāmamayaḥ krodhamayaḥ krodhamayaḥ dharmamayaḥ dharmamayaḥ sarvamayaḥ | tad yad etad idammayo domaya itīl.

30See also BU 4.4.22: atman vijnanamaya in the space of the heart, being
Assuming that the *vijñāna* link corresponds to this stage of the Vedic cosmogony in which the Creator manifests his consciousness, it is important to notice that in the Brāhmaṇic ideas of creation the manifestation of the consciousness is cyclically repeated. The creation of the world is the process of the ātman’s realization of his inability to cognize, of his wish to cognize himself, and of his cognitive power. This power once again displays its inability to cognize, its wish to cognize, and its cognitive act, and so forth. In other words, the process is the constant manifestation of the ātman as the object of cognition, as the will to cognize the object, and as the subject performing the cognition.

We may then assume that the *avidyā* link refers to all the states of ignorance (objective states) which manifest themselves in the cosmogony. So the *samskāra* link refers to all the acts of the creative will to dispel ignorance, and the *vijñāna* link refers to all the subjective manifestations which realize this will. This means that the sequence *avidyā — samskāra — vijñāna* can be used to express the whole Vedic creation.31

sarvasya vaśī sarvasyeśānaḥ sarvasvādhvipatiḥ; a very similar (but later) description to the *susupti* state in MĀU (§-6): yatra susupto ... na kaḥcana svapnam paśyati ... eṣa sarvēvaḥ | eṣa sarvaṃjñāḥ | eṣaṁntarāyāḥ | which makes a synthesis of TU’s (svarajña) and CU’s (svapnam na paśyati) descriptions of the third stage of the ātman. In BU 3.9.28.7 brahman is both vijñāna, and ānanda.

It should be added that the cosmogonic scheme which agrees with the reversed process of TU is continued by the later descriptions (later Upaniṣads, *smrti* and classical sāṃkhya), where the first manifestation of the Absolute (smṛtī) and of the *prakṛti* (sāṃkhya) is the *buddhi*, identified with the vijñāna in KU 1.3.9. There are other similarities between the buddhi and the vijñāna: the most important function of the buddhi are discernment and decision making (adhyāvasāya); the idea of discernment is also present in the root *viṅjadi*. buddhi (as the vijñāna) is also the highest human cognitive power.

31See nāmarūpa, sādāyatanā, trṣṇā. The mechanism is the same, although the Buddha in his description used different terms. If *avidyā* referred to the pre-creative state, it could have an ontological meaning (like the terms asat or anṛta), i.e. asserting the non-existence of any pre-creative reality.

The miserable situation of the ātman can be seen very clearly now: it not only does not exist, but, what is more, it cyclically repeats its false cognition and postulates its own existence. Put in the terms of the first three links of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, the Vedic cosmogony reveals its absurdity.

4. nāmarūpa32

In Vedic cosmogony, the act of giving a name and a form marks the final formation of the Creator’s ātman. The idea probably goes back to the jātakarman ceremony, in the course of which the father accepted his son and gave him a name. By accepting the son, he confirmed his own identity with him, by giving him a name he took him out of the unnamed, unshaped chaos and finally created him.33 The same process can be observed in creation: according to the famous passage from BU 1.4.7, the ātman, having given name and form to the created world, enters it “up to the nail tips”.34 Thus, being the subject (or we could say, being the vijñāna), he recognizes his own identity with the object and finally shapes it. At the same time and by this very act he continues the process of his own creation as the subject: within the cosmos, he equips himself with the cognitive instruments facilitating his further cognition.35 As the father lives in his son, so the ātman undertakes

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32The Vedic sources of this link are known to Buddhologists, see Frauwallner 1990, Vol. 1, pp. 216ff.
33In ŚB 6.1.3 Prajāpati gives names to Agni in order to make him apahata-pāpman, “without evil”; pāpman is identified with death (*mṛtyu*, see for example ŚB 10.4.4.1, 11.1.6.8.), and death symbolizes the pre-creative state.
34This means that the ātman and the cosmos have the same puruṣāvidha shape (tadācchā tary avyākṛtam āstī it ātmanārūpaḥ eva vyākṛtaḥ ... sa esa loka praviṣṭa ā nakhārghabhahyom). The idea of the nāmarūpa appears also in ŚB 6.1.3, ŚB 11.2.3, CU 6.1–4. The Creator enters the world after its division into name and form also in ŚB 6.1.3. In ŚB 11.2.3.1–6 and in CU 6.3.2–4 the entrance of the Creator into the world takes place at the very moment of its division into name and form.
35According to the BU 1.4.7, the ātman takes up cognitive activity within the created cosmos, giving names to his cognitive powers: prāṇāna eva prāṇāna
cognition in his named and formed self.\textsuperscript{36}

But self-expression through name and form does not merely enable
the Creator to continue self-cognition. At the same time, he hides him-
self and — as if divided into the different names and forms — loses the
ability to be seen as a whole.\textsuperscript{37} Thus the act of giving name and form
also makes cognition impossible, or at least difficult.

I think that this very fact could have been an important reason for
the Buddha’s choosing the term nāmarūpa to denote an organism in

\textit{nāma bhavati vadan vāk paśyantī caksuṭṭh śṛṅvaṭ śroṭṭvaṁ manvāno manah l
tāṇy āṣavyāṁ karmanāmāṁ eva l}. In ŚB’s metaphor of eating, the giving of
name and form is the creation of food and its devouring, which results in
creating the eater.

\textsuperscript{36}This whole idea can also be expressed in ŚB’s metaphor of eating: the eater,
having created his own body, enters it. On the one hand, it means that
the eater eats the created body and thus makes it his own (confirms his own
identity with it). On the other hand he lives in the new body acquired thanks
to the act of eating it, see ŚB 6.2.1, quoted above.

\textsuperscript{37}This idea is present for example in ŚB 6.1.3, where the act of giving names to
Agni and his assuming forms adequate to the names results in its being
impossible to recognize Agni as a whole: only his different forms are visible
(ŚB 6.1.3.19: so ‘yān kumāro rūpāṇi anuprāvīśan na va āgniṁ kumāram iva
paśyanty etāṇya evāṣya rūpāṇi paśyanty etāṇi hi rūpāṇi anuprāvīśat l).
Similarly, in BU 1.4.7 the division of the ātman into name and form causes it
to become imperceptible as a whole: yatāḥ kṣurah kṣuradhāne ‘vahitah śyād
visvambaraḥ vasi visvambharakulāye | tāṁ na paśyantī iva iva hi sah l... sa
yo ‘ta ekaikam upāste na sa veda iva iva iva hi eso ‘ta ekaikena bhavati iva
ātmye eva śhitaṁ ati hy eke sarva ekaṁ bhavantīl. It should be noted that in
BU 1.4 the description of the creative division into name and form appears
after the description of ātman’s division into male and female parts, so the
order is different than that in the Buddha’s chain, where nāmarūpa appears
before sadāvatana. Likewise, ŚB’s description of Agni, divided into name
and form, appears before the whole story of creation which was interpreted as
a description of the beginnings of creation. I would explain this as the
Buddha’s attempt to gather different Vedic descriptions in one general, simple
scheme in which the cognitive character of the concepts is the most important.
The main line of both schemes is the same: the creation of the subject is
followed by the creation of the object no matter what it is called (the ātman
who is as great as a man and a woman embracing each other or the ātman
who is divided into names and forms).

which vijñāna settles. If we reject the ātman, who, giving himself name
and form, performs the cognitive process, the division of consciousness
into name and form has only the negative value of an act which hinders
cognition. As such, it fits very well into the pratītyasamutpāda
understood as the chain of events which drive a human being into
deeper and deeper ignorance about himself.\textsuperscript{38}

5. sadāvatana, 6. sparśa, 7. vedanā

The cognitive character of the next three links of the pratītya-
samutpāda (sadāvatana, sparśa, vedanā) is obvious,\textsuperscript{39} but it is worth
noticing that they also concur with the stages of the Vedic cosmogony.

The appearance of the subjective and objective powers during
creation takes place in the act of the ātman’s division into name and
form. It is also metaphorically described by BU 1.4.3: the ātman, led by
the desire for its second self, becomes as great as a man and a woman
embracing each other. Then it divides itself into husband (subject) and
wife (object), who join together in the sexual act, which symbolizes the
cognitive union of subject and object.\textsuperscript{40}

From this perspective, it is also important that the term āyatana
appears in the cosmogonic descriptions of AU. This Upaniṣad begins
with a description of the ātman’s lonely existence before creation.
It realizes its cosmogonic will and creates the worlds and their eight
guardians (lokapāla), also called deities (devatā). These guardians are
born in the process of heating the cosmic man, who is split into

\textsuperscript{38}The image of the Creator’s manifestation in name and form is one of the most
explicit Vedic images expressing the cognitive character of creation. This
could also be an important reason for the Buddha’s choosing the term
nāmarūpa.


\textsuperscript{40}BU 1.4.3. sa hātāyāṁ āsya yathā śtriṇumāṁsaṁ sumpāryaṅkatvā l sa imam
evāṁmaṁ vadhāpāyata l rataḥ patiś ca patni cābhavatāṁ l ... tāṁ
samahāvatā l tato manuṣyā ajāvanta l. The fact that in the sexual union of
the subject and the object the Creator unites with his female part is confirmed in
ŚB 6.1.2.1: so ‘gninā prthivīṁ mithunam samahavat, see also ŚB 6.1.2.2–9.
cognitive instruments which are the source of their cognitive power, and out of which their respective guardians are finally born. Thus, each lokapāla becomes the highest cognitive manifestation governing the respective cognitive power and instrument (e.g. the sun governs the eyesight and the eye). But in order to exist they need an object: they are in danger of dying and they ask the ātman: “Find us a dwelling in which we can establish ourselves and eat food” (AU 1.2.1: āyatanaṁ nāh prajānīḥ yasmin pratiśhītā annam adāmā). The ātman brings them a cow and a horse, but they are rejected by the guardians, who finally accept a man. So ātman tells them: “Enter, each into your respective abode” (AU 1.2.3: yathāyatanaṁ praviśāta). And the guardians enter the man in the inverse order of the creative process. Thus āyatana in AU is the abode of the highest subjective powers dwelling in the cosmos and in a human being (puruṣa), governing the cognitive powers and instruments. At the same time, each āyatana becomes the object of cognition of these cognitive powers and instruments (e.g. the eye cognizes the sun through eyesight). So their appearance in AU has the same meaning as the appearance of the six abodes in the pratiṣṭhasamutpāda: the manifestation of the subjective powers and their objects.

As far as vedānā is concerned, the convergence of Vedic cosmogony and the Buddha’s chain is not so clear, although one may indicate possible paths of exploration. The meaning of vedānā as the emotional reaction to contact directs us to BU 1.4.2-3, where the lack of “the second” means the lack of possibility of experiencing negative (fear) or positive (joy) feelings towards an object. The creation of “the second” will create the possibility of experiencing these feelings.

It is also worth noticing that the root āvīd appears in the cosmogonic context at CU 8.12.4-5. This Upaniṣad describes the liberation of the ātman through the process of realization of the four states and then the cognitive return of the liberated ātman into the world, which means his repeated creation. Here the root āvīd denotes the ātman’s consciousness of the will to perform subject-object cognition.

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41 kukha - vāc - agni - nāśike - prāṇa - vāyu - akṣiṇī - cakkus - āditya, karṇau - śrotra - dīṣas, tvāc - lomāni - oṣadhi-vanaspatayaḥ, hṛdaya – manas – candramasī, nābhi - āpāna - mṛtyu - sīśa - retas – āpas. Note the similarity between the creative process and other Vedic cosmogonic descriptions analysed here, and at the same time the similarity with the links of the pratiṣṭhasamutpāda. The ātman, having realized its cognitive incapacity (in SB’s expressions the lack of food and its own hunger, the avidyā link) creates its cosmic manifestation in the form of man (ātmanam puruṣavidhānam), in which it settles the highest subjective power (the viyāna link preceded by the will to create - samśkāra).


43 ‘agni – vāc – mukha, vāyu – prāṇa – nāśike, āditya – cakkus – akṣiṇī, dīṣas – śrotra – karṇau, oṣadhi-vanaspatayaḥ – lomāni – tvāc, candramasī – manas – hṛdaya, mṛtyu – āpāna – nābhi, āpas – retas – sīśa. This is the final formation of the ātman’s self, corresponding to the final creation of the fire altar and cosmos in SB and BU and the nāmarūpa link in the pratiṣṭhasamutpāda. AU sees it also as the creation of the human being.

45 See Schayer 1988, p. 114. The difference lies in the number of the abodes, of which AU enumerates eight. Five abodes in AU (mukha, nāśike, akṣiṇī, karṇau, tvāc) agree with the abodes enumerated by the Buddha, the sixth is the heart (hṛdaya), which in the Buddha’s chain is replaced by the mind (manas, connected with the heart also in AU). The last two (nābhi, sīśa) have cognitive meaning only in the Vedic context, so it is not surprising that they do not appear in the pratiṣṭhasamutpāda.

46 ‘atha yatraitad ākāśam anuvijjānam ca kāṣṭaḥ paruṣo darśanāya ca kāṣṭhāḥ | atha yo vedaṭam jīhṛatīti sa ātma gandhaya jīhṛatīti atha yo vedaṭam abhīvyāharatīti sa ātmaḥbhīvyāharatī vāk | atha yo vedaṭam śravaṇīti sa ātmaḥ śravaṇīya śrotram | (4) atha yo vedaṭam manvantīti sa ātmaḥ manvantīya daivaṃ ca kāṣṭhāḥ |. The image of sight dispersed in space refers to the Rgvedic images of the cosmogonic sunrise which creates the possibility of seeing and cognizing: ākāśā is the space which is brightened by the rising sun; cakkushaḥ puruṣoḥ is ātman — the Creator of the world identified with the sun, who manifests himself in the form of a golden man standing in the space between the earth and the sky, marking the path of the rising sun and constituting the cosmic pillar (skambha). It is he who is aware of his will to perform subject-object cognition.

One possible Vedic source of vedānā as the effect of sparṣa on the philological level seems to be BU 3.2.9, where the causative of āvīd is used to
If we posit that the Buddha referred to this image in formulating the vedanā link, it is important to notice the difference between the description of CU and the pratītyasamutpāda: in CU the consciousness of the subject-object cognition precedes the act, whereas in the Buddha’s chain, it comes after the act. On the other hand, we might argue that the next link in the pratītyasamutpāda is trṣṇā, which is the craving for continued subject-object acts, so it is possible to claim that here too vedanā precedes the successive subject-object acts.

8. trṣṇā, 9. upādāna

The process of Vedic cosmogony can be further expressed in the next two links of the pratītyasamutpāda, trṣṇā and upādāna.

After the final creation of the cosmos, human beings become the next manifestation of the Creator’s subjective power. This is clearly seen in the Rgvedic Nāsadiya, according to which the Creator (uād ēkam) manifests itself as the cosmos (abhū) and then divides into the subjective part, constituted by the poets (kavāyas), and the objective part, constituted by the world cognized by the poets. Next, Nāsadiya describes the poets’ union with the world as they extend the ray (raśmi). This image (apart from its other meanings) symbolizes the act of releasing semen and the poets’ sexual union with the world.47 This in turn symbolizes the poets’ cognitive act, as the very essence of their activity is the cognition and naming of reality. At the same time, the sexual character of the metaphor strengthens the similarity of the act it expresses to the act expressed by the links of trṣṇā: craving for another person constitutes the basis of sexual activity.48

It is important to notice here that the poets’ activity realizes on the microcosmic scale the cosmogonic activity of the Absolute.49 This fact sheds an interesting light on the division of the pratītyasamutpāda into two shorter chains, one of which begins with avidyā and the other with trṣṇā, as proposed in the commentary on the Udanaavarga.50 The Vedic material justifies the division of the pratītyasamutpāda in this way, which further supports the thesis that the Buddha was referring to Vedic data when he formulated his chain.51

The references are more distinct here than may at first appear. The Buddha in his descriptions of trṣṇā very often refers to the image of fire.52 I think that the reason why he does so is not only because the metaphor of fire is particularly expressive, but also because something more lies behind it: here he is referring to the Vedic image of creation as performed by human subjects.

Now we have to go back to the Rgvedic image of the poets pervad-

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48 This reflects the cyclical character of Vedic cosmogony: the appearance of the poets preceded the manifestation of semen and desire in the Creator (a typically sexual image), and the poets repeat the Creator’s activity.

49 This may also be expressed in the terminology of the pratītyasamutpāda: the poets meet an unknown object (symbolized in the Rigveda mainly by a rock or the night), which corresponds to the image expressed in the pratītyasamutpāda as avidyā; then they assume the subjective form (viṣkā, which is probably byed preceded by the will to get the object (samkāra; the presence of this will is guaranteed by the sexual metaphor used to describe the poets’ activity). The next stage is the recognition of the object and its creation (nāmara). This correspondence with the pratītyasamutpāda is especially clear at BU 1.4.4. The idea that man repeats the Absolute’s creative activity is also present in the interpretation of the ritual in ŚB which is the step-by-step repetition of the cosmogony of Prajāpatī.

50 See Mejor 1996, p. 124.

51 My interpretation is different from that of Frauwallner (1990, Vol. 1, p. 220), who postulated that the two shorter chains came first and were then superficially joined together.

ing the dark object with their ray. In other hymns of the Rigveda, the poets (called kavi, rsi or fathers) are depicted as inflamed with internal heat (tāpas) and they burn the rock, which symbolizes the object that they recognize. They are often identified with specific families of poets, especially with Aṅgirasas — the sons of Agni.53

What is more, in the Rigveda forms of the root ird, from which the noun irdā is derived, denote the fire’s activity.54 It may be assumed that in formulating the irdā link, the Buddha was also referring to the fiery activity of the poets burning the world in the cosmogonic act of cognition. In his chain, their activity is deprived of its positive dimension and is identified only with the negative aspect of fire, which in its insatiability digests, and thus destroys, itself and the world around it.

One thing more is important here. The state of primal creative ignorance is often expressed by the image of hunger, which in turn is identified with Agni.55 It appears then that the beginnings of creation were also understood in the Veda as the manifestation of fire, exactly like the poets’ creative activity.56 From the Vedic perspective, the pratītyasaṃputāda’s division into two shorter chains, starting from avidyā and irdā, is fully justified.

The identity of the poets’ activity and the beginnings of creation results from the basic Vedic assumption that cosmogony is the manifestation of Agni, the fire, who, out of the darkness symbolizing the pre-creative state of ignorance, emerges in creative enkindling and generates the conditions of cognition: light which reveals shapes and speech that enables their naming and recognition.57 When Agni the fire fully

53 See for example RV 3.31.4–3, 9.97.39, 10.109.4, 10.169.2. Aṅgiras as sons of Agni: RV 1.71.8. Agni himself is called Aṅgiras (see for example RV 1.31.1, 1.127.2, 6.11.3, 10.92.15) and kavi (e.g. RV 1.149.3, 4.15.3, 5.15.1, 6.7.1).

54 The covetous burning identified with devouring is so characteristic a feature of that fire which it becomes the basis for comparisons: RV 10.113.8 raddhām vṛtrān āhim indrasya hīmānāṁgir na jāmbhais ird ānām āvayat ll. Agni as tārṣāndā RV 1.31.7, 2.4.6, 6.15.3 ṣo yā gṛṇē nā tārṣāndā ajāraḥ, while he burns the trees and the bush RV 1.58.2.4, 7.3.4, 10.91.7. See also RV 4.7.11 ird yād āṛṇā tārṣāndā vavākṣa irdum dātām kṛṣṇe yahvō agnih ā vāyasya melṁ sacate nīrāvām āśāṁ nā vāyavate hīmē āvā ll, RV 1.140.3 irducyūt, RV 4.4.1 irdum anu prāsīṁ drāṇāno. The second meaning of the forms of the root ird is the state caused by the influence of the warmth: thirst (RV 1.85.11, 1.116.9, 1.173.1, 1.175.6, 5.57.1, 7.35.5, 7.69.6, 7.89.4, 7.103.3, 9.79.3), lack of water (RV 4.19.7), sweating (RV 1.105.7). In RV 8.79.5 form of the root ird refers to mental desire (arthina yānti cēd ārtham gachān it dādāsāt ratiṁ ā vavvijāśā īrṣyataḥ kānam ll).

55 See above, samskāra. Compare the void experienced by Prajāpati expressed in SB by the forms of the root vṛic, see also SB 2.2.4, BU 1.2. It has already been noted that the state of primal ignorance is also identified with death. It is interesting to compare this state with what Gombrich (1996, p. 78) says about Māra: “Buddhist Māra at the same time represents desire, and the life he is

56 In RV irdā is joined with the nṛṣīri symbolizing the pre-creative state (1.38.6 mō śu nāh pārā-parā nṛṣīrī durāhān vadhī l padiṣṭā irdānāh saha ll) or with the enemies of the Aryans (RV 1.130.8) symbolizing the same (because they are dark (e.g. RV 1.130.8), they are asleep (RV 4.51.3), they are not able to cognize (e.g. RV 3.18.2), to speak in a proper way (e.g. RV 3.34.10), or to perform sacrifices (e.g. RV 7.6.3)).

57 This idea goes back to RV (e.g. the idea of apām nāpā) and is developed in later Vedic thought. Prajāpati’s ātman is created in the process of burning (vītap) and has the form of the fire altar; the confirmation of the Creator’s identity with fire constitutes the last act of the cosmogony. In SB 2.2.4 creation is the act of blowing out the fire identified with prāṇa. In SB 10.5.3 the transformations of the manas end with the manifestation of fire. There are also evident proofs that the idea of the Upanisadic ātman goes back to the idea of fire, for instance the identification of Agni and ātman with prāṇa and the wind (already in RV 1.34.7, 7.87.2) and with the sun (RV 1.115.1, 1.163.6). In RV 1.73.2 Agni is compared to the ātman. The Upanisadic evidence also attests the fiery nature of the ātman, who in the creative process transforms through burning (BU 1.4, AU vītap) and concealing under the influence of the warmth (AB vāmāc). See also BU 1.4.7, where the ātman divides into names and forms is compared to the fire hidden in its nest (note 37), and also CU 3.13.7–8, where the means of cognition of the ātman are the means of cognition of the fire: tasyāsā dṛṣṭīḥ (l) yatratād asmiṁ sarīre sansparśena nośmanāṁ vijahātī l tasyāsā śrutā yatratād karṇāv apigṛhyā
manifests his blazing ātman in the cosmos, creation is taken up by the burning poets. Through them Agni burns in the world he created. He burns voraciously and constantly needs fuel in order to exist. And this constant, voracious devouring of the fuel and its digesting are expressed by upādāna. The meaning of this word is both “fuel” and “grasping”. 58 The first evokes the fire metaphor with its concrete meaning of burning fuel and eating food; the second is more abstract and refers to cognitive activity. So it encompasses the activity of Agni as described in the Veda.

10. bhava, 11. jāti, 12. jarāmarāṇa

The last three links of the pratītyasamutpāda evidently may refer to the activity of fire which may come into being, be born, and die because it burns the fuel. This is how the Buddha interpreted it. 59

In the Vedic formulation, it is the constant cognitive craving of the fiery Absolute which guarantees the coming into existence (bhava) of the creation. This is also expressed by the Vedic metaphors for subject-object contact: the metaphor of sexual union and the metaphor of eating, actions which result in a new existence or assure the continuation of the existence achieved so far. 60

Some similarities between the last three links of the pratītyasamutpāda and the Vedic cosmogony may also be seen in AU, where the ātman, having created the cosmos and man (puruṣa), opens the top of the head and is born in it, in order to recognize that it is he who is man.

and the cosmos (AU 1.3.12-13). Then AU describes three births of the ātman in human beings: inside a woman at the moment of conception, during the physical birth, and at death (AU 2). Thus, the ātman exists in the world before its birth and its death: its bhava precedes its jāti and jarāmarāṇa.

Describing the existence of the ātman in the form of an embryo inside the womb, AU several times uses the causative form of the verb ābhā in order to denote that his life is supported by his mother. It is not impossible that the term bhava in the Buddha’s chain refers to this very image. 61 The possible references to this part of AU could be confirmed by another, later Buddhist interpretation of the pratītyasamutpāda, according to which these three last links describe the existence that follows the existence described in links 3-9 (viṣṇāna — upādana).

In its description of the three births of the ātman, AU stresses the reflexive character of this act, which is understood as the ātman’s self-transformations. The ātman existing in man as his semen is at the same time the father — the giver of semen, and the semen itself — the potential offspring. The ātman, fed by its pregnant mother, becomes identical with her, so it is its own mother. This reflexive character is also present in the description of the ātman’s dying. 62

According to AU, the ātman is nourished by the pregnant woman in her womb: “For the continuance of these worlds, for it is in this way that these worlds continue” 63 (eṣām lokānāṁ saṁtātva eva saṁtātā

60 What is more, it is the very cognitive act directed to an object which assures the existence of the subject which ex definitione is the cognizing entity: at the moment when the cognition is interrupted, it ceases to be the subject. The fulfillment of self-cognition and the disappearance of the desire for it to continue means the end of the world, just as for the Buddha the disappearance of craving means the end of the process realized in all the links of the pratītyasamutpāda.

61 AU 2.1.2–3: sāsya itam ātmānam atra gatam bhāvaye (2) l śa bhāva-vṛttābhāvālayā bhavati l tasya śrī ṣarvaṁ bhārataṁ bhārati l so grahe eva kumāre jāmāna ‘gre’ ‘dhi bhāvaye l sa tati kumāresu jāmāna ‘gre’ ‘dhi bhāvahyā ātmānam eva tad bhāvayati l (3)
62 puruṣe ha vā ayam ‘aditi garbho bhavati yad etat retaḥ l tad etat sarvebhyo ‘nebhaya tejaṁ samadhāma ātmāṁ evātmānaṁ bhārati l (2.1.1) tathā ‘prāpli ‘ātmabhāvam gacchati yathā svam ārman tathā l tasmad evaṁ na hiṁsati l (2.1.2) so ‘svaṁ ātmā punyebhayaḥ karmabhayaḥ pratihiṁvateḥ athāsvāyaṁ itara ātmā ‘krakṛtyo vavo gataḥ praiti l sa itih pravam eva punar jāvate l tad asya ‘ṛṣya jāmaḥ l (2.1.4).
hīme lokāḥ). This immediately makes one think of the idea of the dharmasamāna which appears in the explanations of the pratītyasamutpāda.⁶⁴ The difference is crucial: in the Vedic cosmology lokānāṁ saṃtāna is realized thanks to the self-transformations of the ātman; in the pratītyasamutpāda, the ātman does not exist; there are only changes.⁶⁵

It is surely significant that the locus classicus for the exposition of the pratītyasamutpāda is called the Mahānādānasutta. The word nidāna appears in the cosmogonic context in RV 10.130.3: “What was the prototype, what was the counterpart and what was the connection between them?” (kāsīt pramā prátimā kim nidānām). In ŚB 11.1.6.3 prātimā is the cosmos identified with the fire altar, in ŚB 11.1.8.3 prātimā is sacrifice.⁶⁶ The pramā is Prajāpati, the Creator, the nidāna, the link between the Creator and the creation: their identity. Thus pramā and prātimā resolve themselves into nidāna which guarantees and expresses their identity.

Nidāna, denoting the ontological connection between different levels and forms of beings, also refers to the epistemology: it also gives the explanation of this connection.⁶⁷ I presume that this is the first meaning of nidāna in the title of the Buddha’s sermon. It is really “a great explanation”: there is no ātman, the nidāna of the cosmology. The negation of the ontological nidāna constitutes the Buddha’s mahānāda.

I would like to propose a mental experiment here. The Buddha preached at least some of his sermons to educated people, well versed in Brāhmaṇa thought, who were familiar with the concepts and the general idea of the Vedic cosmography. To them, all the terms used in the pratītyasamutpāda had a definite meaning and they evoked definite associations. Let us imagine the Buddha enumerating all the stages of the Vedic cosmogony only to conclude: “That’s right, this is how the whole process develops. However, the only problem is that no one undergoes a transformation here!” From the didactic point of view, it was a brilliant strategy. The act of cutting off the ātman — or rather, given his fiery nature, the act of blowing him out — deprives all the hitherto well-defined concepts of their meanings and challenges the infallibility of all their associations, exposing the meaninglessness, absurdity even, of all the cosmogonic developments they express.

The similarities between the Vedic cosmogony and the pratītyasamutpāda which I have been trying to show are too evident to be pure coincidence. If we agree with the thesis that the Buddha in formulating the pratītyasamutpāda was referring to Vedic cosmogony, his chain should be treated as the general model for Vedic cosmogony but negating its metaphysical, cognitive, and moral sense. To apply the doctrine of anatā here would be to deny the ātman as the metaphysical basis of all cosmogonic transformations as well as its final forms as they successively appear in the stages of the process. This deprives the Vedic cosmogony of its positive meaning as the successful activity of the Absolute and presents it as a chain of absurd, meaningless changes which could only result in the repeated death of anyone who would reproduce this cosmogonic process in ritual activity and everyday life.

And since fire is the intrinsic character of the ātman, nirvāṇa can mean not only the liberating recognition of the ātman’s absence, but also the refutation of the whole of Vedic metaphysics, which postulates that fire underlies, conditions, and manifests itself in the cosmogony.

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⁶⁶ Smith 1989, pp. 73–75.
⁶⁷ Smith 1989, p. 79.
Abbreviations

AB  Aitareya Upaniṣad
BU  Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad
CU  Čhāndogya Upaniṣad
D  Dīgha Nikāya
KU  Katha Upaniṣad
MāU  Māndūkya Upaniṣad
RV  Rgveda
S  Saṃyutta Nikāya
ŚB  Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
TU  Taittirīya Upaniṣad

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The Cause of the Buddha’s Death

The Mahāparinibbānasutta, the longest text in the Dīgha-nikāya (D II 72.1–168.5), contains what seems to be a fairly reliable source for the details of the death of Siddhattha Gotama, the Buddha. It allows readers to follow the story of the last days of the Buddha, beginning a few months before he died (D II 106.19 fol.).

Although the sutta portrays the Buddha as a miracle worker, who could have lived up to the end of a kappa on the condition that someone invited him to do so (D II, 103.1–15), who determined the time for his own death (D II, 99.7–9; 104.19), and whose death was accompanied by miracles such as the shower of heavenly flowers, sandal powder, divine music (D II, 137.20 foll.) etc., the Buddha is also depicted as an old man, who grumbled about his failing health and growing age (D II, 120.19* foll.), who almost lost his life because of a severe pain during his last retreat in Vesālī, and who was forced to come to terms with his unexpected illness and death after consuming a special dish offered by his host, the smith Cunda (D II 127.5). After the Buddha ate this particular dish, he suddenly fell ill. The name of this dish, sūkaramaddava, attracted the attention of scholars, though, in spite of all efforts, the exact significance of this word remains obscure, most likely because it is the name of a very special local dish. The Chinese versions of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, investigated also by A. Bareau, indicate that the true meaning of sūkaramaddava was soon lost.¹

Although the philological investigations end in a dead alley, the sutta also provides medically significant details about the Buddha’s symptoms and signs of illness, including reliable information about his medical circumstances over four months previous to his death. All this precious information has attracted hardly any attention.

When the Buddha entered his last rains retreat at Beluvagāmaka, he fell ill (D II 98.26–99.14). The symptom of the illness was sudden.

¹See the appendix.
severe pain, briefly described as so intense that it almost killed the Buddha. The *sutta* does not, however, describe the location or character of this pain.

This part of the story also provides information important to understanding the nature of the Buddha's last illness. For we learn that the Buddha already had a serious illness, symptoms of which recurred and finally killed him; the food he ate was not the only cause of his death.

**The Time of the Death of the Buddha**

The Theravāda Buddhist tradition adheres to the assumption that the historical Buddha passed away during the night of the full moon in the month of Visākhā (May or June in the solar calendar), the same full moon during which he was born and experienced enlightenment. This date is in contradiction with the information given in the Mahāparinibbānasutta which states clearly that the Buddha died soon after the rains retreat, most likely some time between November and January. This date concurs with the description of the miracle of the unseasonable leaves and flowers of the *sāla* trees (*yamakasālā sabbapāhi phullā honti akālapupphēhi, D II 137.20 fol.*), between which the Buddha lay down, because the *sāla* tree blossoms only in March.² This date also has consequences for the interpretation of *sūkaramaddava*. For, autumn and winter are unfavorable seasons for the growth of the mushrooms that some scholars believe were the source of poison in the Buddha's last meal.

**Differential Diagnosis of the Illness of the Buddha**

The *sutta* tells us that the Buddha felt ill immediately after eating *sūkaramaddava*. Since we do not know anything about the true nature of this food, it is impossible to draw any conclusions from this dish concerning the cause the Buddha's death. But we do know that the onset of the Buddha's illness was rapid. The disease started while eating, so the Buddha assumed that there was something wrong with this unfamiliar delicacy and he suggested to his host that the food be buried (D II 127.21–25). Soon the Buddha suffered severe stomach pain and passed blood from his rectum (D II 127.35 fol.).

Was food poisoning the cause of the illness? Unlike the described symptoms do not indicate the typical symptoms, which rarely cause a diarrhea of fresh blood. Bacterial food poisoning usually requires an incubation of two to twelve hours to manifest; only then does diarrhea occur, usually with vomiting but never with passing of blood.

Another possibility is chemical poisoning, which does have an immediate onset. However, it is unusual for it to cause bleeding unless corrosive chemicals such as strong acid were ingested. But such agents would have caused upper gastro-intestinal bleeding with a vomiting of blood, which is not mentioned in the text. Moreover, it is unthinkable that the Buddha's host would prepare a toxic dish for him.

A parasitic contamination in the food can also be ruled out as it would not produce a bloody diarrhea with severe abdominal pain after the meal.

Peptic ulcer diseases can be excluded from the list of possible causes. In spite of the fact that they produce an immediate onset, they seldom occur with acute fresh blood, but rather with black stool. For ulcers higher than the ligament of Treitz, the anatomical border between the upper end of the jejunum and lower end of the fourth part of the duodenum, when there is severe bleeding, it would manifest as a bloody vomiting, not a passing of blood through the rectum. Other evidence ruling against this possibility is that patients with large gastric ulcers usually do not have an appetite. By accepting the invitation of Cunda, we can assume that the Buddha felt healthy for a man in his early eighties. It should also be kept in mind, however, that turning down an invitation would have been a rather severe rebuke of Cunda's good intentions.

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Given the Buddha's age we cannot rule out that he did have a chronic disease, such as cancer or tuberculosis or a tropical infection such as dysentery or typhoid, all of which were probably quite common in the Buddha's time and could produce bleeding of the lower intestine. But they are usually accompanied by other symptoms, such as lethargy, loss of appetite, weight loss, growth of a mass in the abdomen, none of which are mentioned in the sutta.

A large haemorrhoid can also cause severe rectal bleeding, but it is unlikely that a haemorrhoid would cause severe abdominal pain unless it is strangulated. But then it would have greatly disturbed the walking of the Buddha to the house of his host, and bleeding from a haemorrhoid triggered by eating a meal is rare.

What disease might be accompanied by acute abdominal pain with the passing of massive fresh blood, commonly found among elderly people, and triggered by a meal? Mesenteric infarction: an obstruction of the blood vessels of the mesentery. Acute mesenteric ischemia is a grave condition with a high morbidity and mortality. Anatomically, the mesentery is a posterior part of the intestinal wall that binds the whole intestinal tract to the abdominal cavity. An infarction of the vessels of the mesentery normally causes a necrosis of a large section of the intestinal tract, which results in a tear and laceration of the intestinal wall. The pathology normally produces severe pain in the abdomen with massive passing of blood. Normally, the patient dies of acute blood loss. The course of this disease most closely matches the information given in the sutta, including that the Buddha later asked Ānanda to fetch some water for him to drink.

As the story goes, Ānanda refused to bring him some water, as he saw no source for clean water (D II 128.20–23). He argued with the Buddha that the nearby river was muddied by a large caravan of carts. But still the Buddha insisted. People suffering from mesenteric infarction crave water due to blood loss (cf. also D II 134.22).

A significant question can be asked at this point: Why did the Buddha not go to the water himself, instead of pressing his unwilling attendant to do so?

The answer is simple. The Buddha was suffering from a shock caused by severe blood loss (cf. D II 128.15–17). Probably he was no longer ambulatory, and from then onward to his deathbed he most likely had to be carried on a stretcher. However, this is not mentioned in the text, where it is stated that the Buddha continued to walk (e.g., D II 134.20), until he reached Kusinārā. This, it is generally assumed, was not the intended final destination of his journey, because the description of the road the Buddha took rather points to his native town, Kapilavatthu.

Before passing away, the Buddha told Ānanda that Cunda was not to be blamed and that his death was not caused by eating sākaramaddava (D II 135.19–136.19). This statement can perhaps be interpreted in the following way: The meal was not felt by the Buddha to be the immediate cause of his death. He knew that the symptoms were a recurrence of an illness that a few months earlier had almost killed him. Sākaramaddava, no matter what it was, only triggered his death because of a preexisting condition.

Mesenteric Infarction: The Cause of the Disease and Its Progress

Mesenteric Infarction is a disease commonly found among elderly people, caused by the obstruction of the main artery that supplies the middle section of the bowel, the small intestine. The most common cause of the obstruction is the degenerative change of the wall of the blood vessel, the superior mesenteric artery, giving a severe abdominal pain, also known as abdominal angina. Normally, the pain is triggered by a large meal that requires the higher flow of blood to the digestive tract. As the obstruction persists, the bowel is deprived of its blood.

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3This question had already worried the commentators: siniddham bhojanam bhittattā pana tanvedanā ahosi, ten’ eva padasā gantuṃ asakkhi (Śv 568.26 fol.) “because he had eaten fat food, the pain was small. Therefore, he could walk”. (O.v.H.)
supply; this subsequently leads to an infarction, or gangrene of the section of the intestinal tract, which in turn results in laceration of the intestinal wall and causes profuse bleeding into the intestinal tract and bloody diarrhea. The disease gets worse as the liquid and contents inside the intestines ooze out into the peritoneal cavity, causing peritonitis or inflammation of the abdominal walls. Such complications add to an already high mortality among patients who do not die due to the loss of blood alone. In modern medicine, if the pathology is not corrected by surgical operation, the disease often progresses to septic shock due to the bacterial toxin infiltrating into the blood stream.

Retrospective Analysis

From the differential diagnosis given above, it is most likely that the Buddha suffered from mesenteric infarction caused by an occlusion of an opening of the superior mesenteric artery. This caused severe pain that almost killed him a few months earlier, during his last rains retreat. With the progress of the pathology, a certain proportion of the mucosal lining of his intestine sloughed off, which became the origin of the bleeding site. Artherosclerosis was the cause of the arterial occlusion, a small occlusion that did not result in bloody diarrhea, but did cause the symptom of abdominal angina. The Buddha had his second attack while eating sīkaramaddava. The pain was probably not unbearable in the beginning, so he was not sure what went wrong. Suspicious about the nature of the food, he asked his host to have it all buried, so that others might not suffer from it.

Soon, with more pain and the passing of fresh blood, the Buddha realized that his disease was serious. Due to the loss of blood, he went into shock. The degree of dehydration was so severe that he could not maintain himself any longer and had to take shelter under a tree along the way, feeling very thirsty and exhausted. It is probably true that the Buddha got better after taking some drink to replace his blood loss, and some rest.

A patient with shock, dehydration and profuse blood loss usually feels very cold. And this was the reason why he told his attendant to prepare a bed using four sheets of the sanīghāṭi (D II 128,15–17).

After a mesenteric infarction, patients normally live for ten to twenty hours. From the information contained in the sutta we are able to estimate that he died about fifteen to eighteen hours after the attack. During that time, his attendants may have tried their best to comfort him. However, it would be highly unlikely that a shivering patient would need someone to fan him as is described in the sutta (D II 138,26). This then may be the true reason why the Buddha asked the well-meaning monk Upavīna to step aside, saying that he blocked the view of the gods.

Still, the Buddha may have recovered from a state of exhaustion, which allowed him to continue his dialogues with a few people as recorded in the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta. But finally, late in the night, the Buddha died from septic shock due to bacterial toxins and the infiltration of contaminated intestinal contents into his blood stream. This medical history is consistent with the usual course of this illness for a person of the Buddha’s age.4

Mettanando Bhikkhu, M.D.

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APPENDIX

The Last Meal of the Buddha
A Note on sūkaramaddava

As we learn from the above article, the last meal of the Buddha was not the immediate cause of, but contributed only indirectly to his death. A similar view is found, though of course not based on medical considerations, in the later part of the Milindaśāna. The question raised by Milinda is answered by Nāgasena (Mil 174.9–176.9) stating that na mahārāja tatoniñānam bhagavato koci anuppanno rogo uppanno, api ca mahārāja bhagavato pakatidubbale sarīre khīne āyusankhare uppanno rogo bhivyō abhivaṛḍhi. ... natthi, mahārāja tasmiṃ piṇḍapāte doso, na ca tassa sakkā doso āropetun ti, (Mil 175.23–176.9) (“It was not from that source [i.e. the last meal], sire, that an illness arose that had not [so far] arisen, but it was, sir, because of the natural weakness of the Lord’s physical frame and because of the waning of the components of his life-span that the illness which arose in him grew so much worse. ... There was no defect, sire, in the alms-gathering and it is not possible to ascribe a defect to it.”).5

This is part of a long debate within Theravāda on this section of the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta, beginning at a very early date and concentrating on two points. One is the possible fault of Cunda in offering food to the Buddha which seemed to have caused his death, the other is the nature of that very food.

The earliest trace of that debate concerning the second point in the Theravāda tradition is found in the commentary on the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta: sūkaramaddavan ti nātītaruṇassa nātijinnassa ekajjṭhakāsākarassa pavattamaṃsā, tām kira muduṅ c’eva sinnidhānaḥ ca hoti. tām paṭīyādāpetvā sādhukaṃ pacāpetvā ti attho (Sv 568.13–17) (“Sūkaramaddava means: the fresh meat of an excellent boar, which is neither too young nor too old. For this is soft and fat. Having had it prepared means having had it cooked.”). The subcommentary by Dhammapāla explains: sūkaramaddavan ti vanavarāhassa mudumamsaṃ. yasmā Cunda sotāpanno, aṁne ca bhagavato bhikkhusaṅghassa ca āhāraṃ paṭīyādentā avanajjaṃ eva paṭīyādenti, tasmā vuttaṃ pavattamaṃsāṃ. tām kiriā ti nātītaruṇassā ti ādāna vuttavisesaṃ. tathā hi tām muduṅ c’eva sinnidhānaḥ ca ti vuttaṃ, mudumamsabhāva ca abhisankharanaṃviseṣaṇa ca maddavan ti vuttaṃ (Sv-pt II 218.9–15) (“Sūkaramaddava means: the soft meat of a wild boar. Because Cunda as a Sotāpanna, and others, when they prepare food for the Buddha and for the assembly of monks, prepare only faultless [food], therefore it is called fresh meat. ‘For it is’ [introduces the] qualification expressed by ‘of a not too young, etc.’. And therefore it is called soft and fat. Because of the soft nature of the meat and because of the special way of preparing it, it is called maddavā.”).

This explanation is supplemented again by Dhammapāla in his Udāna-āṭṭhakāthā (Paramathadīpani I): sūkaramaddavan ti sūkārasa muḍusiniddhaṃ pavattamaṃsaṃ ti Mahā-āṭṭhakāthayaṃ vuttaṃ. keci pana sūkaramaddavan ti na sūkāramasam, sūkarehi madditavamaṃsa-kaṭṭho ti vadanti. aṁne sūkarehi madditapadesa jātam ahicchattakaṃ ti. apare pana sūkaramaddavan nāma ti ekāraśāyanan ti ganhiṃsu (Ud-a 399.23–400.1) (“Sūkaramaddava means: the soft, fat, fresh meat of a boar as it is said in the Mahā-āṭṭhakāthā. However, some say that it is not the meat of a boar, but bamboo sprouts crushed by boars. Others say it is a mushroom growing at a place trampled upon by boars. But others took sūkaramaddava to mean an elixir that prolongs life.”).

Similar explanations are also found in the Sumanāgalivāsini, however only in the Burmese tradition:7 eke bhaṇanī: sūkaramaddavan ti pana muḍudanassa paṅcagarasayaśāpayanāvadānaṃ nām’ etām yathā gavapāṇaṃ nāma pākanāmaṃ. keci bhaṇanti sūkaramaddavaṃ

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5 Trans. by I.B. Horner. This concurs with D II 135.19–136.19 and is emphasized in the commentaries.

6 So read following E. J. Thomas, quoted below.

7 The following text is printed without further comment in the Chatthasāṅgāyana edition: Sv (C 1918 (Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series)) states that the text is not found in any of its Sinhalese sources.
The Cause of the Buddha’s Death

and “quantity of truffles”,10 are collected by D. G. Koparkar, “Sukaramaddava” (Poona Orientalist 9 (1944), pp. 34–42). A few years later, but without being able to use Koparkar, E. J. Thomas took up the matter again in his article “Buddha’s Last Meal” (Indian Culture [Calcutta] 15 (1948–49), pp. 1–3), discussing the evidence found in the Theravada commentaries, which only a few years earlier had been discussed already at great length and in great detail by E. Waldschmidt in his Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Mahāparinirvānasūtra (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; Philologisch-historische Klasse 1939, pp. 55–94) = Von Ceylon bis Turfan: Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraumes (Göttingen 1967, 80–119, pp. 76 foll. = 101 foll.). Thomas was obviously unaware of this article, most likely due to the breakdown of communication during the Second World War. Nor does he refer to R. O. Franke, who had done almost the same already in 1913.11 Both Franke and Thomas favour “boar’s flesh”, as does the PED. The latest English translation of the Dīgha-nikāya by Maurice Walshe (Boston 1987, p. 256) tries to evade controversy by translating “pig’s delight”.12

The last Western scholar so far, it seems, to have discussed this matter is G. R. Wasson, “The Last Meal of the Buddha” (JAOS 102

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12 This translation is not tenable because maddava does not mean “delight”. The translation is justified in a long note, where it is said that modern interpreters favoured the translation “truffles”, which is not correct. The preference is rather for “meat” than “mushroom”.

who, unsurprisingly, favours the translation "mushroom".

This opinion is also preferred in the Chinese translation of the Dirghāgama, which can be found conveniently in A. Barea, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens*, II *Les derniers mois: Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles*, Vol. I (Paris 1970), pp. 265 foll. This Chinese translation seem to be based on a Sanskrit (or Gāndhāri) word like *candanaśūra* (l’oreille d’arbre santal), which points to a mushroom. Other Chinese translations or parallel texts such as the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra do not mention any specific meal. Still, it seems implausible to postulate a later addition in the text of the Theravādins and in the Chinese Dirghāgama on the basis of these parallels. For it is much easier to assume that an old word was either no longer understood properly or was felt to be offensive and was dropped than that there was a late invention of an obscure term such as *sūkaramaddava*.

Moreover, the structure of the section in the Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta where *sūkaramaddava* occurs points to a rather old text, because the preceding prose is summed up in a verse (D II 128.6–12*).

It seems unlikely that a clear and universally acceptable solution of the problem of the meaning of the word *sūkaramaddava* can ever be reached. The oldest available evidence from the old Aṭṭhakathā and the word itself rather points to meat; as pointed out by Waldschmidt, later Buddhists found this interpretation offensive. But it would not have offended the compilers of the Theravāda canon. For the Buddha did accept *sūkaramaṃsa* once: *sampannakolakāṃ sūkaramaṃsaṃ tāṃ me bhagavā paṭiganhatu ... paṭiggahesī bhagavā (A III 49.21–23) (“Pork with jujube ... may the Lord accept that from me. The Lord accepted”). The commentary explains this as pakkaṃ ekasaṃvāccharā-sūkara-maṃsaṃ, Mp III 253.8 foll.

Most likely, *sūkaramaddava* is a genuine old local name of a dish being based on *sūkara* (“boar, pig”) and *maddava*. If so, the meaning of the compound could be lost easily like, for example, the German local dish *Schweinshaxe*, based on standard German *Schwein* and Bavarian dialect *Haxe* (“leg”). As long as a sufficient corpus of standard high German texts survives, one would always understand the first member of the compound, whereas the second one would be liable to fall into oblivion soon, though in this case it is an old Indo-European word related to Sanskrit *kakṣa* and consequently provided with an etymology.

Finally, Theravāda tradition is also concerned with the fact that this particular food can be digested only by a Tathāgata (D II 127.21–25). It may be sufficient here to draw attention to the Kasibhāradvājasutta, which has been discussed by A. Barea, “La transformation miraculeuse de la nourriture offerte au Buddha par le brahmane Kasibhāradvāja”, in *Études à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou (1977) = Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens*, III *Articles complémentaires* (Paris 1995), p. 267–276. In the commentary on this sutta similar instances are collected (Pj II 154.1–7):

Food to be digested only by a Tathāgata is the *pāyāsa* offered by Kasibhāradvāja (Sn 15.5 cf. S I 168.34), the *pāyāsa* offered by Sujātā (Ja I 68.28), the *sūkaramaddava* offered by Cunda, and the *guṇa* offered by Kaccāna (Vin I 225.17).

Oskar v. Hinüber

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13 Earlier literature is listed in note 1, which supplements Koparkar as quoted above.


15 The accompanying gāthās are also discussed by P. Horsch, *Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur* (Bern, 1966), pp. 244 foll.

16 Cf. Mil 231.23 foll.
Lān² Nā as a Centre of Pāli Literature
During the Late 15th Century

Research into Theravāda literature composed in Pāli has been concentrated so far on India, the homeland of Buddhism, and on the two major surviving traditions of Ceylon and Burma respectively. Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, on the other hand, have received comparatively little attention. This is obvious from two well-known, fairly comprehensive monographs, which were written long ago to describe the Pāli literature of both Ceylon and Burma.¹ As far as Thailand is concerned, however, there is only a slim, though important article by G. Cœdès (1886–1969) on this subject. Less than a decade ago, this article was fortunately supplemented, but not superseded, by a substantial, well-researched study by Supaphan na Bangchang.² Unfortunately, this important contribution has had very little impact on international research on Pāli because it is written in Thai.

This progress in our knowledge of Pāli literature and of manuscripts preserved in Thailand was achieved only recently, so it comes as no surprise that Siamese manuscripts were hardly ever used when editions of the Pāli Text Society were prepared. These editions are almost exclusively based on material from Ceylon and Burma.³ In spite of this, it should not be forgotten that the earliest Pāli manuscripts

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³An exception is the recently published new edition of the Sagāṭhavagga of the Saṃyuttanikāya by G.A. Somaratne (1999), cf. OLZ (in press).
traceable in Europe came from Siam. They are catalogued for the first time in the *Catalogus Codicum Manu
ciporum Bibliothecae Regiae* as early as 1739 and belong to the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris today. These manuscripts were used by Eugène Burnouf (1801–52) and Christian Lassen (1800–76) in their book *Essai sur le pali* inaugurating research on Pāli in Europe in 1826.4

For a short while, the printed version of the Tipitaka that was most widely used was the version printed in Siam (present-day Thailand) in 1893–94. That edition was gradually superseded by the Pali Text Society editions. The Siamese editions receded into the background also because of certain shortcomings. Their manuscript basis was not clearly defined in the introduction, for example, and different traditions seem to have been confused. This follows from a very brief remark in the Brah Rājabaṅsāvatāra Chapāp Brah Rājahathalekha,5 which tells us that manuscripts in ākṣara lāvā (“Lao letters”) and in ākṣara rāmāṇa (“Mon letters”) were used for “cleaning” and were then transcribed into ākṣara khōm (“Khmer letters”) as part of the preparation of the restitution of the Central Thai Pāli canon in Bangkok in 1788–89.6 Thus, it seems, the high value of the northern tradition was either not fully recognized at that time, or no good northern manuscripts were easily accessible in central Siam.

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7However, important information on Northern Thai Pāli manuscripts is found in Harald Hundius, “The Colophons of Thirty Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand”, *JPTS*, 14 (1990), 1–173; and in *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts Kept in the Otani University* (Kyoto, 1995).

8“C.S.” is the Cūlasakkarāja era, which begins A.D. 638.

9*Lān Na Literature: Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute* (Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University, 1986), Section 6, no. 108.

10These figures are based on: Alexander B. Griswold, “Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam”, *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum XVI (Ascona 1957); Hans Penth, Cārīkā dībrah buddharaṇ na nagar jeyan hmai (Bangkok, 1976), and the figures given in H. Penth, *Bulletin of the Archive of Lanna Inscriptions*, 2 (1990), p. 18, as of 31 December 1989. The calculation of the number of manuscripts is based on my own observations.
### Only fourteen years from the Maṅgalatathādiṭhāni. Therefore, it is not unlikely that Sirimāṇgala was still alive when this manuscript was copied. This then would be quite unique in the history, not only of Pāli manuscripts, but of any older Indian or Southeast Asian tradition.

Nāṇakitti, the third author of the same period, is almost forgotten, though his work does deserve some attention. Nāṇakitti’s work has been almost totally neglected up to now. This oblivion may be due in part to the fact that he was a grammarian who composed a fairly comprehensive commentary called Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī on Buddhapiya’s well-known Rūpasiddhī. An old, complete manuscript of this commentary comprising 15 phūk (bundles of twenty-four palm leaves each) that dates from C.S. 950 (A.D. 1588) is preserved today in the important collection of Vat Suñ Men in Phrae, a collection that consists mostly of the early 19th-century Pāli manuscripts brought together at the initiative of the monk Kañcanā in the early 19th century.

The text itself has not been studied, and it seems no edition has been prepared. It is known only through the article by G. Ceërò, who had not seen the Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī himself, but who knew of a manuscript then extant in Cambodia. The colophon of the Phrae manuscript gives some information on Nāṇakitti. It is said that he lived in the Panasarāma monastery situated to the northwest (pacchima-uttara-bhāge) of Abhinavapura, which is the Pāli name for Chiang Mai. The monastery has, unfortunately, resisted all attempts at identification. The author describes himself as well versed in all branches of grammar (sakala-veyyākaraṇa-sanga-ñāṇa) and as having a full command of the Tipitaka together with its commentaries.

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13HPL §§ 389, 400.


15The donors, the upāsakas Nein Tem Bâ and Nân Suñ Gâm, who were husband and wife, originally deposited this manuscript in the Pha Khāv Bân monastery in Chiang Seen, from which a second manuscript containing the Sammohavinodāni (Vibh-a) copied in A.D. 1612 is extant and found in the Duang Di Monastery in Chiang Mai today (film no. 04-031-00).
Although the date of composition is not mentioned, the name of the king who provided the building in the Panaśrīma where Nānakitti lived is given as Sirī-Tibhuvanādīccka-dhammarāja. Although no king of this name is known in Lān Nā history, he can be identified without too much difficulty. In praising this king, the colophon continues: lankaḥidhānena suvamsajena rajādhīrājena. The form lanka is misleading at first, as it seems to indicate a Sinhalese king. Comparing colophons of other works by Nānakitti, however, shows that the correct reading in laka. This, of course, is not a Pāli, but a northern Thai word. It is to be pronounced loka and is used to name the sixth child, particularly in a royal family. Furthermore, Dāo Lak is listed as a name of King Tilokah, who ruled Chiang Mai between 1441 and 1487. According to an oral communication made by Hans Penth in Chiang Mai long ago, Tiloka might well have coined his Pāli name on the model of the name of his contemporary and rival who ruled Ayuthāyā between 1448 and 1488 as Phra Parama-Trailoka-nātha (Borommatrailokanath). Needless to say, Tiloka and Tibhuvana are synonyms.

This identification can be considered as accurate; so Nānakitti lived during the reign of King Tiloka, most likely towards the end of the reign. For, as other dated works indicate, he may have outlived the king by at least fifteen years.

Besides the grammatical commentary briefly discussed above, there are two commentaries on the Vinaya and possibly eight on Abhidhamma texts written by Nānakitti. It is uncertain whether there is, or ever has been, a complete set of subcommentaries on the entire Abhidhamma-piṭaka. The traces of a Kv-a-y and Yam-a-y are vague as they are found in the not entirely trustworthy handlist of the National Library in Bangkok, originally published in A.D. 1921. Three works of Nānakitti are dated: The Dhātukathā-atthayojana and the Pātimokkhaṇaṭhipada were composed in A.D. 1493–94, and the Abhidhammatthasanghā-mahātīkā-yojana, named Pañcikā by Nānakitti himself, in A.D. 1502–1503.

The first commentary in the present explaining the Abhidhammatṭhakathā, the As-y, was written with astonishing speed. As one of the colophon verses states, it took Nānakitti only nine months to finish this book comprising no less than 16 fascicles (phūk) or 248 printed pages in the Burmese edition of 1927:

... dhīrenā therena Nānakittinā
Aṭṭhasāliniyā atha-
Māghasirama upādāya yojanā sādhu sankhatā
navamāsehi niṭṭhānām yāva Sāvaṇamāsato
sammattā athayo jānā.

As-y B° 1927 249,12*-15*

The wise Elder Nānakitti carefully composed the commentary on the Aṭṭhasālinī, and the commentary reached its end in nine months from Māghasira (Nov.-Dec.) to the month of Sāvaṇa (July-Aug.).

This is in itself a rare statement found only three times in Pāli literature. The other two instances are the nīgamana to the Samanta-
pāśādikā stating that this text was composed during the 20th and 21st years of the King Sirinivāsa, and the corresponding information provided by Sumaṅgalaśami in the nīgamana of his Abhidhammattha-vibhāvini-tīkā. This text comprises 169 pages in the Pali Text Society

18The dates and colophons are found in G. Creedès, as note 2, pp. 49f. The exact date of Dhātuk-a-y is slightly doubtful: tathāgatassa parinibbānato navatināśihakesu dīvus vassasahasassesu paripūnmesu aṭṭhaka-vasse... catupaṃś̄ādhiṭhika-attahasatasakkārāye assayuṃ māsassa kālapaṭṭajāvadinnabhūte dasamadine: BE 2040 = A.D. 1497, but c.s. 854 = A.D. 1492 does not concur, unless Nānakitti used the highly unlikely date 548 b.c. for the Nirvāṇa instead of 543 b.c. as is usual in Thailand.

19This text is only about half a century younger than Ariyavamsa's Maniṣārmanāṇūṣa on the Abhidhammatthasanghā, composed in Burma in 1466. A comparative study on the methods of commenting on the text used in both these commentaries might yield interesting results.


17This list has been reprinted in Bukkyō Kenkyū (Buddhist Studies) (Hamamatsu) vol. 5 (1976), pp. 79-57.
edition and is said to have been composed in only twenty-four days, which is indeed a remarkable speed, even if, as H. Saddhatissa points out,21 this commentary is almost entirely based on the Abhidhammattha-purāṇa-sannaya by Sāriputta, Sumaṅgalasāmi’s teacher.

Naṇakitti not only mentions the time he needed for his work, but also indicates the months during which he worked. Similarly, he states at the end of Dhatuk-a-y that this commentary was finished in the month of Assayuja (Sept.–Oct.) on the tenth day of the dark half of the month, which was a Thursday (jivadina).22 Consequently, it seems not unlikely that this commentary was finished in October, immediately before he took up the work on the As-y in November. If this is correct, As-y, too, can be dated to A.D. 1492–93, although the nigamana does not contain a year. No direct or indirect date is available for any of the other Abhidhamma commentaries by Naṇakitti, including Vibh-a-y, which falls in between As-y and Dhatuk-y in the sequence of Abhidhamma texts.

A decade elapsed before Naṇakitti composed his last dated work, the Pañcikā, which is a subcommentary to the highly popular handbook by Anuruddha, the Abhidhammathasāṅgaha.23

Altogether, Naṇakitti wrote the following eleven commentaries:

I. Vinaya:
1. Pātimokkhaṭṭidipani [Pātim-gp-d]: 1492–93; ms G. Cœdès,24 number of phūk uncertain; Epilegomena: 25 1.1.1;

2. Samantarāsādikā-attha-yojanā [Sp-y]: no date; Se and mss at Phrae: 19 phūk; Epilegomena 1.2.14.

II. Abhidhamma:

3. Atthasālinī-attha-yojanā [As-y]: no date (perhaps 1492–93); Ce, Be and ms at Phrae: 16 phūk; Epilegomena 3.1.152;

4. Sammohavinoḍani-attha-yojanā [Vibh-a-y]: no date; Ce, Be and mss at Phrae: 16 phūk; Epilegomena 3.2.152;

5. Dhatukāthā-attha-yojanā [Dhatuk-a-y] 1492–93; ms Lk, and mss at Phrae: 3 phūk; Epilegomena 3.3.15;

6. Puggalapāṇiṇi-attha-yojanā [Pg-a-y]: no date; mss at Phrae: 1 phūk; [Epilegomena 3.4.15];

7. [Kathāvatthu-attha-yojanā] (Kv-a-y): existence uncertain; Epilegomena 3.5.15;

8. [Yamaka-attha-yojanā] (Yam-a-y): existence uncertain; Epilegomena 3.6.15;

9. Paṭṭhāṇa-attha-yojanā [Paṭṭ-a-y]: no date; ms G. Cœdès; number of phūk uncertain; [Epil. 3.7.15].

10. Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-attha-yojanā [Abhidh-a-mḥ-y]: 1502; Se; [Epilegomena 3.8.1.22].

21 Abhidh-s and Abidh-s-mḥt, introduction, p. xix; cf. HPL § 346.

22 This and other colophons contain an interesting, though not entirely clear remark: Naṇakittināma-dheyyena therena Haribhumijavāvasinaṁ bhāsāva katā avam dhatukathāpakkaranatthakathathavojano. The meaning of bhāsā may follow Thai usage here, as H. Penth suggests in a letter of 10 Sept. 1998: “following the way/understanding of the (monks) living in Lamphun”, which was a renowned seat of Theravāda scholarship in Naṇakitti’s time.


24 This refers to the article mentioned in n. 2 above.

25 Epilegomena, as in n. 14. Titles and their abbreviations and numbers not mentioned in the Epilegomena are put in brackets.
III. Veyyākaraṇa:

11. Kaccāyanarūpadipanī (commentary on Buddhapiya: Rūpasiddhi):
no date; ms at Phrae; 15 phāk; Epile gomena 5.1.42.

As no research has been done on these commentaries, nothing is
known about their exact contents. Sp-y suggests itself as a good starting
point, for while only two books, Sp-y (Sc) and Abhidh-s-mht-y (Sc), are
provided with indexes in the printed editions, the latter text has only one
general index, starting in a fairly comprehensive way in volume one,
only to get slimmer and slimmer towards volume three, and ending on a
decidedly discouraging note: _icc-evam-ādi paddānaṁ anukkamo idh’
evam tāva veditabbo. aṁñāni pi nātukāmena sayam eva gavesitabhāni_
(Abhidh-s-mht-y III 601.gf.). “This is as far as the alphabetical list of
words goes. Whoever wishes to know other [words], must search for
himself.”

The Samantapāsādikā-yojanā, on the other hand, also contains a
small and incomplete list of Pāli works quoted. This provides some
useful first information about books available to and used by Nāṇakīti.
Combining this information with some material collected at random
from Sp-y, the following preliminary remarks can be made about these
commentaries. Anybody used to reading Vinaya commentaries will be
surprised, if not somewhat disappointed, by Sp-y, for, as a true
grammarian, Nāṇakīti explains the grammar of the Samantapāsādikā to
such an extent that it is at times hard to see that he has before him a text
on Buddhist law. The sophisticated legal discussions found in the works
of his predecessors seem to be almost completely absent.

Obviously, Nāṇakīti was not a vinayadhara. He arranges sentences
in such a way as to show the syntactical construction, which is called
sambandha. Much is said on word formation, on the meaning of
sometimes quite well-known words, or on the use of cases. All this is,
of course, based on Pāli grammars such as Buddhapiya’s Rūpasiddhi
(Sp-y I 4.27), Moggallāna (Sp-y I 13.2) or Aggavamsa’s Saddanīti.26
Therefore it is difficult to avoid the impression that the
Samantapāsādikā was used, if not misused, to instruct monks in the
basics of grammar rather than in Vinaya.

More useful, and at times quite interesting, are the variant readings
mentioned by Nāṇakīti, but not preserved elsewhere in the manuscript
tradition, e.g., _ūnaṁ onan ti ti ca pāṭhā, Sp-y I 288.13 on Sp 297.30._
Furthermore, etymologies such as the one of Kusinārā deserve some
attention: _kuso hatthe etassa tveva athṭi ti kusī, dāṇḍādito ika iti suttena
(Kacc 368). kusī ca sa naro ca ti kusinaro, kusa-hattham naram
passitvā māpitam nagaram kusināram, Sp-y I 22.11-13, or of Pāli:_27
pakaṭṭha ali pāli aha vathām pāti rakkhati ti pāli, Sp-y I 13.1 ref. to:
pātismā ḳi hoti, athṭam pāti rakkhati ti pāli tanti, Mogg VII 228 (unādi).

One aspect of Nāṇakīti’s works is of immediate interest, however.
By quoting texts of other authors, he sheds some light on Lān2 Nā
literature, for these quotations not only demonstrate Nāṇakīti’s
learning, but at the same time show which texts were available in Lān2
Nā by the turn of the 16th century.

Apart from this immediate evidence of the presence of certain
books, access to a complete Tipiṭaka should not have been a problem in
Nāṇakīti’s time. Today it is. No monastery in the north, with the
possible exception of Vat Suñ Men at Phrae, possesses anything like a
complete set of the Tipiṭaka in manuscript form. Nāṇakīti, on the other
hand, witnessed, and in all likelihood also participated in, the eighth
council according to Thai reckoning, convoked by King Tilok in
Chiang Mai at Vat Jet Yot in A.D. 1477-78, where the king also had a

26The quotation _anduyā handhanam andubhandhanam, saddanītiyam pana addū
iti vuttim, Sp-y II 212.14f. refers to §447 _adi bandhane andati, andu_. Sadd
377.10, where the form _andu_ is not mentioned.

27For older explanations of different opinions on the word _pāli_ cf.:
library constructed to house the revised copy of the Tipiṭaka.\textsuperscript{28} Explanatory literature such as the Āṭṭhakathā must have existed at Chiang Mai during that time as well. Thus the preconditions existed to make Ēnākitti a true sāṭṭhakathātipiṭakadharā, a scholar “commanding the Tipiṭaka together with the commentary”, as he is called in his colophons.

The fairly incomplete index to the Thai printed edition of Sp-y traces altogether more than twenty quotations in this text. This number is at once reduced by one rather puzzling quotation from a text called “Vākyopāṇāśā”, queried with much justification by the Thai editors. For tathā ti vākyopāṇāśe vuttaṁ, Sp-y I 569,13 simply means “said at the beginning of the sentence”. Of course no such book exists.

It is certainly not surprising to find some quotations from canonical Suttas or Jātakas, nor is knowledge of the Buddhavamsa with its commentary, the Mahāvaṃsa, and the Thūpavamsa unexpected. Much more interesting is occasional information on relatively late Pāli literature. Thus it seems Ēnākitti is the first to provide a source for the existence of the Visuddhajanaavilāsinī, the commentary to the Apādāna. The earliest date for this otherwise undatable text was until now the oldest surviving manuscript, copied in A.D. 1557 and preserved at Vat Lai Hīn.\textsuperscript{29}

Moreover, Ēnākitti quotes the following three Vinaya commentaries: Buddhaghosa’s Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī, the Vinayaganṭhipada (i.e. the Vajirabuddhiṭkā), Buddhadatta’s Vinayavinicchaya\textsuperscript{30} with its commentary, the Vinayatthamaṇjūsā (i.e. the commentary on the Kaṅkhāvītaraṇī), the Khuddakasikkhāporāṇṭikā (Khudda-s-pt) and Khuddaka-sikkhā(bhinava)ṭikā (i.e. the Sumanāgalaappasādāni (Khudda-

\textsuperscript{28}Penth, \textit{Jinakālamalini Index}, (as note 12 above) p. 218; see also, E.W. Hutchinson, “The Seven Spires: A Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chiang Mai”, JSS vol. 30 (1951), pp. 43ff.

\textsuperscript{29}HPL § 302.

\textsuperscript{30}This is quoted as Vinayavinicchhayapiṭho, Sp-y II 232.29.

s-t)),\textsuperscript{31} the Uttaravinicchhayāṭkā, Vācissara’s Simālankāra and his Simālankārasaṃgaha. His quotations thus confirm the wrong attribution of the Kaṅkhāvītaraṇī to Buddhaghosa as well as Vinayaganṭhipada as the original, though rarely used, title of the Vajirabuddhiṭkā:\textsuperscript{32} vinayaganṭhipade ... vuttaṁ.

If we accept the information given in the index to Sp-y, he even seems to know the name of the author of the otherwise anonymous commentary on the Uttaravinicchaya when he quotes a long and interesting paragraph on coins and currencies, ending in a number of verses:

Uttaravinicchhayāṭkāyāṃ\textsuperscript{33} pana:

missakakahāpaṇo yeva nilakahāpaṇo. tathā eva hi porāṇasatthavihitalakkanam [“tām lakkha’"] dissaṭi. [kham] paṭca māsā suvanaṇassa, tathā rajatassa, dasa māsā tambassā tī ete viṣātī māse missetvā bandha[n]aṭṭhāya vihamattām lohaṃ pakkhipitvā akkharanām [“āni] ca hathhipāḍadimnam [hatthi-ādīnaṃ?] aṭṭhataṅ ca rūpaṃ dassetvā kato niddoṣattā nilakahāpaṇo nāma hoti. [= Utt-vin-t Be II 407.23–408.5]

honti c’ ettha:

hemarajattambehi satte niddiṭṭhalakkhanām
ahāpāya kato viṣā- māsā nilakahāpaṇo
hemapādaṃ sajjuhupādaṃ tambapādaḍavayaṃ hi so
missetvā rūpam appetvā kāṭum satte sudassito
elo [elā] ti vuccate doso niddoṣattā tathārito [tathārito]
tassa pādo suvanaṇassa vīsavāhaṅkāraṃ
[vāgghana māso]

yasmīm pana padeso na vattati kahāpaṇo
vīsaṇavaṇṇavīhaṅgham tappādaḍgghaṃ ti vedyam
vīsaṇavaṇṇavīhaṅgham thenentā bhikkhavo tato
cavanti sāmaṇaṅgūṇa ic’ āhu vinayaṅunu ti

\textsuperscript{31}On these commentaries cf. Heinz Braun and Anne Peters, \textit{Burmes Manuscripts}, Part 3 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Band XXIII, 3; Stuttgart, 1996), nos. 715, 716.

\textsuperscript{32}HPL § 367.

\textsuperscript{33}The usually correct wording in Utt-vin-t is given in brackets, where it differs from Sp-y, and is preferred as the basis of the translation.
It is said, however, in the commentary on the Uttaravinicchaya:

A nilakahāpana is a composite kahāpana. For this characteristic can be found described in ancient handbooks. How? A flawless nilakahāpana is made when five māsa of gold and [five māsa] of silver [plus] ten māsa of copper — these twenty māsa — are mixed. For better coherence an amount of iron corresponding only to the size of a grain of rice is added [and] letters and one of the marks such as an elephant, etc., are shown [on the coin].

And there are [the following verses]:

A nilakahāpana of twenty māsa [that is] not deficient in the characteristics described in the handbooks is made out of gold, silver, [and] copper. For it is well described in the handbooks that it is made by mixing a pāda of gold,34 a pāda of silver, two pādas of copper, and by adding a mark. A fault is called ela,35 because of [describing nilakahāpana as] being without fault, it has been said in this way [in the preceding verses]. A pāda of this gold [is called] a māsa equivalent to twenty grains of rice. In a country where a kahāpana is not a currency, the value of a pāda should be understood as corresponding to twenty grains of rice in gold. Monks stealing gold [equal in] value twenty grains of rice fall from the virtues of an ascetic as a consequence. So say those who are knowledgeable in the Vinaya.

This has been said by the Teacher Vācissara.”36

Nānakitti’s reference to Vācissara at the end of this paragraph sounds quite exciting at first. When checking the relevant paragraph itself, however, it becomes clear at once that these verses are quoted in the Uttaravinicchayaṭkā as well, although no source is indicated. But even if Nānakitti succeeded only in identifying their author correctly, which we are unfortunately unable to verify, some of the excitement would remain. For Vācissara, who lived in Ceylon during the late 13th century and is best known as the author of the Thūpavāma,37 also wrote on the Vinaya. Two short texts on sīma problems survive in manuscripts, the Simālaṅkāra and the Simālaṅkārasaṅgaha.38 Consequently, Nānakitti would be right in saying this only if he referred to an otherwise unknown work on Vinaya by Vācissara, for verses on money that obviously refer to the second Pārājika would be quite unexpected in any discussion on sīma.

Therefore, if the verses quoted in the Uttaravinicchayaṭkā were actually composed by Vācissara, this could provide a date ante quem (13th century) of this otherwise undated commentary. A two-hundred-year range between the 13th and the end of the 15th centuries is not unacceptable given the fact that we can give precise dates for Pāli texts of hardly any period.

Furthermore, Nānakitti even traces the sources of two quotations found within the text of the Samantapāsādikā: iti vajj — pe [i.e., satthe nāvāyen ti tiṣu thānesu nathhi vassacchede āpatti,] — pavāretuṇi ca labhāti ti (Sp 1072.4f.) porāṇatthakahāvacane, Sp-y II 280.8; and again yena akatam tena kātabbam, yām ca akatam tam kātabban (Sp 830.8)39 ti Sthālaṭṭhakahāpāṭhe, Sp-y II 83.1. Although both these short texts are also marked as quotations in the Samantapāsādikā, no source is indicated, nor are they identified by any of the predecessors of Nānakitti who are known to us, such as Vajirabuddhi, Sāriputta, or Kassapa Cola. Therefore, Nānakitti could not draw this information from an older commentary but had to rely on his own knowledge.

This at once raises the interesting though difficult question whether Nānakitti could have had immediate access to these very old texts which he gives as the sources of the quotations and which had been superseded

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34According to Vin III 45.11 five māsaka correspond to one pāda.
35Cf. CPD s.v. ‘ela.
37HPL § 192.
39It is interesting to note that this sentence is commented upon in the Samantapāsādikā.
by the Samantapāsādikā a millennium before his own time. However, they were still available in 12th century Ceylon. Consequently, if Nāṇakitti could still use the old Sinhalese commentaries, they must have survived much longer than is usually assumed. Although it seems at first highly unlikely, if not impossible, that this unexpected knowledge was available in Lān² Nā far away from Ceylon in the 15th century, we have to keep in mind that at the beginning of the 15th century twenty-five monks from Chiang Mai travelled to Ceylon for higher studies. Therefore it is not as far-fetched as it might seem at first that knowledge even of these commentaries was brought back to Lān² Nā, and moreover, it is not impossible to imagine that part of the oral tradition, including information about quotations in the important Vinaya texts, was acquired by the travelling monks in Anurādhapura.

Even if this problem cannot be solved, it raises the more general question of Nāṇakitti’s international position and that of his work during his lifetime and after. At the same time this can open a new perspective on Nāṇakitti’s activities within the context of Theravāda literature.

A general survey of commentaries on the Theravāda canon shows that there are two types of commentaries or commentators. On the one hand, there are large sets of commentaries by a single author such as Buddhaghosa, and on the other hand there are commentators who concentrated on only a single text such as the Vajirabuddhi. Once the commentarial literature is viewed from this angle, it is immediately obvious that the vast majority of this literature is connected to the names of only four authors: Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, Sāriputta, and finally, Nāṇakitti. This leads to two questions: Why were these truly voluminous texts written at a certain point in the development of Theravāda literature? And why were they written in specific areas?

The answers are obvious only with respect to Sāriputta, because the motives for his literary activity are well known. He explained the Vinaya at the request of Parakkamabāhu I (1153–86), who needed these very texts for his Sangha reforms in the 12th century. It is not unlikely that Buddhaghosa worked under similar circumstances when he composed the Visuddhimagga as the definitive handbook of Theravāda orthodoxy and as a centrepiece around which he grouped the commentaries on the first four Nikāyas of the Suttapiṭaka. During the same period, the commentaries on the Vinayapiṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka were developed as well, though not created by Buddhaghosa, as is erroneously assumed by the Theravāda tradition. If the generally accepted date for Buddhaghosa is correct, he was active at a time when the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura successfully sought to re-establish itself after having been almost completely suppressed by the rival fraternity of the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

Nothing at all is known about Dhammapāla’s background; his productivity was impressive, next only to Buddhaghosa’s.

Looking at Nāṇakitti’s work from the same perspective, he suddenly gains a surprisingly prominent position in the history of Theravāda literature, and, at the same time, his presumed intentions and programme become visible. Nāṇakitti lived during or shortly after a period of active exchange of Buddhist monks between Ceylon and Lān² Nā under a king who, not unlike Parakkamabāhu, tried to renew Buddhism. The council convoked by King Tiloka has been mentioned above. In this connection it makes more sense to follow earlier

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42 A survey of the authors and a tentative chronology of the commentaries on the Theravāda Tipiṭaka is found in HPL §307.
43 Buddhaghosa’s commentaries comprise approximately 5,000 printed pages; the Abhidhamma commentaries, approximately 1,700 printed pages; the Samantapāsādikā, approximately 1,500 printed pages. Dhammapāla’s commentaries, on the other hand, comprise more than 2,700 printed pages.
examples and have commentaries written as well. The close connection between King Tiloka or Siri-Tibhuvanadica and Ēnānakitti is quite evident from the colophons. Furthermore, Ēnānakitti’s programme could have been inspired by the model from Ceylon because the pattern of his commentaries clearly imitates earlier examples. There are no explanations of the Suttapitaka, which had dropped into the background long before, while scholarly activities of Theravāda monks such as Kassapa Cola concentrated on both the Vinaya and Abhidhamma.

Viewed from this angle, Ēnānakitti’s activities can be seen as part of the flowering of Lān² Nā culture before and after the year 1500, and this was not only due to his work. If we take into consideration the great number of extant Pāli manuscripts copied during this period, Lān² Nā was for a short time a late centre of Pāli literature, and perhaps the importance of this activity was understood at the time.

In contrast to his illustrious predecessors, however, Ēnānakitti failed to gain the same international recognition. This is only too evident from the rarity of manuscripts of his works even in Thailand. And no manuscript seems to be known outside Thailand, Laos or Cambodia. Thus, the Sinhalese print of the Vibh-a-y of 1892 states expressly that the manuscript material was provided by the then king of Siam, Chulalongkorn (1853-1910, reigned from 1868). Neither the Sāsanavamsa, the Gandhavamsa, nor the Piṭakatthamaiṇ (Piṭakat-samuīn) mentions his name.

This shows that Lān² Nā was only a local centre of Pāli literature and not of any international significance. It never exercised any recognizable influence on either Burma or Ceylon. And, as far as the work of Ēnānakitti is concerned, this failure to win international appreciation in the Theravāda world may be due in large part to the somewhat limited information his exercises in grammar provide. The lack of new ideas in continuing the discussion of controversial points in both the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma does not immediately appeal to the reader.

Another reason may have been the political development. The Burmese conquered Lān² Nā in 1558, half a century after Ēnānakitti. After that event, the Lān² Nā Pāli tradition merged with, or was absorbed by, the exegetical tradition of Burma which was stronger, older, and much better. Thus it seems that the Burmese prevailed not only politically but also culturally, pushing back into near oblivion a short-lived attempt of a local culture to establish itself in the world of Theravāda Buddhism. Although that attempt ultimately failed, it does deserve to be remembered as a late phase of Pāli literature.

Oskar von Hünüber
Nine Pāli Manuscripts in the Vatican Library

The present paper is respectfully dedicated, as a token of gratitude, to the memory of the great scholar Monseigneur Sauget MEP, lector orientalis Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and to Umberto Figliuoli, Avvocato di Sacra Rota.

During a short mission to Rome in March-April 1986, l’École française d’Extrême-Orient gave me the opportunity of establishing a “Bibliothèque Vaticane, état sommaire du fonds des manuscrits en écritures indiennes ou dérivées”. The following is an abstract translated into English of the file concerning the Pāli collection.

Pāli manuscripts are found in two different collections, Borgia (BORG) and Vaticana-Indiana (VAT-IND). Six manuscripts are in Burmese script, two in the Kham script of Siam, one in Sinhalese script. Except for the manuscripts from the Borgia Collection, the provenance remains unknown. Three MSS were copied during the 18th century, one in the middle of the 19th century, the dates of the others are unknown.

The Three Pāli Manuscripts of the Borgia Collection

The collection built up by Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731–1804) which is housed today in the Vatican Library comes from the Propaganda Fide Library in Rome and Borgia Museum of Velletri.

At the end of the 18th century, Indian and Indochinese manuscripts of the Borgia collections were carefully described by Paulinus

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1 See EFEO DATA Filliozat, file Vaticana kept in the data base of the École française d’Extrême-Orient Library, 22 avenue du Président-Wilson, 75116 Paris, France. Free copy on request.

Bartholomeus, a White Friar former missionary who was a reader in Oriental languages at the College of Missions in Rome at Saint Pancras. He published two books in Rome:

Examen historicocriticum codicum Indicorum, Bibliotheca Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide. Rome: Sacra Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1792


Unfortunately not all the Pāli manuscripts described in these two works could be traced today in the Vatican Library. The only manuscript we could identify in the first book is the text of the Pātimokkha in Pāli with a Burmese nissaya, and in the second book, two Pāli manuscripts classified among the Codices Peguani: a fragment of a Jātaka text and the same Pātimokkha. Concerning the Kammavācā text studied by Bartholomeus, described as leaves on palm we do not recognize the MS BORG-IND 72 on metal plates. There is no information concerning what happened to the other manuscripts described by Bartholomeus after the time they were housed in the Propaganda Fide Library and the Velletri Borgia Museum.

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3 According to J.W. de Jong, A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America (Varanasi 1976), p. 14, he was an Austrian, and his civil name was J. Ph. Wesdin (1748–1806).
4 Shelf-mark, Vaticana sala consult. MSS nos. 421, 422.
8 Bartholomeus 1792, introduction, pp. 77–78, and Bartholomeus 1793, pp. 84–89.

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10 JBRS XLIX, ii (Dec. 1962), “Odyssey of the First Burmese Types”.
After a detailed description of the palm-leaf folios, the following information is given concerning Cardinal Borgia’s gift of a text entitled Padimot (Pātimokka), which is no doubt BORG-IND 51.14

Eruditissimus, neque unquam labore vincendus, Illustriissimus Praesul Stephanus Borgia in Congregatione de Propaganda Fide a Secretis praeter ferreum stilum, qui ad scribendum apud Barnanos in usu est, dono etiam dedit eiusdem Sacrae Congregatioinis Bibliothecae cum Evangelia, quae per annum in Missa leguntur, tum B. Pauli Apostoli Epistolas, 1 Dialogum Talapoinum inter, & Missionarium, denique Padimot, hoc est corumdem Talapoinorum Regulas, omnia in hisce olis, characteribus, Barmanaque lingua impressa.

The Bibliothèque nationale in Paris15 possesses three copies of this small book in Latin with quotes from the Kammuva and the Padimot on page xxxviii.16 In the second edition the text is fully recomposed. The plate on page x is the same extract of the Kammuva but with larger square characters.17 I do not think that the Kammavācā manuscript

14Alphabetum Barmanum, p. xxx, n. 1. Un homme très savant, jamais mis en échec par le labeur, le très illustre P. Stéphane Borgia secrétaire de la Congrégation de la Propagande de la Foi, donna outre un stylet de fer dont les Barnans se servent pour écrire, avec les Evangiles de la Bibliothèque de la Congrégation sacrée qui sont lus au long de l’année à la messe, les épîtres de B. Paul Apôtre et le Dialogue entre les talapoins et les lettres des missionnaires, et enfin le Padimot, c’est la règle de ces talapoins, tout ceci sur ces îles, avec les caractères, gravés en langue barmane. (Translation into French by Marie Ver Eecke.)

15According to the ex-libris, the book formerly belonged to the Library of Séminaire de Saint Sulpice, Paris.


17A. Peters, “Ergänzendes zur Pāli-Quadratschrift” in Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismus. Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Prof. Dr. Heinz Bechter zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 26. Juni 1992, Edited by found today under shelf-mark Vatican BORG-IND 72 is the one used for this plate. I agree with Luce,18 who says:

[In the Preface written by Johannes Christophorus Amatutus p. vii. we read: “On his return, last year, from the Pegu Mission, Melchior Carpani, of the diocese of Lodi and a member of the clerics regular of St. Paul, who are called Barnabites, to whom has been entrusted the propagation of our Faith in the most extensive kingdom of Ava and the holy ministry in thirteen churches scattered throughout that same country, has happily brought unto us the signs and letters well designed of the said Burmese language. As he lived mostly in the city called Rangoon, a seaport of the kingdom of Pegu, and dwelt for sometime at Ava near the king himself, it was easy for him to become proficient in the languages of the country and obtain the exact forms of its alphabet. Thanks to this the carving, cutting and casting of this alphabet was duly proceeded with by our own experts in the art of casting, and thus we were able to commit to the press the very first specimen letters of that language as also a summary of our Christian doctrine.”

In 1825, the French scholar Eugène Burnouf was searching all over Europe for Kammavācā manuscripts in order to decipher the different formulas, and to edit, translate, study, and extract an alphabet to complete the plates for his Essai sur le Pali.19 With the help of Abel Rémusat, Burnouf hoped to be able to consult the Italian manuscript of the Kammuva described by Bartholomée.20 He wrote to Ch. Lassen on the 6th September 1825:21

\[\text{R. Grünendahl, J.-U. Hartmann, P. Kieffer-Püll, Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Bonn 1993: 221–28 + 4 pl.} \]

\[\text{E. Luce, “Alphabetum Barmanorum Carpani Melchior” in JBRs, IV, ii, Rangoon 1914: 144–45} \]

\[\text{E. Burnouf and Ch. Lassen, Essai sur le Pali ou langue sacrée de la presqu’île au-delà du Gange, avec six planches lithographiées et la notice des manuscrits palis de la Bibliothèque du Roi, Société Asiatique (Paris, 1826).} \]

\[\text{See L. Feer, Papiers d’Eugène Burnouf (Paris 1899) pp. 114–15.} \]

\[\text{E. Burnouf, Choix de lettres d’Eugène Burnouf 1825–1852 (Paris 1891), pp. 1–2.} \]
Jacqueline Filliozat


The Bibliothèque nationale also possesses records of the correspondance of Burnouf concerning his request for Pāli manuscripts from Burma catalogued by Bartholomeus:23

Note remise par E. Burnouf à Abel Rémusat afin d’obtenir le prêt d’un manuscrit du Kammouva conservé à Velletri:

I. Il existe dans le musée de Velletri avec traduction italienne d’un ouvrage pali, sous le titre de: Kammouva, ossia trattato della ordinazione dei Talapoini del secondo ordine, detti Pinzen. Le manuscrit de cette traduction faite par l’ordre du cardinal Borgia et à laquelle est joint un commentaire sur le texte, formé en tout 30 pages in-4°; il se trouve sous le n° 6 suivant le catalogue du Père Paulin de Saint Barthélémy. On lit la phrase suivante au commencement de l’ouvrage: “Innanzi a tutto un precettore prendere conviene: il precettore preso, che sia del vaso o della pentola per accattare il cibo e dell’abito trattare conviene....” Cette même traduction se trouve encore, mais, de plus, avec le texte pali même, dans la bibliothèque de la Propaganda sous ce titre: “Kammouva, ossia trattato della ordinazione dei Talapoini, in caratteri Pali o Bali sopra olle aurate. Traduzione fatta per commissione di Monsignor Stephano Borgia, secret. di Propag. nel 1776”. Le texte dont il s’agit est écrit en un caractère carré gros et très noir, sur des feuilles dorées longues et peu larges.

II. Il existe encore dans le même musée de Velletri un manuscrit du R.P. Carpanus sous ce titre: “Osservazioni sopra i due libri Barmani n. 1 e 2” coté n° xxxvi d’après Paulin. Ce manuscrit contient des notes et éclaircissements sur le livre pali appelé par le savant missionnaire Padimauka. On y lit cette phrase: “Questo è il libro delle costituzioni o regole dei Talapoini, conosciuto

22 Papiers d’Eugène Burnouf (Paris 1899), pp. 114–16, where a letter to Abel Rémusat dated 1 Sept. 1825 is given along with the text of the note concerning the Kammouva of Velletri (see below).

23 Papiers Burnouf 70(8), Kammouva de Velletri (ff. 97–99).

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specialmente sotto il nome o titolo di Padimauka, benché chiamasi ancora con altri nomi più proprii”. Le texte pali du Padimauka se trouve dans le même musée, sous le n° 2, en un manuscrit sur feuilles de palmier au nombre de 102, longues de trois pieds et demi environ et larges de trois pouces et demi. Le caractère en est rond. N.-B. Ces indications sont dues au Père Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy: 1° Musei Borgiani Vellitris codices p. 17 et 84; 2° Systema Brahmanicum p. 114 et s.


Burnouf did not obtain the “extradition” of these manuscripts as they had probably already been lost by 1825. His request sent to the Propaganda Fide being unsuccessful, he asked for F. Bopp’s help in London. Bopp procured a facsimile of the Kammavācā of the Royal Asiatic Society for Burnouf.25

24 The text is actually in Burmese for the most part, not in Pāli, with Italian translation. It is not classified here but in the Burmese collection. This manuscript is kept today under the shelf-mark BORG-IND 5, “Compendium legis Barmanorum Mahatabassi Dharma rājigurā, paper, 24.5 x 18.5 cm, 19 pp. Burma, Pali (characteribus rotundis). A compendium of the laws of the Burmese nation with a parallel translation by Fr. Giuseppe de Amara (clerico regulare OS. Paulo)”.

 Cf. Bartholomeus 1793, introduction, pp. 24–46, example reproduced on p. 23; and Vivian Ba, “The Early Catholic Missionaries in Burma”, The Guardian (Sept. 1962), p. 20, n. 2: “Padimot [Pātimokha] translated also by Percoto (Compendium legis Barmanorum, 1762). The Italian manuscript is in the Borgia Museum, Velletri, Italy, and the Pali original in the Library of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. (Compendium legis also attributed to Carpani)” [The information concerning the location of the original manuscript is obsolete]

25 Choix de lettres, p. 7 (Burnouf to F. Bopp in London, 14 Nov 1825); p. 9 (Burnouf to F. Bopp in London, Dec. 1825). For details see EFEO DATA file Burnouf & Royal Asiatic Society.
Cf. Ja III 174.20–78.26. This ms is erroneously described by Bartholomew 1793 under no. 1, Codices Peguani, as “Bidagat” (= Pīṭaka). He gives p. 15 as a specimen of the script.

5 fols., 520 × 55 mm, 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 72 char.—square small compressed Burmese script — Numb. Burmese numerals — all margins on verso, right side: catupaṭṭha nipāt jāt; left side: pathama. Found inside a cardboard case with MS BORG-IND 50, inscribed in Roman golden letters: “fragmentum primi libri indici bidagat”.

No date [18th c.]

BORG-IND 51

Pāṭimokkha
Pāli-Burmese nissaya, CDP 1.1

Fol. 1a, Roman script, black ink: “Regole dei talapoini sa Pādimaṭukā vide lib. tit. Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti libri Avenses ... Peguane n° II pag. 16”; fols. 1b, 2, blank.

Beg., fol. 2b (ka): namo tassa ... samajjani padipo ca l udakaṃ āsanena ca l uposathassa etāni pubbakaraṇan ti vuccati l samajjani l [+ Burmese] ... suṇyālokkassa arthitāyā ... padipakiccam ...

End, fol. 100a, 9 (jhi): pāṭimokkhasamvarasila kac ... patimokkhaniyā ... pāṭimokkha kilesa ... fol. 102, blank.


102 fols., 510 × 60 mm, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 8 lines, 56 char. — Burmese script — Numb. Burmese letters.

Date: 1130 B.E. = A.D. 1768.
Kammavācā
CPD 1.1.16

1. Upasampadā°
   Beg., fol 1b, text in the middle, illuminated margins with framed peacocks: namo tassa ... pathamaṃ upajjhāṃ gāhapatabbo l upajjhāṃ gāhāpetvā ... 
   End, fol 8b (khē)

2. Kaṭhina°
   Beg., fol 8b.2 (khē)
   End, fol 10a.5 (khō, 1 [European numeral]): ubbhatamī samghena kāthinaṃ khamati samghassa tasmā tuṇhi evam etam dhārayāmiti l ākkharā ekamekaṃ ca buddhā° ...
   fol 10b, 3 floral medallions, the middle one is surrounded by 2 flying devatā and floral motifs.

This is not the ms studied by Bartholomē 1792, BORG-IND 51, pp. 77–78 and Bartholomē 1793, BORG-IND 49, pp. 84–89, as it is described as being written on palm leaves.

10 metal plates, 510 × 100mm; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red on the recto only with 3 floral motifs in the middle, birds on extremities, only one cord hole, 6 lines, 35 char.—Burmese tamarind-seed large script in black lac on gilded ground, fine red motifs between the lines — Numb. Burmese letters — Labels giving wrong titles.

No date.

The Six Pāli Manuscripts of the Vatican Indian Collection

The inventory registers being reserved for the library staff, no records were available to me for tracing the provenance of the six manuscripts quoted under VAT-IND.

VAT-IND 43

Yamaka
fragments, CPD 3.6

1. Mūla-yamaka
   Fol. ka missing.
   Beg., fol. 1a (kā): l dhammā l sabbe te kusalamūlāna ekamūlāka l yevā pana kusalamūlāna ekamūlāka sabbe te dhammā kusalā l ye keci kusalamūlāna ekamūlāka dhammā l sabbe te ... [Left margin in smaller characters]: ye keci kusalādhammā l sabbe te kusalāmūlamūlāka l yevā pana kusalāmūlamūlāka l sabbe te dhammā kusalā l ye keci kusalādhammā l sabbe te kusalamūlāna ekamūlālakā ... Fol. kū missing.
   End, fol. 5b.11 (ke): l ye keci nāma dhammā l sabbe te nāma hetū l nāmanidāna l nāmasambhāvā l nā
   All margins verso, right side: mūlayamuik pāljītō

2. Āyatana-yamaka
   Khandha-yamaka is missing.
   Beg., fol. 6a (ge): na dhammo nāyatanam l nāyatanā na cakkhu l na dhammo nāyatanam l nāyatanā na satam l la l nāyatanā na mano l cakkaṃ bandhitabbaṃ l uddesavāro l ...
   End, fol. 16b.10 (cō): l no ca tesam tattha cakkāyatanam nirujjhathā l itaresam pañcavokarānam tesam tattha rūpāyatanañca nirujjhissati l cakkāyatanam nirujjhitha l yassa yathā cakkāyatanam nirujjhathā l tassā tattha mānayatanam nirujjhithi l pañcavokāre parinibbānāṃ tesam tattha cakkāyatanam nirujjhathā l no ca tesam tatthanāna
   All margins verso, right side: āyatanaayamuik
   Cf. Yam l 53.18–141.26 (lacunas in the ms).
3. Sacca-yamaka
   Beg., fol. 17a (cu?): s[e]s[t]am ūvā pāṇḍakkhane tesām tattha [sa]mudayoascatca uppañjissati | maggasaccāña uppañjissati | yassa vā pana yattha maggasaccān uppañjissati | tassa tattha samudayaascaccañ uppañjissati …
   End., fol. 18b (īu)
   All margins verso, right side: saccayamuik
   Cf. Yam I (B⁸) 226.

4. Anusaya-yamaka
   Saṅkharayamaka missing. Fol. 19a, blank.
   Beg., fol. 19b (ka), left margin: sabbasakāyapariyāpanesu dhhammesu etthā diṭṭhanūsayo anuseti l … [main text]: namo tassa … l satta anussayā kāmarāgānusayo pāṭighānusayo māṇānusayo l diṭṭhanusayo vicikicānusayo l bhavārāgānusayo l avijānusayo l kathā kāmarāgānusayo anuseti kāmadhātuyā dvīsu vedanāsu l ertha kāmarāgānusayo anuseti l …
   End., fol. 32b (jāh)
   All margins verso, right side: ānūsayayamuik
   Cf. Yam I 268,19ff. (lacunas in the ms).

5. Citta-yamaka
   Beg., fol. 33a (ku?): bhāṅgakkhaṇe nirodhasamāpannānaṃ asaṅa-sattanaṃ tesām cittām uppañjitha no ca tesām cittām …
   fol. 33b (ku?): tta l tassa cittām na niruṣjihatī ti l natthī l yassa cittām niruṣjihatī l tassa cittām niruṣjhitī l tassa cittām niruṣjhitissatī l pacchimacittassa bhāṅgakkhaṇe tesām cittām niruṣjihatī …
   End., fol. 33b (ku?): 11: … pacchimacittassa bhāṅgakkhaṇe tesām cittām na ce uppañjii tī ce ca niruṣjhitissati l yassa
   In the margin, right side: cittayamuik
   Cf. Yam II 9–21 (?)

6. Dhamma-yamaka
   Fols. ka, kā missing.

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Nine Pali Manuscripts in the Vatican Library

Beg., fol. 34a (ki): dhāmām ti l ānantā l dhāmām kusalaā dhāmām ti l kusalaādhāmām l dhāmām ceva kusalaā dhāmām ca avasesā dhāmām na kusalaā dhāmām l akusalaā dhāmām ti l āmantā l … [many lacunas]
   End., fol. 37b,11 (kāh): … satta akusalaā dhāmμānaṃ niṟujiḥhatī l tattha abyākata dhāmām nirujiḥhatī l āmantā l yattha vā pana abyā°
   All margins verso, right side: dhāmamayamuık
   Cf. Yam II 22–24.

7. Indriya-yamaka
   Beg., fol. 38a (ne): yassa vā [pa]na upēkkhīndriyaṃ na uppañjissati l tassa ghāṇindriyaṃ na uppañjissatī ti l te saṅghānaṅkā somanasse na uppañjithā paṁiṃbāyissantī l …
   End., fol. 40b,11 (chū): … tassa tattha upēkkhīya uppaṭṭhuttaṃ l catuvaṅkā paṅca-vaktā ca ṭavatām pāvattī cittassā bhāṅgakkhaṇe upēkkhī samayuttacittassā upādakkhane tesām tattha l manindriyaṃ uppaṇjī
   All margins verso, right side: induyayamuık
   Cf. Yam II. 179f. (?) (many lacunas)
   40 fols., 525 x 60mm, 2 cord holes, 11 lines, 72 car. — Burmese script — Numb. Burmese letters — Many notes in the text and margins.
   No date.

VAT-IND 44

Kammavācā
CPD 1,2,16

1. Upasampadā° fragments
   Fol. 1a, illuminated with 5 octagonal medallions including peacocks and floral motifs painted in red on a golden ground.
   Beg., fol. 1b (ka, 1227), illuminated margins, same medallions, but here on a silvered ground, gilded joins on corners, main text: namo

27Arabic numerals on labels (in incorrect order).
tassa ... l pathamaṃ upajjam ṣahapetabbo l upajjaṃ gahapetvā l pattacaryana acikkhitabbaṃ ...

End, fol. 5b (ku): sunaṭu me bhante samgho l ayaṃ nāgo l āyasamo tissassa upsampadāpekhā
Fols. kū, ke missing.
Resumes, fol. 6a (kè, 10): [tiṃsalar]kaṃ upadāya l yo bhikkhu pādaṃ vā l pādaāraham vā l atirekapādaṃ vā l ...
End, fol. 5b.5 (kè, 10): upasampannena bhikkhunā uttari ma[nussa-dhamman]...
Fols. ko, kō missing.

2. Sīmā° fragment
Resumes, fol. 7a (kaṃ, 7): bhante eso pāsāṇo nimittāṃ l dakkhināya disayā kinnimittāṃ
End, fol. 8b (kaḥ, 6) 5
Cf. Frankfurter pp. 146.24–47 end of Chap. III.

3. Kaṭhina° fragment
Beg., fol. 9a.1 (kha, 8)
End, fol. 9b.5 (kha, 8) ... sace samghātiyā kaṭhinaṃ atharitukāmo hoti porāṇikā samghāti paccuddha°

4. Therasammuti° fragment
Beg., fol. 10a (khi, 9) ... maṃ therasamuti yācāmi l dutiyam pi l tatiyam pi l yācāpetvā...
End, fol. 10b.3 (khi, 9)

5. Nāmasammuti°
Beg., fol. 10b.3 (khi, 9)
End., fol. 11b.3 (11)

6. Vihāra°
Beg., fol. 11b.3 (11)

End., fol. 12a.3 (1) + di l pu la l Fol. 12b same illuminations as in fol. 1a.

Cf. ed. p. 149 chap. VI up to p. 150 chap. VII.
This ms could be the one studied by Bartholomé 1792, pp. 77–78; and 1793, pp. 84–89 as it is on palm leaves. We would expect, however, for the shelfmark to begin “BORg-IND”.

12 fols., 560 × 100mm, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with 8 medallions mixed with floral motifs, 2 cord holes for fols., only one for the boards, 5 lines, 34 char. — Burmese tamarind-seed large script in black lac on decorated silvered ground — Numb. Burmese letters and incorrect European labels — Repairs on borders and corners with gold leaf.

No date.

VAT-IND 45
Dharmapada-āṭṭhakathā, fragment
CPD 2.5.2.1

Fol. 1a, left margin, minute script: saddhivārikavatthu ānanda-śeṣṭhīvatthu udāiytheravatthu suppabuddhakutivatthu kasakavatthu sūjanamālākāravatthu; in the middle: l bra dharmapadaṭṭhakathā kambujaravaṇā ... phūk 14; fols. 1b–4, blank.
Beg., fol. 5a (ra) agamāsi l bārāṇasivāsino deve pi tayo pi bahutarāpi ekato hutvā āgantukadānaṃ pavattayimsu l tadhā bārāṇasīyam cattārīsam cattārīsacattārīsakotivibhavā cattāro seṭṭhiputtā sahāyakā ahesum l
Fol. 11a.1 (re): l kasalavatthu l (cf. variant reading K. in E°, Dhp-a II 19 note 6); fol. 14b.5 (ro) l kassappatherravatthu l; fol. 17a.3 (la) l ānandaseṭṭhīvatthu l; fol. 18a.3 (lā): l ganḍikabheda-kacaravatthu l; fol. 18b.5 (lā): l udāiytherassavatthu l; fol. 19b.5 (li): l pāveyyakabhikkhu-vatthu l; fol. 21b.2 (lu): l suppabuddhakutthīvatthu l; fol. 23a.3 (le): l kasakavatthu l; fol. 28a.4 (la): l sumanamālākāravatthu l
End, fol. 28b.4 (la): l ... tassā acīrappabbjitīyā evam uposathāgāre kālavāro pāpuṇi l sā dipaṃ jālevā uposathāgāraṃ samamajjvitvā
dipasikhāya nimittaṁ gaṅghīvā ṭhitā va punappunaṁ olokapamānaṁ tejo kṣaṇīrammaṇaṁ jhānaṁ nibbattetvā tum eva pādaṁkatvatvā arahattaṁ pāpuṇi saddhim patisambhidāhi ceva abhiññāhi ca l Fols. 29–32, blank.

*Cf.* Dhp-a II 9.14–49.7, from the middle of Aññataarpurisavatthu up to Uppalavannaṭtheravatthu.

32 fols., 555 x 52mm, in a wooden painted box, inside red, outside black, spotted and illuminated with gilded floral motifs, gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 65 char. — Mūl script — Numb. Mūl letters — Corrections and additions in purple ink.

No date.

VAT-IND 51
Apādāna-āṭṭhakathā (Visuddhajanavilāsinī)
Pāli-Burmese nissaya, CPD 2.5.13,1
Fols. 1–6a, blank.

*Beg., fol. 6b (ka):* namo tassa ... l paccekabuddha-apādāna ... [+ Burmese] ... thera-apādān ... tadanantaraṁ therāpādānaṁ ... l samgahagāthā ... right margin: apādān athakathā nisya; fols. 77b–84, 143–46, 207–209, 270–73, blank.

*End, fol. 356a.6 (laṁ):* l ... evanatikkhagambhiparapaccotahāsapaṅñāl l ... pītakāni ca ... sakkarāj 1208; fols. 356b–62, blank.


362 fols. (the first six and the last 6 fols. are sewn and used as covers), 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded on the recto only, 490 x 62mm, red lacquered and gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 72 char. — Burmese script — Numb. Burmese letters.

Date: 1208 B.E. = A.D. 1846

VAT-IND 52

1. Atṭhasālinī, fragment
CPD 3.1,1
Fol. 1a, in the middle: "bra saṅgaṇī phūk 1 l". Fols. 1b–4, blank.

*Beg., fol. 5a (ka):* namo tassa ... l karuṇā viya sattesu paññāyassa maheṣino ...

*End., fol. 27b (khai) bra saṅgaṇī phūk 1 l Fols. 28–34, blank.

*Cf.* As 1f.

2. Abhidhamma-piṭaka, mixed fragments
A. Vibhāṅga, CPD 3.2
Fol. 35a, in the middle: bra vibhaṅgapakaraṇaṭṭikā phūk 2 l Fols. 35b–9a, blank.

*Beg., fol. 39b (kho):* l paṅcakkhandha rūpakkhandho vedanākkhandho saṅkhārakkhandho saṅkhārakkhandho viññāpakkhandho l

*End, fol. 56a (ghi):* l bra vibhaṅga phūk 2 l Fols. 56b–60, blank.

*Cf.* Vibh 1f.

B. Dhamūkathā, CPD 3.3
Fol. 61a, in the middle: bra dhātukathāpakkaraṇaṭṭiredupūṇa phūk 3 l Fols. 61b–65a, blank.

*Beg., fol. 65b (ña) l puggalo uppalabbhātā saṅnakāttha paramatthāni āmantāyo ... [The text is actually the Kathāvatthu.]*

*End, fol. 77a.5 (ca):* l bra dhātukathā phūk 3 l kusalādhammā akusalā [These are the first words of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī.] Fols. 77b–83, blank.

C. Puggalapaṇṇatti, CPD 3.4
Fol. 84a, in the middle: bra puggalapaṇṇattipakaraṇa phūk 4 l Fols. 84b–87, blank.

*Beg., fol. 88a (gha):* l ārabhhatina<ṃ> vijipatisāra hoti taṁ ca aceto vimutti yathābhūtam pajānāti ... Fols. 90 a and 91, similar (ghi, ghi !): bra puggalapanatiṣaṅkano mātikā phūk 4 l Fols. 99–103, blank.

Beg., fol. 1b; namo tassa ... uttamaṃ vandaneyyānaṃ vanditvā ratanattayaṃ yo khuddakanikāyāmi khuddakacārapahāyānaṃ — desito lokanāthena lokanīsaraṇeṣeṇa tassa suttanipatāsena karissām’ athavaṇṇanā — gāhāsatasasamākino geyyavyakaraṇaṃkito kasmā suttanipāto ti samkhām esa gato tici —; fol. 13a.3 — paramathajotika dhuddakatthakathāya uragasuttaṃvaṇṇanā niṇṭhisai —; 118b.7 — paramathavādhaniyasuttaṃvaṇṇanā niṇṭhisai —; 50a.3 — jīvitasamkhaya-gāthā vaṇṇanā samattā; fol. 50b.5 — paramathavā khaggavisānasuttaṃvaṇṇanā niṇṭhisai —; fol. 61b.4 — kasibhāradvājasutta; fol. 64b.9 — cundhasutta; fol. 70b.2 — aggikhāradvājasutta; fol. 77a.9 — mettasuttaṃvaṇṇanā niṇṭhisai —; fol. 86a.6 — hemavatasutta; fol. 94a.3 — ālakasutta; fol. 108a.9 — munissutta — pathamavaggo ca vattanātayato [read: athavaṇṇanānāyatato] samatto nāma uragavaggoi —; fol. 123a.9 — ratanasutta; fol. 129a.1 — amagandhasutta; fol. 130b.5 (13)28 — sucilomavaṇṇanā niṇṭhisai —; fol. 133a.4 (16) — kapilasutta; fol. 137b.9 (20) — brahmanadhahamnīkasutta; fol. 140a.2 (23) — dhammasutta; fol. 141b.8 (24) — kimśetasutta; fol. 143a.5 (26) — uṭṭhānasutta; fol. 149a.5 (32) — sammāparibbajāyasutta; fol. 153a.9 (36) — dhammikasutta — niṇṭhito ca vagoon dutiyo nāma culla vagoon ti —; fol. 155a.3 (38) — pabbajjasutta; fol. 157b.9 (40) — padhānasutta; fol. 165a.1 (48) — puralāssutta; fol. 167.7 (50) — māghasutta; fol. 174b.4 (57) — sabhiyasutta; fol. 181b.1 (64) — selasutta; fol. 184a.3 (67) — sallassutta; fol. 188a.1 (71) — vāseṭhasutta; fol. 191a.6 (74) — kokāliyasutta; fol. 197b.7 (80) — nālakasutta; fol. 201a.1 (84) — dva(!)ṭānapassasutta — niṇṭhito ca vagoon tatiyo nāma mahāvagoon —; fol. 202a.3 (85) — kāmasutta; fol. 203b.8 (86) — ghuṭṭhakasutta; fol. 205b.5 (88) — duṭṭhakasutta; fol. 207b.1 (90) — sūdhaṭṭhakasutta; fol. 208a.5 (91) —

28Arabic numbers.
paramatthasutta®; fol. 209b.8 (92) — rāhulasutta®; fol. 212b.2 (95) — nigrodhakappasutta®; fol. 213b.4 (1) — jarāsutta®; fol. 214b.6 (2) — tissametteyyasutta®; fol. 216b.2 (4) — pasurasutta®; fol. 219b.6 (7) — purābhodasutta®; fol. 221a.4 (9) — kalahavādasutta®; fol. 222a.6 (10) — culavīyasutta®; fol. 223b.6 (11) — mahāvyūhasutta®; fol. 225a.4 (13) — tuvaṭahasutta®; fol. 227a.1 (15) — sāriputtasutta® ... niṭṭhito ca vaggio catutto — nāmena aṭṭhakavaggo —; fol. 232a.8 (20) — punnakasutta®; fol. 232b.10 (20) — mettagunattasutta®; fol. 233a.6 (21) — dhotakasutta®; fol. 234a.1 (22) — upasīvasutta®; fol. 234a.5 — nandasutta; fol. 234a.9 — hemakasutta®; fol. 234b.2 (22) — todeyyasutta®; fol. 234b.5 — kappasutta®; fol. 234b.10 — jatukannikasutta®; fol. 235a.6 (23) — bhadravudhasutta®; fol. 235b.4 (23) — udayasutta®; fol. 236a.2 (24) — posalasutta®; fol. 236a.8 — mogharājasutta®; fol. 236b.4 — piṅgiyasutta®

End, fol. 237b.10 — niṭṭhito parāyana vaggio ti — ettavatā ca yaṃ vuttaṃ uttamaṃ vandaneyyānaṃ vanditvā ratanayaṃ yo khuddakārikīhāyamhi khuddācārapappahāyinaṃ desito lokānāthaṃ lokaniṭṭhara-sinā tassa suttanipātassa karassāṃ athvāvhaṇṇan aṃ ti—


237 fols., 462 × 60mm, 2 wooden covers, verso only lacquered in orange colour and decorated with floral motifs in yellow and green, 2 cord holes protected by a silver pot sakiya in shape of lotus. On the final cover, a small silver plate is inlaid in the wood, engraved in Roman script: “R. A. Lenore Colombo”; 10 lines, 108 char. — Sinhalese script — Numb. none 1–128, then European figures 1–100 from fol. 129; then 1–24 for fols. 213–36 in right margin.

No date.

Jacqueline Filliozat

Città del Vaticano, 1986
Book Review


The library of the Wellcome Institute possesses a fine collection of Burmese-Pāli and Burmese manuscripts, mostly purchased at auctions in London before the death of Sir Henry S. Wellcome in 1936. A few manuscripts touching on medicine have been added since then.

The Burmese-Pāli manuscripts were first catalogued by Jacqueline Filliozat in an earlier number of this Journal (JPTS XIX, 1993, pp. 1–41), but that catalogue left many problems unsolved, and it is no longer an adequate guide to the collection (it lists, for example, only 93 manuscripts), although the references which it gives to the category-numbers of texts listed in the Bibliography of A Critical Pāli Dictionary are not included in this new catalogue, and are still valuable, as are the comments about the identity of some texts, e.g. “No. 34 Gambhīyathadesanā”. In this new catalogue a number of changes and corrections have been made to the earlier catalogue. The leaves of the manuscripts have all been put in correct order. A few texts had leaves scattered through different manuscripts, and these have now all been reunited. Many identifications of manuscripts have been added to or changed.

The catalogue of the Burmese-Pāli collection, which amounts to 121 manuscripts, has been made by William Pruitt, who has already published a catalogue and additions to the catalogue of Burmese manuscripts in the Library of Congress in earlier numbers of this Journal (JPTS XII, 1989, pp. 1–31; XXIV, 1998, pp. 171–83). There are 27 Burmese manuscripts. They are catalogued by Roger Bischoff.

Almost half (55) of the Burmese-Pāli manuscripts contain kammavācās “verbal acts”, the texts which were used for formal acts of the Sangha, e.g. the ordination of a monk. These individual acts are identified for each manuscript. Besides the Kammavācās, other
manuscripts contain Pāli canonical texts, commentaries, extracanonical, and grammar texts. Many of the texts are incomplete. Many of the manuscripts are, or include, Pāli-Burmese nissayas.

The titles of texts or sections of texts as listed in the margins of the manuscripts are given, and also descriptions of the wrappers or covers (some of which are very ornate), the script, and any information given in the manuscripts about dates, authors, or copyists. Details about the re-arrangement of leaves are also given. Occasionally information is given about the publication of the texts contained in the manuscripts, e.g. “No. 54 the Burmese nissaya Vinayasāra”, or about their presence in other collections.

Where numbers of nipātas, etc., are given, then it is not difficult for those seeking manuscripts to find relevant page numbers in PTS editions. Descriptions such as “incomplete”, e.g. for “No. 90 Yamaka”, are less helpful, and could usefully have been augmented by saying which pages of the PTS editions are present or missing.

The author has not followed the usual practice of quoting the beginning and end of each text. Although this might be thought to be unnecessary in the case of texts which have been identified, it might have been helpful in the case of manuscripts which are unidentified, e.g. “No. 105 unidentified Abhidhamma text”.

The Burmese Buddhist manuscripts include a history of Buddhism, texts on Abhidhamma, texts on monks’ discipline, biographies of the Buddha’s disciples, and records of monastic courts. There is also a manuscript of Mālālāṅkāravatthu — a Burmese prose work. Those with secular subjects include: decisions on secular law; horoscopes; two royal edicts in cases; manuscripts on medicine (including a collection of medical recipes), astrology and magic; an incomplete life of the Buddha in three volumes; and a schoolbook that probably belonged to a prince. A wooden tablet describes a scene from the Vānarinda Jātaka, and is probably a gloss to an illustration.

To the catalogue is prefixed an Introduction giving a brief survey of the collection, and transliteration tables of the three Burmese scripts used in the manuscripts. Two are early: (1) Tamarind-seed script written in black lacquer; (2) square Burmese script written in black lacquer or engraved with a stylus on palm lead manuscripts. One is modern: (3) round Burmese script. Added to the catalogue is an Index of the fourteen Kammavācā texts which are found in total in the manuscripts, with their distribution among individual manuscripts.

There are also indexes of: II. Works; III. Authors; IV. Place names; V. Donors, owners and copyists; VI. Place of the works in canon and commentaries. There is also a List of Abbreviations.

The catalogue concludes with black and white plates and colour plates giving examples of the decoration often found on the first and last folios of manuscripts. One manuscript has leaves made from stiffened portions of silk robes belonging to King Mindon (reigned 1852–77). Another (the Burmese one mentioned above) contains three manuscripts of folded thick paper bound in leather and painted with scenes from Gotama Buddha’s career.

The whole work is meticulously presented. Surprisingly, the misspelling (twice) of Niddesa on p. 121 has escaped the notice of the proofreaders.

In as much as the purpose of the Pali Text Society, as set out by the founder of the Society, is “to edit in Pali, and if possible to translate into English, such Pali books as still exist in manuscripts preserved in Europe or Asia, in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature which are lying unedited and practically unused”, it is not surprising that many of the early volumes of the Society’s Journal contained lists of such manuscripts in libraries around the world.

The *JPTS* has continued to do this and, beside those by William Pruitt and Jacqueline Filliozat mentioned above, recent volumes have included lists of Pāli manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library by Jinadasa Liyanaratne (XVIII, pp. 131–47), and three further lists by Jacqueline Filliozat: commentaries to the Anāgata-vaṃsa in the Pāli manuscripts of the Paris collections (XIX, pp. 43–63);
Pāli manuscripts in Burmese and Siamese characters in the library of Vijayasundaramaya Asgiriya (XXI, pp. 135–91); and Pāli manuscripts from the Bodleian Library (XXIV, pp. 1–80).

Nevertheless lists, while of great value, are not sufficient in themselves, and it has been very gratifying to see the catalogues of Pāli manuscripts which have appeared in recent years, sometimes from sources where Western scholars, at least, might be forgiven for not knowing there were Pāli manuscripts, e.g. the Catalogue of the Otani Library palm leaf manuscripts (rev. K.R. Norman, Buddhist Studies Review 14, 1, 1997, pp. 63–64; Primož Pecenko, Indo-Iranian Journal 41, 3, July 1998, pp. 301–304). It is to be hoped that such catalogues will continue to appear giving, perhaps, information about texts hitherto unknown or known only by name. Of particular importance will be information about the store of manuscripts at present being amassed in the Fragile Leaves Project in Bangkok. It may not be too much to hope to see, one day, a Catalogus Catalogorum of Pāli texts. Daunting though this task may be, using modern technology it should not be impossible to produce a computer file listing the names of all the Pāli texts at present known to us with information about the libraries and holdings where manuscripts of such texts are known to exist.

K.R. Norman

Index of Grammatical Points Discussed in the Notes to Elders’ Verses I

A number of readers of Volume I of Elders’ Verses have regretted that I did not provide an index of the grammatical points which I discussed in the notes, as I did for the later Volume II. Since I have made one for my own use, it may be useful to make it more widely available.

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