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# RŪPĀRŪPAVIBHĀGA<sup>1</sup>

By Buddhadatta<sup>2</sup>

## THE CLASSIFICATION OF FORMS AND FORMLESS THINGS<sup>3</sup>

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

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

### FORMS

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

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<sup>1</sup> The text from which the present translation is made is contained in the Pali Text Society's publication: *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, Part I, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, London 1915, pp. 149–59. It is one of the nine so-called "Little-finger Manuals" (*Let-than*). For this type of literature, see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhadatta lived in the tenth century, Buddhist Era, and was a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, who held him in high esteem. The *Rūpārūpavibhāga* is a concise summary of the Theravāda Abhidhamma as it existed at that time.

<sup>3</sup> This translation first appeared in *Visakha Puja*, BE 2507, Bangkok 1964, pp. 43–49. The Publications Committee of the Pali Text Society are grateful to the Buddhist Association of Thailand for giving permission to reprint it here, in a slightly amended form.

lightness of form, (22) softness of form, (23) fitness of form, (24) growth of form, (25) continuity of form, (26) ageing of form, (27) impermanence of form, and (28) material food.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### FORMLESS THINGS

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

#### *States of Mind*

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

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

They arise dependent on the heart, or independent of it, immediately after the adverting mind-consciousness-element. They take

as object visible form, sound, smell, taste, touch, or thought, and are produced by giving, morality, or meditation, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Eight of these do not contain root-causes: (1) Good resultant eye-consciousness accompanied by neutral feeling is dependent on the eye and takes a pleasing visible form as object. It arises by means of light immediately after the adverting mind-element. (2) Good resultant ear-consciousness accompanied by neutral feeling is dependent on the ear and takes a pleasing sound as object. It arises by means of space

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

There are eight resultant states of mind containing root-causes in the sphere of sense pleasures: (1) the spontaneous state accompanied

by happiness and associated with knowledge, (2) the similar prompted state, (3) ... (8). They arise always dependent on the heart and take one or other of the six pleasant objects. They are named 'retention' when they follow immediately after impulsion; they are named 'passive state' when they follow immediately after retention; they are named 'death' at the decay of the passive state; they are named 'rebirth' when they follow immediately after the moment of death; or they are named 'passive state' when they follow immediately after rebirth.

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

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

There are four states of mind which are transcendental fruits: (1) the fruit of stream-attainment, (2) ... (4). Of these the fruit of stream-attainment arising immediately after the path is always dependent on the heart. The other three are dependent on the heart or independent of it. All four take Nibbāna as object; and when they first appear immediately after the path they are named 'the emptiness deliverance', 'the signless deliverance', or 'the desireless deliverance'.

There are seven bad resultant states of mind: (1) Bad resultant eye-consciousness accompanied by neutral feeling is dependent on the eye and takes an unpleasant visible form as object. It arises by means of light immediately after the adverting mind-element. (2) ... (4). (5) Bad resultant body-consciousness accompanied by pain is dependent on the body and takes an unpleasant touch as object. It arises by means of the earth-element immediately after the adverting mind-element. (6) The receiving state of mind, which is the bad resultant mind-element not containing root-causes, and which is accompanied by neutral feeling, arises dependent on the heart. It follows immediately after one of the above five bad resultant types of consciousness and takes the same object. (7) The investigating state of mind, which is the bad resultant mind-consciousness-element not containing root-causes, and which is accompanied by neutral feeling, arises dependent on the heart and takes one or other of the six unpleasant objects. It is named 'investigating' when it follows immediately after the bad resultant receiving mind-element not containing root-causes; it is named 'retention' when it follows immediately after impulsion; it is named 'passive state' when it follows immediately after retention; it is named 'death' at the decay of the passive state; it is named 'rebirth' when it follows immediately after the moment of death; or it is named 'passive state' when it follows immediately after rebirth.

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

feeling arises dependent on the heart or independent of it. It is named 'adverting' when it follows immediately after the passive state; or it is named 'determining' when it follows immediately after investigation. It takes one or other of the six objects, and it precedes the good, bad, and inoperative impulsive states of mind in the sphere of sense pleasures.

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

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

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

### *Mental Properties*

There are fifty-two mental properties.

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

*The good mental properties.* The following twenty mental properties do not arise in thirty of the states of mind — the bad states,

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

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

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

of sense-consciousness in two fivefold groups, the three mind-elements, the investigating states, the smiling state, and the determining state), and also the two deluded states of mind. Determination does not arise in eleven states of mind: the types of sense-consciousness in two fivefold groups, and the state of mind with doubt.

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

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

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

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



dissociated from knowledge, in the resultant state accompanied by happiness and dissociated from knowledge, and in the third stage of contemplation; thirty-three in the good and inoperative states accompanied by happiness and dissociated from knowledge, in the good state accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with knowledge, in the resultant state accompanied by happiness and associated with knowledge, and in the second stage of contemplation; and thirty-four in the good and inoperative states accompanied by happiness and associated with knowledge, and in the first stage of contemplation.

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

### *Nibbāna*

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

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

Bangkok

R.H.B. Exell

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

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

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

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

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

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

In “Documents II”, I give their classification in alphabetical order to facilitate access to them.

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

## I

Alphabetical table of titles<sup>2</sup> of Pāli works mentioned in:

- DPLT** H. Saddhatissa, *The Dawn of Pali Literature in Thailand, in Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, Colombo 1976, chapter 3, pp. 315–24
- NPT** G. Coëdès, Note sur les ouvrages pâlis composés en pays thai, *BEFEO* XV n° 3, Hanoi 1915, pp. 39–46
- PBST** H. Saddhatissa, Pali Buddhist Studies in Thailand today, in *Nyānātiloka Centenary Volume*, Kandy 1978, pp. 31–46
- PLC** H. Saddhatissa, Pali Literature in Cambodia, *JPTS IX*, 1981, pp. 178–97
- PLL** H. Saddhatissa, Pali Literature from Laos, in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism (A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap)*, Delhi 1979, pp. 327–40
- PLT** H. Saddhatissa, Pali Literature of Thailand, in *Buddhist Studies in honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, pp. 211–25
- RLL** L. Finot, Recherches sur la littérature laotienne, *BEFEO* XVII n° 5, Hanoi 1917, pp. 42–83
- RME** G. Coëdès, Rapport sur une mission d'études philologiques et archéologiques au Cambodge, *BEFEO* XII, Hanoi 1912, pp. 176–79
- RPA** G. Coëdès, Une recension pâlie des annales d'Ayuthya, *BEFEO* XIV n° 3, Hanoi 1914, pp. 1–31
- SPLT** H. Saddhatissa, A Survey of the Pali Literature of Thailand, in *Amalā Prajñā: Aspects of Buddhist Studies (P.V. Bapat Volume)*, Delhi 1989, pp. 41–46

Akkharagin̄thi PLL 337

Akkharasap RLL 63

At̄hakathā-Caturāga DPLT 318

<sup>1</sup> English translation by Beatrice Chrystall.

<sup>2</sup> Pāli texts and titles are reproduced here as they are transcribed by the authors.

Aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā-Abhidhammāvatāra DPLT 318  
 Aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā- Vinaya DPLT 318  
 Aṭṭhamasaṅgīti-akharasaṃsodhana SPLT 44  
 Aṭṭhasālinī Atthayojanā SPLT 41  
 Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna NPT 46, SPLT 44  
 Atthayojanā-Samantapāsādikā NPT 41, PLT 213–15  
 Atthayojanā-Abhidhamma NPT 41, PLT 213–15  
 Anāgatabuddhavaṃsa PLC 192  
 Anāgatavaṃsa DPLT 318, RLL 65  
 Anuṭīkā Hiṅgadhama DPLT 318  
 Anuruddhasutta PLL 334  
 Abhidhamma cet kambī PLL 329  
 Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī pañcika-Atthayojanā SPLT 41  
 Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha RLL 52  
 Abhidhammasaṅgaha DPLT 318  
 Amatarasadhārā PLC 181  
 Amarakatabuddharūpanidāna NPT 46, PLT 213, SPLT 44  
 Arindamajāṭaka PLL 330  
 Aruṇavatī PLL 335  
 Aruṇavatīsutta RLL 42  
 Aruṇavattī DPLT 318  
 Alambusājāṭaka RLL 50  
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 Ākaravattasutta PLL 334, RLL 58  
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 Ānisaṃsa PLC 185, RLL 73  
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 Uṇhassavijaya RLL 74–76  
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 Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī RME 177, NPT 41, PLT 214  
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 Kaccāyanasārasaṃvaṇṇanā RLL 61  
 Kathāvatthu Atthayojanā SPLT 41  
 Kaṭṭhinānisamsakathā PLC 187  
 Kavikaṇṭhābhāraṇa RLL 63  
 Kāyanagara PLC 186  
 Kārakanyāsa RLL 62  
 Kāvyaśāravilāsini RLL 63  
 Kusaladhammavinicchayakathā PLL 336  
 Kesadhātu RLL 69  
 Khuddhasikkhā yojanā RME 178  
 Gaṇṭhidīpanī (Pātimokkha) NPT 41, PLT 214  
 Ganthasāra PLT 215, SLPT 43  
 Ganthābharaṇa NPT 41, PLT 218, SPLT 43  
 Ganthābhāraṇaṭīkā SPLT 43  
 Gandhaghāṭakajāṭaka PLL 333  
 Gavampattīsutta RLL 66  
 Gāthālokaneyya PLC 189  
 Govindasutta RLL 42  
 Cakkavāḍḍīpanī PLT 217, SPLT 45  
 Cakkānavuttijāṭaka PLL 333  
 Cakkhānavuttipāpasutta PLL 333  
 Catupārisuddhasīla PLC 182  
 Catubhāṇavāra PLC 184  
 Caturārakkhā PLC 184, PLL 335  
 Caturāśītidhammakhandhasahassasaṃvaṇṇanā PLL 337  
 Catuvisātīsutta RLL 59  
 Candagādhajāṭaka PLL 329  
 Candapajjotajāṭaka RLL 49  
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<sup>5</sup> 6 chapters are found independently: Dasavara, Himavanta, Vanappavesana, Jūjaka, Mahāvana, Kumāra; the gāthā also can be independent: gāthā Jūjaka, Vana° and the abridged story Mahājāti rom

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<sup>6</sup> bhagavato rūpakāyathomanā buddhābhisekagāthā



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(Institut bouddhique edition, Phnom Penh 1936)

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 alaṃ attamanatāya alaṃ somanassāya sammāsambuddho bhagavā svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo supaṭipanno saṅgho ti 278, **end. Gotamacetiyadhammapariyāya**  
 assu vasā kheḷo siṅghānikā lasikā muttam | matthake matthaluṅgaṃ ti 127, **end. Dvattimsākārapāṭha**  
 Ahirājasuttapāṭha 136  
 amhe rakkhatu saddhammo sabbe pi dhammacārino vuddhiṃ sampāpuṇeyyāma dhammāriyappavedite 282, **end. Pattidānagāthā**  
 āghātarahito buddho āghātavinaye rato 367, **beg. Navāghātavattu-paridīpakāpāṭhappakāsana**  
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 Āṭānātiyasuttapāṭha (pubbhāga) 169  
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 āṇakkhetamhi sabbattha sabbadā sabbapāṇinaṃ sabbaso pi nivāreti parittantam bhaṇāmahe 12, **end. Khandhaparittappakāsana**  
 Ādittapariyāyasutta 90  
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 Ādiyasuttagāthā 120  
 āyudo balado dhīro vaṇṇado paṭibhāṇado sukhasa datā medhāvī sukhaṃ so adhigacchati 120, **beg. Bhojanadanumodanāgāthā**  
 āsavā āsaravippayuttā kho pana dhammā sāsavā pi anāsavā pi 422, **end. Āsavagocchaka**  
 Āsavagocchaka 422  
 āsavā dhammā no āsavā dhammā sāsavā dhammā anāsavā dhammā 421, **beg. Āsavagocchaka**  
 icchānuruddharacite abhidhammatthasaṅgahe navame paricchedasmim catasso samudāhatā 417, **end. Abhidhammatthasaṅgahagāthā**  
 icchitam patthitam tuyhaṃ khippam eva samijjhatu sabbe pūrentu saṅkappā cando paṇṇaraso yathā maṇijotiraso yathā 109, **end. Anumodanāvidhi**  
 iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ

buddho bhagavā ti 106, **mid. Buddhajayamaṅgala; 267, mid. Vinaya**  
 iti h' idaṃ ayasmato koṇḍaññaassa aññākoṇḍañño tveva nāmaṃ ahoṣī ti  
**73, end. Dhammacakkappavattanasutta**  
 idaṃ pi saṅghe ratanaṃ paṇiṭaṃ etena saccena suvatthi hotu 117, **end. Parittakaraṇapāṭha**  
 idha vassaṃ vasissāmi idha hemantagimhisu 278, **beg. Ututtayādisamvegagāthā**  
 idh' eva naṃ pasamsanti pecca sagge pamodati ti 120, **end. Ādiyasuttagāthā**  
 indo somā varuṇo ca bhāradvājo pajāpati candano kāmasettho ca 180, 193 stanzas **middle Aṭṭhāyāyasuttapāṭha (pubbabhāga, pacchimabhāga)**  
 indriyayamakan ti dasavidhena vibhattaṃ yamakappaṇaṃ nāma samattaṃ 431, **end. Yamaka (3 lines)**  
 imaṃ atthaṅgasamannāgataṃ buddhapaññattaṃ uposathaṃ imaṃ ca rattiṃ imaṃ ca divasaṃ sammadeva abhirakkhituṃ samādiyāmi 274, **end. Uposathaṅgasamādāna**  
 imaṃ so parittaṃ katvā moro vāsamakappayī ti 13, 45, **end. Mora-paritta; 141, end. Moraparittapāṭha**  
 imasmiṃ ca pana veyyakaraṇasmiṃ bhaññamāne tassa bhikkhusahassassa anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccisū ti 94, **end. Ādittapariyāyasutta**  
 imā kho tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena catasso appamaññāyo sammadakkhātā ti 309, **end. Caturappamaññāpāṭha; 320, end. Chaḷabhiññāpāṭha**  
 ime kho tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena nava dhammā sammadakkhātā navāghātavattūni ti 368, **end. Navāghātavattuparidīpakapāṭha; 369, end. Navāghāta-ppaṭivinayaparidīpakapāṭha**  
 Isigilisuttapāṭha 163  
 ukāsa yo pana bhikkhu dhammānudhammapaṭipanno viharati samicippaṭipanno **beg. Bhasitovāda**  
 ukāsa sirīsakyamunisabbaññubuddhassa balavappaccūsasamaye kusinārāya 263, **beg. Pakasakarāja**  
 Ututtayādisamvegagāthā 278  
 udetayaṃ cakkhumā ekarāja harissavanno papavippakāsotaṃ taṃ taṃ namassāmi 13, 44, **beg. Moraparitta; 141, beg. Mora-parittapāṭha**  
 upādānavippayuttā kho pana dhammā upādāniyā pi anupādāniyā pi 425, **end. Upādānagocchaka**

upādānā dhammā no upādānā dhammā upādāniyā dhammā anupādāniyā dhammā 425, **beg. Upādānagocchaka**  
 Uposathaṅgappaccavekkhaṇa 274  
 Uposathaṅgasamādāna 273  
 uposatho ca me upavuttho bhavissati 277, **end. Uposathaṅgappaccavekkhaṇa**  
 uppannānaṃ veyyābādhikānaṃ vedanānaṃ patighātāya abyāpajjha-paramattā yāti 128, **Taṃ khaṇikappaccavekkhaṇapāṭha**  
 ekan nāma kiṃ | sabbe sattā āharaṭṭhitikā | dve nāma kiṃ 126, **beg. Sāmaṇerappañhāpāṭha**  
 etaṃ saraṇamāgamma sabbadukkhā pamuccatī ti 103, **end. Khemā-khemasaraṇagamanaparidīpikāgāthā**  
 etādisāni katvāna sabbatthamaparājitaṃ sabbattha sotthiṃ gacchanti tantesaṃ maṅgalam uttaman ti 6, 37, 132 **end. Maṅgalasutta**  
 etāpi buddhajayamaṅgala atthagāthā yo vācano dinadine sarate matandī hitvāna nekavidhāni cupaddavāni makkhaṃ sukhaṃ adhigameyya naro sapañño 107, **mid. stanzas Buddhajayamaṅgala**  
 etena maggena tariṃsu pubbe tariṃsare ceva taranti co ghanti 299, **end. Satipaṭṭhānapāṭha**  
 etena saccavajjena sotthi te hotu sabbadā 95, **end. Saccakiriyāgāthā**  
 etena saccavajjena sotthi te hotu sabbadā ekasmiṃ samaye natho moggallānaṃ ca kassapaṃ gilāne dukkhite disvā 21, **mid. Aṅgulimālaparitta**  
 evaṃ kho arūpakammaṭṭhānaṃ sammadakkhātāṃ bhagavatā ti 392, **end. Rūparūpakammaṭṭhānapāṭha**  
 evaṃ mahatthikā eṣā yadidaṃ puññasampadā tasmā dhīrā pasamsanti paṇḍitā katapuññatanti 119, **end. Nidhikaṇḍa**  
 evaṃ saṅkārabhūtesu andhabhūte puthujjane atirocati paññāya sammā-sambuddhasāvako ti 105, **end. Dhammakaravādigāthā**  
 evamādiguṇupetaṃ 4, 41, **end. Kāraṇiyamettasutappakāsaṇa**  
 evamādiguṇupetaṃ anekaguṇasaṅgahaṃ usathaṃ ca imaṃ mantaṃ bojjaṅgantam bhanāmahe 57, **end. Bojjaṅgaparittappakāsana**  
 evam buddhaṃ sarantānaṃ dhammaṃ saṅghaṃ ca bhikkhavo bhayaṃ vā chambhi tattaṃ vā lomahaṃso na hessatī ti 17, 49, **end. Dhajaggaparitta; 147, end. Dhajaggasuttapāṭha**  
 evam me sutam ... antarā ca rājagahaṃ antarā ca nālandaṃ 268, **beg. Sūtra**  
 evam me sutam ... kapilavattusmiṃ mahāvane ... dasahi ca lokadhātūhi devatā yebhuyyena 74, **beg. Mahāsamayasutta**  
 evam me sutam ... kurūsu ... kammāsadhammaṃ 198, **beg. Mahāsatiṭṭhānasuttapāṭha**

- evam me sutam ... gayāyam ... gayāsise ... cakkhuviññāṇam ādittam cakkhusamphasso āditto ... **91, beg. Ādittapariyāyasutta**
- evam me sutam ... nādi ke viharati giñjakavasathe **378, beg. Paṭhamamaṇassatisutta; 383, beg. Dutiyamaṇassatisutta**
- evam me sutam ... bārānasiyam ... isipatane ... dve me bhikkhave antāpabbajitena **67, beg. Dhammacakkappavattanasutta**
- evam me sutam ... bārānasiyam ... isipatane ... migadāye ... rūpam bhikkhave anattā rūpañ ca hidaṃ bhikkhave attā abhaviṣṣa **85, beg. Anattalakkhaṇasutta**
- evam me sutam ... rājagahe ... isigilismim pabbate **163, beg. Isigilisuttapāṭha**
- evam me sutam ... rājagahe ... gijjhakūṭe pabbate **169, beg. Āṭānāṭṭiyasuttapāṭha; 344, Bhikkhu-aparihāniyadhammasutta**
- evam me sutam ... rājagahe ... veluvane kalandakanivāpe ... āyasmā mahākassapo **149, beg. Mahākassapabojjhaṅgasuttapāṭha**
- evam me sutam ... rājagahe ... veluvane kalandakanivāpe ... āyasmā mahācundo **153, beg. Mahācundabojjhaṅgasuttapāṭha**
- evam me sutam ... rājagahe ... veluvane kalandakanivāpe ... āyasmā mahāmoggallāno **151, beg. Mahāmoggallānabojjhaṅgasuttapāṭha**
- evam me sutam ... vesāliyam ... mahāvane kūtāgārasālāyam **365, beg. Gotamīsutta**
- evam me sutam ... vesāliyam ... sārāndade cetiye **341, beg. Licchavi-aparihāniyadhammasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... atha kho aññatarā devatā abhikkantāya rattiyā abhikkantavaṇṇā kevalakappam ... bahū devā manussā ca maṅgalāni acintayum akañkhamānā sotthānaṃ brūhi maṅgalam uttamaṃ **4, 35, 130 beg. Maṅgalasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... atha kho āyasmā ānando **282, beg. Karaṇiyākaraṇiyasuttapāṭha**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... atha kho jāṇussoṇi brahmaṇo **346, beg. Sattabbidhamethunasamyogasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... atha kho sambahulā bhikkhu ahinā daṭṭho kālakato hoti **136, Ahirājasuttapāṭha**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... akusalam bhikkhave **285, beg. Pahāna-bhāvanāsutta**

- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... aggappasādā **394, beg. Aggappasādasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... aṭṭhaṅgikam maggam **354, beg. Magga-vibhaṅgasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... apannakappaṭipadam **291, beg. Apannakasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... ariyavamsā **300, beg. Ariyavamsikāsutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... ādittapariyāyam vo bhikkhave **335, beg. Sāvathinidānam ādittapariyāyasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... uppādā vā bhikkhave **290, beg. Dhammaniyāmasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... chayimāni bhikkhave **321, beg. Anuttariyasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... chayime bhikkhave **332, beg. Sārāṇiyadhammasutta**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... dasa ime bhikkhave dhammā pabbajitena abhinham paccavekkhitabbā **128, beg. Dasadhammasuttapāṭha**
- evam me sutam ... sāvathiyam ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... tatra kho bhagavā ... nissāraṇiyā dhātuyo **328, beg. Chanissāraṇiyadhātusutta**
- oghagocchaka **423**
- oghavippayuttā kho pana dhammā oghaniyā pi anoghaniyā pi **423, end. Oghagocchaka**
- oghā dhammā no oghā dhammā oghaniyā dhammā anoghaniyā dhammā oghasampayuttā dhammā **423, beg. Oghagocchaka**
- Kathāvatthu **271, 430, 437**
- kappatthāyi mahātejam parittantam bhaṇāmahe **20, 56, end. Aṅgulimālaparittappakāsana; 44, end. Vaṅgakāparittappakāsana**
- kammaṭṭhānānuyogassa rūpārūpassa lakkhaṇam **391, beg. Rūparūpakammaṭṭhānapāṭhappakāsana**
- karaṇiyamatthakusalena yantaṃ santam padaṃ abhisamecca **10, 41, beg. Karaṇiyamettasutta; 135, beg. Karaṇiyamettasuttapāṭha**
- Karaṇiyamettasutta **10, 40, 41**

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 kalyānaṃ vā pāpakaṃ vā tassa dāyādā bhavissanti taṃ kut' ettha labbhā  
 ti 314, **end. Abhiṅghappaccavekkhaṇapāṭha**  
 kāmaṃ kāmayamānassa tassa cetam samijjhati 374, **beg. Kāmasutta**  
 Kāmasutta 374  
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 Kāladānasuttagāthā 112  
 Kāladānasuttagāthāpakāsana 112  
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 ujubhūtesu tādisu 112, **beg. Kāladānasuttagāthā**  
 kim eva disvā uruvelavāsi pahāsi aggim kisakovadāno pucchāmi taṃ  
 kassapa etam atthaṃ 95, **beg. Bimbisārasamāgame**  
**pucchāpaṭiññāgāthā**  
 kilesagocchaka 426  
 kilesavippayuttā kho pana dhammā saṅkilesikā pi 426, **end.**  
**Kilesagocchaka**  
 kilesā dhammā no kilesā dhammā saṅkilesikā dhammā asaṅkilesikā  
 dhammā saṅkiliṭṭhā dhammā 425, **beg. Kilesagocchaka**  
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 ganthavippayuttā kho pana dhammā ganthaniyā pi aganthaniyā pi 422,  
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 girimānandassa so ābādho ahoṣi ti 163, **end. Girimānanda-**  
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 dhātukathāpakaraṇam nāma samattam) 434, **end. Dhātukathā**  
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**Chanissāraṇiyadhātusuttappakāsana**  
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 taṃ tadatthappasiddhatthaṃ taṃ suttantaṃ bhaṇāmasa 341, end.  
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 tato naṃ anukampanti mātā puttavaṃ urasaṃ devānukampito poso sadā  
 bhadrāni passatī ti 114, end. Devatādissa-  
**dakkhiṇānumodanāgāthā**  
 tathāgataṃ devamanussa pūjitaṃ saṅghaṃ namassāma suvatthi hotu  
 40, end. Ratanasutta  
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**ppakāsana**  
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 tasmā mahattaṃ papponti pāsamsā ca bhavanti te ti 119, end.  
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 tasmā saddhaṇca silācā pasādaṃ dhammadassanaṃ anuyuñjetha medhāvi  
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 yadi saccā damā cāgā khantiyā bhiyyodha vijjati ti **123, end. Saccapānavidhiyānurūpagāthā**  
 yadi hīne gato thāne kāyaduccaritena iminā puññatejena tamhā thānā pamañcatu **443, beg. stanzas without title**  
 yantaṃ sattehi dukkhena ñeyyaṃ anattalakkhaṇaṃ **85, beg. Anattalakkhaṇasuttappakāsana**  
 yantena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambudhena paṭhamaṃ pārājikaṃ **267, beg. Vinaya**  
 yandunnimittaṃ avamaṅgalañca yo cāmanāpo sakuṇassa saddo pāpaggaho dussupinaṃ **22, 58, beg. Abhayaparitta**  
 Yandunimittaṃ dukkhappattā ca niddukkā **22**  
 yandesesi mahāvīro parittantaṃ bhaṇāmahe **17, 50, end. Āṭānāṭiya-**  
**parittappakāsana**  
 Yamaka **271, 430, 438**  
 yasmim padese kappeti vāsaṃ paṇḍitajātiyo silavantaṃ ettha bhojvā saññate brahmacāriṇo **113, beg. Devatādissa-**  
**dakkhiṇānumodanāgāthā**  
 yassa saddhā tathāgate acalā supatitṭhitā silañca yassa kalyānaṃ **96, beg. 1st § Ariyadhanagāthā**  
 yassānubhāvato yakkhā neva dassenti bhiṃsaṃ **10, 40, beg. Karaṇiyamettasuttappakāsana**

yassānussaraṇenā pi antalikkhe pi pānino patitthamadhigacchanti bhūmiyaṃ viya sabbadā 14, 46, **beg. Dhajaggaparitta**  
yā devatā santi vihārasīni thūpe ghare bodhighare taḥiṃ taḥiṃ 281, **beg. Pattidānagāthā**  
yāni yānyaggabhūtāni sammatāni tathā tathā 394, **beg. Agga-ppasādasuttappakāsana**  
yāni ve pañca thānāni pañcanimmalalocano veneyyānaṃ 311, **beg. Abhiṇhappaccavekkhaṇapāṭhappakāsana**  
yānidha bhūtāni samāgatāni bhummāni vā yāni va antalikkhe sabbe va bhūtā sumanā bhavantu 7, 38, 132, **beg. Ratanasutta, Ratanasuttapāṭha**; 114, **beg. Devatābhisammantanagāthā**  
yānidha bhūtāni samāgatāni bhummāni vā yāni va antalikkhe tathāgatam devamanussapūjitaṃ saṅghaṃ namassāma suvatthi hotu 10, 135 **end. Ratanasutta, Ratanasuttapāṭha**  
yāvajīvaṃ arahanto pāṇātipātaṃ pahāya pāṇātipātā 274, **beg. Uposathaṅgappaccavekkhaṇa**  
yāvātā vattate loko anekākāracittako 358, **beg. Lokadhammasuttappakasana**  
yāvātā sattā apadā vā dvipadā vā catuppadā vā bahuppadā vā rūpino vā arūpino vā saññino 115, **beg. Parittakaraṇapāṭha**  
yā sā(!)ppamānakā sattā bhāvanānaṃ hi gocaro 308, **beg. Caturappamaññipāṭhappakāsana**  
ye keci kusalā dhammā sabbe te kusalamūlā | ye vā pana kusalamūlā 271, **beg. Yamaka, 438, end. Yamaka** (3 pages)  
ye ca atītā sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatā yo cetarahi sambuddho bahunnaṃ sokanāsano 103, **beg. Dhammakaravādigāthā**  
ye vā pana kusalamūlena ekamūlā sabbe te dhammā kusalā 271, **end. Yamaka** (4 lines)  
ye santā santacittā tisaraṇasaraṇā ettha lokantare vā bhummā bhummā ca devāgūṇaganagahaṇabyāvajā sabbakālaṃ ete āyantu devā 3, 34, **beg. Maṅgalasuttappakāsana**  
yogagocchaka 423  
yogā dhammā no yogā dhammā yoganiyā dhammā ayoganiyā dhammā yogasampayuttā dhammā 423, **beg. Yogagocchaka**  
yogā yogavippayuttā kho pana dhammā yoganiyā pi ayoganiyā pi 423, **end. Yogagocchaka**  
yo dhammacārikāyena vācāya uda cetasā idheva naṃ pasamsanti pecca sagge pamodati 96, **end. Pabbatopamaṅgāthā**  
yoniso paṭipatyattham taṃ suttantaṃ bhaṇāmaṃse 289, **end. Dhammaniyāmasuttappakāsana**

yoniso paṭisevitabbā anuppanānaṃ āsavānaṃ anuppādāya uppanānaṃ āsavānaṃ pahānāyā ti 308, **end. Catuppaccaya-ppaccavekkhaṇapāṭha**  
Ratanattayappabhāvābhīyācanagāthā 25, 61  
Ratanasutta 7, 38  
Ratanasuttapāṭha 132  
Ratanasuttappakāsana 6, 37  
Rūpakammaṭṭhānārūpakammaṭṭhānapāṭha 391  
rūparūpakammaṭṭhattham taddīpakam bhaṇāmaṃse 391, **end. Rūparūpakammaṭṭhānapāṭhappakāsana**  
Rūparūpakammaṭṭhānapāṭhappakāsana 391  
rogāmanussadubbhikkhasambhūtanti vidhambhayaṃ khippam antaradhāpesi parittantaṃ bhaṇāmahe 7, **end. Ratanasuttappakāsana**  
Licchavi-aparihāniyadhammasutta 341  
Licchavi-aparihāniyadhammasuttappakāsana 341  
Lokadhammasutta 359  
Lokadhammasuttappakāsana 358  
lokiyalokuttarasampattisiddham kātabbāṃ ukāsa ārādhanāṃ karomi 263, **end. Bhāsitovāda**  
lokekuttamabhūtassa anuttaratthadāyino 320, **beg. Anuttarasuttappakāsana**  
lokekuttamasatthussa yassa vākyam anaññathaṃ 286, **beg. Byākatābyākatavatthuddayappakāsana**  
Vaṅgākāparitta 45  
vadanti ve duṭṭhamaṇā pi eke aññe pi ve saccamaṇā vadanti 377, **beg. Duṭṭhaṭṭhakasutta**  
vadhissamenanti parāmasanto bhāsāvamaddakkhi dhajaṃ isinaṃ 44, **beg. Chaddantaparitta**  
vandāmi buddham bhavaparatiṇṇam tilokaketuṃ tibhavekanātham 265, **beg. Buddhapādanamakāragāthā**  
vijjābhāgino dhammā avijjābhāgino dhammā vijjūpamā dhammā vajirūpamā dhammā balā dhammā paṇḍitā dhammā kaṇhā dhammā 427, **beg. Suttantamātikā**  
viññānaṃ atthasiddhattham taṃ suttantaṃ bhaṇāmaṃse 374, **end. Kāmasuttappakāsana**; 383, **end. Dutiyaṃaraṇassatisuttappakāsana**  
Vinaya Sūtra Paramattha 267  
vinetā sukhamaggasmiṃ veneyye vinayaṃ muni 282, **beg. Karaṇiyākaraṇiyasuttappakāsana**  
Vipassanābhūmipāṭha 99

vipassissa nam' atthu cakkhumantassa sirimato sikhissa pi nam' atthu sabbabhūtānukampino 18, 50, **beg. Āṭānāṭiyaparitta**; 171, **beg. stanzas Āṭānāṭiyasuttapāṭha** (pubbabhāga); 184 **beg. stanzas Āṭānāṭiyasuttapāṭha** (pacchimabhāga)

Vibhaṅga 269, 428

viruḷhamūlasantānaṃ nigrodham iva māluto amittā nappasahanti yo mittānaṃ na dubbhānaṃ na dubbhatī ti 140, **Mettānisamsa-gāthāpāṭha**

virūpakkehi me mettam mettam erā pathehi me chabyāputtehi me mettam mettam kaṇhāgotamakehi ca 12, **beg. Khandhaparitta**; 43, **beg. Khandhaparitta-Chaddantaparittāpara**; 137, **beg. stanzas Ahirājasuttapāṭha**

Visesānumodanā 110

Viharaḍānagāthā 113

vīsatisatasahassāni namāmi sirasā ahaṃ tesam dhammaṃ ca saṃghaṃ ca ... anekā antarāyā pi vinassantu asesato 33, **end. Dvādasaparitta**

veneyyadamanopāye sabbaso pāramiṃ gato amoyavacano buddho abhiññāyānusāsako 90, **beg. Ādittapariyāyasuttappakāsana** veneyye vinayantena sambuddhena mahesinā 374, **beg. Kāmasuttappakāsana**

Samvaragāthā 280

Samvejanīyagāthā 396

saṃsāre saṃsarantānaṃ sabbadukkhavināsane sattadhamme ca bojjaṅge mārasenappamaddino 56, **beg. Bojjaṅgaparittappakāsana** sakavāḍipāñcasuttasatāni paravāḍipāñcasuttasatānīti suttasahassam samodhānetvāna vibhattam kathavatthupparānaṃ nāma samattam 430, **end. Kathāvatthu** (2 lines)

sakkatvā buddharatanaṃ osatham uttamam varam hitam deva-manussānaṃ budhatejēna sothhinā 24, **mid. Abhayaparitta**

Saṅghavatthugāthā 119

saṅghaḍitam asaṅghaḍitanti cuddasavidhena vibhattam dhātukathā-pakaraṇam nāma samattam 429, **end. Dhātukathā** (8 lines)

saṅgho asaṅgho | saṅghaḍitena asaṅghaḍitam asaṅghaḍitena 270, 429, 433, **beg. Dhātukathā**

saṅghasambhūtarājūnaṃ sāmaggīyānupāliṇam 341, **beg. Licchavi-āparihānīyadhammasuttappakāsana**

Saṅghādisesuddesa 454

sace imaṃ nāgavarena saccam mā maṃ vane bālamigā agaṇchun ti 44, **end. Chaddantaparitta**

saccam ve amatā vācā esa dhammo sanantano sacce atthe ca dhamme ca ahu santo patitthitā 123, **beg. Saccapānavidhyānurūpagāthā**

saccakiriyaṃ karissāma ādissa ratanattayaṃ 400, **Paṇāmagāthā** Saccapānavidhyānurūpagāthā 122

saccena me samo n' atthi esā me saccapāramī ti 46, **end.**

**Vaṅgakāparitta**

Saññojanagocchaka 422

saññojanavippayuttā kho pana dhammā saññojanīyā pi asaññojanīyā pi 422, **end. Saññojanagocchaka**

saññojanā dhammā no saññojanā dhammā saññojanīyā dhammā asaññojanīyā dhammā 422, **beg. Saññojanagocchaka**

Satipaṭṭhānapāṭha 296

Satipaṭṭhānapāṭhappakāsana 296

Sattaparitta 1–29

Sattabbidhāmethunasamyo gasutta 346

Sattabbidhāmethunasamyo gasuttappakāsana 346

satto guhāyaṃ bahunābhichanno tiṭṭham naro mohanasmiṃ pagāḷho 375, **beg. Guhaṭṭhakasutta**

sadā sothī bhavantu te nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ hantvā tesam upaddave 102, **end. Bhaddekarattagāthā**

sadevakassa lokassa nāthabhūto narāsabho 369, **beg. Dasanāthakāraṇadhammasuttappakāsana**

sadevako ayaṃ loko samārako sabrahmako 353, **beg. Magga-vibhaṅgasuttappakāsana**

saddhapaśādasiddhattham duvidhe te bhaṇāmasē 286, **end. Byākatābyākatavatthuddayappakāsana**

sanāthattā(!)tthasiddhattham tam suttantam bhaṇāmasē 369, **end. Dasanāthakāraṇadhammasuttappakāsana**

sabbattha saṃvuto bhikkhu sabbadukkhā pamuccatī ti 281, **end. Samvaragāthā**

sabbabuddhānubhāvena sabbadhammānubhāvena sabbasaṅghānubhāvena buddharatanaṃ dhammaratanaṃ saṅgharatanaṃ tiṇṇam ratanānaṃ ānubhāvena caturāsīti sahassa 110, **beg. Visesānumodanā,**

**Maṅgalacakkavāḷa**

sabbapāpassa akaraṇam kusalassūpasampadā 259, **beg. stanzas Bhāsītovada**

sabbaso suddhasantāno sabbadhammāna pāragū 365, **Gotamīsuttappakāsana**

sabbā sivasajātīnaṃ dibbamantāgaḍam viya yasmā seti viṣam ghoram sesaṇcā pi parissayaṃ 11, 42, **beg. Khandhaparittappakāsana**

sabbītiyo vivajjantu sabbarogo vinassantu mā te bhavatvantarāyo sukhi dighayuko bhava 109, **mid. Anumodanāvidhi**

sabbe buddhā balappattā paccekānañca yambalaṃ arahantānañca tejena rakkhaṃ bandhāmi sabbaso **59, end. Abhayaparitta**  
 sabbe vijitasamgāmā bhayātītā yasassino modanti saha bhūtehi sāvakā tejanasutā ti **85, end. Mahāsamayasutta**  
 sabbe saṅkhārā aniccāti yadā paññāya passati atha nibbindati dukkhe esa maggo visuddhiyā **279, beg. Tilakkhaṇādigāthā**  
 samaggakaraṇo buddho sāmaggīyaṃ niyojako samaggakaraṇe dhamme **332, beg. Sārāṇiyadhammasuttappakāsana**  
 samuṭṭhānāhārāmmaṇā paccayo samudayena cāti (mūlayamakadi dasayamakappaṭtimaṇḍitaṃ yamakappaṭtaraṇaṃ nama samattaṃ ) **440, end. Yamaka** (2 pages)  
 samūlaṃ taṇhaṃ abbulha nicchāto parinibbuto ti **280, end. Bhārasuttagāthā**  
 sampaccayā dhammā appaccayā dhammā saṅkhatā dhammā asaṅkhatā dhammā **421, beg. Cūlantaraduka**  
 sampayuttana vippayuttaṃ vippayuttana sampayuttaṃ asaṅgahitaṃ **270, end. Dhātukathā** (4 lines)  
 sambuddhe aṭṭhaviśaṇḍa dvādasāṇca sahasake pañcasatasahasāni namāmi sirasā ahaṃ **2, 32, beg. Sattaparitta, 2nd § Dvādasaparitta**  
 sambuddho dipadaṃ seṭṭho mahākāruṇiko muni **284, beg. Pahānabhāvanāsuttappakāsana; 296, beg. Satipaṭṭhānāpāṭhappakāsana**  
 sammāsambuddhamatulaṃ sasaddhammagāṇuttamaṃ abhivādiya bhāsissaṃ abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṃ **400, beg. Abhidhammatthasaṅgahagāthā**  
 Samrāpamsūtrapamsukūla **396**  
 sarajjaṃ sasenaṃ sabandhuṃ narindaṃ parittānubhāvo sadā rakkhatū ti **1, beg. Sattaparitta; 31, beg. Dvādasaparitta**  
 Saraṇagamanapāṭha **272**  
 sādhu kho pana tathārūpaṇaṃ arahataṃ dassanaṃ hoti ti **268, end. Vinaya**  
 sādhuṇaṃ atthasiddhatthaṃ taṃ suttantaṃ bhaṇāmaṃ **294, end. Supubbaṇhasuttappakāsana; 300, end. Ariyavaṃsikasuttappakāsana; 332, end. Sārāṇiyadhammasuttappakāsana; 346, Sattabbidhammethunasamyogasuttappakāsana; 359, end. Lokadhammasuttappakāsana; 375, end. Guhaṭṭhakasuttappakāsana**  
 sādhuṇaṃ nettibhāvathaṃ taṃ suttantaṃ bhaṇāmaṃ **365, end. Gotamīsuttappakāsana**  
 Sāmaṇerappañhāpāṭha **126**

sārammaṇā dhammā anārammaṇā dhammā cittā dhammā no cittā dhammā **424, beg. Mahantaraduka**  
 Sārāṇiyadhammasutta **332**  
 Sārāṇiyadhammasuttappakāsana **332**  
 Sāvathhīnidāna ādittapariyāyasutta **335**  
 siddham atthu (*ter*) idaṃ phalaṃ ekasmiṃ ratanattayasmīṃ sampasādanacetaso **26, 62, end. Ratanattaya-ppakāvābhīyācanagāthā**  
 siridhitimatitejo jaya siddhimahiddhi mahāguṇāparimitapuññādhikārassa sabbantarāyanivāraṇasamatthassa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa dvattimsamahāpurisalakkhaṇānubhāvena **28, 63, beg. Maṅgalacakkavāla**  
 sītaṃ uṇhaṃ paṭihanti tato vālamigāni ca sirīmsape ca mabhase sisire cāpi vuṭṭhiyo **113, beg. Vihāradānagāthā**  
 sukhaṃ supatisutto ca pāpaṃ kiñci na passati evaṃ ādiguṇūpetāṃ parittantaṃ bhaṇāmahe **10, end. Karaṇīyamettasuttappakāsana**  
 Sukhābhīyācanagāthā **27, 62**  
 Suttantamātikā **427**  
 sunakkhattaṃ sumaṅgalaṃ supabhāgaṃ suhuṭṭhitaṃ sukhaṇo sumuhutto ca **295, beg. stanzas Supubbaṇhasutta**  
 sutvā tathānukārāya taṃ suttantaṃ bhaṇāmaṃ **282, end. Karaṇīyākaraṇīyasuttappakāsana; 284, end. Pahānabhāvanāsuttappakāsana**  
 sutvā nuppaṭipatyatthaṃ taṃ suttantaṃ bhaṇāmaṃ **344, end. Bhikkhu-aparihāniyadhammasuttappakāsana**  
 Supubbaṇhasutta **294**  
 Supubbaṇhasuttappakāsana **294**  
 subhānu passīṃ viharantaṃ indriyesu asaṃvutaṃ **280, beg. Saṃvaragāthā**  
 surāmerayamajjappamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇīsikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi **273, end. Pañcasikkhāpadasamādāna**  
 Suriyaparittapāṭha **143**  
 suvaṇṇamālike suvaṇṇapabbate sumanakūṭe yonakapure nammadāya nadiyā pañca pādavaṃ hanaṃ ahaṃ vandāmi dūrato **265, end. Buddhapādanamakāragāthā**  
 suvatthīsādhanatthaṃ pi taṃ suttantaṃ bhaṇāmaṃ **354, end. Magga-vibhaṅgasuttappakāsana**  
 Sūtra **267**  
 Sekhiyuddesa **491**  
 so attā ti evaṃ etaṃ yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya daṭṭhabban ti **391, end. Khandhavibhajanapāṭha**

sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā nirujjhanti evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandassa nirodho hoti 101, end. Vipassanābhūmi-pāṭha  
 so puggalo upalabbhati sacchikatthaparamatthenā ti | micchā | 271, end. Kathāvatthu (6 lines); 438, end. Kathāvatthu (1 page)  
 Soḷasadhammappabhedasaṅgahaṃ paṭhamabhāṇavara 147  
 Hetugocchaka 421  
 hetuppaccayo ārammaṇappaccayo adhipatippaccayo anantarappaccayo 101, beg. Paṭṭhānamātikāpāṭha (6 lines); 271, Mahā-paṭṭhāna (7 lines); 431, beg. Paṭṭhāna (8 lines); 440, Paṭṭhāna (1 page)  
 hetū kho pana dhammā sahetukā pi ahetukā pi 421, end. Hetugocchaka  
 hetū dhammā na hetū dhammā sahetukā dhammā ahetukā dhammā hetu sampayuttā dhammā 420, beg. Hetugocchaka

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## THE ARISING OF AN OFFENCE:

*āpattisamuṭṭhāna*

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> The system of abbreviations used follows: V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48; Epilegomena (1948) and H. Bechert: *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien*. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden. Beiheft 3. Göttingen 1990. Translations from the Vinaya follow: I.B. Horner: *BD*, I–VI, London 1938–66.

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

In the fourth chapter of the Cullavagga, the *samathakkhandhaka*, the earliest extant classification of six *samuṭṭhāna* can be found, when the question: *āpattādhikaraṇassa kiṃ mūlaṃ* (Vin II 90,29), "what is the root of a legal question concerning an offence (laid down in the Vinaya)?"<sup>2</sup> is answered by: *cha āpattisamuṭṭhānā āpattādhikaraṇassa mūlaṃ* (Vin II 90,29 foll.), "six origins of offences are the root of a legal question". These six origins depend on whether an offence arises from:

1. *kāyato na vācato na cittato*
2. *vācato na kāyato na cittato*
3. *kāyato ca vācato ca, na cittato*
4. *kāyato ca cittato ca, na vācato*
5. *vācato ca cittato ca, na kāyato*
6. *kāyato ca vācato ca cittato ca* (Vin II 90,30–35).

This paragraph is not commented on in the Samantapāsādikā.

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

Evidently, this text presupposes a common knowledge about this classification among Theravāda monks. For the attribution of these

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

origins to single rules of the *pāṭimokkhasutta* is not explained in the Mahāvagga or in the Cullavagga, which for the most part contain the "historical" information about the Vinaya rules, as they record the incidents which induced the Buddha to prescribe a certain rule or to allow a certain procedure, rather than give any systematic treatment of the rules, which is foreshadowed only in the opening chapters of the Cullavagga and fully developed in the Parivāra. Thus any monk who knew by heart the *pāṭimokkhasutta* as a matter of course, and in addition the Parivāra, which seems to have been composed with strong mnemonic purposes in mind, was well equipped to handle all Vinaya questions that might arise in daily monastic life.

At the very beginning of the Parivāra a number of questions is asked and answered about every single rule in the *pāṭimokkhasutta*. This demonstrates what was considered to be important and necessary knowledge about the Vinaya. Although the whole network of these questions and answers deserves a detailed study, only that section will be discussed here which is connected with the Cullavagga passage quoted above: *channaṃ āpattisamuṭṭhānānaṃ katīhi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti* (Vin V 1,14), "from how many origins of the six origins of offences does [the *pārājika*-offence (Vin V 1,6)] arise?"<sup>3</sup> This is answered by: *ekena samuṭṭhānena samuṭṭhāti kāyato ca cittato ca samuṭṭhāti na vācato* (Vin V 2,13 foll.), "[the first *pārājika*-offence] arises from one origin, from [the one involving] body and mind, [but] not speech (i.e. no. 4 in the list given above)".

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

<sup>3</sup> The structure of the first two chapters of the Parivāra has not been understood properly in *BD* in this particular respect as the translation shows: "... by how many origins does (a monk) originate the offence". Leaving aside the difficulty of taking *sam-ut-sthā* as a transitive verb, the context in the Parivāra itself and later commentaries rule out any other subject in this sentence than *āpatti*.

offence and for the remaining two *pārājika*-offences. The same or sometimes different combinations apply for every single offence, and not rarely even all six combinations apply: *chahi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti* (Vin V 6,6), concerning *samghadisesa* 6, or only three: *tīhi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti* (Vin V 6,18), concerning *samghādisesa* 8. In this instance the Parivāra does not indicate which origins it is actually referring to.

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

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

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

Comparing this set of 13 *samuṭṭhāna* with the corresponding passage quoted from the Cullavagga, there seems to be an obvious difference. For the Cullavagga enumerates only six combinations of the three concepts *kāya*, *vācā*, and *citta*: *atth’ āpatti kāyato samuṭṭhāti ...*

<sup>4</sup> The actual number is 50, not 49 as suggested in *BD* VI, p. xix.

(Vin II 90,30), “there is an offence that arises from the body ...”, etc. This formulation seems to allow for only one origin for a particular offence, while the possibility of combining two or more is not even hinted at.

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

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

<sup>5</sup> Vajirañāna: *Vinayamukha: The entrance to the Vinaya*, Vol. I<sup>1</sup>1916, Bangkok 271965, p. 13. Further I.B. Horner draws attention to: *tattha katamaṃ āpatti no adhikaraṇaṃ: sotāpatti, samāpatti* (Vin II 93,3), “what here is an offence (but) no legal question? Stream-attainment (and) attainment” (I.B. Horner). This, of course, is a play on words, for there is no *āpatti* in a legal context that is not an offence. In contrast to the Theravādins, the Mūlasarvāstivādins have found an offence which is purely *kāyikī* (see R. Gnoli (ed.): *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, Rome 1978, Serie Orientale Roma 50, p. 74, in the paragraph corresponding to Vin II 90,29–36).

<sup>6</sup> O. v. Hinüber: *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Jahrgang 1989, Nr. 11, Chapter IX.



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

Although the outline of the *samuṭṭhāna*-system can be deduced from the Parivāra, it is much easier to turn to the pertinent explanation in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī. This commentary quotes three *kārikās*, which contain the different points that should be mentioned in the explanation of *pāṭimokkha*-rules, e.g. *nidāna*: the place such as Vesāli, *puggala*: the person concerned such as Sudinna in *pārājika* 1, *vatthu*: the offence, etc. In the list *samuṭṭhāna* is also found, to which some prominence is given by a further separate *kārikā* on this particular *vidhi*. The relevant passage begins: *sabbāpattinaṃ kāyo vācā kāyavācā kāyacittaṃ vācācittaṃ kāyavācācittānaṃ ti imāni ekaṅgikadvāṅgikativāṅgikāni cha samuṭṭhānāni, yāni sikkhāpadasamuṭṭhānāni ti pi vuccanti* (Kkh 22,30–33), “all offences have the [following] six origins:

1. body
2. speech
3. body-speech
4. body-mind
5. speech-mind
6. body-speech-mind,

which may have one (nos. 1,2), two (nos. 3,4,5), or three (no. 6) members, and which are called ‘origins of the (*pāṭimokkha*-)rules’”.

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

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

These 13 possible combinations are named after the respective first offence found in the *pāṭimokkhasutta* and considered to arise in that particular way:

- I. *paṭhamapārājika*: no. 4; 1 origin: Sp 271,21: Kkh 25,37
- II. *adinnādāna, pārājika* 2: nos. 4–6 (*sacittaka*); 3 origins: Sp 373,21–24: Kkh 30,26
- III. *sañcaritta, saṃghādisesa* 5: nos. 1–6; 6 origins: Sp 560,7: Kkh 39,27
- IV. *samanubhāsana, saṃghādisesa* 10: no. 6; 1 origin: Sp 611,5: Kkh 46,24
- V. *kaṭhina, nissaggiya* 1: nos. 3,6; 2 origins: Sp 650,25: Kkh 58,6
- VI. *elakaloma, nissaggiya* 16: nos. 1,4; 2 origins: Sp 689,10: Kkh 71,15
- VII. *padasodhamma, pācittiya* 4: nos. 2,5; 2 origins: Sp 744,9: Kkh 84,19
- VIII. *addhāna, pācittiya* 27: nos. 1,3,4,6; 4 origins: Sp 807,30: Kkh 100,16
- IX. *theyyasattha, pācittiya* 66: nos. 4,6; 2 origins: Sp 868,28: Kkh 126,17
- X. *dhammadesana, sekkhiya* 57: no. 5; 1 origin: Sp 898,29: Kkh 153,21
- XI. *bhūtārocana, pācittiya* 8: nos. 1,2,3; 3 origins: Sp 752,34: Kkh 86,23
- XII. *corivuttāpana, bhikkhunī-saṃghādisesa* 2: nos. 5,6; 2 origins: Sp 910,22: Kkh 162,18
- XIII. *ananuññāta, bhikkhunī-pācittiya* 80: nos. 2,3,5,6; 4 origins: Sp 943,18: Kkh 101,6

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

Samantapāsādikā point to a system slightly different from the one in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī:

- a. six origins
- b. four origins
- c. three origins
- d. *kaṭhina*
- e. *eḷakaloma*
- f. *dhuranikkhepa* (Sp 270,21–24 [ending with °ādi “etc.”]).

This paragraph in the Samantapāsādikā refers to *pārājika* 1, about which it is said: “according to the origin it has one origin, according to members (*aṅga*) there is a double origin, [for it] arises from body-mind” (Sp 271,22 foll.). At the same time this gives at least a hint at the technical meaning of *aṅga* as used in references to *samuṭṭhāna*, which, again, has been neatly explained in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī (Kkh 22,32) as quoted above.

Following this system, the Samantapāsādikā regularly uses *chasamuṭṭhāna*, Sp 560,7 (= Kkh 39,29); Sp 574,19 (= Kkh 41,36); Sp 662,19 (against: *sañcaritta*, Kkh 63,35); Sp 664,28 (against: *sañcaritta*, Kkh 64,24, etc.);<sup>7</sup> *catusamuṭṭhāna*, Sp 807,30 (against: *addhāna*, Kkh 100,16); Sp 842,7 (against *addhāna*, Kkh 112,9, etc.).

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

These two groups, *chasamuṭṭhāna-sañcaritta* (or: *sañcari* [Vin V 87,26\*] in the meta-language of the *uddānas*) and *catusamuṭṭhāna-*

<sup>7</sup> Further instances can easily be found by means of the very helpful notes in *BD* VI, pp. 124–31, where all references to the *pāṭimokkha*-rules have been traced. The commentaries do not always give the name of the pertinent *samuṭṭhāna*, but refer back to preceding rules of identical origin, etc.: *kuṭṭi-kārasikkhāpade vuttanayen’ eva veditabbam saddhiṃ samuṭṭhānādīhi* (Sp 575,17), and similarly: *samuṭṭhānādīhi catutthasādhissān’ eva* (Kkh 66,2), both commenting on *nissaggiya* 7.

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

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> This shows that *niyata* (Vin V 86,16\*) does not mean “regularized” as translated at *BD* VI, p. 123, but “restricted (to only one rule)”, though the verse as a whole remains difficult.

changes to *dhuranikkhepa* (Sp 866,32), perhaps because the expression *dhuraṃ nikkhattamate* (Sp 866,15) is quoted from Vin IV 128,5 and commented on in this paragraph. In contrast to normal usage it is not the name of this *pātimokkha*-rule, which is called *duṭṭhulla* (Sp 867,1). In this respect it is similar to *samvidhāna*: *addhāna*, discussed above.

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

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

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

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

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

A much better systematization has been achieved in this respect in the *Samantapāsādikā*, in spite of some shortcomings if two names for one group interchange. It should be noted that the *Samantapāsādikā*, while extending the use of *dhuranikkhepa* to the *Bhikkhupāṭimokkha*, has not been influenced by the *Parivāra* in selecting either name: the *Parivāra*, which counts the *pārājika*-rules of the *bhikkhunīs* as nos. 5–8, has *dhuranikkhepa* (Vin V 55,15) in *pārājika* 5, in contrast to *samanubhāsana* (Sp 904,13).

Finally, in the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī, the designation *dhuranikkhepa* has been removed from the text. At the same time only the set of 13 names found in the Parivāra has been used consistently. Thus some kind of progress in handling and systematizing this difficult material can be observed. This is perhaps most evident at the end of the commentary on the rules of the *pātimokkha*, e.g. of *nissaggiya* 1, where the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī needs three lines (Kkh 58,6–8) in comparison to six needed by the Samantapāsādikā (Sp 650, 24–29) for the same matter.

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

Thus it is said in the *ekuttaraka*-chapter of the Parivāra in the *ekaka*-paragraph: *sāvajjapaññatti āpatti jānitabbā anavajjapaññatti āpatti jānitabbā* (Vin V 115,8), “an offence that has been prescribed as ‘blamable’ should be known, an offence that has been prescribed as ‘non-blamable’ should be known”. As this classification is mentioned here for the first time and without any comment or example, it is impossible to control the explanation given in the Samantapāsādikā: *sāvajjapaññatti ti lokavajjā, anavajjapaññatti ti paṇṇattivajjā* (Sp 1319,26), “blamable means blamable because of common opinion, non-blamable means blamable because of an instruction (by the Buddha)”.<sup>9</sup> The terms *lokavajja* and *paṇṇattivajja* are used very frequently by both the Samantapāsādikā and the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī, and they replace the apparently older pair *sāvajja-*, *anāvajjapaññatti*, which are preserved only in the passage quoted above from the Parivāra and echoed once in: *anantarāyikā paṇṇattivajjā anavajja-paṇṇatti ti ca vuttam ... °āpatti antarāyikā lokavajjasāvajjapaṇṇattito* (Vjb (B<sup>c</sup>) 553,7).

The more recent terms *lokavajja* and *paṇṇattivajja* emerge for the first time in the Milindapañha: *lokavajjam paṇṇattivajjam ... udake hassa-*

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

*dhammam mahārāja lokassa anavajjam, tam jinasāsane vajjam* (Mil 266,19–28), “blamable by the world, ... blamable by the regulation (of the Vinaya) ... playing in the water is, sire, blameless in the world, but is blamable in the Dispensation of the Conqueror” (I.B. Horner: *Milinda’s Questions* II, 1969, pp. 83 foll.). Although quite a few new words and forms are introduced by the Milindapañha into the Pāli vocabulary such as *iha* for older *idha* (CPD), *kaṭumika* (CPD), *jaṭhara* or *lipi*,<sup>10</sup> *lokavajja*: *paṇṇattivajja* may surface here perhaps by mere chance, because the idea as such is much older, as the Parivāra shows. Two things, however, are striking. Instead of *paññatti* (Vin V 115,15), the form *paṇṇatti* is used in the Milindapañha and consistently in the Vinaya commentaries in *paṇṇattivajja*, which even intrudes into the quotation of *anavajja-*, *paṇṇattivajja* in the Vajirabuddhīkā. It seems impossible to decide whether an old eastern oral tradition is brought to the surface here, providing a further example of an old eastern Vinaya term,<sup>11</sup> or whether this rather mirrors the later Middle Indic development of *-ññ-* > *-ṇṇ-* (*Das ältere Mittellindisch im Überblick*, § 250).<sup>12</sup>

The second point is perhaps more interesting. In the Milindapañha *hassadhamma* comes under the category *lokassa anavajja* (Mil 266,28). This refers to *udake hāsadhammam pācittiyam* (Vin IV 112,22\*\* [*pācittiya* 53]), which is said to be *lokavajjam* (Sp 861,21), which is confirmed by Kkh 119,34. There is, however, no contradiction between the Vinaya commentaries and the Milindapañha, when the behaviour described in other *pātimokkha*-rules is attributed to *lokassa anavajja* in the latter text: *vikālabhojana* and *bhūtagāmaṅkapaṇa* refer to *pācittiya* 37 and

<sup>10</sup> Cf. K.R. Norman: *Pāli Literature* (A History of Indian Literature, VII,2), Wiesbaden 1983, p. 111.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *saṃmannati*, etc.: O. v. Hinüber: *The Oldest Pāli Manuscript*. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Jahrgang 1991, Nr. 6, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> The reading *paṇṇatti* with *-ṇṇ-*, not *-ññ-*, is confirmed throughout by the Milindapañha manuscript from Vat Lai Hin, North Thailand, dated AD 1495, cf. *JPTS* XI, 1987, pp. 111–19 and XII, 1988, pp. 173 foll.

11 respectively, which are classified as *paññattivajja* (Sp 838,7 and 769,12). Both offences are typical of the misbehaviour of monks, while there is nothing wrong if a layman eats at any time or digs the earth. Nor was it considered indecent or offensive for laymen to enjoy a bath, as is well known from innumerable references in classical Sanskrit literature. This may actually have induced the author of this passage in the Milindapañha to take *hassadhamma* as *lokassa anavajja* corresponding to *paññattivajja*, for which he gives a definition that differs from the one found in later legal literature: *dasa akusalakammāpathā idaṃ vuccati lokavajjaṃ* (Mil 266,20 foll.), in contrast to: *yassa sacittakapakkhe cittaṃ akusalam eva hoti taṃ lokavajjaṃ nāma, sesaṃ paññattivajjaṃ*, (Sp 229,2 foll. ≠ Kkh 24,13–15). At the same time the Samantapāsādikā considers the 10 *akusalakammāpatha* as enumerated at D III 269,1–4 or Vibh 391,25–27 as *akusaladhamma*, which are divided into *kāya-*, *vācī-*, and *mano-duccarita* (Sp 134,11–16). This does not have any connection with the classification as *sa-citta: a-citta* of the *pāṭimokkha*-rules, which can be seen quite clearly, e.g. at Sp 271,25–30: the *akusalacitta* conditioning *pārājika* 1 is *lobhacitta*, which does not figure among the *akusalakammāpatha*.

Thus both texts, the Milindapañha on the one hand, and the Samantapāsādikā/Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī on the other, use different definitions of *lokavajja*, and within their respective definitions the classification seems to be consistent. Again, it is impossible to tell whether this remarkable difference should be interpreted in terms of chronology, i.e. understood as a development of Theravāda ecclesiastical law, or as sectarian.<sup>13</sup> If the

<sup>13</sup> Attention is drawn to this important alternative in explaining differences among different Vinayas by G. Schopen, “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 10, 1992, pp. 1–39, especially p. 4. In spite of Schopen’s brilliant argument, I am convinced that the Pāli Vinaya is by far the oldest extant text of its type. This, of course, does not mean that other Vinayas do not very occasionally contain very old material, while the Mūlarsarvāstivāda-Vinaya seems especially to be penetrated by the spirit of innovation. This, however, needs much more research, and these remarks are not meant to diminish the highly interesting and important results of Schopen’s

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

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

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contribution as a whole. It would be interesting to know if there are traces of a similar *samuṭṭhāna*-classification in Vinaya schools other than the Theravāda. If the Samantapāsādikā was translated into Chinese under Dharmaguptaka influence as stated by P.V. Bapat: *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha*, Poona 1970, p. 1, this school at least did not seem to have been very familiar with this concept as the gross mistranslation of Sp 62,17–21 (p. 422), the somewhat surprising translation of Sp 228,1 foll. (p. 169) and other instances show. The pair *sāvadyaṃ: anavadyaṃ* turns up in *pāṭyaṃtika* 75 (Sarvāstivāda) in: G. v. Simson: *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*. Teil I. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden XI. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge Nr. 155. Göttingen 1986, p. 229 (SHT 538, Bl. 26R4). However, the sentence containing the relevant words occurs in only one manuscript, and is missing in others.

## THE CASE OF THE MURDERED MONKS

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

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

went from one building to another crying out, “Who has not crossed ? Whom do I bring across ?” (Vin III 69,10–11). We are told that in this way he ‘brought across’ as many as sixty monks in a day; that is, he murdered them.

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

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

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

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

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

The Dharmagupta Vinaya story agrees essentially with the Pāli account. It makes much of the kammic retribution that had to fall on the 500 former hunters, by then monks, who would be forced to slaughter one another. Other Vinayas may throw more light upon this incident. As it stands, the Pāli account presents us with insoluble problems which are not in any way solved by the Commentary:

1. The Buddha knew others' minds, so why did he teach *asubha* meditation if this was likely to lead to suicide and murder ?
2. Presumably he knew of the murderous potential of Migalaṇḍika, but is shown as going into retreat.
3. No monks, not even Ānanda, did anything to prevent the massacre. Even his attendant monk apparently did not say to the Buddha that monks were being slain or killing themselves in large numbers.
4. Nothing was done to restrain Migalaṇḍika, though these events are said to have taken place not far from the city of Vesālī, from which help could easily have been obtained.
5. The Buddha, apparently not knowing of the carnage during his retreat, asks, "Where have the monks gone ?" when he emerges from it.

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

The *Bhikshuni Precepts Manual* of the Dharmagupta Vinaya recounts almost the same story. Here is its account of the monastery at that time: "Due to these circumstances, the grove became littered with corpses. It stank horribly and was in a state of utter chaos and resembled a graveyard. The laity were shocked. They said, 'If these *bhikṣus* would

go so far as to kill one another, how much more would they take the lives of other people ! We should not make offerings to them any more."

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

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

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FOUR PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random group of words which are either omitted from PED,<sup>2</sup> or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. *kinti* “in order that”
2. *kevala-kappa* “(almost) entire”
3. *sakāya niruttiyā* “in/with own *nirutti*”
4. *hevaṃ* “thus”

1. *kinti* “in order that”

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

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<sup>1</sup> See K.R. Norman, “Pāli Lexicographical Studies VIII”, in *JPTS*, XV, pp. 145–54.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924-48 (= CPD). In addition: BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; CP I = K.R. Norman, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, PTS 1990; MW = M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS’s *Pali-English Dictionary*; PTC = *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*; Skt = Sanskrit; (M)RE = (Minor) Rock Edict; SepE = Separate Edict; PE = Pillar Edict; cty/cties = commentary/commentaries.

There is, however, another usage found in Pāli, which is not mentioned in PED, where it is constructed with an optative, to indicate a purpose:

*Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikārakkhāvaraṇa-gutti susamvihitā, kinti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitaṃ āgaccheyyūṃ*, D II 75,11 = A IV 17,5 = 20,6,10,13: “ ... so that arahats may enter the territory”.

*yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū paccattaṃ yeva satim upaṭṭhāpessanti, kinti anāgatā ca pesalā sabrahmacārī phāsum vihareyyun ti*, D II 77,19 = A IV 22,3: “ ... so that good fellow-disciples may dwell at ease”.

*kinti mahārāja idaṃ dukkhaṃ nirujjheyya aññaṇ ca dukkhaṃ na uppajjheyya*, Mil 31,29 = 65,30: “So that this *dukkha* may cease and another *dukkha* may not arise”.

The construction with an optative (or occasionally an injunctive) is also found in the Aśokan inscriptions<sup>1</sup>:

*ya ca kiṃci parākramāmi ahaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ gacheyyaṃ*, RE VI(L) at G: “ ... so that I may discharge my debt ... ”.

*ta etāya athāya ayaṃ dhammalipī lekhāpitā kiṃti ciraṃ tiṣṭeya*, RE VI(M) at G: “ ... so that it may last a long time”.

*ya tu kici parikamate devānaṃpiyo priyadasi rājā ta savaṃ pāratrikāya kiṃti sakale apaparīsrave asa*, RE X(C) at G: “ ... so that there may be little danger”.

*na tu tathā dānaṃ va pūjā va devānaṃpiyo maṃṇate yathā kiti sāravadhī asa*, RE XII(B) at G: “ ... so that there may be an increase in *sāra*”.

*tasa tu idaṃ mūlaṃ ya vacigutī kiṃti ātpapāsamḍapūjā va parapāsamḍagarahā va no bhava aprakaraṇamhi*, RE XII(D) at G: “ ... so

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations of Aśokan site names: G = Gīmār; Sh = Shāhbāzgarhī; Dh = Dhauli; Rūp = Rūpnāth. I follow the sentence divisions of E. Hultzsch, *The Inscriptions of Asoka*, Oxford 1925.

that there should not be praise of one’s own sect or blame of another’s sect ... ”.

*yo hi koci ātpapāsamḍaṃ pūjayati parapāsamḍaṃ va garahati savaṃ ātpapāsamḍabhatiyā kiṃti ātpapāsamḍaṃ dīpayema iti*, RE XII(H) at G: “ ... so that we may glorify our own sect”.

*ta samavāyo eva sādhu kiṃti aṃṇamaṃṇasa dhammaṃ sruṇāru ca susumsera ca*, RE XII(I) at G: “ ... so that they may hear each other’s *dhamma*”.

*evaṃ hi devānaṃpiyasa ichā kiṃti savapāsamḍā bahusrutā ca asu kalānāgamā ca*, RE XII(J) at G: “ ... so that all sects may be learned ... ”.

*devānaṃpiyo no tathā dānaṃ va pūjaṃ va maṃṇate yathā kiṃti sāravadhī asa sarvapāsamḍānaṃ*, RE XII(L) at G: “ ... so that there may be an increase in *sāra*”.

*anutape pi ca prabhava devanaṃpiyasa vucati teṣa kiti avatrapeyu na ca haṃṇeyasu*, RE XIII(N) at Sh: “ ... so that they may be ashamed and not be killed”.

*etaye cā athāye ayi dhramadipi nipista kiti putra papotra me asu (? read anam)<sup>1</sup> navam vijayam ma vijetavia maṇiṣu*, RE XIII(X) at Sh: “ ... so that they may not think of another new victory”.

*atha pajāye ichāmi hakaṃ kiṃti savena hitasukhena hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevu ti*, SepE II(E) at Dh: “ ... so that they be provided with complete welfare ... ”.

*ichā hi me kiṃti samghe samage cilathitike siyā ti*, Schism Edict (E) at Sāñcī: “ ... so that the *samgha* may be united and last a long time”.

*etāni bhaṃte dhammapaliyāyāni ichāmi kiṃti bahuke bhikhupāye cā bhikhuniye cā abhikkhinaṃ suneyu cā upadhālayeyū cā*, Bhabra (E): “ ... so that many groups of monks and nuns may listen repeatedly ... ”.

*etiya athāye ca sāvane kaṭe ... iya paka(me) kiti ciraṭhitike siyā*, MRE I(H) at Rūp: “ ... so that it may last a long time”.

<sup>1</sup> See L. Alsdorf, “Der Schluss von Aśokas dreizehntem Felsedikt”, *Mélanges d’Indianisme (à la mémoire de Louis Renou)*, Paris 1968, pp. 23–33 (p. 26).

*tesaṃ ye abhihāle vā daṃḍe vā atapatiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūkā asvathā abhītā kammāni pavatayevū ti*, PE IV(D): “ ... so that the *lajūkas* may perform their duties confidently ... ”.

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

*ichitaviye hi esā kiṃti viyohālasamatā ca siyā daṃḍasamatā cā*, PE IV(K): “ ... so that there may be impartiality in proceedings and in punishments”.

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

## 2. *kevala-kappa* “(almost) entire”

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

These references are all to a stock phrase referring to a divinity illuminating a grove:

*aññatarā devatā ... kevalakappam Jetavanam obhāsetvā*, Sn p. 18,10 = p. 46,14 = Khp p. 2,29 (glossed at Pj I 115,19 foll.) ≠ Sn p. 125,10 (*Brahmā Sahampati*).

*kevalakappam Gijjhakūṭam cando viya suriyo viya ca obhāsentī*, Vv-a 124,11.

*devalokato āgantvā kevalakappam Veḷuvanam obhāseto*, Vv-a 255,6.

This stock phrase is widely found.<sup>1</sup> Pj I 115,19 foll., Ps II 125,36 foll., Spk I 15,22 foll. and Mp II 377,2 foll. give the definition *abhisaddahana-vohāra-kāla-paññatti-chedana-vikappa-lesa-samanta-bhāv’-ādi-anekattho* for *kappa*. They quote: *kevalakappam Veḷuvanam obhāsetvā ti* (Ñānamoli identifies this as S I 52,21; it would seem preferable to identify it as S I 1,10, since Buddhaghosa deals with the word at Spk I 15,22 foll. [ad S I 1,10]) *evamādisu samantabhāvo. idha pan’ assa samantabhāvo attho adhippeto. tasmā kevalakappam Andhavanan ti ettha anavasesam samantato Andhavanan ti evam attho daṭṭhabbo*. Mp III 353,8 (ad A III 309,4) does not give the full explanation but glosses: *kevalakappan ti sakalakappam*. At Mp II 374,30 (ad A I 277,2) *kevalakappam* is glossed: *sakalam kappam*, which is a wrong reading for *sakala-kappam* (Be so). At Sp 972,2 (ad Vin I 26,3) *kevalakappam* is glossed *sakalam kevalam*.

It is clear that the meaning given by PED for these references is incorrect, although Childers<sup>2</sup> had long ago seen correctly that the meaning of *kevalakappam Jetavanam* was “the whole of Jetavana”, and had defined *kevalakappo*<sup>3</sup> as “all, whole, entire”. Masefield points out<sup>4</sup> that this sense is not listed by PED under either *kevala* or *kappa*, and very charitably he does not say that the meaning which is given under both headings is wrong.

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

<sup>1</sup> See PTC, s.vv. *obhāseti* and *kevalakappa*.

<sup>2</sup> R.C. Childers, *Dictionary of the Pāli language*, London 1875, s.v. *kappo*.

<sup>3</sup> Childers, *ibid.*, s.v. *kevalakappo*.

<sup>4</sup> P. Masefield, *Vimāna-Stories*, PTS 1989, p. 190 (note 6).

MW,<sup>1</sup> where the meaning is given (inter alia): “having the manner, form of, similar to, like (but with a degree of inferiority), almost”, e.g. *abhedya-kalpa* “almost impenetrable”, *prabhāta-kalpa* “nearly become light, approaching dawn”, *mṛta-kalpa* “almost dead, apparently dead”.

The meaning of *kevala-kappa* is therefore, “(almost) entire”, or “just about the whole of ...”. This meaning is given in the ctes quoted above for *kevalakappā ca Aṅga-Magadhā pahūtaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ ādāya upasaṃkamissanti* (Vin I 27,28) “The whole of Aṅga and Magadha will come bringing quantities of food”, for the sense is said to be *yebhuyyatā* “for the most part”, i.e. “almost all”. They also list *kevalakappaṃ* used adverbially: *ayaṃ āyasmato Anuruddhassa Bāhiko nāma saddhivihāriko kevalakappaṃ samghabhedāya thito* (A II 239,21), where the sense is said to be *daḥhatthā* “firmness”.<sup>2</sup> Ñānamoli translates “This co-resident of the venerable Anuruddha’s named Bāhika has taken his stand entirely for the schism in the Community”, and Woodward translates<sup>3</sup> “stands in every way for dissension in the Order”. Mp III 215,16 glosses: *kevalakappan ti sakalam samantato*.

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

<sup>1</sup> s.v. *kalpa*.

<sup>2</sup> Bhikkhu Ñānamoli, *Minor Readings and Illustrator*, PTS 1960, pp. 123–24.

<sup>3</sup> F.L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings*, Vol. II, PTS 1933, p. 244.

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

1111,31 (ad Vin I 255,8) glosses: *ahatakappena ti ahata-sadisena ekavāraṃ vā dvikkhattuṃ vā dhotena* “like unwashed (i.e. new), washed (only) once or twice”, and Sp 1128,18 (ad Vin I 290,11) glosses: *ahatakappānam ti ekavāradhotānam* “washed once”. PED rightly lists the usage with *ahata* under the same meaning as for *khagga-visāṇa-kappa*, quoted above. CPD correctly translates *ahata*<sup>1</sup> as “nearly (practically) new”.

### 3. *sakāya niruttiyā* “in/with own *nirutti*”

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

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

<sup>1</sup> CPD, Vol. I, s.v. *ahata*.

<sup>2</sup> O. von Hinüber, “Origin and varieties of Buddhist Sanskrit”, in C. Caillat (ed.): *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes*, Paris 1989, pp. 341–67 (p. 351).

<sup>3</sup> K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies VIII”, *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), Vol. XX, pp. 329–36 (p. 330) = CP Vol. I, pp. 122–29 (p. 122).

the common Vinaya phrase *anujānāti* means “to ordain or prescribe”.<sup>1</sup> I therefore take the Buddha’s command to mean “I ordain that the *Buddhavacana* be mastered in [or “with” — see below] its own *nirutti*”, i.e. the infinitive *pariyāpunitum* is used in a passive sense, and I think that those who say we must understand the word *vo* in the sentence are wrong.<sup>2</sup> Since, as I said in the same article,<sup>3</sup> it is inconceivable that *sakāya* should have two different referents, it must have the same meaning when it is used earlier.

It is clear that it cannot be the followers’ own *nirutti*. If it were, then we should have to assume that the Buddha, when informed that they were ruining (*dūśenti*) his teaching in/with/by their own *nirutti*, insisted on their using their own *nirutti*, i.e. insisted that they continue to ruin his teaching. Since he insists upon the *Buddhavacana* being mastered *sakāya niruttiyā*, the *nirutti* must also be part of what they are ruining, i.e. it is either the Buddha’s *nirutti* or the *nirutti* of the *Buddhavacana*. We can take *sakāya niruttiyā* either as locative: “The *Buddhavacana* in its own *nirutti*” or as instrumental: “The *Buddhavacana* with its own *nirutti*”. I have said elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that I prefer the idea of “gloss” for *nirutti*. By this I mean some sort of simple commentary, perhaps nothing more than a translation into the local dialect of a single word, or an etymology to make the meaning plain. On the other hand, it would appear that Buddhaghosa was taking *nirutti* as “language”, and this also makes sense: “They are spoiling the *Buddhavacana* in its own language”. Buddhaghosa identified that

<sup>1</sup> See CPD, Vol. I, s.v. *anujānāti*.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, (second edition), Calcutta 1956, p. 7 footnote 2.

<sup>3</sup> Norman, *op. cit.* (in note 3 on p. 83), p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> K.R. Norman, “The dialects in which the Buddha preached”, in H. Bechert (ed.): *The Language of the earliest Buddhist tradition*, Göttingen, 1980, pp. 61–77 (pp. 61–63).

language with Māgadhi because, as I said earlier,<sup>1</sup> that was the tradition handed down in the Mahāvihāra.

#### 4. *hevam* “thus”

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

I have elsewhere pointed out that *hevam* occurs in the Kathāvattu,<sup>2</sup> e.g. *hevam eva tattha dakkha* (Kv 3,11); *hevam paṭijānantā*, *hevam niggahetabbā* (Kv 3,15–16). It is interesting to note that another such occurrence is at D I 54,17, in the description of the views of Makkhali Gosāla: *hevam* [Ee prints *h' evam*] *n' atthi doṇa-mite sukha-dukkhe pariyanta-kaṭe saṃsāre*. Since forms with initial *h-* are frequent in the Eastern versions of the Aśokan inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> we can assume that this is a genuine Eastern dialect form, appropriate to the speaker, and therefore retained in the account of his views.

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<sup>1</sup> Norman, *op. cit.* (in note 3 on p. 83), p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> See K.R. Norman, “Māgadhisms in the Kathāvattu”, in A.K. Narain (ed.): *Studies in Pali and Buddhism (a Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap)*, Delhi 1979, pp. 279–87.

<sup>3</sup> See Hultzsch, *op. cit.* (in note 1 on p. 78), Index, s.vv. *hida*, *heḍisa/hedisa*, *heta*, *hemeva*, *hevam*, *hesā*.

## THE RITUAL OBLIGATIONS AND DONOR ROLES OF MONKS IN THE PĀLI VINAYA

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> H. Bechert & R. Gombrich, eds., *The World of Buddhism: Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Society and Culture*, (London: 1984), p. 14; R. Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism. A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, (London: 1988), p. 124. That these sorts of remarks represent the received wisdom probably does not require documentation. Similar — if not stronger — suggestions have also been frequently made in regard even to monks’ participation in more specifically “Buddhist” ritual and cult practice, but see now G. Schopen, “Monks and the Relic Cult in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*: An Old Misunderstanding in Regard to Monastic Buddhism”, in *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion in Honor of Jan Yün-hua*, eds. G. Schopen & K. Shinohara, (Oakville: 1991), pp. 187–201.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> F. Edgerton, “The Hour of Death. Its Importance for Man’s Future Fate in Hindu and Western Religions”, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* 8.3, (1926–27), p. 234; for the participation of monks in monastic funerals in both the Pāli and, especially, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayas* see G. Schopen, “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20, (1992), pp. 1–39.

<sup>2</sup> All the Pāli citations below come from H. Oldenberg, *The Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol. I, (London: 1879), pp. 139–42; the translations are from I.B. Horner, *The Book of The Discipline*, Vol. IV, (London: 1951), pp. 185–89.

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

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

The passage continues:

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

This list — an abbreviation of an already abbreviated text — is much longer and contains almost every conceivable kind of construction of a domestic sort. Here there is no question of these things being presented to the monks. They are explicitly said to have been made for the lay-brother himself. The monks in these cases cannot be there as recipients, and their presence must have been sought, and allowed, for other purposes. Since the text expresses the lay-brothers request using the formula “I want to give a gift and to hear *dhamma* and to see the

monks”, it would seem reasonable to assume that not just here — but even in the prior cases where the monks were the intended recipients — the reason for the monks presence was essentially ritualistic. It would appear that the text is allowing as legitimate and requiring the presence of the monks at a ceremony of some sort that marked the completion — the verbal form is *kārāpita* — of the construction of all sorts of domestic structures owned by laymen at which they would receive gifts and recite religious texts. It is, in fact, hard to interpret the text otherwise. But two further points should be noted: it appears to have been assumed by the redactors of the text that monks would regularly receive such requests, and that their compliance with such requests was important enough to justify their temporary absence from the rain retreat.

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

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

In each of these cases — as in those that precede — monks, if requested through the formulaic request, are to go. Since the reason or occasion that immediately follows concerns the preservation of “recognized *sūtras*” which are in danger of being lost, and since no distinction is made between it and the marriages of sons or daughters, for example, it

would seem that the redactors of the *Theravāda-vinaya* considered the latter to have the same importance as the former, or that the presence of monks at weddings was as important as the preservation of *sūtras*. It is, moreover, difficult to avoid the impression that this passage presupposes something like a “client” relationship between monks and lay-brothers. That there was some sense of obligation in this relationship seems virtually certain: the text does not say the monk *may* go, but that — if sent for and if it can be accomplished in seven days — he *must* go (*gantabba*).

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

This is a case, monks, where a dwelling place ... a site for a monastery for an order ... for several monks ... for him- (her-) self is built by a monk ... a nun ... a probationer ... a novice ... (*idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhunā samgham uddissa, bhikkhuniyā samgham uddissa ... attano atthāya vihāro kārāpito hoti*). If he (she) should send a messenger to monks, saying: “Let the revered sirs (masters) come. I want to give a gift and to hear *dhamma* and to see the monks,” you should go, monks, if you are sent for and if the business can be done in seven days ... (I 141,31; IV 189,11).



Here, too, I think, the text has an elegant clarity. The redactors of our passage could only have assumed and taken very much for granted that — exactly as laymen — monks, nuns, “probationers” (*sikkhamāna*), and novices (*sāmaṇera*), all had monasteries and monastic buildings regularly constructed both for the order and for themselves, and — again like laymen — had on such occasions need for the ritual presence of fellow monks. The text does not rule on, but assumes, that monks and nuns can and do act as major donors. We need not again belabour the fact that this kind of assumption on the part of the redactors of the *Theravāda-vinaya* fits awkwardly, if at all, in the picture of monastic Buddhism found in our handbooks, but very nicely with the actions of monks and nuns recorded in Indian inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The role of monks in domestic rituals also is not a common-place in modern presentations of monastic Buddhism. The apparent discordancy — since we prefer so often the pictures in our *own* books — might suggest some suspicion in regard to the present passage, or that it is just another aberration peculiar to the Pāli *Vinaya*.<sup>2</sup> That such suspicions are unfounded seems to follow from two further quite different texts.

The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* found at Gilgit has a section — the *Varṣāvastu* — that corresponds in the main to the Pāli

<sup>1</sup> See G. Schopen, “Filiā Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism”, *T’oung Pao* 70, (1984), pp. 110–26; Schopen, “Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and Doctrines of the Transference of Merit”, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 10, (1985), pp. 9–47; Schopen, “On Monks, Nuns and ‘Vulgar’ Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism”, *Artibus Asiae* 49, 1–2, (1988–89), pp. 153–68; etc.

<sup>2</sup> The presence in the Pāli canonical *Vinaya* of rules governing the obligatory presence of monks at weddings, for example, is particularly intriguing in light of what has recently been said about the modern “change” and “transformation” of Buddhism in Sri Lanka; see R. Gombrich & G. Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed. Religious Change in Sri Lanka*, (Princeton: 1988), pp. 265–73; H.L. Seneviratne, *Rituals of the Kandy State*, (Cambridge: 1978), p. 129; etc.

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

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

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

to the monks (saying) “Will the Venerable Ones give a recitation” (*āryā vācam dāsyanti*). A monk should go, having been authorized for seven days, through this obligation to a lay-brother (*gantavyam bhikṣunā saptāham adhiṣṭhāya upāsakasya karaṇīyena*).<sup>1</sup>

The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, like the *Vinaya* of the Theravāda, assumes, then, and requires the presence of monks at certain lay, domestic “life-cycle” ceremonies. It does not list all the same occasions, however, referring explicitly only to marriage and serious, if not terminal, illness. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* does not seem to refer to “house dedication” rituals; it certainly does not contain the long list of different kinds of structures found in the Pāli. But it does contain some of the same occasions found in the Pāli that are more specifically “Buddhist.” It refers, for example, to a lay-brother having a *vihāra* constructed, although here too it uses a different language: “It may occur that a lay-brother wishes to have erected a monastery for the community of monks from the four directions” (*yathāpi tad upāsakaś cāturdīśe bhikṣu-saṃghe vihāraṃ pratiṣṭhāpayitu-kāmo bhavati*). It also lists a number of more specifically “Buddhist” occasions not found in the Pāli *Vinaya*: a lay-brother “desiring to donate bedding and seats to that monastery” (... *asminn eva vihāre śayanāsanam anupradātukāmo bhavati*), “wanting to designate a permanent alms giving” in it (... *asminn eva vihāre dhruva-bhikṣām prajñāpayitukāmo bhavati*), and, interestingly, “wanting to have erected a *stūpa* for the body of the Tathāgata in that monastery” (... *tasminn eva vihāre tathāgatasya śārīra-stūpam pratiṣṭhāpayitu-kāmo bhavati*).<sup>2</sup> In all of these cases — as in the case of marriage and illness — if the monks are sent for, and if they can

<sup>1</sup> Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 140.17.

<sup>2</sup> Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 138.14–139.11.

return within seven days, they are of course required to go. One of such occasions, however, may be particularly important because we may be able to connect it with a record that can be much more securely placed in time and place.

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

There is moreover a further obligation to a lay-brother. It may occur that a lay-brother wants to donate the raising of a staff on that *stūpa*, the raising of an umbrella, the raising of a flag, the raising of a banner ... he sends a messenger to the monks ... a monk should go ... (*aparam apy upāsakasya karaṇīyam. yathāpi tad upāsakas tasminn eva stūpe yaṣṭy-āropanam chatrāropanam dhvajāropanam patākāropanam ... anupradātukāmo bhavati ... sa bhikṣūṇāṃ dūtam anupreṣayati ... gantavyam bhikṣunā ...*).<sup>1</sup>

Admitting that the exact sense of *yaṣṭi* — though much discussed<sup>2</sup> — is uncertain, still it is difficult not to see in this passage a regulation which corresponds almost exactly to the record of an actual event which appears to have occurred at a *stūpa* near Bahāwalpur in the first century of the Common Era. This event was recorded in a *Kharoṣṭhi* inscription, the language of which is “a Sanskritized Prākṛit.”

<sup>1</sup> Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 139.11–17.

<sup>2</sup> F. Weller, “Divyāvādāna 244.7 ff.”, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 1, (1953), pp. 268–76; L. Alsdorf, “Der Stūpa des Kṣemaṃkara”, *Studia Indologica (Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel)*, (Bonn: 1955), pp. 9–16; M. Bénisti, “Étude sur le stūpa dans l’Inde ancienne”, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 50, (1960), pp. 37–116, esp. pp. 76 foll.; F.B.J. Kuiper, “Yūpayaṣṭi- (Divy. 244,11)”, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3, (1959), pp. 204–05; G. Roth, “Bemerkungen zum Stūpa des Kṣemaṃkara”, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 5/6, (1980), pp. 181–92; etc.

Although there have been some differences of opinion in regard to its interpretation, Konow's — as usual — appears to be basically correct:

The eleventh year — year 11 — of the Great King, the King Surpassing Kings, the Son of Devas, Kaniṣka, in the month of Daisios, on the eighteenth day — day 18 — when the monk (*bhikṣu*) Nāgadatta, a narrator of *dharma* (*dha[rma]kathi*), the student (*śiṣya*) of the teacher (*acarya*) Damatrāta, the student's student of the teacher Bhava, raised the staff (*yaṭhim aropayata*) here in Damana, the mistress of the monastery (*viharasvamiṇi*), the lay-sister (*upasika*) Balānandī and the matron, her mother Balajayā, also gave, in addition to the setting up of the *yaṣṭi* (*imaṃ yaṭhipraṭiṭhanam*), the enclosure (*parivara*). May this be for the benefit and ease of all living beings.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> For Konow's edition and translation see S. Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the exception of those of Aśoka* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I), (Calcutta: 1929), pp. 139–41 (no. LXXIV), pl. XXVI — my translation is heavily indebted to his. For some earlier interpretations of the record see A.F.R. Hoernle, “Readings from the Arian Pāli”, *The Indian Antiquary* 10, (1881), pp. 324–31; B. Indrajī, “A Bakto-Pāli Inscription of Sui Bāhāra”, *The Indian Antiquary* 11, (1882), pp. 128–29; N.G. Majumdar, “The Suē Vihar Copper-plate of the Reign of Kaniṣka”, *Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, 1, (Calcutta: 1922), pp. 459–74.

that what was promulgated in at least this *Vinaya* appears to actually have been occurring by the first century.<sup>1</sup>

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

What is the obligation to a monk (*bhikṣoḥ karaṇīyam*). It may occur that a monk wants to present a park to the community of monks from the four directions (*yathāpi tad bhikṣusū cāturdīśe bhikṣusamṅhe ārāmaṃ niryātayitukāmo bhavati*). By him there an abundance of material things and worldly things are brought together (*tena tatra prabhūto vastulābha āmiṣalābhaś ca*

<sup>1</sup> If our *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* passage strongly argues for Konow's interpretation of the *Kharoṣṭhī* inscription, it is less helpful for understanding the references to *yaṣṭis* or *laṣṭis* in a series of records from Western India — see B. Indrajī, “The Western Kshatrapas”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1890), p. 652; R.D. Banerji, “The Andhau Inscriptions of the Time of Rudradaman”, *Epigraphia Indica* 16, (1921–22), pp. 19–25 (two of these *might* be Buddhist); S. Gokhale, “Andhau Inscription of Caṣṭana, Śaka 11”, *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 2, (1969), pp. 104–11; D.C. Sircar, “Andhau Fragmentary Inscription of Caṣṭana, Year 11”, *Journal of Indian History* 48, (1970), pp. 253–57; S. Sankaranarayanan, “A New Early Kushana Brahmi Inscription”, *Śrinidhih. Perspectives in Indian Archaeology, Art and Culture. Shri K.R. Srinivasan Festschrift*, ed. K.V. Raman et al., (Madras: 1983), pp. 277–84; etc. — Although the references that I know are late, it is worth noting that — like our *Mūlasarvāstivāda* passage — Hindu inscriptions also refer to a ritual *dhvajāroha* or *dhvajārohana*, see R. Sharma, “Udayapur Inscription of Paramara Udayaditya, Vikrama 1137”, *Epigraphia Indica* 38, (1970), pp. 281 foll.; S.L. Katare, “Kalanjara Inscription of V.S. 1147”, *Epigraphia Indica* 31, (1955–56), pp. 163 foll.; etc.

*samupānīto bhavati*). He sends a messenger to the monks (saying) “Come! The Reverends will enjoy”. A monk should go, having been authorized for seven days, through this obligation to a monk.<sup>1</sup>

In referring to “bringing together material and worldly things” the text uses exactly the same formulaic wording it had used several times previously in regard to lay-brothers. Moreover, immediately after this passage the text also lists in abbreviated form virtually all the occasions it had enumerated in detail in regard to obligations to lay-brothers (*yathāpi tad bhikṣur asminn evārāme vihāraṃ śayanāsanam dhruvabhikṣāṃ tathāgatasya śārīrastūpam*, etc.).<sup>2</sup> As in the section

<sup>1</sup> Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 141.1 foll.

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

dealing with lay-brothers, so here the section ends with reference to a monk’s obligation to attend to a sick or dying fellow monk by giving a recitation (*yathāpi tad bhikṣur ābādhiko duḥkḥito vāḍhaglāno bhavati. sa bhikṣūṇāṃ dūtān anupreṣayati. āgacchantv āyusmanto vācāṃ bhā[ṣi]ṣyanti*, etc.).<sup>1</sup>

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

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

Inscription from Amarāvātī and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14.2, (1991), pp. 281–329 [p. 328 note 111]). Finally, it seems absolutely certain — given Professor Gombrich’s agreement — that it can no longer be said that the Pāli *Vinaya* does not contain any references to *stūpas*. He seems to have been so convinced by my suggestion that the references to *cetiya*s in the *Sutta-Vibhaṅga* are to be understood as referring to *stūpas* that he wants to use them against me (p. 140). But the presence of such rules in one part of the Pāli *Vinaya*, but not in another, does not seem to puzzle.

<sup>1</sup> Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, 142.5. Elsewhere in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* — in its *Civara-vastu* — there are even more specific rules governing the performance of a “worship of the Teacher (= Buddha)” (*śāstus ca pūjā*) for a sick and dying monk and how that *pūjā* should be financed (N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part 2, (Srinagar: 1942), 124.11–125.9).

assumptions and ideas. In its first chapter,<sup>1</sup> for example, which deals in large part with the duties of a senior monk (*saṃgha-sthavira*), it says that one of the duties of such a monk is to determine, when an invitation to a meal has been received by the monks, what the occasion for the meal is (*jānitavyam. kim ālambanaṃ bhaktam*). He is to determine whether, significantly, the invitation is “connected with a birth, connected with a death, connected with a marriage, connected with a house warming” (*jātakam mṛtakam vā vevāhikam vā grha-praveśakam vā*).<sup>2</sup> These are the occasions, apparently, on which it was assumed monks would receive and accept invitations from the laity, and they — as in the Pāli and Gilgit *Vinayas* — are all connected with domestic life-cycle rituals. The text goes on to say that in addition to the occasion, the senior monk must also determine the source of the invitation, he must determine whether it comes from “a visitor, a villager, a householder, or a renunciant” (*āgantukasya gamikasya grhasthasya pravrajitasya*). It is clear from the instructions given by the senior monk to the person sent to determine these things that when the inviter is a householder he is generally assumed to be a lay-brother or *upāsaka* (*tena gacchiya pṛcchitavyam, koci imam hi ithannāmo nāma upāsako*). It is equally clear from similar instructions that the inviter could be a monk or nun (*ko nimantreti, bhikṣu bhikṣuṇī upāsakopāsikā āgantuko gamiko vānijako sārthavāho*).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The whole text was first edited in B. Jinananda, *Abhisamācārikā [Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka]* (Patna: 1969). The first chapter has been again edited and translated — though the latter at least is far from satisfactory — in S. Singh & K. Minowa, “A Critical Edition and Translation of Abhisamācārikā Nāma Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇakaḥ”, *Buddhist Studies. The Journal of the Department of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi* 12 (1988) pp. 81–146; see also M. Prasad, *A Comparative Study of Abhisamācārikā* (Patna: 1984).

<sup>2</sup> Singh & Minowa, 91.26; Jinananda, 17.8.

<sup>3</sup> Singh & Minowa, 91.27; 89.32; 95.27; Jinananda, 17.9; 14.9; 25.1.

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

Now, then, when it is an occasion connected with a death, it is not permissible to direct the reward thus (*nāyam kṣamati evam dakṣiṇā ādiśitum*):

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

Today for you in the well-ordained, through the well-ordained, the reward in the most excellent vessel shines.”

Not in this way is the reward to be directed, but rather the reward should be directed (*atha khalu dakṣiṇā ādiśitavyā*):

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

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

In this way the reward is to be directed.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Singh & Minowa, 92.15 foll.; Jinananda, 18.13 foll.

merit” — *dakṣiṇā ādiś-* — does occur in the Pāli canon, and there, as here, is also associated with the recitation of verses. It is far more frequent and firmly anchored in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and related sources, where again it is frequently connected with the recitation of verses or *Dharma*. And it is referred to as well in other Mahāsāṅghika sources.<sup>1</sup> The appropriate verse here — as in most other cases — occurs elsewhere in canonical literature.<sup>2</sup> But for our present purposes the most important point to be noted is, of course, that the *Abhisamācārikā*, though representing yet another distinct *Vinaya* tradition, assumes, and makes rules to govern, the participation of monks in domestic life-cycle rituals, and assumes as well that monks and nuns act as donors. Though minor details may vary, it has in common a set of basic assumptions and ideas with both the Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda monastic traditions and codes. All share the assumption and acceptance of a monk’s obligation to be present at, and to have an active role in, a variety of domestic, life-cycle rituals connected with birth, marriage, house construction, sickness, and death. All promulgate rules governing such obligations.<sup>3</sup> All recognize as perfectly regular that monks and nuns will

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

<sup>2</sup> This verse or variants of it occur at *Mahāvastu* II 66; *Saṃyutta* I 97; etc.

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

act as donors. The texts, I think, are unambiguous on these points, although there is as well an important qualification in all of them.

The qualification or restriction which appears to apply to the obligations monks owe to others is highlighted in, for example, another discussion in the Pāli *Vinaya*. The case involves a monk whose mother falls ill and sends for him during the rain retreat. The monk is made to recall the Buddha’s ruling on the matter, but it apparently does not cover this particular case because the monk says: *ayaṅ ca me mātā gilānā sā ca anupāsikā. kathaṃ nu kho mayā paṭipajjitabban ti*, (“This is my mother who is fallen ill, *but she is not a lay-sister*. How now should I proceed?”). The Buddha responds by adding one’s mother and father to the previously established list of individuals — all otherwise formally connected with the Buddhist community — to whom a monk had a clear obligation in such circumstances: A monk, a nun, a probationer, a novice, a woman novice, and lay-brothers and sisters<sup>1</sup>

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

groups in which domestic ritual was already in the hands of other religious specialists. The needs or requirements of a monastic group in “tribal” or partially brahmanized areas could differ markedly. Cf. Schopen, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20, (1992), pp. 1–39 (esp. pp. 18–20).

<sup>1</sup> Pāli *Vinaya* I 147,20 foll.

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L.O. Gómez, “Buddhism in India”, in *Buddhism and Asian History*, ed. J.M. Kitagawa & M.D. Cummings, (New York: 1989), p. 64; L. Schmithausen, “Preface”, *Earliest Buddhism and Madhyamaka* (Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. II), (Leiden: 1990), pp. 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Bechert, “Zur Geschichte der buddhistischen Sekten in Indien und Ceylon”, *La nouvelle clío* 7–9, (1955–57), pp. 311–60; Bechert, “On the Identification of Buddhist Schools in Early Sri Lanka”, *Indology and Law*.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Ét. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère śāka*, (Louvain: 1958), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> See Schopen, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 10, (1985), pp. 15–16.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the now “classic” W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, (Philadelphia: 1971). Something similar has occasionally been argued in the development of Indian Buddhism — but only occasionally. J. Przyluski, for example, in discussing the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula said many years ago: “En somme, nous ne pouvons admettre qu’il y eût à l’origine du Bouddhisme une série de douze ‘conditions’ dont les autres listes ne seraient que des déformations récentes. Plus haut nous remontons dans le passé, plus grande est la diversité que nous constatons. C’est probablement à une époque assez tardive qu’on s’efforça de concilier les thèses divergentes et que finit par prévaloir la série: *avidyā ... jarāmarāṇa*” (J. Przyluski, “La roue de la vie à Ajanṭā”, *Journal Asiatique*, (1920), pp. 327–28).

what seem to be the facts. The former said some years ago that it appears that “les Vinayas parvenus à nous ont été rédigés à une époque tardive,” and the evidence seems to be mounting in his favour.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> W. Wassilieff [V. Vasilyev], “Le bouddhisme dans son plein développement d’après les vinayas”, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 34, (1896), pp. 318–25, esp. pp. 321 foll.; S. Lévi, “Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna”, *T’oung Pao* 8, (1907), pp. 116–17 and note 1; Lévi, “Les saintes écritures du bouddhisme”, in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, (Paris: 1937), pp. 82–84: “De plus, la vie du couvent, qui allait en se développant sans cesse, proposait ainsi sans cesse des problèmes pratiques qu’il fallait résoudre au nom du fondateur de l’ordre. Les couvents les plus riches, les mieux fréquentés, se créaient ainsi des collections qui se perpétuaient en s’accroissant. Les religieux errants, qui circulaient toujours nombreux de couvent en couvent, maintenaient dans ce vaste ensemble une communication constante qui tendait à niveler les divergences trop accusées. Réduits par élagage à leurs éléments communs, les Vinaya de toutes les écoles se ramènent sans effort à une sorte d’archétype unique, qui n’est pas le Vinaya primitif, mais la moyenne des Vinaya.”

acted as donors, however, is certain. Not only do those same monk redactors assume they did, and formulate rules for governing the behaviour of other monks when they would, but Indian inscriptions put this beyond any doubt. Once again the isolated, socially disengaged “early” Buddhist monk of modern scholars and Mahāyāna polemics is difficult to find.<sup>1</sup>

Austin

Gregory Schopen

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



# THE RAKṢĀ LITERATURE OF THE ŚRĀVAKAYĀNA\*

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

## The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna

### Introduction

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

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

The concept of *rakṣā* appears in various forms in Buddhist literature. The presence of the Buddha — who is described by such epithets as *akutobhaya*, “without fear from any quarter”,<sup>5</sup> or *khemamkara*, “granter

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit *Ātānāṭika-sūtra*, 37.3 *ātānāṭikaṃ sūtram vidyām rakṣām*; Pali *Ātānāṭiya-sutta*, *DN* (32) III 203.1 *ātānāṭiyā rakkhā*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Jātaka* II 35.7, *imaṃ parittam imaṃ rakkham*. Cf. Lévi 1915, p. 20 and de Silva pp. 3–5.

<sup>3</sup> *MhMVR*(T) 13.1, 15.2; *Mahāśītavatī* 2.9; *GM* I 56.10, in the common phrase *rakṣāvaraṇagupti*.

<sup>4</sup> *Vin* II 110.6; *AN* II 72.27.

<sup>5</sup> *Theragāthā* 510, *Therīgāthā* 333, etc.

of security”<sup>1</sup> — itself bestowed protection. In the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, Soṇadaṇḍa says that “in whatever town or village the *samaṇa* Gotama stays, non-humans do not harm the people of that town or village” (*DN* I 116.14, *samaṇo khalu bho gotamo yasmiṃ gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati na tasmim gāme vā nigame vā amanussā manusse viheṭhenti*).<sup>2</sup> A similar statement is made in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*,<sup>3</sup> and a similar idea occurs in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayavibhaṅga* in Tibetan and Chinese translation, where the presence of the Buddha is one of the protections against “zombies” or *vetāḍas*.<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *MNI* 386.13.

<sup>2</sup> A close parallel occurs in the Chinese counterpart, no. 22 of the *Dīrghāgama* (95b12–14): “Moreover: whichever place the Śramaṇa Gautama reaches, the inhumans and demons would not dare to harass it”. (Translation by K. Meisig, “Chung Têh King — The Chinese Parallel to the Soṇadaṇḍa-Sutta”, in V.N. Jha (ed.), *Kalyāṇa-Mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1991, p. 54.)

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 21.21 = D 558, *rgyud*, *pha*, 75a2.

<sup>4</sup> *Vinayavibhaṅga*, Q 1032, ‘*dul ba, che*, 128b5 foll; T 1442, Vol. 23. *Vetāḍa* is the preferred orthography of the Mūlasarvāstivādins: cf. *Sanghabhedavastu* I, 175.6,7,10; II 238.24; R. Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, Rome, 1978, p. 22.5,6,9. The same spelling occurs in non-Mūlasarvāstivādin texts: see references at *BHSD* 508a; *MhMVR*(T) 38.3, 42.10; *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 32.1,14; and the title *Saptavetāḍaka-nāmadharaṇi* in both the Peking (Q 351, Vol. 7, *rgyud*, *ba*, 231a7) and Stog Palace (Skorupski no. 574) editions of the *Kanjur*. See also *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* 55.6, 57.6, where *vetāḍa* is given as a variant. The preferred Pali spelling, at least in the Burmese and Siamese editions, is *vetāḷa*, rather than the *vetāḷa* of the *PTSD* (647a): see K. Meisig, *Das Śrāmanyaphala-sūtra*, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 216, note 13.

of dispelling fear”.<sup>1</sup> (Indeed, the symbol of the open hand, which appears even earlier at Bhārhut along with the “aniconic” representation of the Buddha through his footprints, might also represent this *mudrā*.)<sup>2</sup> In Mūlasarvāstivādin literature the hand of the *bodhisattva* or of the Buddha is called “bringing relief to the fearful” (*bhītānām āsvāsanakara*);<sup>3</sup> the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra*, commenting on the walk (*caṅkrama*) of the Buddha, says “toujours il lève la main droite pour rassurer les êtres”.<sup>4</sup> While more complex *mudrās* were evolved over the centuries, the *abhaya-mudrā* never lost its popularity. With the course of time, certain revered images of the Buddha (or of *bodhisattvas*) were themselves held to confer protection.

The very act that defines a Buddhist is the “taking of refuge” (*śaraṇa-gamana*) in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha, and the formula of “triple refuge” opens virtually all Buddhist rites, including the recitation of *paritta*. A verse in the *Mahāsamaya-sutta* states that “they who go for refuge in the Buddha will not go to the lower realms: leaving behind their human form [at death], they swell the ranks of the gods” (*DN II 255.3–5, ye keci buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gatāse, na te gamissanti apāyam; pahāya mānusaṃ dehaṃ devakāyaṃ paripūressanti*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See D.L. Snellgrove (ed.), *The Image of the Buddha*, Paris, 1978, p. 56 and pls. 29–32 (Mathurā); p. 61 and pls. 33(c), 34, and 35 (Gandhāra), p. 81 and pl. 46 (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Amarāvati).

<sup>2</sup> See *The Image of the Buddha*, pl. 8, to be compared perhaps with pl. 51 from Amarāvati.

<sup>3</sup> *Saṅghabhedavastu* I 114 ult. Cf. also *Mahābala-sūtra* 22.9, 67.16.

<sup>4</sup> *Mpps* V 2316; cf. also *Mpps* III 1345 and *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I, fasc. 1, pp. 20–21, *abhaya-dāna*.

<sup>5</sup> An equivalent verse occurs in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and, with similar verses on the Dharma and the Saṃgha, in the *Sūkarikāvādāna* (*Divy* 195.26, 196.5).

Another type of protection is the result of spiritual practice: the *Mettānisamsa-sutta*, a canonical *paritta*, for example, lists eleven benefits from the cultivation of friendliness.<sup>1</sup> In this paper I will deal with a further type, the protection that results from the recitation of certain texts, that is, protection through speech, the spoken word.

A distinguishing mark of the *rakṣā* literature is that it was actually *used* — that is, memorised and recited for specific purposes — by both monks and lay-followers, from a very early date. This is in contrast with the bulk of the canonical literature which would only have been studied by the assiduous few, mainly monk-scholars. *Rakṣā* texts would no doubt have been known by heart by the monks, and by some devout lay followers, as are the *paritta* of the Theravādins up to the present day. Thus the *rakṣā* literature contains texts which, from great antiquity, were regularly employed rather than simply preserved or transmitted. The only comparable classes of texts are the *Prātimokṣa-sūtras* and *Karmavākyas* — essential to the routine of the *bhikṣu*- and *bhikṣuṇī-saṃghas* — and, in a somewhat different sense, the tales of the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*, told and retold in sermons up to the present day.<sup>2</sup>

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

- 1) the *paritta* of the Theravādins;
- 2) the *Mahāsūtras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins;
- 3) the *svastī*-, *svastyayana*-, or *maṅgala-gāthā* of various schools; and
- 4) certain texts of the *Pañcarakṣā* collections.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *AN* V 342.1–14. See also the eight benefits of *mettā* at *AN* IV 150–51.13, and cp. the similar passage incorporated into the *Megha-sūtra*, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Sally Mellick (Oxford) for pointing out the popular didactic use of the *Apadāna* literature.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the plural “collections” will be made clear in the appropriate section.

But these classes are by no means watertight: the *paritta*, the *Mahāsūtras*, and the *Pañcarakṣā* contain *svastigāthā*, the *Pañcarakṣā* contain *paritta*, and so on. All four are traditional classifications of various schools, and I have adopted them as a convenient basis upon which to open my presentation of the *rakṣā* literature: an *upāya* which I hope will prove *kausalya*. There may well have been other classes or categories; some of the manuscripts retrieved from the sands of Central Asia, for example, seem to be *rakṣā* collections.<sup>1</sup> We know next to nothing of the *rakṣā* literature of the Buddhist schools whose scriptures have not come down to us. The Mādhyamika scholar Bhavya (circa 500–70 A.C. ?)<sup>2</sup> cites a passage from the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* of the Siddhārthas, whom he classifies in this case under the Mahāsāṃghikas.<sup>3</sup> According to Candrakīrti (circa 600–50 A.C.),<sup>4</sup> one of the seven *piṭakas* of the Pūrvaśailas and Aparāśailas — offshoots of the Mahāsāṃghikas — was a *Vidyādhara (rig 'dzin) Piṭaka*;<sup>5</sup> according to Chi-tsang (549–623 A.C.) and Paramārtha (mid 6th century), one of the five *piṭakas* of the Dharmaguptakas was a “*piṭaka* of magic formulas”.<sup>6</sup> According to Hsüan-tsang (first half of the 7th century), one of the five *piṭakas* of the

<sup>1</sup> See Ernst Waldschmidt, *Kleine Brāhmī-Schriftrolle*, Göttingen, 1959, for some possible examples.

<sup>2</sup> For Bhavya and his date, see Ruegg 1981 pp. 61–66.

<sup>3</sup> *Tarkajvālā*, Q 5256, Vol. 96, *dbu ma, dza*, 190a6, D 3856, *dbu ma, dza*, 175b1, *dge 'dun (Q sloṅ) phal chen sde'i naṅ tshan don grub pa rnam rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod*.

<sup>4</sup> Ruegg 1981 p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Per K. Sorensen, *Candrakīrti, Triśaranasaptati, the Septuagint on the Three Refuges*, Vienna, 1986, pp. 51–53 (vv. 57–58).

<sup>6</sup> Paul Demiéville, “L'origine des sectes bouddhiques d'après Paramārtha”, in *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, Vol. I, Brussels, 1932, p. 61. Demiéville translates “formules magiques”, and gives *dhāraṇī* and *mantra* as Sanskrit equivalents. Matsunaga 1977, p. 169, refers to a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* of the same school.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Here I follow Lamotte, *Mppś* IV, 1862. Earlier works give the Sanskrit as *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*: see Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, [London, 1884] Delhi, 1981, II 164–65, and Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, [London, 1904–5] New Delhi, 1973, II 159–60.

<sup>2</sup> Latika Lahiri, *Chinese Monks in India*, Delhi, 1986, p. 65. I-ching also mentions a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*, pp. 64, 68. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* I 77, “Biniya”.

<sup>3</sup> Louis de La Vallée Poussin, “The Vidyādhara-piṭaka”, *JRAS* 1895, pp. 433–36.

<sup>4</sup> *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 142.12 (date from Ruegg 1981 p. 82). A part of the *mantra* (in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions) is in a Prakrit close to Pali: *namo sabba-sammasambuddhāṇaṃ sijjhantu me mantapadāḥ svāhā*. The *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* is also referred to in a work of Buddhaghūya preserved in the *Tanjur*: see Jeffrey Hopkins, *The Yoga of Tibet*, London, 1981, pp. 50–51 (the Tibetan is given at p. 254 as *rig 'dzin gyi sde snod*). See also *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fascicle 4, p. 519.

<sup>5</sup> It may be seen from the references given above that this term is attested in Sanskrit (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Ādikarmapradīpa*) and Tibetan, wherein *rig 'dzin* = *vidyādhara* (Bhavya, Candrakīrti, Buddhaghūya) cannot possibly be confused with *mantra* (*gsaṅ snaṅs*) or *dhāraṇī* (*gzuṅs*). There is some disagreement among scholars about the Sanskrit equivalents of the Chinese terms.

study what I have called a pan-Buddhist phenomenon in isolation would be misleading. In sections 8 and 9, I will therefore touch briefly on *raḅᅇā* and the Mahāyāna and Tantra. As an influential and popular movement, the *raḅᅇā* phenomenon should have found expression in the plastic arts. Section 10 will examine the archaeological evidence. Finally, section 11 will deal with the rites associated with *raḅᅇā*.

### 1. The *paritta* of the Theravādins<sup>1</sup>

The *paritta* collections of the Theravādins are distinguished by the fact that they are used in the day-to-day life of both monks and lay-followers. As noted by Malalasekera, “the *Pirit Pota* ... forms part of the meagre library of every Sinhalese household”.<sup>2</sup> Much the same is said for Burma by Mabel Bode: “to this day, [the *paritta* is] more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book”.<sup>3</sup> Wherever the

<sup>1</sup> The following is an assuredly incomplete bibliography on the *paritta* from the works available to me: E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, pp. 143–44; M.H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, [London, 1909] Rangoon, 1965, pp. 3–4; W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, [Calcutta, 1943] Delhi, 1968, § 17; Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, history, and practices*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 180–82; G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, [1928] 1958, pp. 75–76; É. Lamotte, *Mppᅇ* IV, 1860–61; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda (ed.), *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 173–74; Ven. Piyasilo, *Buddhist Prayer*, Petaling Jaya, 1990, esp. parts III and IV; Shway Yoe, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, New York, 1963, pp. 397–98; Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, pp. 276–80; Phya Anuman Rajadhon, *Popular Buddhism in Siam and Other Essays on Thai Studies*, Bangkok, 1986, pp. 57–67; L. Renou, J. Filliozat, et al., *L’Inde Classique*, tome II, Hanoi 1953, §§ 1982, 2039; S.D. Saparamadu (ed.), *The Polonnaruva Period*, Dehiwala, 1973, p. 139; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, New York, [1933] 1972, pp. 80, 380, note 1, 381. Further references are found in Lily de Silva, pp. xi–xii.

<sup>2</sup> Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

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

Although there is evidence of the use of *paritta* from an early date in the *Chronicles* and *Commentaries* of Sri Lanka, references are rather scanty, perhaps because as a popular phenomenon the *paritta* was taken for granted. Table 1 shows the earliest known lists of *paritta* titles: those of the *Milinda-pāᅇha*<sup>1</sup> and the *Aᅇᅇhakathā* of Buddhaghosa (5th century).<sup>2</sup> Some of these lists vary somewhat in the modern Burmese, Siamese, and Sinhalese printed editions. The *Visuddhimagga* and *Aᅇᅇhakathā* lists are given in connection with the definition of the “range of the Buddha’s authority” (*āᅇākkhetta*): one hundred thousand million universes within which the *parittas* are efficacious. There are three basic lists, with some variants in the different editions:<sup>3</sup>

- 1) Table 1.2.1–4: the four *parittas* “etc.” of the *Dīgha-*, *Majjhima-*, *Āᅇᅇuttara-* (*Ekanipāᅇa*), and *Vibhaᅇga Aᅇᅇhakathās*;
- 2) Table 1.3.1–2: the five *parittas* of the *Visuddhimagga* and *Samantapāᅇsādikā*;
- 3) Table 1.4: the eight *parittas* of the *Mahāniddeᅇa-* and *Āᅇᅇuttara-* (*Tikanipāᅇa*) *Aᅇᅇhakathās*.

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

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

<sup>3</sup> The titles given in the commentary on the *Āᅇᅇāᅇᅇᅇya-sutta* (Table 1.5) occur in a different context, and are not discussed here.

Taken together, the *Aṭṭhakathā* lists give eight titles; when the *Āṅgulimāla-paritta* of the *Milinda-pañha* list is added, there are nine titles.

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

<sup>1</sup> See L. de Silva, pp. 5–8; Helmer Smith, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Epilegomena to Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1948, pp. 93\*–95\*; Maria Bidoli and Heinz Bechert, *Singhalesische Handschriften*, Teil 1, Wiesbaden, 1969, § 128, pp. 82–83 (the last named gives an extensive bibliography of printed and manuscript *paritta* collections).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. III, fasc. 4, pp. 694–95, *catubhānavāra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sp* IV 788 ult. I am grateful to L.S. Cousins (Manchester) for this reference.

<sup>4</sup> “Slab-inscription of Kassapa V”, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* I, London, 1912, pp. 41–57. For further references from commentaries, chronicles, inscriptions, and Sinhala literature, see L. de Silva, pp. 16–22.

<sup>5</sup> C.E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts*, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, 1980, pp. 25–26. The collection is not otherwise mentioned in the literature I have consulted, and was not known to two senior Sinhalese monks whom I consulted in Penang. Its origins and current status remain to be determined.

In three of the 22 texts of the shorter *Catubhānavāra* — the *Khandhaparitta*, the *Dhajjaggaritta*, and the *Āṭānāṭṭiyasutta* — the Buddha himself recommends that they be used as *rakkhā*. Thus their use as such is very old. In another seven texts — the *Moraparitta*, the *Candaparitta*, the *Suriyaparitta*, the three *Bojjhaṅgaparittas*, and the *Girimānandaparitta* — protection is granted through the recitation of verses or the teachings of the Buddha, while the *Maṅgala-* and *Ratana-suttas* deal with *maṅgala* and *suvaṭṭhi*, the “positive side” of *rakṣā*. The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins and other schools also used as *rakṣā* their own counterparts of the *Khandha-*, *Dhajjagga-*, *Āṭānāṭṭiya-*, *Mora-*, and *Canda-parittas*, along with the *Maṅgala-* and *Ratana-suttas*.<sup>1</sup> This further establishes the antiquity of the *rakṣā* status of these texts.

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

<sup>1</sup> These will be discussed below under *Mahāsūtra*, *svastigāthā*, and *Pañcarakṣā*.

<sup>2</sup> Heinz Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, *Burmese Manuscripts*, part 2, Stuttgart, 1985, no. 352, pp. 173–75; the extra text, no. 20 of the manuscript, is entitled *Sammāsambuddhabojjhaṅgam*; according to the editors it is equivalent to *SN* V 81 foll. Since this is the only description of a Burmese *Catubhānavāra* that I have come across, I cannot say whether or not it is typical.

<sup>3</sup> G.H. Luce, “Economic Life of the Early Burman”, in *Burma Research Society, Fiftieth Anniversary Publications No. 2*, Rangoon, 1960, p. 366 (originally published in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* XXX.i, pp. 283–335).

Burmese printed edition of the *Milinda-pañha*; to what degree the one is derived from the other, or the two have mutually influenced each other, requires further research.<sup>1</sup> The *Sīrimaṅgala-paritta*, a modern collection settled during the U Nu period, contains the 11 texts of the *Paritta*, to which it adds another 20 texts to make a total of 31, as shown in Table 2B. The last four are non-canonical, although three of them are styled *-sutta* in their titles and open with *evaṃ me sutam*.<sup>2</sup>

The *paritta* tradition of Siam has parallels to both the Sri Lankan and Burmese traditions. As in Sri Lanka, in Siam there are two recensions of the *Catubhānavāra*. The longer Siamese *Catubhānavāra*, however, is equivalent to the older and shorter Sri Lankan recension of 22 texts; the shorter Siamese *Catubhānavāra* is an abridged version containing 17 texts. The division of the two Siamese recensions into recitations differs somewhat from that of the Sri Lankan version. Siam has two further recensions, the *Dvādasa-paritta* and the *Satta-paritta*. The former, also known as the *Mahārāja-paritta* or, in Thai, the *Sipsong Tamnan*, contains the first 11 texts of the Burmese *Paritta* plus the *Jaya-paritta*; the latter, also known as the *Cularāja-paritta* or *Jet Tamnan*, is an abridgement of the former and contains, according to the title, 7 texts.<sup>3</sup> The contents of these collections are given in Tables 2C and 2D.

<sup>1</sup> The *Jinapañjara-gāthā* lists the seven titles of the Chatṭhasaṅgīti *Milindapañha*, but in a different order.

<sup>2</sup> *Sīrimaṅgalaparitta* nos. 28–31.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Finot 1917 pp. 53–60; Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities*, Bangkok, 1975, pp. 276–82. A list of the contents of the Siamese *Catubhānavāra* is given in the *Royal Chanting Book* p. 112. Most editions of the *Sattaparitta* give more than 7 texts (although Finot lists 7), and I am not certain which are the 7 of the title.

The *Parittasāṅkhepa*, most probably composed at Ayutthaya in the 17th–18th centuries, lists and comments on nine *parittas*:<sup>1</sup>

1. *Maṅgala-sutta*
2. *Ratana-sutta*
3. *Metta-sutta*
4. *Khandha-paritta*
5. *Mora-paritta*
6. *Dhajagga-paritta*
7. *Āṭānāṭṭiya-paritta*
8. *Āṅgulimālā-paritta*
9. *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*.

The titles are the same as those of the Sri Lankan *Piritnava-sūtraya*.

For the study of the Siamese *paritta* tradition, the most important printed source is the *Royal Chanting Book*. This was compiled at the behest of King Rāma V (Chulalongkorn) by Phussadeva, later to be Supreme Patriarch, when he held the rank of Somdet Braḥ Buddhaghoṣācārya. It was first published in Ratanakosin Era 99 / B.E. 2423 [1880], in an edition of 10,000 copies, and thus preceded the first printed edition of the *Tipiṭaka*, published in 2436 [1893], by thirteen years. Otherwise, there are numerous chanting books, large and small, such as the popular *Suat Mantabidhī*, published in various editions. It is worth noting that the common element in the Thai titles of chanting books is *manta*, usually in the form *suat manta*. *Suat manta* is also the common verb for “to chant”; *suat braḥ paritta* refers to formal ceremonies with string and water, and is hence less common. In titles *paritta* is frequently “Sanskritised” as *paritra*, as in the *Cula-* and *Mahārājaparitra* of the *Royal Chanting Book*.

<sup>1</sup> Supaphan Na Bangchang, *Vivadhānākāra Varrnagatī sai Braḥ Suttantapiṭaka ti Daeng nai Pradeśa Thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 491–500.

I have been unable to find any evidence for the date or place of origin of the Burmese *Paritta* or the Siamese *Dvādasā-* and *Satta-paritta* collections.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

#### (A) Apocryphal *suttas*

1. *Ākāravatta-sutta* (or, more frequently, *-sūtra*);<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. de Silva pp. 7 and 14 for the term *mahāpīrit* or *mahāparitta* in Sri Lanka. According to H. Saddhatissa (*The Birth-Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas and the Dasabodhisattuppattikathā*, London, 1975, p. 37), the *Dvādasāparitta* was “presumably introduced to Ceylon by Siamese *theras* headed by Mahāthera Upāli who arrived in the island in 1753 A.C.” This suggests that the origin of the *Dvādasāparitta* (and hence its abridgement, the *Satta-paritta*) is to be sought in Siam, or at least South-east Asia.

<sup>2</sup> Jaini 1965.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 21.2; O. von Hinüber, “The Pāli Manuscripts kept at The Siam Society, Bangkok, a Short Catalogue”, *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 75, 1987, no. 47, pp. 43–44. The text does not seem to be known in Burma.

2. *Dhāraṇa-paritta*;<sup>1</sup>
3. *Chadisapāla-sutta*;<sup>2</sup>
4. *Cakkaparitta-sutta*;<sup>3</sup>
5. *Parimittajāla-sutta*.<sup>4</sup>

#### (B) *Gāthā* and other texts

1. *Aṭṭhavisati-paritta*<sup>5</sup>
2. *Jinapañjara-gāthā*;<sup>6</sup>
3. *Jayaṃgala-gāthā*<sup>7</sup>
4. *Aṭṭhamāṅgala-gāthā*;<sup>8</sup>
5. *Uppātasanti*;<sup>9</sup>
6. *Jaya-paritta*;<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 20.8. Although the printed editions that I have seen do not open with *evaṃ me sutam*, the latter half of the text is addressed to Ānanda. The text has apparently been recently introduced to Siam from Burma. Dhammānanda 1992 p. 441, *Āvenikagaṇa*, gives the opening on the 18 *āvenikagaṇa*, with a note on their Pali sources.

<sup>2</sup> *Sīramaṅgalaparitta* no. 28. This and the next two texts are not known in Siam.

<sup>3</sup> *Sīramaṅgalaparitta* no. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Sīramaṅgalaparitta* no. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 39–40. On the evidence of an 11th century Thaton inscription, this is the earliest attested non-canonical *paritta*: see G.H. Luce, “The Advent of Buddhism to Burma”, in L. Cousins, A. Kunst, and K.R. Norman (ed.), *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, p. 133. I am grateful to Lance Cousins for this reference.

<sup>6</sup> A number of recensions have been discussed and edited by the present Supreme Patriarch of Siam, *Prahvati Gāthājinapañjara*, Bangkok, 2529 [1986]. See also Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 199–201.

<sup>7</sup> *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 92–94 (*bāhum*).

<sup>8</sup> Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 438–40.

<sup>9</sup> *Sīramaṅgalaparitta* no. 31; Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 385–435. The text, believed to have been composed in Chiangmai, was reintroduced to Siam from Burma by Ven. Dhammānanda.

<sup>10</sup> *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 25–27 (*mahākāruṇiko nātho*).



7. *Āṭānāṭiya-paritta*;<sup>1</sup>
8. *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*;<sup>2</sup>
9. *Mahādibbamanta*;<sup>3</sup>
10. *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipitaka*.<sup>4</sup>

A number of these, along with the *Gini-paritta*, which is not known in South-east Asia, are briefly described by Lily de Silva.<sup>5</sup> The *Jinapañjara-gāthā*, the *Ākāravatta-sūtra*, the *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipitaka*, the *Dhāraṇa-paritta*, and the *Uppātasanti* are especially popular in Siam, where they are published in the numerous collections of chants that are widely available.

Some of these texts, such as the *Ākāravatta-sūtra* and the *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipitaka*, are expansions of the *iti pi so* formula, a key element of the ancient *Dhajagga-paritta*.<sup>6</sup> Others, such as the *Mahādibbamanta*, the *Chadisapāla*, and *Uppātasanti*, derive their efficacy from lists of saints and deities, and thus resemble the canonical *Mahāsamaya*- and *Āṭānāṭiya-Suttas*.

<sup>1</sup> I refer here to the text included in the Burmese *Paritta* (no. 8) and the Siamese *Satta*- and *Dvādasa-Parittas*, which consists of the opening verses of homage to the seven Buddhas of the *sutta* proper, plus a series of non-canonical verses: see *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 20–22 and 38–43 (the latter incorporating the *Aṭṭhavisati-paritta*).

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the text found in the Burmese *Paritta* (no. 10) and the Siamese *Satta*- and *Dvādasa-Parittas*, which is a verse summary of the canonical *Bojjhaṅga-suttas*: see *Royal Chanting Book* p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Jaini 1965.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 21.1.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 8–11.

<sup>6</sup> See also the short texts (some mixed with Thai) at *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 21.3; 22.2, 3, 5; 26.1–3), and Finot 1917 p. 58, *Sut Iti pi so*.

## 2. The *Mahāsūtras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> T 1435, Vol. 23, 174b18; KBC 890.

<sup>2</sup> For the list, see A. Hirakawa, *A Study of the Vinaya-Piṭaka (Ritsuzō no Kenkyū)*, in Japanese, Tokyo, 1960, pp. 779–80 and S. Sasaki, “The *Mahāsūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda as listed in the IDan dkar ma Catalogue” (in Japanese), *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō Kenkyū)*, Hamamatsu, Vol. XV, Dec. 1985, p. 100.

*Māyājāla*; nos. 6 and 7; and no. 12, the *Bimbisāra*) are also classed as *Mahāsūtras* by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

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

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Chun nu ston pa ñid</i>                                      | <i>Cūḍasūnyatā</i>                  |
| 2. <i>Chen po ston pa ñid</i>                                      | <i>Mahāsūnyatā</i>                  |
| 3. <i>lÑa gsum pa</i>  | <i>Pañcatraya</i>                   |
| 4. <i>sGyu ma 'i dra ba</i>  | <i>Māyājāla</i>                     |
| 5. <i>gZugs can sñiñ pos bsu ba</i>                                | <i>Bimbisārapratyudgamana</i>       |
| 6. <i>rGyal mtshan dam pa</i>                                      | <i>Dhvajāgra</i>                    |
| 7. <i>Kun tu rgyu ba dañ kun tu mi rgyu ba dañ mthun pa 'i mdo</i> | <i>Ātānāṭīya-sūtra</i> <sup>3</sup> |
| 8. <i>Dus pa chen po 'i mdo</i>                                    | <i>Mahāsamāja-sūtra</i>             |

Nine *Mahāsūtras* — the eight listed above, but with two *Dhvajāgra-sūtras* — were translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye šes sde in about 800 A.C. Although Sanskrit fragments of six of these *sūtras* (nos. 3–8) have been recovered from Central Asia, and

<sup>1</sup> T 1442, Vol. 23, 662a28; T 1443, Vol. 23, 925c6.

<sup>2</sup> *Vinayavibhaṅga*, Q 1032, 'dul ba, che, 129a5.

<sup>3</sup> The title of this text is variously spelt: *Ātānāṭīya* by the Mūlasarvāstivādins (in Tibetan transliteration), *Ātānāṭika* by the Sarvāstivādins (in Central Asian manuscripts), and *Ātānāṭīya* by the Theravādins.

although parallel versions of seven of them (nos. 1, 2, 5, two *Dhvajāgras*, 7, 8) were translated into Chinese, only the Tibetan versions are specifically described as *Mahāsūtras* (*mDo chen po*) in their titles and colophons.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> E. Obermiller, tr., *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston*, II. Part, Heidelberg, 1932, p. 197; Claus Vogel, "Bu-ston on the Schism of the Buddhist Church and on the Doctrinal Tendencies of Buddhist Scriptures", in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, part I, Göttingen, 1985, pp. 109–10. The correct Sanskrit should be Vogel's Mūlasarvāstivādin (= Bu ston, Lhasa xylograph, ya, 130b1, *gzi thams cad yod smra*) rather than Obermiller's Sarvāstivādin. Cf. János Szerb, *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*, Vienna, 1990, p. 46.6 and note 8.

<sup>2</sup> Lalou 1953 pp. 324–25; S. Yoshimura, "The Denkar-Ma, an oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons", Kyoto, 1950 [rep. 1974], p. 23. For the history and date of the IDan dkar ma Catalogue, see Lalou, pp. 313–17; G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, part 2, [Rome, 1958] Delhi, 1986, pp. 46 foll.; D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, London, 1987, pp. 440–41.

<sup>3</sup> D.S. Rugg, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che*, Rome, 1966, p. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Bu ston, Lhasa xylograph, ya, 144a4; S. Nishioka, 'Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu Ston's "History of Buddhism" (I)', *Annual Report of the*

The evidence for the *raṅṣā* status of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* is found in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* itself, where their recitation is recommended as a protection (*sruṅ ba = rakṣā*) against *vetāḍas* (*ro laṅs*). The commentary by Vinītadeva, the *Vinayavibhaṅgapadavyākhyāna*, also translated about 800 A.C., states:<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

*Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange*, The University of Tokyo, No. 4, 1980, nos. 11–19.

<sup>1</sup> Q 5616, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, vu, 74b2.

<sup>2</sup> Q 142, 714, 978, translated by Léon Feer in *AMG* V, pp. 423–29. There is possibly one more, the *Mahāśītavāna* (Q 180) of the Tibetan *Pañcarakṣā* collection; there are, however, difficulties with the title which can only be resolved by further research.

<sup>3</sup> Q 1030, *Vinayavastu*, *sman gyi gzi*, *bampo* 28, 'dul ba, ge, 42a1–45a4; T 1448, Vol. 24, 27b11–28b6.

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

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

### 3. The *svasti-gāthā* of various schools

The next category of *raṅṣā* texts consists of sets of verses variously known as *svasti-*, *svastyayana-*, or *maṅgala-gāthā*,<sup>2</sup> or occasionally as

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

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

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

The term *svastyayana(-gāthā)* is vouchsafed by the *Mahāvastu*, where it describes one of the most popular *parittas*, the *Ratana-sutta*.<sup>1</sup> The same text uses the term *sovattika* for the verses of benediction spoken by the Buddha to the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika.<sup>2</sup> *Svastyayana*, “well-being”, is one of the synonyms of *rakṣā* (in the sense of “protection” rather than “protective text”) in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and in the *Megha-sūtra*, and the *Ekādaśamukha*;<sup>3</sup> in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* it occurs in conjunction with *paritrāṇa*.<sup>4</sup> In the *Jātakamālā*, *svastyayana* is used in the sense of “protective charm” or “talisman”.<sup>5</sup>

The only extant collections of *svasti-gāthā* are found in Tibetan translation. The earliest list, of seven titles, occurs in the *IDan dkar ma Catalogue* of the early 9th century, wherein they make up a separate class, section XVIII, under the title *bKra śis kyi rnam graṅs = \*Svastiparyāya*.<sup>6</sup> In the existing recensions of the Tibetan canon, verse

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must exist in the Brahmanical tradition, but have not seen any references. The concluding verse of *King Mahendra's Bhagavad-Ajjuka* (ed., tr. Michael Lockwood and Vishnu Bhat, Madras, 1978, p. 114) may be described as a *svasti-gāthā*.

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvastu* I 236.2, *svastyayanagāthāṃ bhāṣati*; 236.10, *śrṇvantu svastyayanam jinena bhāṣitam*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvastu* III 404.1 (= Senart 305.10). Cf. *BHSD* 606b, where this is the sole reference.

<sup>3</sup> *MhMVR(T)* 13.2, 15.3, etc; *Megha-sūtra* 298.14; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM I* 36.2: in all three texts *svastyayana* is preceded by *sānti*, “peace”.

<sup>4</sup> *Divy* 614.6, *paritrāṇam svastyayayam kuryāt*.

<sup>5</sup> *Jātakamālā* VIII, *Maitrībala*, vv. 7, 9, etc.; XIX, *Bisa*, v. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Lalou 1953 p. 330.

texts of this type are grouped together at the end of the main divisions of the *Kanjur* and at the end of the *Tanjur*. In the Peking edition, for example, they occur at the end of the *Tantra* division (*rGyud*, Q Vol. 9) properly speaking,<sup>1</sup> at the end of the *Dhāraṇī Collection* (*gZuṅs 'dus*, Q Vol. 11), at the end of the *Vinaya* (*'Dul ba*, Q Vol. 45) — which in the Peking edition equals the end of the *Kanjur* — and at the end of the *Tanjur* (Q Vol. 150), preceding the *Catalogue* (*dKar chag*, Vol. 151). In all cases they perform their function as *svastigāthā*, benedictions or blessings at the conclusion of the meritorious work of compiling the *Tripitaka*. This is explained in the *Catalogue* (*dKar chag*) to the *Golden Tanjur*:<sup>2</sup>

“Now, in order to make fruitful the work that has [just been] completed [the copying of the *Tanjur*], the dedications (*bsṅo ba = pariṇamanā*), aspirations (*smon lam = praṇidhāna*), and blessings (*bkra śis = maṅgala*) [follow]...

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> That is, not counting the three volumes of the “Old *Tantras*” (*rñin rgyud dza, va, źa*) or volume *za*.

<sup>2</sup> *Golden Tanjur*, Vol. 100, *dKar chag, tso*, 182b6–184a1. Similar passages are found in other editions of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*.

<sup>3</sup> The following is based on the Peking edition of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*. For the Berlin manuscript *Kanjur*, see Hermann Beckh, *Verzeichnis der Tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Erste Abteilung: Kanjur*

1. A complete extract of the verses of one of the *Mahāsūtras*, the *Vaiśālīpraveśa* (see above, § 2), which are described as *bde legs kyi tshigs su bcaḍ pa = svastigāthā*.<sup>1</sup>

2. Verses extracted from the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, a *Pañcarakṣā* text (see below, § 4), equivalent to the *Ratana-sutta* of the Theravādin *Suttanipāta* and the parallel *svastyayana-gāthā* in the Lokottaravādin Mahāsāṃghika *Mahāvastu*, but differing in number of verses, order, and details.<sup>2</sup> The title describes them as *smon lam = praṇidhāna*.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Q 439, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 1045, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*; Q 5950, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

<sup>2</sup> *Stoñ chen mo rab tu 'joms pa las gzuñs pa'i smon lam*, Q 436, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 719, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 1043, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*; Q 5951, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo las gzuñs pa'i smon lam dan bden tshig*: Q 437, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 720, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 1044, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*; Q 5953, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

*satyavāk* verse.<sup>1</sup> The title describes the verses as *praṇidhāna* (*smon lam* = first set) and *satyavāk* (*bden tshig* = second set).

4. The *Devapariṣcchā-maṅgalagāthā*,<sup>2</sup> parallel to the Pali *Maṅgala-sutta*, another of the most popular *parittas*; since it differs in number and order of verses, it is the recension of another, as yet undetermined, school.

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

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<sup>1</sup> *MhMVR*(T) 13.17–14.3 and 14.15–15.1, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Lhas žus pa'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcaḍ pa*, Q 442, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 721, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 1053, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*; Q 5943, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*. Studied in French translation by Feer, compared with the Tibetan translation of a Theravādin version, in *AMG V* pp. 224–27.

<sup>3</sup> *Śis par brjod pa'i tshigs su bcaḍ pa*, Q 728, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 1048, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*; Q 5949, *no mtshar bstan bcos, mo*, 336b2–39a4, end of *Tanjur*.

<sup>4</sup> Colophon, *mo*, 339a3; the translated verses indeed agree with those of the Tibetan *Lalitavistara*, Q 763, *mdo, ku*, 209a7–11a4, translated circa 800 A.C. by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Munivarman, and Ye śes sde (for Sanskrit cf. *Lalitavistara* 282.3–85.8 = vv. 109–52).

<sup>5</sup> *Mahāvastu* III 404.7–10.14 (vv. 7–51).

<sup>6</sup> Bureau 1959 pp. 303–4. Bureau refers to T 1425, 500c–01b.

<sup>7</sup> Pauly 1959 pp. 203–22.

<sup>8</sup> Lore Sander, “Buddhist Literature in Central Asia”, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fasc. 1, 1979, p. 61.

the Four Great Kings and their assemblies, and four *caityas*, in the sequence of the four quarters, and hence set up a protective circle.<sup>1</sup>

Other texts bear similar titles:

6. *Svasti-gāthā*<sup>2</sup>
7. *Svastayana-gāthā*<sup>3</sup>
8. *Pañcatathāgatamaṅgala-gāthā*<sup>4</sup>
9. *Ratnatrayamaṅgala-gāthā*<sup>5</sup>
10. *Maṅgala-gāthā*<sup>6</sup>
11. *Ratnatrayasvastigāthā*<sup>7</sup>
12. *Rig gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*<sup>8</sup>
13. *Saṅs rgyas rabs bdun gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*.<sup>9</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the verses in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, and *Vinaya* see Bareau 1959 pp. 304–9.

<sup>2</sup> *Bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 440, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 772, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bde legs su 'gyur ba'i tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 441, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 773, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*.

<sup>4</sup> *De bžin gśegs pa lna'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 445, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 726, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; translated by Feer, *AMG V* p. 470.

<sup>5</sup> *Dkon mchog gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 447, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 729, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 5958, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

<sup>6</sup> Q 449, etc.: see references in note 3 on p. 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Dkon mchog gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 450, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 5955, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

<sup>8</sup> Q 446, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 727, Vol. 11, end of *gzuñs 'dus*; Q 5961, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*; translated by Feer, *AMG V* pp. 474–75. The title means “Verses of Blessing of the Three Families” (\**Trikula* / *Kulatraya-maṅgalagāthā*).

<sup>9</sup> Q 444, etc.: see references in note 4 on p. 137. The title means “Verses of Blessing (*maṅgalagāthā*) on the Lineage of the Seven Buddhas”.

*Mūlasarvāstivādin*, and the *Āśīrvāda-gāthā*, which is *Mahāsāṃghika* in two (most probably three) of its versions.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The *Mahāvastu*, the *Vinaya* in Chinese, and the *Lalitavistara*. On the basis of style, phraseology, and doctrine, the origins of the last named seem to me to lie more probably with the *Mahāsāṃghikas* than with the *Sarvāstivādins*. The common attribution of the text to the latter seems to rest on a sole Chinese reference to the titles of a number of biographies of the Buddha: see Samuel Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, [London, 1875] Delhi, 1985, pp. v–vi, 386–87.

<sup>2</sup> In terms of purpose — celebration of the merits of an act of giving — *anumodanā* is not strictly speaking a protection, *rakṣā*. But since the verses employed overlap the *rakṣā* literature (the first *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra* contains *abhy anumodanā* verses, some of which are elsewhere described as *svasti-gāthā*) and the Pali *anumodanā* are printed along with *paritta* and assorted *rakṣās* (see *Royal Chanting Book, anumodanā-vidhī*), it seems more convenient to study *abhy anumodanā* and *svastigāthā* together.

<sup>3</sup> Bareau 1959 pp. 303–4.

<sup>4</sup> See *Sanghabhedavastu* I 124.11–20; Ernst Waldschmidt, *Das Mahā-parinirvānasūtra*, [Berlin, 1950–51] Kyoto, 1986, §§ 6.11–14, 12.6–9, 26.29–30.

<sup>5</sup> *Sanghabhedavastu* I 199.25–27.

mention any canonical texts by name.<sup>1</sup> I-ching's translator, Takakusu (p. 48), gives two Sanskrit terms: *dānagāthā* and *dakṣiṇāgāthā*.<sup>2</sup>

As far as I know, only two of the *svastigāthā* mentioned above are currently recited by members of the Tibetan *saṃgha* (who are by ordination Mūlasarvāstivādin): the *Maṅgalagāthā* on the twelve acts of the Buddha, attributed to Nāgārjuna,<sup>3</sup> and the *Maṅgalagāthā* on the Lineage of the Seven Buddhas.<sup>4</sup> The school of these two texts is uncertain; since neither is overtly Mahāyānistic, they may be described as mainstream *svastigāthā*.

Though not described as such, the last verse of Vasubandhu's *Gāthāsaṃgraha* is a typical *svastigāthā*:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Takakusu, tr., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, [London, 1896] New Delhi, 1986, pp. 41–42, 46, 48–49, 152, 166. I-ching does say that he has translated such *gāthās*; Takakusu (p. 48 note 1) refers to the “Rules of Confession”, Nanjio 1506 [= T 1903, KBC 1084]. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* I 93 foll. (“Bombai”).

<sup>2</sup> See also Soothill and Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, [London, 1937] Delhi, 1977, pp. 285a, 330b.

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

<sup>4</sup> *Saṅs rgyas rabs bdun gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 444, Vol. 9, *rgyud, tsha*, 319b; Q 725, Vol. 11, *rgyud, ya*, 280a3. Both this and the preceding text are translated in *The Sublime Path of the Victorious Ones*, Dharamsala, 1981, pp. 83–87.

<sup>5</sup> A. Schiefner, “Über Vasubandhu's *Gāthāsaṃgraha*”, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St.-Petersbourg, 1878, p. 566; Q 5603, Vol. 119, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, nu*, 241a4–5; commentary, Q 5604, Vol. 119, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, nu*, 285b1–86a4.

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

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

I have not come across any examples of an equivalent Pali term — *sotthi-gāthā* or *sovatthi-gāthā*.<sup>1</sup> The numerous Pali chants — both canonical (such as the *Ratana-sutta*) and extra-canonical — that contain refrains like *etena saccavajjena suvatthi hotu* may, however, reasonably be classed as *sotthi-gāthā*. The title *maṅgala-gāthā* is common in Pali.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup> See the texts listed in § 1, pp. 122–23, and also Dhammānanda 1992 p. 440, *Sabbajayamaṅgala-gāthā*.

#### 4. The *Pañcarakṣā* collections<sup>1</sup>

The *Pañcarakṣā* or *Five Protections* were extremely popular in Northern India, Nepal, and Tibet, as may be seen from the numerous manuscripts kept in libraries around the world. Their study is complicated by the fact, belied by a general similarity of titles, that there exist (at least) two different collections, a Tibetan and a Sanskrit, which have only three texts in common: the study therefore involves seven rather than five texts.<sup>2</sup> Since the Tibetan versions were translated in about 800 A.C., and since the *IDan dkar ma Catalogue* treats them as a separate category under the title *gZuñs chen po lña = Pañca-*

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

<sup>2</sup> On the whole the *Pañcarakṣā* seem to have been rather neglected in the West since Lévi's work on the *Mahāmāyūrī* (Lévi 1915). The best modern discussion (with a comprehensive bibliography) is Pentti Aalto's "Prolegomena to an Edition of the *Pañcarakṣā*" (*Studia Orientalia* XIX:12, Helsinki, 1954, pp. 5–48); see also the introduction to the same scholar's edition of the Mongolian versions, *Qutut-tu Pañcarakṣā Kemekü Tabun Sakiyan Neretü Yeke Kölgen Sudur*, Wiesbaden, 1961, pp. 1–5. It seems to have been Aalto who first recognised that the Sanskrit and Tibetan collections are discrepant, at least for the *Mahāmantrānudharani*: see the latter work, p. 1, note 1.

*mahādhāraṇī*,<sup>1</sup> the available evidence for the Tibetan collection is earlier than that for the North Indian-cum-Nepalese collection, which survives only in manuscripts from the 11th century on. Fragments of only two *Pañcarakṣā* texts, the *Mahāmāyūrī* and the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, have been found in Central Asia; fragments of the *Mahāpratisarā* were found in Gilgit.<sup>2</sup> The *Pañcarakṣā* was not transmitted as a collection in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, although there are independent translations, all, except for several versions of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, quite late.<sup>3</sup> Table 3 shows the relationship between the two collections and independent Tibetan or Chinese translations, and *paritta* and other *rakṣā* texts. In the following summary of the contents of the seven texts, I will present them in the order of the table: the first three are similar in their Tibetan and Sanskrit versions, while the last four are grouped by their (similar) titles, 4a and 5a referring to the Tibetan versions, 4b and 5b to the Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup>

##### 1. *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*

The *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*,<sup>5</sup> which is similar in its Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, may be classed under Mahāyāna: the assembly includes

<sup>1</sup> Lalou 1953 § XIII, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Oskar von Hinüber, *Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften*, Göttingen, 1979, Anhang I, nos. 6, 15 and 17.

<sup>3</sup> Aalto's statement ("Prolegomena", p. 7) that there are no Chinese translations of the "*Mahāśītavanī* and *Mahāmantra-anudhāri*" (his spellings) needs clarification. The *Mahāśītavatī* and *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* of the Sanskrit collection are both found in Chinese: out of the "Seven *Rakṣā*", only the Tibetan *Mahāśītavana* and *Mahāmantrānudharani* have no Chinese (or surviving Sanskrit) counterparts.

<sup>4</sup> The titles themselves pose difficulties. For the Sanskrit versions I have followed Iwamoto (see also the "internal list" at *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 41.7); for the Tibetan versions I have provisionally chosen what seems to me the most probable of the variant transcriptions given at the head of the Tibetan translations.

<sup>5</sup> A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Yutaka Iwamoto in *Pañcarakṣā* II, Kyoto, 1938.



a vast number of *bodhisattvas*, and there are references to *bodhicitta* and to the Mahāyāna itself. In addition to offering protection against a wide variety of ills, the *mantra* can confer enlightenment: in this it goes further than the other *Pañcarakṣā* texts, which only offer protection.

## 2. *Mahāmāyūrī*

The *Mahāmāyūrī* (also similar in Sanskrit and Tibetan) is the longest of the “seven *Rakṣās*”; it is a composite work, rather complex in stratigraphy.<sup>1</sup> The oldest layer and *raison d’être* is the account of the monk Svāti with its *mantra* and *jātaka*, parallel to that of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the *jātaka* parallel to the Pali *Mora-jātaka*. To this are added a verse found in the *Morajātaka* but not in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, verses on protection against snakes found in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Upasena-sūtra* and the Pali *Vinaya* and *Khandha-paritta*, and verses common to the first *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra*, the *Bhadrakarātri-sūtra*, and the *Vaiśālīpraveśa*. The list of *yakṣas* is close to that of the *Ātānātika-sūtra*, and some of its phraseology must have been influenced by or drawn from a common source as that of that text.

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

<sup>1</sup> In addition to Takubo’s edition, there is that of S. Oldenburg, “Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī”, “Otryvki Kašgarskich i sanskritskich rukopisej iz sobranija N.F. Petrovskago, II, Otryvki iz Pañcarakṣā”, *Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija imperatorskago russkago archeologičeskago obščestva* 11 (1897–98), pp. 218–61. See also A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1893–1912, pp. xciv–xcv, 222–40e, and *SHT* (I) 63, 375, 524, (V) 1459.

## 3. *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*

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

## 4. *Mahāsītavana / Mahāsītavati*

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

4.b. The Sanskrit *Mahāsītavati* is quite different.<sup>3</sup> The Buddha imparts a long *mantra* to Rāhula, who has been harrassed by a miscellany of

<sup>1</sup> A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Iwamoto in *Pañcarakṣā* I, Kyoto, 1937. Fragments were also published by Oldenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–18, 261–64 (= Iwamoto pp. 35.2–37 penult.), and in *SHT* (III) 983, 1011.

<sup>2</sup> Iwamoto 24.24–26.22; in Lokesh Chandra, *Pañca-rakṣā*, the \**Ratna-sūtra* occurs at *Manuscript A* 112.5 foll., *Manuscript B* 156.1 foll.

<sup>3</sup> A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Yutaka Iwamoto in *Kleinere Dhāraṇi Texte*, Kyoto, 1937.

malignant beings whilst dwelling in the Śítavana. The phraseology is typical of *rakṣā* literature, but otherwise the text does not have much in common with the other six *rakṣās*; furthermore, it is the only text of the seven that is entirely in prose. The Sanskrit title (and that of the Chinese translation<sup>1</sup>) derives from the name of the *dhāraṇī* or *vidyā*.<sup>2</sup> A Tibetan translation, not classed under *Pañcarakṣā*, bears the title *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*, which in this version is the name of the *dhāraṇī*; otherwise the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions are quite close.

### 5. *Mahāmantrānudharaṇī* / *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*

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

5.b. The *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* of the Sanskrit collection is completely different: it is none other than a recension of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra* discussed above (§ 2). The title derives from the name of the *mantra* as given in the Sanskrit *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*<sup>3</sup> but not in the Tibetan *Vaiśālīpraveśa*. Apart from this, and the fact that the Sanskrit omits verses 16 and 17 of the Tibetan, the two versions are very close.

<sup>1</sup> T 1392, KBC 1104.

<sup>2</sup> Iwamoto, pp. 2.8, 4.14, 5.15.

<sup>3</sup> *Imāni mahāmantrānusāriṇīmantrapādāni*, in Lokesh Chandra, *Pañca-rakṣā*, A 236.4, 241.3, B 363.1, 370.1.

Out of the seven *Pañcarakṣā* texts, only one, the *Mahā-pratisarāvidyārājñī*, belongs to the Mahāyāna; the remaining six may be classed under the Śrāvakayāna *rakṣā* literature.<sup>1</sup> (My assertion that these texts belong to the Śrāvakayāna is based on a literal reading of their contents. There is no doubt that they were [and are] used by practitioners of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. The difference is one of context [and this may apply to other *rakṣā* texts]: if combined with preliminary rites involving the generation of the *bodhicitta*, they become Mahāyānist in application; if conjoined with further rites of initiation, entry into a *maṇḍala*, or the visualization of the *Pañcarakṣā* deities, they become Vajrayānist in application. Numerous *sādhanas* for the realization of these deities are found in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and the deities are depicted in illuminated manuscripts — North Indian, Nepalese, and Tibetan — of the *Pañcarakṣā*. They are not, however,

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

invoked or described in the *Pañcarakṣā* texts properly speaking, except insofar as their names correspond to those of the *mantras*.<sup>1</sup>)

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

### 5. *Rakṣā* phraseology

A certain phraseology characterises the *rakṣā* literature. One frequent element is the “profession of truth” (*satya-vāk*, *satyādhiṣṭhāna*). In Mūlasarvāstivādin literature we find *etena satyavākyena svasty ānandāya*

<sup>1</sup> The *Mahāmāyūrī* (Takubo, 37.17) does give the names of several *Pañcarakṣā* deities (without describing them as such) within a long list of deities: *mahā-pratīsarāya svāhā*, *śītavānāya svāhā*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> L. de Silva, pp. 51–52.

*bhikṣave* in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, *anena satyena satyavākyena* in the *Prātihārya-sūtra*, and *tena me satyavākyena* in the *Upasena-sūtra*.<sup>1</sup> In Theravādin literature we have the refrain of the *Ratana-sutta*, *etena saccena suvatthi hotu*,<sup>2</sup> and similar phrases in numerous extra-canonical *paritta*. In Lokottaravādin literature there is the *etena satyena susvasti bhotu* of that school’s version of the *Ratana-sutta*;<sup>3</sup> the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* version of the same has *etena satyena ihāstu svasti*.<sup>4</sup> The *Prajñāpāramitā* uses *anena satyena satyavacanena*.<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *Divy* 613.9 and 154.25, and *Upasena-sūtra* (1) 41.2, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Sn* vv. 224–35; further examples and references are given by Burlingame (see note 3 on p. 146) p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāvastu* I 236.16 etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 25.1 etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (BST 4) 189.12–191.25; 247.10–16; Edward Conze, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, Chapters 55 to 70, Rome, 1962, pp. 5.5–8.6; cf. also *Ratnaguṇasamcaya-gāthā* XX 23–24, XXI 1, in P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Mahāyāna-sūtra-samgraha* Part I (BST 17), Darbhanga, 1961. See also *SHT* (VI) 1259.

<sup>6</sup> *Milindapañha*, Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition, 124.8. *Milindapañha* 123–26 (= PTS ed. I 119–23) has a long discussion of *saccakiriya*.

<sup>7</sup> *Milindapañha*, Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition, 126.19, *sacce ṭhitā na kiñci atthaṃ na vindanti*.

<sup>8</sup> *The Fortunate Aeon*, Vol. I, Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1986, p. 474.15, *bden pa’i tshig gis rin bsrel las cho ’phrul ’byun ba*.

The “profession of truth” goes beyond the *rakṣā* literature (though the boundary is not always clear) into the *jātakas*,<sup>1</sup> Buddhist drama,<sup>2</sup> and Indian literature in general: the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as well as vernacular folktales and Jaina literature.<sup>3</sup> While in such cases the *satyavāk* is a narrative device — a specific act performed by a specific person with specific results — as a *rakṣā* properly speaking it is anonymous and generalised.

The *satyavāk* is sometimes combined with versions of the *agra-prajñāpti* formula: examples occur in the *Prātihārya-sūtra*,<sup>4</sup> the *Mahāmantrānudharaṇi-sūtra*,<sup>5</sup> and the (*Ārya*) *Sarvarogaprasāmani-dhāraṇi*.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, a non-canonical Pali text entitled *Parittakarāṇa-pāṭha*

<sup>1</sup> See *Jātakamālā* II, XIV, XV, XVI, and Sitaram Roy (ed.), *Suvarṇa-varṇāvadāna*, Patna, 1971, §§ 159, 163–65, 201–02.

<sup>2</sup> Candragomin’s *Lokānandanāṭaka*, tr. Michael Hahn, *Joy for the World*, Berkeley, 1987, V 40 p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E.W. Burlingame, “The Act of Truth (*Saccakiriya*): A Hindu Spell and its Employment as a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction”, in *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 429–67; W. Norman Brown, “The Basis for the Hindu Act of Truth”, in *The Review of Religion*, Vol. V, no. 1, Nov. 1940, pp. 36–45; (same author) “The Metaphysics of the Truth Act (\**Satyakriyā*)”, in *Mélanges d’Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris, 1968, pp. 171–77; (same author) “Duty as Truth in Ancient India”, in Rosane Rocher (ed.), *India and Indology: Selected Articles by W. Norman Brown*, Delhi, 1978, pp. 102–19; Heinrich Lüders, “Die magische Kraft der Wahrheit im alten Indien”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 98 (Neue Folge Band 23), Leipzig, 1944, pp. 1–14; Alex Wayman, “The Hindu-Buddhist Rite of Truth — an Interpretation”, in Bhadriraju Krishnamurti (ed.), *Studies in Indian Linguistics (Professor M.B. Emeneau Śaṣṭipūrti Volume)*, Annamalainagar, 1968, pp. 365–69 (rep. in George R. Elder (ed.), *Buddhist Insight*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 391–97); Peter Khoroché, *Once the Buddha was a Monkey: Ārya Sūtra’s Jātakamālā*, Chicago, 1989, p. 258 (note 6). (I am grateful to Prof. Oskar von Hinüber for promptly sending me copies of several of these articles.)

<sup>4</sup> *Divy* 154.19 foll.

<sup>5</sup> D 563, *rgyud ’bum, pha*, 155a4 foll.

<sup>6</sup> Q 207, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 276a2 (tr. by Feer, *AMG* V, 462).

combines the prose of the *Aggappasāda-sutta* (*AN* II 34–35) with the verses of the *Ratana-sutta*.<sup>1</sup> *Satyavāk* phrases are also incorporated into *mantras*, which sometimes invoke the power of “truth-speakers” (*satya-vādinām*).<sup>2</sup>

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

*yakkho vā yakkhiṇī vā yakkha-potako vā °potikā vā °mahāmatto vā °pārisajjo vā °pacāro vā;*<sup>3</sup>

*gandharvo vā gandharvī vā gandharvamahallako vā °mahallikā vā °potalako vā °potalikā vā °pāriṣado vā °pāriṣadī vā °pracaro vā °pracarī vā ;*<sup>4</sup>

*devo vā devā vā devaputro vā °duhitā vā °mahallako vā °mahallikā vā °pārṣado vā °pārṣadī vā ;*<sup>5</sup>

Similar lists occur in the *Laṅkāvatāra*-<sup>6</sup> and *Mahābala-sūtras*.<sup>7</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 101–03; *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 12.5.3.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇi*; *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM* I 67.5,6; 76.8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ātānāṭiya* Pali, *DN* III 203.7: and so for *gandhabba*, *kumbhāṇḍa*, *nāga*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ātānāṭika* Sanskrit, p. 59.7: and so for *piśāca*, p. 61, *kumbhāṇḍa*, p. 65, and so on.

<sup>5</sup> *MhMVR*(T) 10.20 foll., in what is probably the longest such list, since it gives 20 different beings.

<sup>6</sup> *Saddharmalaṅkāvatārasūtram* 106.11 foll.

<sup>7</sup> *Mahābala-sūtra* 27.1 foll.

avatāragaveṣī, and fails or will fail to do so, *avatāraṃ na lapsyate*.<sup>1</sup> There is a recurrent curse “may so-and-so’s head split into seven pieces”: *saptadhāsyā sphalen mūrdhā*.<sup>2</sup>

Common also is the “escape clause” which, after lauding the multiple and powerful effects of a *mantra* or other *raṅṅā*, notes that it might not succeed “due to the fruition of past *karma*” (*varjayitvā paurāṇam karmavipākam*, or variants thereof), found, for example, in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*,<sup>3</sup> the *Lalitavistara*,<sup>4</sup> the *Mahāsāhasrapramardani*,<sup>5</sup> the *Mahāmantrānudharāṇi*,<sup>6</sup> the *Pratyutpannabuddhasammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*,<sup>7</sup> the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*,<sup>8</sup> and the *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-ekādaśamukha-nāma-dhāraṇi*.<sup>9</sup> Bhavya

<sup>1</sup> *Āṭṭānāṭika* 59.13 etc.; *Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra* 233.31; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* 28.13; *PraS* (I) 118.3.

<sup>2</sup> *Āṭṭānāṭika* 57.24; *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka* 235.10; *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 141.9; *Mahāsāhasrapramardani* 37.7; *SHT* (III) 900, 903, 906, 984; *SHT* (VI) 1269, 1310. In Pali the phrase occurs in the *Canda-* and *Suriya-parittas* (*SN* I 50.33, 51.22), and at *DN* I 94.24, *MN* I 231.29, *Jātaka* V 92.8, *Sn* 983, 1026; see also *DN* I 143.13, III 13.28. Cf. A. Syrkin, “Notes on the Buddha’s Threats in the *Dīgha Nikāya*”, *JIAS* Vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 147–58. The curse also occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*: see William L. Smith, “Explaining the Inexplicable: Uses of the Curse in Rāma Literature”, in *Kalyāṇamitrārāgaṇam. Essays in Honour of Nils Simonsson*, Oslo, 1986, p. 264. The phrase (in the first person) was also used in oaths.

<sup>3</sup> *Dīvy* 614.14.

<sup>4</sup> *BST* 1, p. 318.5.

<sup>5</sup> Iwamoto 41.4.

<sup>6</sup> D 563, 154a4. The fifth section (*gnas skabs*) of Karmavajra’s (Las kyi Dorje’s) commentary to this *sūtra* is devoted entirely to this phrase, and contains a long citation of a *Karmavibhaṅga-sūtra*: D 2692, *rgyud, du*, 269a5–72a2.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit in *PraS* (II) 298.4; Tibetan in *PraS* (I) 14D, p. 118.13, 24; 14J, v. 14 (p. 124.3).

<sup>8</sup> *BST* 4, pp. 28.14, 19, 24; 38.21; 44.23. Cf. commentary in Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.), *Sāratamā, A Pañjikā on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, Patna, 1979, p. 37.10–13.

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

comments on the phrase in his *Tarkajvālā*.<sup>1</sup> The same idea — though not the exact phrase — is found in the *Milindapañha*: Nāgasena explains that *paritta* may not be take effect because of the obstruction (*āvaraṇa*) of *kamma*.<sup>2</sup> The extra-canonical Pali *Uṅṅhissavijaya* promises protection from death due to a variety of causes, “except for timely death” (*kālamāritam*), that is, “natural death” as determined by one’s karmic life-span.<sup>3</sup>

The escape clause is characteristic of only some (earlier ? Śrāvakayāna ?) *raṅṅā* texts; others promise unqualified results. The *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra* states that for one who copies the *sūtra* or causes it to be copied, the obstructions (*āvaraṇa*) of the five deeds of immediate retribution (*ānantarya karma*) and sins even as great as Mt. Meru will all be wiped clean.<sup>4</sup>

Other elements are long lists of diseases<sup>5</sup> or calamities against which protection is offered.<sup>6</sup> Another phrase refers to the marking of a (protective) boundary (*simābandha*).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D 3856, *dbu ma, dza*, 185b2, *ci’i phyir snon gyi las kyi rnam par smin pa ni ma gtogs so zes bstan ce na ?...*

<sup>2</sup> *Milindapañha* (Chatṭhasaṅgīti ed.) 152–55, (PTS ed.) I 150–54.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Sten Konow, *The Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*, in A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, [Oxford, 1916] Amsterdam, 1970, pp. 310–12. Cf. also *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM* I 54–55.

<sup>5</sup> *MhMVR*(T) 4.2, etc.; *PraS* 14D; *Sīrimaṅgalaparitta* 29, *Cakkaparitta*, § 9.

<sup>6</sup> *AN* V 342.1–14 (*Metta-sutta*); *Sīrimaṅgalaparitta*, *Parittaparikkamma*, v. 9; *Megha-sūtra* 294; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* 38.7–15; *PraS* 14C, 14D; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM* I 37.5–11; *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM* I 57.8–13.

<sup>7</sup> *MhMVR*(T) 3.14, etc.; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* 56.14; *Hayagrīva-vidyā*, *GM* I 45.5.

## 6. *Rakṣā* and *mantra*

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

<sup>1</sup> Especially valuable are Lamotte’s translation and notes at *Mppś* I 317–21 and 328, his long note at *Mppś* IV 1854–64 and the following translation (1864–69), and Braarvig 1985. Cf. also Edward Conze, *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom with the divisions of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Berkeley, 1975, p. 21; de Jong 1984 pp. 95–96, and Matsunaga 1977 pp. 169–71. For *mantra*, see Alex Wayman, “The Significance of Mantras, from the Veda down to Buddhist Tantric Practice”, *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIX, 1975, pp. 65–89 (reprinted in *Buddhist Insight*, pp. 413–30); for *dhāraṇī*, see *BHSD* 284b, and *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fasc. 4, pp. 515–20.

<sup>2</sup> *Mppś* I 317. Cf. also the definition in Corrado Pensa, *L’Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti di Ārya-vimuktisena*, Rome, 1967, pp. 101–02.

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Waldschmidt, for example, describes the *mantras* of the Tibetan *Mahāsamāja* as *Dhāraṇīs*, although the text describes them as *mantrapada* (*gṣaṅ śnags kyi tshig*): E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon (Kleinere Sanskrit-texte, Heft IV)*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 164.

present paper, I am only concerned with the first type, protective or *rakṣā* mantras.

*Mantras* are most commonly introduced by *tadyathā*, but also by *syādyathedaṃ*.<sup>1</sup> Of the *Pañcarakṣā* texts, the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*<sup>2</sup> and the *Mahāśītavana* use *syādyathedaṃ*;<sup>3</sup> the *Mahāmantrānudharaṇī* uses *syādyathedan* once, but otherwise *tadyathā*; the other texts use *tadyathā*. The *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha* uses *saṃyathīd[am]* (*GM I 71.9*; some Central Asian Sanskrit fragments have *saryathidaṃ*;<sup>4</sup> the Tibetan translation of the *Hastiratnadharmamyeti* (?) has *satya thedan* (?).<sup>5</sup> Khotanese versions of the *Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī* introduce the *dhāraṇī-mantra* with *syādathidaṃ*, *syādathedaṃ*, and *syād yathyidaṃ*.<sup>6</sup> (Edgerton notes the forms *sayyathīdaṃ* and *sadyathīdaṃ* for the *Mahāvastu* only;<sup>7</sup> the related *sayyathāpi* (and *saṃyathāpi*) *nāma* occurs in the Lokottaravādin *Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya*.<sup>8</sup> In the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the form *saṃyathedaṃ* occurs.<sup>9</sup> In none of these cases are the phrases connected with *mantras*.) The Pali *Mahādibbamanta* and *Sut Catuvik* introduce their *mantras* with *seyyathīdaṃ*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pauly 1959 pp. 216, 225.

<sup>2</sup> Iwamoto, 4.21, 5.8, etc.

<sup>3</sup> D 562, 140b1, etc.; in Tibetan usually transliterated as *syādyathedan*. See also Dharmasāgara-nāma-dhāraṇī, Q 310, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 84a3 and passim = D 654, *rgyud, ba*, 146b7.

<sup>4</sup> So transcribed at *SHT* (III) 842, R3; 900, V1.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Wilkinson, “The Tantric Gaṇeśa Texts Preserved in the Tibetan Canon”, in Robert L. Brown (ed.), *Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God*, State University of New York, 1991, p. 271. I have not been able to consult the original.

<sup>6</sup> Inagaki 1987 p. 314.

<sup>7</sup> *BHSD* 582b.

<sup>8</sup> Gustav Roth, *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya: Manual of Discipline for Buddhist Nuns* (TSWS Vol. XII), Patna, 1970, index, p. 399.

<sup>9</sup> *MhMVR*(T) 44.19.

<sup>10</sup> Jaini 1965 p. 67.38; Finot 1917 p. 59.

*Mantras* conclude with *svāhā* in Sanskrit or *svāhāya* (or *svāhāyya*) in Pali.<sup>1</sup> In Tibetan translations text between *tadyathā* and *svāhā* is usually transliterated rather than translated.

*Mantras* include both unintelligible and intelligible elements. The former include phrases like *hulu hulu*,<sup>2</sup> *hili hili*,<sup>3</sup> *mili mili*,<sup>4</sup> or *hili mili*<sup>5</sup> — *hile mile*<sup>6</sup> — *ili mili*<sup>7</sup> — *iṭi miṭi*,<sup>8</sup> common to a number of texts. The ubiquitous *hulu hulu* is one of the earliest attested *mantras*, since it occurs in Lokakṣema’s Chinese version of the *Drumakinnārarāja-pariprocchā*, translated between 168 and 172 A.C.;<sup>9</sup> it is also one of the most widespread since it occurs in South-east Asian Pali texts. Though unintelligible, the phrases are not arbitrary (nor the “gibberish” nor the “mumbo jumbo” of earlier scholars), and they are explained in the commentaries. (According to Asaṅga, *mantras* are indeed “without meaning”, but in the sense that all *dharmas* are without meaning.<sup>10</sup>) The

<sup>1</sup> Jaini 1965 p. 67.39.

<sup>2</sup> *Āṭānāṭika* 74.22 (Tib.); *MhMVR*(T) 4.15, 17; 30 ult.; 31.12; *Mahābalasūtra* 24.7; *Saptavetāḍaka-dhāraṇī* (Feer, *AMG V*) 456; *rGyal ba’i bla ma’i gzuñs*, Q 488, Vol. 11, *rgyud, ba*, 85a8. For Pali occurrences, see below. See *phuluphulu* in *BHSD* 397a for the term in a non-mantric context, which possibly gives a clue to its meaning.

<sup>3</sup> *Āṭānāṭika* 74.22 (Tib.); *MhMVR*(T) 4.18; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* 56.16; 58.1,2,4; *SHT* (III) 90 V2; *rGyal ba’i bla ma’i gzuñs* 85a8.

<sup>4</sup> *MhMVR*(T) 4.18, 9.10; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> *Vidyādharaṭīka* (Śikṣāsamuccaya 142.15).

<sup>6</sup> *Āṭānāṭika* 74.7 (Tib.).

<sup>7</sup> *Āṭānāṭika* 54.22; *MhMVR*(T) 9.13; *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-mātā-nāma-dhāraṇī*, Q 534, *rgyud, ’a*, 239a2; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM I* 39.12, 40.16.

<sup>8</sup> *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, cit. at *Mppś* IV 1858.1.

<sup>9</sup> T 624, *KBC* 129; I am grateful to Paul Harrison (letter of 22 January, 1992) for this information. The “*hulu*” *mantra* also occurs in the later Tibetan translation, Q 824, *mdo, pu*, 327b5 (section [15G] in Harrison’s forthcoming edition). For Lokakṣema, see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 35–36.

<sup>10</sup> *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in *Mppś* IV 1858–59; Braarvig 1985 p. 20.

(fragmentary) Uighur version of the *Ātānāṭika-sūtra* gives a Uighur “translation” of the *mantras*, accompanied by interlinear Sanskrit glosses.<sup>1</sup> The interpretations are in terms of Sarvāstivādin *abhidharma* categories — the sixteen aspects (*ākāra*) of the Four Truths, the four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*), etc. — but this must be the work of later scholiasts. In his *Tarkajvālā*, Bhavya offers a spirited defence of the “*dhāraṇīs*, *mantras*, and *vidyās*” of the Mahāyāna. He denies that they are meaningless, noting that “*vidyās* for the most part teach the six perfections (*pāramitā*), the truths of the noble (*ārya-satyā*), and the states that conduce to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya-dharma*)...”. “The unintelligible syllables of spells (*vidyā-pada*) are taught in the supermundane (*lokottara*) language, or in the languages of gods, *nāgas*, or *yakṣas*, etc.”<sup>2</sup> The purpose of some of the recurrent phrases may perhaps be determined from their context when a sufficient number of examples have been collected. Unfortunately, the dictionaries or indexes that I know of do not list *mantra* elements.<sup>3</sup>

Among the intelligible phrases are expressions of homage (*namas*) to Buddha(s) and other *āryas* or to the Three Gems (*triratna*), which are treated as a part of the *mantra*: in Tibetan versions, for example, they are not translated.<sup>4</sup> The *dhāraṇī* of the *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dieter Maue, “Sanskrit-uigurische Fragmente des Ātānāṭikasūtra und des Ātānāṭihṛdaya”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, Neue Folge, Band 5, Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 98–122. I am grateful to Dr. Lore Sander for this reference.

<sup>2</sup> D 183a6 foll., Q 199b2 foll.

<sup>3</sup> See Edgerton’s remarks at *BHSD* 284b. While the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden* (Göttingen) does not record *mantras*, a card index is kept (personal communication from Dr. Siglinde Dietz, 1991).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Jaina *Pañca-namokkāra-parama-maṅgala* (Roth, p. 130), which pays homage to five kinds of saints (*arhats*, *siddhas*, *ācāryas*, *upadhyāyas*, and “all *sādhus* in the world”) and is described as “the first *maṅgala* among all the *maṅgalas*”.

<sup>5</sup> Q 306, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 73b4 foll.

contains *satya-vāk* or *paritta*-like phrases: *buddhasatyena*, *dharmasatyena*, *saṃghasatyena*, *satyavādinām-satyena*; *buddhasatyē mātikrama*, etc., as do *mantras* in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Megha-sūtras*, and the *Sarvatahāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*.<sup>1</sup> The (Ārya) Prāṭītya-samutpādahṛdaya consists simply of the ye dharmā verse in Tibetan and Sanskrit, followed by the statement “when this hṛdaya is recited once, all sins (*pāpa*) will be purified”, and so on.<sup>2</sup> Other intelligible phrases in the *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*, the *Mahābala-sūtra*, the *Hayagrīva-vidyā*, and other texts are commands or admonishments: *jambhaya*, *stambhaya*, *mohaya*, *hana*, *daha*, *paca*, *matha*, *pramatha*.

It is noteworthy that certain common elements appear in the *mantras* of a wide variety of texts — of the Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna — and that some of these, usually found in association, invoke the names of female deities. Examples include *gauri*, *gandhāri*, *caṇḍālī*, and *mātaṅgi*, which occur in the *Ātānāṭika-sūtra*,<sup>3</sup> the *Bhadrakarātri-sūtra*,<sup>4</sup> the *Mahāmāyūrī*,<sup>5</sup> the *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*,<sup>6</sup> the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*,<sup>7</sup> the *Mahābala-sūtra*,<sup>8</sup> the *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-mātā-nāma-dhāraṇī*,<sup>9</sup> the *Cauravidhvansana-dhāraṇī*,<sup>10</sup> the Central Asian *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa*,<sup>11</sup> and an unidentified Central Asian Sanskrit fragment.<sup>12</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* 58.3; *Megha-sūtra* 300.13 foll., 306.3 foll.; *GMI* 56.4–7.

<sup>2</sup> Q 222, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 301b7–02a2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ātānāṭika* 54.24 (Tibetan); 68.9 (Tibetan); 69.8 (Sanskrit).

<sup>4</sup> Q 979 (Vol. 39), *mdo, śu*, 172a4.

<sup>5</sup> *MhMVR*(T) 18.16.

<sup>6</sup> Q 308, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 77a1, 7.

<sup>7</sup> *BST* 6, ch. 21, p. 234.19.

<sup>8</sup> *Mahābala-sūtra* 24.36, 39.

<sup>9</sup> Q 534, Vol. 11, *rgyud, 'a*, 239a2.

<sup>10</sup> Q 214, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 278b4; cf. also Q 454, Vol. 9, [*rñiṅ*] *rgyud, va*, 101a6.

<sup>11</sup> *SHT* (II) 176, Bl. 21 R5.

<sup>12</sup> *SHT* (III) 846, V7.



clear that for these and other recurrent phrases (*hulu hulu, ili mili*, and so on) the texts drew on a common pool of *mantra* elements.

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

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

1) the *mantra* of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-sūtra*, which is essentially the same in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, the independent Tibetan *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, and the Nepalese Sanskrit *Mahāmantrānūsāriṇī*. It is probably the longest Mūlasarvāstivādin *mantra*;

2) the *Mahāmāyūrī-mantra* of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, as preserved both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan translation. In an expanded form, it also occurs in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*;<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mpps* IV 1860 for a brief notice.

<sup>2</sup> N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III part 1, [Srinagar, 1947] Delhi, 1984, p. 287.1-7; Tibetan translation in 'dul ba, ne, 46b7; *MhMVR*(T) 8.15-9.1.

*Ātānāṭīka-sūtra*, probably contained the same *mantras* at the same places, and at least 3 additional *mantras*;

4) the 19 *mantras* given in a prose "appendix" to the *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra* as preserved in Tibetan translation only;

5) the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*;<sup>1</sup>

6) the *mantras* of the Sanskrit *Upasena-sūtra* from Central Asia,<sup>2</sup> its Tibetan version as incorporated into the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayavibhaṅga*,<sup>3</sup> and its Chinese version in the *Samyuktāgama*;<sup>4</sup>

7) (probably) the *mantras* of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* as preserved in Tibetan.<sup>5</sup>

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

I do not believe that any true *mantras* are found in the canon of the Theravādins, which seems to have been closed before the influence of the *mantra* movement could be felt. *Mantras* are found in later extra-canonical *paritta* texts: the *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipīṭaka* (*hulū* 3; *vitti* 3; *mitti* 2; *citti* 2; *vatti* 2), the *Mahādibbamanta* (*hulu* 3),<sup>6</sup> the *Dhāraṇaparitta* (*illi milli tilli atilli*),<sup>7</sup> the *Sut Catuvik* (*hulu* 2),<sup>8</sup> and the *Giniparitta* (*citti*, *vitti*, etc.),<sup>9</sup> ending in *svāhā(y)a*. That such *mantras* belonged not only to popular literature but were also accepted by at least

<sup>1</sup> *Divy* 613.26; Q 313 (Vol. 7), (*Ārya*-)*ṣaḍakṣari-vidyā* ('*phags pa yi ge drug pa*' *rig snags*) is based on / extracted from the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*.

<sup>2</sup> *Upasenāsūtra* (1); *Upasenāsūtra* (2) pp. 239-44.

<sup>3</sup> Q 1032, Vol. 42, 'dul ba, che, 113a7.

<sup>4</sup> *Tsa a-han-ching*, *Sūtra* 252: see *Upasenāsūtra* (2) pp. 239-44; *Mpps* IV 1860.

<sup>5</sup> Q 599 (*gzus* 'dus); Q 979 (*mdo*). Cf. *SHT* (III) 816 for Sanskrit fragments of the *sūtra*.

<sup>6</sup> Jaini 1965 p. 67.38.

<sup>7</sup> *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 20.8.

<sup>8</sup> Finot 1917 p. 59.

<sup>9</sup> L. de Silva, p. 10.

some scholars is shown by the fact that the anonymous author of the (Ayyutthaya-period) *Buddhapādamāṅgala* introduces the *mantra* “*hulū hulū hulū svāhāya*” into his commentary, and explains it in turn.<sup>1</sup> The term *dhāraṇī* is rare in Pali,<sup>2</sup> where it only occurs in extra-canonical texts such as the *Gini Paritta*.<sup>3</sup> The term *dhāraṇa* occurs in the sense of *dhāraṇī* in the title and text of the *Dhāraṇa-paritta*.<sup>4</sup> The author of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra*, who is well versed in the tradition of at least the Sarvāstivādins, notes that *dhāraṇīs* are not found in the system of the Śrāvakas, but allows that “lesser *dhāraṇīs*” can be obtained by universal monarchs, *ṛṣīs*, and others.<sup>5</sup>

I have not seen any *mantras* in available Lokottaravādin literature. I have shown above, however, that the Mahāsāṃghikas are reported to have had a *Mantra-piṭaka* and the Siddhārthas, Pūrvaśailas, and Aparāśailas a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*, none of which are extant. The Dharmaguptakas are said to have had a similar *piṭaka*, of which the Sanskrit title is uncertain, and their *Vinaya* describes the joint recitation of the *Arapacana* syllabary by monks and laymen.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Supaphan Na Bangchang, *Vivadhānākāra Varragatī sai Brah Suttantapiṭaka ti Daeng nai Pradeśa Thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 296–97.

<sup>2</sup> It is not listed in the *Pali Text Society Dictionary* or the *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*. Other forms derived from the same root are used in the sense of retention or memory of the teaching of the Buddha: see *Mpps* IV 1854 and Braarvig 1985 p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> L. de Silva, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 20.8, *imaṃ dhāraṇam amitam asamam*. At *Vinaya* IV 305.27 the phrase *dhāraṇam pariyāpuṇāti* is immediately followed by *guttatthāya parittam pariyāpuṇāti*, but the meaning is obscure. I am grateful to Prof. Oskar von Hinüber for this reference.

<sup>5</sup> *Mpps* I 328, IV 1876–77.

<sup>6</sup> Sylvain Lévi, “Sur la Récitation Primitive des Textes Bouddhiques”, *JA*, May-June 1915, pp. 439–40; Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976, p. 549; *Mpps* IV 1866–68; *Hōbōgirin* Vol. I 34 (“Arahashana”), Vol. VI 565 foll. (“Da”); E. Conze, *The Large Sutra ...*, p. 21, note 118.

## 7. The *rakṣā* literature and cults

The *rakṣā* literature was strongly influenced by popular cults, both Buddhist and pre- or non-Buddhist. The former include the cults of the Seven Buddhas<sup>1</sup> and their trees,<sup>2</sup> of past Buddhas,<sup>3</sup> of *pratyekabuddhas*,<sup>4</sup> and of *śrāvakas*.<sup>5</sup> The latter include the cults of the Four Great Kings;<sup>6</sup> of *yakṣas*<sup>7</sup> (including the 28 *yakṣasenāpati*, frequently mentioned), *nāgas*, and the whole inventory of divine or daemonic beings in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and of female goddesses as shown in both verse lists<sup>8</sup> and in the *mantras* that invoke the goddess under various epithets.

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

<sup>1</sup> *MhMVR*(T) pp. 13, 43–45, 56–57; *Ātānāṭiya* Pali, *DN* III 195.27–96.10.

<sup>2</sup> *MhMVR*(T) p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāśītavana*, D 562, 138b7 foll.; *Aṭṭhavisati-paritta*; *Ātānāṭiya-paritta*, *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 20, 38–39.

<sup>4</sup> *Isigili-sutta*, *MN* 116 (note the concluding admonition *vandatha*, following the list of *paccekabuddhas*), classed as a *paritta* in some *Aṭṭhakathā* lists (Table 1.4) and the *Catubhānavāra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Mahāmantrānudharāṇi*, D 563, 155a7 foll.; *Jinapañjara-gāthā*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ātānāṭika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *MhMVR*(T) pp. 15 foll., 46, *Mahāśītavana*, *Saddharmapundarika*, chapter 21; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, chapter 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ātānāṭika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *MhMVR*, *Mahāśītavana*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ātānāṭika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *Mahāmāyūrī*, *Āśīrvāda-gāthā*.

## 8. *Rakṣā* and the Mahāyāna

The *rakṣā* movement, with all its characteristic phraseology, *mantras*, and association with cults, influenced the composition of many Mahāyāna *sūtras*. A number of examples have already been cited. Chapter 21 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Dhāraṇīparivarta*, contains *rakṣā mantras* spoken by Vaiśravaṇa and Virūdhaka, by *rākṣasīs*, and by *bodhisattvas*. Chapter 9 of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, which bears the same title as the preceding, contains *rakṣā mantras* delivered by the Buddhas of the three times.<sup>1</sup> The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* (which is classed under *Tantra* in some *Kanjurs*) contains several long chapters on protection. Chapter 3 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* extols protections and other benefits derived from the *Prajñāpāramitā*, which it describes as a *vidyā*, though no *mantra* is given. Chapter 14 of the *Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra* and Chapter 27 (the last) of the *Lalitavistara* deal with the protection granted to those who preserve the *sūtras*. Shorter *rakṣā* passages occur in the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*<sup>2</sup> and the *Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra*,<sup>3</sup> and no doubt in many other *sūtras* of the Mahāyāna. Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* devotes several pages to *rakṣā mantras*.<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is not found in the Sung dynasty translation, done in 443 A.C., but is found in the Wei version of about 70 years later: see Jikido Takasaki, "Analysis of the Laṅkāvatāra. In Search of its Original Form", in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme: Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte*, Louvain-la-neuve, 1980, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> *The Fortunate Aeon*, Vol. I, Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1986, pp. 56–57.

<sup>3</sup> É. Lamotte, *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque* (*Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*), Brussels, 1975, p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 138.14–42.15.

*ślokas* down, the *Samādhirāja*, and the *Lalitavistara*.<sup>1</sup> The *Avatamsaka*, six volumes in Tibetan translation, was reduced to a *dhāraṇī* less than one line in length: "by retaining this, the *Ārya Avatamsaka* will be retained".<sup>2</sup> Hsüan-tsang used the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* as a *rakṣā* to ward off "all sorts of demon shapes and strange goblins" in the deserts of Central Asia; "whenever he was in danger, it was to this [text] alone that he trusted for his safety and deliverance".<sup>3</sup>

## 9. Śrāvakayāna *rakṣā* literature and the Tantra

Śrāvakayāna *rakṣā* texts classed under *Tantra* (*rGyud*) in the *Kanjur* include the following:

1. *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra*
2. *Āṭānāṭīya-mahāsūtra*
3. *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*
4. *Ṣaḍakṣari-vidyā*
5. *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*
6. *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*
7. *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī-sūtra*
8. *Mahāśītavana-sūtra*
9. *Mahāmantrānudharāṇī-sūtra*.
10. *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*.

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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Q 271 to 284. For the *Prajñāpāramitā*, see Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1978, pp. 86–87.

<sup>2</sup> Q 279, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 310b8–11a2.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li*, [London, 1911] New Delhi, 1973, pp. 21–22.

*Kriyā-tantra* (*Bya ba'i rgyud*), the lowest of the four classes of Tantra. In addition, many of the short *dhāraṇī* texts — often connected with Indra, Brahma, *yakṣas*, and the Four Great Kings — included in *Kriyā-tantra* show no Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna influence, and may be described as Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās*. Among those translated by Feer, these include the *Sapta-vetāḍaka-dhāraṇī*, the *Sarvarogaprasāmani-dhāraṇī*, the *Jvaraprasāmani-dhāraṇī*, and the *Akṣirogaprasāmani-sūtra*.<sup>1</sup>

### 10. Archaeological evidence for the *rakṣā* literature

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

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

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

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

Literary evidence, such as a Chinese version of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvādāna* (for the Śrāvakayāna) and the *Drumakinnārarāja-paripṛcchā* (for the

<sup>1</sup> AMG V 453–66.

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

<sup>1</sup> *Dīvy*, Appendix A, p. 657. The reference is to the *\*Mātāṅgī-sūtra*, translated into Chinese in 230 A.C.: see T 1300, *KBC* 766, and M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, [1933] New York, 1972, pp. 286–87. In the early third and the fourth centuries, a number of *mantra* texts were rendered into Chinese by various translators: see Chou Yi-liang, “Tantrism in China”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 8, 1944–45, pp. 242–43, Matsunaga 1977 pp. 169–70, and *Upasena-sūtra* (2) p. 238. For the interesting figure of the “*dhāraṇī* master” Śrīmitra, who translated three “collections of spells”, moved in court circles in the early decade of the 4th century at Chienk’ang, and was the first known person to have had a *caitya* built for him at the order of the Emperor, see Zürcher, *op. cit.*, 103–04.

<sup>2</sup> Matsunaga 1977 p. 169; the reference is to T 154, *KBC* 799.

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

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

## 11. Rite and ritual

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

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

I have not been able to uncover much information about how the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* were used. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* passage mentions their recitation as a protection against *vetāḍa*, without further

detail (although it does mention a number of alternate *rakṣās*). The commentary thereupon describes the function of the *Mahāsūtras*, but says nothing about how, on what occasions, or by whom, they were to be used. The only information about their ritual use is found in the “appendix” to the Tibetan version of the *Mahāsamāja*, which is not found in the Pali, Sanskrit, or Chinese versions. There the Four Great Kings recommend the recitation of the *sūtra*, along with their own *mantras*, over a thread (*sūtra*) or over (a vessel containing) water, and then tying knots in the string or sprinkling the water. The most detailed rites are given by the Buddha himself, who delivers further *mantras*. Here there are references to fasting; to specific days of the lunar cycle; to the recitation of the *mantra* 100 or 108 times while holding and knotting a thread; and to the marking of a boundary (*śimā*).

The *Samantapāsādikā* (5th century) refers to the use of thread and water in *paritta* ritual (*parittodaka*, *parittasutta*),<sup>1</sup> as does the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, which de Silva dates to the 4th or 5th century.<sup>2</sup> The commentary on the *Ratana-sutta* (5th century) states that Ānanda sprinkled water from the Buddha’s alms-bowl as he went through Vesālī reciting the *sutta*.<sup>3</sup> In the *Suppāraka-jātaka* the *bodhisatta* performs an act of truth (*saccakiriya*) holding a bowl full of water (*puṇṇapāti*).<sup>4</sup> A detailed description of a *paritta* rite is given in the commentary to the *Āṭṭanāṭṭiya-sutta*.<sup>5</sup> Interesting information about ritual practices connected with the *upoṣadha* ceremony in India and the “Islands of the Southern Sea” in the 7th century is supplied by I-ching. There is much

<sup>1</sup> Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti ed. I 577 (ref. from Dhammānanda 1992 p. 193).

<sup>2</sup> L. de Silva, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> L. de Silva, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Jātaka* 463, Vol. IV, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> L. de Silva, pp. 17–18.

in common with the *paritta* rituals described by de Silva (including the overfeeding of the monks and the offering of betel-nut).<sup>1</sup>

Brief rites are given at the end of the Sanskrit *Mahāmāyūrī* and the Tibetan *Mahāśītavāna*. A number of rites are described in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, where they are spoken by the Four Great Kings, Brahma, and Vaiśramaṇa.<sup>2</sup> The “Chapter on Sarasvatī” in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* describes several rites.<sup>3</sup> Other texts in the *Tantra* section of the *Kanjur* refer to recitation of *mantras* over thread and the tying of knots.<sup>4</sup> The spiritually charged thread and water<sup>5</sup> are common not only to the *paritta* but also to Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna rituals, and no doubt belong to early pan-Indian magical or protective rites. Matsunaga has given a chronological account of texts containing ritual elements translated into Chinese, starting with the first half of the third century.<sup>6</sup> There is clearly a great deal to be learned here from Chinese sources.

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

<sup>1</sup> J. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, chapter IX. For a note on “the habit of chewing betel” in the *Avadāna* literature see J.S. Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, Vol. II, [1906–09] repr. Osnabrück, 1970, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Iwamoto 30–31, 36–37, 38, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> BST 8, chapter 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Feer, *AMG* V 455–57, 464, 466. See *SHT* (III) 842, R5–6; *Divy* 614.13 (*Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*), *sūtreṇa baddhena*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Śikṣasamuccaya* 140.18, *abhimantritena jalena*.

<sup>6</sup> Matsunaga 1977 pp. 171–74.

<sup>7</sup> See *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. I, fasc. 3, pp. 493–502 (“Amulet”). For Khmer and Siamese practices, see Catherine Becchetti, *Le Mystère dans les Lettres, Étude sur les yantra bouddhiques du Cambodge et de la Thaïlande*, Bangkok, 1991.

## Conclusions

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

The *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra* seems to have been the prototype of much of the phraseology, and some of the verses, of the Buddhist *rakṣā* literature (when one considers that the *sūtra* would have been memorised by members of the *saṃgha* from an early date, this is not surprising); but this very phraseology and some of the verses were clearly adopted and adapted from contemporary popular magical and cult traditions. The prototype for at least some of the *svastigāthās* may well have been the *Ratana-sutta*. The Buddhist *mantras* derived some of their efficacy from

intelligible elements such as expressions of homage (*namas*) invoking the power of the Buddha(s), other *āryas* and deities, and the Triple Gem (*triratna*), and from the “profession of truth” (*satyavāk*). These were combined with unintelligible phrases; the origin and precise significance of these remain obscure, but it is clear that the texts drew on a common stock of elements, perhaps again from popular magical lore. In all cases the oral tradition, seamless in comparison with the written text, would have played a significant role in the permeation of Buddhist literature with such *rakṣā* and *mantra* phrases.

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

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

## Bibliographical Note

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

## Abbreviations

AMG V	Léon Feer, <i>Fragments extraits du Kandjour, Annales du Musée Guimet</i> , Vol. V, Paris, 1883
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , Vol. II, <i>Dictionary</i> , [New Haven, 1953] Delhi, 1972
BST	Buddhist Sanskrit Text series, Darbhanga
D	Derge (sDe dge) edition of the Tibetan Canon
Divy	E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, <i>The Divyāvādāna</i> , rep. Delhi, 1987
GMI	Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), <i>Gilgit Manuscripts</i> , Vol. I, [Srinagar, 1939] Delhi, 1984.
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KBC	L.R. Lancaster, <i>The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue</i> , Berkeley, 1979 (reference by catalogue number)
Q	Peking (Qianlong) edition of the Tibetan Canon
PraS (I)	Paul Harrison (ed.), <i>The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra</i> , Tokyo, 1978

PraS (II)	Paul Harrison (tr.), <i>The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present</i> , Tokyo, 1990
MhMVR(T)	Shūyo Takubo (ed.), <i>Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī</i> , Tokyo, 1972
Mpps	Étienne Lamotte, <i>Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna</i> , Louvain, 1949–80
SHT	Ernst Waldschmidt <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden</i> , Wiesbaden, 1965–
T	Taishō edition of the Chinese <i>Tripiṭaka</i> (reference by catalogue number)

## Sanskrit and Pali titles

<i>Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī</i> , see Inagaki
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<i>Ātānāṭika-sūtra</i> , ed. Helmut Hoffmann, <i>Bruchstücke des Ātānāṭikasūtra aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon der Buddhisten (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft V)</i> , [Leipzig, 1939] Stuttgart, 1987
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<i>Divyāvādāna</i> , see Divy
<i>Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra</i> , see PraS
<i>Mahāḍibbamanta</i> , see Jaini
<i>Mahāpratisarā</i> , ed. Yutaka Iwamoto, <i>Pañcarakṣā II (Beiträge zur Indologie, Heft 3)</i> , Kyoto, 1938
<i>Mahābala-sūtra</i> , (Tib.) ed. F.A. Bischoff, <i>Ārya Mahābala-nāma-mahāyānasūtra</i> , Paris, 1956



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Table 1: Early paritta lists<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Milinda-pañha

PTS 150.27	ChS 152.20	Mm 206.14
1. Ratana-s	1. Ratana-s	1. Khandha-p
2. Khandha-p	2. Metta-s	2. Suvatthi-p
3. Mora-p	3. Khandha-p	3. Mora-p
4. Dhajagga-p	4. Mora-p	4. Dhajagga-p
5. Āṭānāṭiya-p	5. Dhajagga-p	5. Āṭānāṭiya-p
6. Aṅgulimālā-p	6. Āṭānāṭiya-p	— —
— —	7. Aṅgulimālā-p	— —

## 1.2.1. Sumaṅgala-vilāsini (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Sampasādaniya-s)

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

1. Āṭānāṭiya-p<sup>2</sup>
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p
- ādi

<sup>1</sup> In the table, *-s* = *-sutta*, *-p* = *-paritta*. PTS refers to the romanized editions of the Pali Text Society, London; HOS to the romanized ed. of the *Visuddhimagga* in the Harvard Oriental Series; ChS to the Burmese script Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti editions, Rangoon, Mm to the Thai script editions published by Mahāmakūṭa Press, Bangkok (consulted as accessible).

<sup>2</sup> ChS and PTS omit *-paritta* here only.

## 1.2.2. Papañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Bahudhātuka-s)

ChS [IV] 79.19; PTS IV 114.6	Mm III 522.11
1. Āṭānāṭiya-	1. Āṭānāṭiya-p
2. Mora-p	2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p	3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p	4. Ratana-p
— ādi	5. Metta-p
	— ādi

1.2.3. Manorathapūraṇī (Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā, Ekanipāta, on aṭṭhāna)<sup>3</sup>

ChS [I] 358; PTS II 9.23

1. Āṭānāṭiya-p
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p
- ādi

## 1.2.4. Sammohavinodanī (Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā)

ChS 411.27; Nalanda ed. 434.14; PTS 430.33

1. Āṭānāṭiya-
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p<sup>4</sup>
4. Ratana-p
- ādi

<sup>3</sup> The same list occurs at Mp IV (PTS) 114.

<sup>4</sup> Nalanda and PTS omit *-paritta*.

## 1.3.1. Visuddhimagga

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

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

1.3.2. Samantapāsādikā I, Verāñjakaṇḍavaṇṇanā<sup>5</sup>

ChS 129.10; PTS I 159.31	Mm I 178.7
1. Ratana-p	1. Ratana-p
2. Khandha-p	2. Metta-p
3. Dhajagga-p	3. Khandha-p
4. Ātānāṭiya-p	4. Dhajagga-p
5. Mora-p	5. Ātānāṭiya-p
— —	6. Mora-p

## 1.4. Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā (Tuvaṭaka-s)

ChS 336.26; Mm II 92.6; PTS II 383.5

## Manorathapūraṇī (Tikanipāta)

ChS II 210.27; PTS II 342.1

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

## 1.5. Sumaṅgalavilāsini (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Ātānāṭiya-sutta)

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

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

<sup>5</sup> The list of the Chinese version agrees with ChS, except that the *Ātānāṭiya* is called *sutta* rather than *paritta* (but it would be interesting to know the Chinese term rendered here as *paritta*): P. V. Bapat and A. Hirakawa, *Shan-Chien-P'i - P'o-Sha, A Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā*, Poona, 1970, p. 116. The same list occurs at Paṭis-a (PTS) 367.35.

Table 2: Paritta, Sīrmaṅgalaparitta, Dvādasaparitta, and Sattaparitta

A. Paritta	B. Sīrmaṅgalaparitta	C. Dvādasaparitta	D. Sattaparitta
1. Maṅgala-sutta	1. Maṅgala-sutta	1. Maṅgala-sutta	1. Maṅgala-sutta
2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta
3. Metta-sutta	3. Metta-sutta	3. Karaṇiyametta-sutta	3. Karaṇiyametta-sutta
4. Khandha-sutta	4. Khandha-sutta	4. Khandha-paritta	4. Khandha-paritta
5. Mora-sutta	5. Mora-sutta	5. Mora-paritta	5. Mora-paritta
6. Vaṭṭa-sutta	6. Vaṭṭa-sutta	6. Vaṭṭa-paritta	—
7. Dhajagga-sutta	7. Dhajagga-sutta	7. Dhajagga-paritta	6. Dhajagga-paritta
8. Āṭānāṭiya-sutta	8. Āṭānāṭiya-sutta	8. Āṭānāṭiya-paritta	7. Āṭānāṭiya-paritta
9. Aṅgulimāla-sutta	9. Aṅgulimāla-sutta	9. Aṅgulimāla-paritta	8. Aṅgulimāla-paritta
10. Bojjhaṅga-sutta	10. Bojjhaṅga-sutta	10. Bojjhaṅga-paritta	9. Bojjhaṅga-paritta
11. Pubbaṅha-sutta*	11. Pubbaṅha-sutta*	11. Abhaya-paritta*	—
—	12. Mahāsamaya-sutta	12. Jaya-paritta	—
	13. Sammāparibbājanīya-sutta		
	14. Purābheda-sutta		
	15. Kalahavivāda-sutta		
	16. Cūlabyūha-sutta		
	17. Mahābyūha-sutta		
	18. Tuvaṭṭaka-sutta		

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\* = same text under different titles

19. Mahā-āṭānāṭiya-sutta
20. Abhiṅha-sutta
21. Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta
22. Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta
23. Dharmapadapāḷi
24. Mahāsati-paṭṭhāna-sutta
25. Paṭṭhānapāḷi paccayuddesa
26. Paṭṭhānapāḷi paccayaniddesa
27. Brahmajāla-sutta
28. Chādisāpāla-sutta
29. Cakkaparitta-sutta
30. Parimittajāla-sutta
31. Uppātasanti

Table 3: The seven *Pañcarakṣā* in relation to other *rakṣā* and *paritta* texts

	Parallels
<b>A. Mahāyāna</b>	None traced
(1) <i>Mahāpratisarā-viśvārājī</i> = <i>Riḡ pa 'i rgyal mo so sor 'brañ ba chen mo</i> Sanskrit: Iwamoto, Chandra Tibetan: D 561, Q 179 tr. Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C. Chinese: T 1154, KBC 454, tr. Ramacinta, 693 A.C. T 1153, KBC 1349, tr. Amoghavajra, 8th cent.	
<b>B. Śrāvakayāna</b>	
(2) <i>Mahāmāyūri-viśvārājī</i> = <i>Riḡ sñags kyī rgyal mo rma bya chen mo</i> Sanskrit: Oldenburg, Takubo, Chandra Tibetan: D 559, Q 178 tr. Śīlendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C. Chinese: 6 translations between 317 and 907 (see Aalto 1954 p. 7)	* <i>Māyūri-jātaka</i> / <i>Mora-jātaka</i> <i>Āṭanāṭika-sūtra</i> / <i>Āṭanāṭiya-sutta</i> <i>Upasena-sūtra</i> / <i>Khandha-paritta</i>
(3) <i>Mahāsāhasrapramardani-nāma-mahāyānasūtra</i> = <i>s'ŋon chen po rab tu 'joms pa zes bya ba 'i mdo</i> Sanskrit: Iwamoto, Chandra Tibetan: D 558, Q 177 tr. Śīlendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.; rev. g'Zon nu dpal Chinese: T 999, KBC 1096, tr. Dānapāla, 983 A.C.	* <i>Ratna-sūtra</i> / <i>Ratana-sutta</i>
(4A) <i>Mahāsūtavana</i> = <i>bSīl ba 'i tshal chen mo</i> Sanskrit: not extant Tibetan: D 562, Q 180 tr. Śīlendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.; rev. g'Zon nu dpal Chinese: none	Cp. <i>Āṭanāṭika-sūtra</i> / <i>Āṭanāṭiya-sutta</i>
(4B) <i>Mahāsūtavati-viśvārājī</i> Sanskrit: Iwamoto, Chandra Tibetan: <i>Mahādanādhārāṇi</i> , <i>Be con chen po zes bya ba 'i gzuñs</i> D 606, Q 308, tr. Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C. Chinese: T 1392, KBC 1104, tr. Fa-t'ien, 984 A.C.	None traced

*Candra-sūtra / Canda-paritta*  
*Uḍānavarga, Prātimokṣa-sūtra*  
*satyavāk, agraprajñapti*

*Vaisālipraveśa-mahāsūtra / Ratana-*

- (5A) *Mahāmantrānūdharaṇī*  
 = *gSañ sñags chen mo rjes su 'dzin pa 'i mdo*  
 Sanskrit: not extant  
 Tibetan: D 563, Q 181  
 tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha,  
 Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.  
 Chinese: none

- (5B) *Mahāmantrānusārīṇī*  
*sutta*  
 [gSañ sñags kyi rjes su 'bran ba chen mo]<sup>1</sup>  
 Sanskrit: Chandra  
 Tibetan: none  
 Chinese: T 1048, KBC 1102, tr. Fa-t'ien, 984 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> Tibetan title cited in D 558, *rgyud 'bum, pha*, 86a5.

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