K. B. Norman

PĀLI LITERATURE
INCLUDING THE CANONICAL LITERATURE IN
PRĀKRIT AND SANŚKRIT
OF ALL THE HĪNAyĀNA SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

1933
Otto Harrassowitz · Wiesbaden
K. R. Norman

Pāli Literature
Including the Canonical Literature in Pāli, Prakrit, and Sanskrit
Of All the Hinayāna Schools of Buddhism
A HISTORY
OF INDIAN LITERATURE

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OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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Contents of Vol. VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facs. 1</th>
<th>Facs. 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D. Seyfort Ruegg</td>
<td>K. R. Norman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Literature of the Madhyayana School of Philosophy in India</td>
<td>Pali Literature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER I</th>
<th>CHAPTER II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Pāli language and the Theravādin tradition</strong></td>
<td><strong>The Pāli Canon</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The name &quot;Pāli&quot;</td>
<td>1. The divisions of the canon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The history and development of the Pāli language</td>
<td>2. The Vinaya-pitaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The history of the Theravādin tradition</td>
<td>2.1. The Sutta-pitaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2. The Khuddakaṅkha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3. The Pārivaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The Sutta-pitaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.1. The Dīgha-nikāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.1.1. The Silākhaṇḍha-aṅgika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.1.2. The Mahāvaṇga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.1.3. The Pītavāṇga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2. The Majjhima-nikāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2.1. The Mūlapaṇṇhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2.2. The Majhīmā-sampṭhāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2.3. The Upāpiṇḍaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3. The Sāntiya-nikāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3.1. The Sagāthavāṇga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3.2. The Nīvarṇavāṇga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3.3. The Khuddavāṇga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3.4. The Saṅghavanavī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3.5. The Mahāvaṇga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.4. The Aṅguttara-nikāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5. The Khuddaka-nikāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5.1. Khuddakaṅṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5.2. Dhammapada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Foreword | IX |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.5.3. Udāna</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.4. Itivuttakas</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.5. Suanaputis</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.6. Vīmapatih</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.7. Pattiyat</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.8. Tīrīghāṭa</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.9. Tīrīghāṭa</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.10. Jātaka</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.11. Nīdees</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.12. Paṭisambhidamagga</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.13. Aupatan</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.14. Buddhavamsa</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.15. Caritasūkta</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Abhidhamma-pitaka</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1. Dhammasangani</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2. Vibhanga</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3. Dhammasangani</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4. Puggalapaṭhamottari</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6. Kathāvatthu</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6. Yamaka</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7. Patthana</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8. The Abhidhamma in Saṅkhaṇi</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER III Early post-canonical texts**

1. Early prose texts | 108 |
2. The early chronicles | 114 |
3. The early commentators | 118 |
3.1. Buddhaghosa | 120 |
3.2. Buddhaghosa | 130 |
3.3. Mahānāma | 132 |
3.4. Upasena | 133 |
3.5. Dhammapāla | 133 |

**CHAPTER IV Later post-canonical texts**

1. The later chronicles | 138 |
2. The later commentators | 145 |
2.1. Aṭṭhakathās | 145 |
2.2. Tikās | 148 |
3. Later Abhidhamma texts | 151 |
4. Collections of edifying tales | 153 |

5. Kāvya works | 156 |
6. Prophetic texts | 160 |
7. Medical texts | 162 |
8. Grammatical and lexicographical works | 163 |
9. Poetics and prosody | 167 |
10. Books on discipline | 168 |
11. Boundary texts | 171 |
12. Anthologies | 172 |
13. Cosmology | 174 |
14. Wisdom texts | 175 |
15. Jātaka collections | 177 |
16. Bibliographical works | 179 |

**Abbreviations** | 183 |
**Glossary** | 190 |
**Index of Authors** | 198 |
**Index of Works** | 199 |
**General Index** | 206 |
FOREWORD

Despite the attempts made by A. K. Warder in his survey of Indian Pāli literature, and by various editors and translators in the introductions to their books, to assess the literary merit of certain Pāli works, it is nevertheless still true to say that for the Indologist Pāli literature means everything that is written in Pāli, irrespective of literary value in the accepted European sense of the word. In the space and time at my disposal, however, it was not practicable to include a mention of everything that has been published, much less include unpublished works which are at present only names in library catalogues and similar reference books. I have therefore omitted references to much of the later commentarial literature, but the biggest deficiency is in the field of South-East Asian Pāli literature. Comparatively little work has been done in this field, and although it would have been possible to extract names of works and authors secondhand from the studies that have been made, I have in general refrained from doing so. The resultant gaps in my work will need to be filled by specialist publications in due course.

Except where there is good reason to the contrary, I have dealt only with those texts which have been edited in the Roman script or been translated into a European language. I was asked to include Hinayāna Buddhist canonical texts in Sanskrit and Pādraśī, and here too I have dealt only with the works which have been published. Rather than deal with them separately, I have mentioned them under the relevant Pāli headings, since the Hinayāna canons follow closely the pattern of the Theravāda canon, with the exception of the Abhidharma.

The bibliographical material included in the footnotes is intended only as a sample of the editions and translations which are available. With very few exceptions there is no mention of oriental editions, and it is sufficient to state here that all the Pāli canonical texts and some paras-canonical ones, together with the śīkhāvahās and most of the sūkās, have been published in the Chaṅthasaṅgāyana series which began to appear in Burma from 1936 onwards, while most of the same texts have also been published in Ceylon. The complete canon and most of the commentaries have been published in Thailand, and editions in the u̍tā̄sā script have appeared in India from Nalanda and elsewhere. The bibliographical information I have given can be augmented by reference to the other sources mentioned in the notes, and especially to the Epigraphica to Vol. I of the Critical Pāli Dictionary (Copenhagen 1943). Additional and up-to-date information will be available in the new bibliography which is planned for the Epigraphica to Vol. II of that dictionary.

My debt to all others who have worked in this field will be obvious to readers of this book. When Geiger, Winternitz and Law have dealt so ably with the
whole field of Pāli literature, and Malayalam and Bodo with Sinhalese and Burmese Pāli literature respectively, it is very difficult to write about the subject without repeating what one or other of these authorities has already said. Rather than do so, and to save space, I have on many occasions referred the reader to their books. In particular, Winternitz is to be recommended for the many quotations he includes, while Law gives lengthy summaries of the contents of many texts.

Although I have occasionally given information about the formation of individual texts, I have not done this consistently throughout, nor have I dealt with any one text at great length. Those who are interested in this aspect of Pāli literature will find references in the footnotes to Pande’s book, in which he deals with the first four Nikāyas and some of the Khuddaka-Nikāyas. The discussion of chronological stratification is a complicated matter, and needs more space than I have at my disposal. It is also, in the absence of better criteria than we have at present, a very subjective matter, and while I would agree with much that Pande says, I cannot agree with him in everything.

Cambridge, 1 February 1982

K. B. Norman

CHAPTER I

THE PĀLI LANGUAGE AND THE THERAVĀDA TRADITION

1. THE NAME “PĀLI”

The dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan which is found in the texts of the Theravāda Buddhists and usually called “Pāli” by European scholars is nowhere so called in the Theravāda canon. The word pāli is found in the chronicles and the commentaries upon the canon, but there it has the meaning “canon” and is used in the sense of a canonical text or phrase as opposed to the commentary (ahikkahāla) upon it. This usage is made clear by the fact that the word pāli sometimes alternates with kusala.

It would seem that the name “Pāli” is based upon a misunderstanding of the compound pāli-khaṇḍa “language of the canon,” where the word pāli was taken to stand for the name of a particular khaṇḍa, as a result of which the word was applied to the language of both canon and commentaries. There is evidence that this misunderstanding occurred several centuries ago. Childers stated that the English usage was taken from the Sinhalese, who used the word in the same way. This probably accounts for Clough’s adoption of the name when he published his grammar in 1824. Burnouf and Landseer also used the name “Pāli” in their essay on Pāli grammar which was published in 1829, but in the survey of Pāli studies up to that year included in that work Burnouf pointed out that the first person to mention Pāli was Simon de la Louvière.

1. For a survey of earlier views about the name “Pāli,” see O. von Hinüber.


3. E.g. Pāliṃs kāḷavā ṣatikāri, n (“āṭṭha aṭṭhakathā iṭṭha [Mvy. XXXIII 227]; satikāri, n) esan pāliyam na aṭṭhakathaṃ ṣatikāyaṃ (Vis. 107, 15–16).

4. Cf. āṭṭha aṭṭhakathāṃ sammattimojiṃ iṭṭhaṃ jātikaṃ (Ps 3, 11–12) with mippavastuṃ bhāsāṃ tattattvikham sutteṃ dharmasakāyena (Vs 1, 19–20).


6. The earliest example of the name seems to be from the Saddhārājānumaśāstra (śaka 1701 = A.D. 1779), according to C. H. B. Reynolds (quoted by Beilert, Qesch. p. 16).

7. R. C. Childers, A copious vocabulary in the same language, Colombo 1824.

who visited Siam in 1837–88, and published a description of the kingdom of Siam in 1841, which was translated into English in 1903.

It is clear from this account that in Thailand in the late seventeenth century the name "Pali" was already being used of the language of the Theravādī texts. La Loubère noted that in contrast to Thai, which was a monosyllabic language, "Bali" (or "Baliy") was inflected just like the languages of Europe. He also drew attention to the fact that the names for the days of the week were similar in Pali and Sanskrit, and reported that he had been told that there were similarities between Pali and the languages spoken near Coromandel. He commented that this was not surprising in view of the fact that the Buddha was reported to have been the son of a king of Ceylon. The Sānakhāma, written in Burma in 1861, uses the word pali in a context where it seems to be the name of a language. Since the Sānakhāma is based upon an earlier Burmese text, the usage of the name "Pali" in Burma is probably earlier than would appear. It seems unlikely that the usage arose independently in all three countries, but in the present state of our knowledge it does not seem possible to determine where the misunderstanding first occurred.

2. THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PĀLĪ LANGUAGE

The commentaries state that the language spoken by the Buddha, which is the language of the canon, is Māgadhi. This is referred to as the māsā-sūkṣma, the root language of all languages, and the language which a child would speak naturally if he heard no other language spoken.

An examination of the Pāli canon shows clearly that portions, at least, of it were either composed or transmitted through one or more other dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan, before being turned into the version which exists at present. It can be shown that these dialects included those where the wording of

interpersonal concordance took place, or their reduction to -y, -or -r- because -4.

Some of the Pāli material came from or through dialects where the absolutive was in -4, the nominative singular in -4, or the locative plural in -4. It is clear, therefore, that the statement that the canon is in one dialect, whether Māgadhi or anything else, cannot be true of all of it. What we know of Māgadhi as described by the grammarians in later times, however, enables us to say that Pāli is not Māgadhi, and although we have no direct evidence about the characteristics of Māgadhi in the centuries before Asoka, we can deduce with some certainty that Pāli does not agree with that other.

It would seem likely, because the texts tell of the Buddha at times preaching in Magadha, although none of the scenes of the great events in his life was situated within the boundaries of Magadha as we know it in historical times, the tradition arose that all his sermons were preached in the dialect of that region of North India. It is also possible that the prestige attaching to Magadha, which by implication to Māgadhi, during the time of the Mauryan kings, and also the way in which the Māgadhi of the original Asoka edicts was everywhere in India "translated" into the local dialect or language, led to the taking over by the Buddhists, at about the time of the council which the Theravādī tradition reports was held during the reign of Asoka, of the idea that their "rule" too employed such a language.

Although there is some doubt about the interpretation of the phrase the Buddha used when asked if it was permissible to translate his sermons, it is generally agreed that he did not preach in Sanskrit, but employed the dialect or language of the area where he was preaching. We must assume that his sermons and utterances were remembered by his followers and his audiences as they heard them. In the course of time, during his lifetime and after his death, collections must have been made of his words, and translations or

---

1 See Lestmann, BSJ, §§ 38–40, 88–115.
3 See Lestmann, BSJ, §§ 1–21, 220–25.
5 See E. W. B. Trowers (HBG Grammar, New Haven 1959, p. 3 n. 4) has pointed out that neither the Buddha’s home (Kapilavatthu), nor one of his favourite dwelling places (Sāvatthi), nor the scene of his first sermon (Becace), nor the place of his death (Kushinagar, Pāli Kusinagara) was in Magadha.
6 See Eugen, "Māgadhi" here in the sense of the language of Magadha at the time of Asoka, without thereby implying that it necessarily had the same features as the grammarians’ Magadhi.
7 When asked if his words could be translated chandāsa, the Buddha forbade it, but added: "Ardhasambhāsa balaśa mātiritiḥ buddhakaccanānanyajayatuvah (Vin.II 139, 14–16). For a discussion, with references to earlier views, of the words chandasa and baliśa mātiritiḥ, see J. Brown, "Baliśa mātiritiḥ: Caitī kele heta?" in Bercht, LEB, pp. 53–45.
The Pāli language and the Theravāda tradition

with Pāli in the retention of most intervocalic consonants and in the nominative singular in -o, nevertheless differs in that the ablative ending is -to/ko and, with two doubtful exceptions there are no consonant groups containing -re.-34

While it is not impossible that there existed in India in the third century B.C. an untested dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan which had all the features of Pāli, the fact that some of the consonant clusters found in Pāli are unhistoric and must therefore represent incorrect attempts at backformation, e.g. dheko (which cannot be from *drīgya) and adhāka (which cannot be from *dimaπa), makes it more likely that by the third century B.C. the dialect of the canonical texts of the Theravādin conformed to the general pattern of Middle Indo-Aryan dialects of that time, and all consonant clusters had either been assimilated or resolved. It is probable that this represented the form of the language of the Theravādin canon at the time of the reign of Asoka, which was perhaps the language of the Buddhists of Eastern India, and not very different from the language of the Āthāgāthapāpas inscriptions.

At some unknown date, probably around the end of Asoka’s reign (c. 235 B.C.), the importance of Sanskrit which had been in eclipse began to rise again, and as we can see from the progressive Sanskritization of the Mathūrā inscriptions35 and the non-Pāli schools of Buddhism, an attempt was made to translate from the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects into Sanskrit. It is probable that this would have been done in a haphazard way at first, in the same way as the early texts had been remembered and translated from dialect to dialect. With the crystallization of seats and schools, and with the increased use of writing from the time of Asoka onwards, it is probable that the use of Sanskritized forms by the Theravādins became more standardized.

The tradition recorded in the Sinhalese chronicles states that the Theravādin canon was written down36 during the first century B.C. as a result of threats to the Sinhās from famine, war, and the growing power of the Abhayagiri vihāra, to which the king was more favourably disposed. There is no reason to reject this tradition, because there are indications that texts were already being written down before this date.37 It seems probable that the Sanskritization of Pāli was virtually fixed at the stage it had reached by the time of the commission to writing, and except for any changes made later by the scribes for the sake of consistency, no further progress was made with the restoration of consonant groups. Those changes which had been made, in a haphazard way as already stated, had probably occurred for specific religious or cultural reasons. It is, for example, probable that the authentic Middle Indo-Aryan form found in the

34 In his revised edition of the inscription, B. M. BARCA read brāmāndra in lines 8a and 9b (Pāli) in line 9 (“Āthāgāthapāpas inscription of Kharavela,” in IEQ 14, p. 460).
36 See p. 10 below.
37 See BROSS, G Dīp., p. 218.

21 If the Northern tradition that the second council took place in Asoka’s reign is correct (see THOMAS, JBT, p. 34), then it is possible that the Theravādins held a third council later in the same reign, after ridding themselves of heretics. Perhaps the figure of 118 years connected with this third council refers to the number of years after the Buddha’s parinirvāna, not after the second council.
22 J. BLOCH, states: “Girnar fournit la langue la plus proche du pâli des livres bouddhiques sinhalais, qui nous servira de repère; c’est du reste en raison de cette ressemblance qu’on suppose le pâli originel d’une région voisine” (Les inscriptions d’Asoka, Paris 1969, pp. 44–46).
23 See OLSEN, V. 1, p. 199.
The Pāli language and the Theravāda tradition

All Hinayāna canonical texts show evidence of being translated from a dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan. The North-Western Prakrit of the Gāndhāri Dharmapada has features, e.g. dental -r, where retroflex -r, is expected, which prove that it has been translated from some other Prakrit. The Sanskrit of the Sarvāstivādin texts from Chinese Turfan and the Māla-sarvāstivādin texts from Gilgit shows, in general, less Prakrit features than the language of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin texts, although the latter, mostly known only from a single manuscript, are not consistent in their degree of Sanskritisation. Their version of the Dharmapada, for example, has restored some retroflex and palatal sounds, many long vowels before consonants, and some consonant clusters containing -r, but very few containing -s, e.g. absolutes have the ending -sa. The nominative singular ending is -o in the Bhikkhu-vinaya, on the other hand, the absolute ending is -t, and the nominative ending -ah occurs.

3. THE HISTORY OF THE THERAVĀDA TRADITION

All the schools of Buddhism agree that there was a council held soon after the death of the Buddha. According to the earliest version found in Pāli, there was a meeting of 500 bhikkhus, where Mahāsāṃsa asked Upāli about the vinaya, questioning him about the rules of the Pātimokkha, where the offenses were laid down, with respect to whom, on what subject, etc. He then questioned Ananda about the ākasa, starting with the Brahmajāla-sutta of the Dīgha nikāya, and then the Sānātipāthu-sutta, and so on through the five nikāyas. As the two experts expounded these matters, the other theras...

18 See Bruno, G Dhp, § 90.
19 See F. EDGERTON, BHS Grammar, New Haven 1953, p. xxv. Edgerton classes the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin Mahāvata-sa as being the oldest BHS text we have.
21 From the Pāṭī formidget the rebuilder produced ḍṛṣṭa instead of ḍṛṣṭa.
23 Vin II 283, 9–287, 28.
repeated their words after them. Buddhaghosa, in his account of the same
matter, 12 states that the fifth niñaya, the Khuddaka-nikaya, included whatever
sayings of the Buddha were not included in the first four niñayas. The Pali
account does not mention the Abhidhamma specifically, although Buddhag-
ghosa’s interpretation of niñaya does not preclude the inclusion of the Abhi-
dhamma in the Khuddaka-nikaya. The versions of the story included in the
Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa13 state that Ananda repeated the dharamma,
which could be taken to include the Abhidhamma. Some of the Northern
schools, however, do specifically include the Abhidhamma, and state that this
was expounded by Kassapa himself.14

The version in the Dipavamsa states that the thera divided up the nine-
fold dharamma into chapters, etc. This seems to be an attempt to reconcile the
old nine-fold division with the arrangement of the canon as we have it now.
Buddhaghosa attributes to the thera all the utdhamas verses, noting of repeti-
tions, etc., which exist in the canon.15 There are in commentaries by Buddhag-
ghosa and others not infrequently statements that a portion of the text is due
to the sarvagutbadha, and it is probable that these ascriptions are taken over
from the earlier Sthala athakakalika. Although there is no reason to doubt that
these portions are indeed later additions to the canon, and were made by
sarvagutbadha, there is no certainty that they were added at the time of the first
council.

Although we may have reservations about the texts which were dealt with
at the first council, there is no reason to doubt the general way in which it was
held. The chosen expert in each section of the Buddha’s teachings expounded
what he could remember, and when it had been approved as a genuine utter-
ance of the Buddha the assembly as a whole confirmed their approval by re-
peating it together. The commentaries explain that the words “Thus have I
heard” at the beginning of the sutras are the words which Ananda used to intro-
duce his recitations.16

Buddhaghosa tells us that after the council the Vinaya was entrusted to
Upali and his pupils. Similarly the Digha, Majjhima, Samyutta, and Anguttara-
nikayas were entrusted to Ananda, Samiputta, Mahakapphala and Anuruddha,
respectively, and their pupils.17 This was probably the beginning of the system of the hqppakasas (“reciters”), who shared out the recitation of the
dharamma among themselves. We find in the commentaries references to bhqppakasas
of the first four niñayas, and to Jataka-hqppakas and Dhammapada-hqppakas.18

12 Sp 16, 14–15.
13 Dip IV 11; Mv 3 II 26.
14 See Thomas, HBT, 28 n. 1.
15 Dip IV 18–20; see p. 10 below.
16 Sp 30, 5–5.
17 Brhatbhikkhuinterang “vase man esta” ti dharmas utvamati Anandaṃ paññammatu-
madharmakapala sotam muddham dharmam nāhi (SV, 14–15).
18 See Aukarakaṃ, EHBC, pp. 24–32.
11 Mil 342, 1.
13 Sb 15, 22–29.
14 Sa 59, 31–32.
15 Sa 11, 5.
16 See Aukarakaṃ, EHBC, p. 32.
17 Vin II 307, 36.
18 Dip V 24; Mv 4 IV 63.
Buddhaghosa expands the story, and says that 700 siphasabhadhvaras were chosen to rehearse the dharmas and the vinaya, which they recited in their entirety.41 At some time after the second council, the dissident monks split off from the Theravādins and held their own “great council” (mahā蔗samiti). They subsequently became known as Mahā蔗asanghikas or Mahā蔗asanghikas.42 During the following centuries further splits occurred, from both the Theravādins and the Mahā蔗asanghikas, until by the time of the early chronicles eighteen sects were known and named.43

The earliest Pāli source for the account of the third council, held during the reign of Aśoka and not mentioned as such in the Northern Buddhist sources, is the Dipavamsa.44 There we read that the council was held after the expulsion of certain heretics from the Order. Mogalabutta presided over 1,000 bhikkhus, and during the course of the saṅgīti he recited the Kathavatthu. The Mahā蔗asangha45 adds the detail that the bhikkhus were all lepikabhas. Buddhaghosa states46 that they recited both the dharmas and the vinaya.

Buddhaghosa gives an account47 of an assembly held in Ceylon, soon after the introduction of Buddhism there, when the elder Mahā蔗ariyaka preached the vinaya. The Mahā蔗asangha does not mention this assembly, but in the account of it given in the Saddhammasagga,48 the recitation is said to have included both the vinaya and the dharmas, and the assembly is specifically called the fourth assembly, and verses attributed to the pūrasas are quoted which include the words cattacakram upagāha āntakato.49 The Jinaṅkālamāli50 follows Buddhaghosa in stating that Mahā蔗ariyaka recited the vinaya only. The verse found in the Saddhammasagga is quoted by Buddhaghosa,51 without attribution to the pūrasas, but the words of the pāda in question are different, and make no mention of the cattacakram.

The Dipavamsa states52 that during the reign of Vattagamani Abhayas (29-17 B.C.) the monks who had previously remembered the Tipitaka and its commentary orally now wrote them down in books, because of the threat posed by famine, war, and the growing power of the newly established Abhayagiri...

vihāra, which enjoyed the king’s favour. The Mahā蔗asangha53 also refers briefly to the writing down of the canon and the commentaries at this time. The Pujiyavira and Nikayasagga,54 however, written in Ceylon in the 13th and 14th centuries respectively, state that the writing down was a result of the holding of a council of 500 bhikkhus at the Aukhathā (Aukha-vihāra), although neither source gives a number to the council.55 The Jinaṅkālamāli,56 however, entitles this section of its narrative Catusthasangitakā, and quotes a statement from the Sīva-mahābhārata, written in the 13th or 14th century, that the saṅgīti was catusthahamsasangitiśāsana. The Buddhhammasagga does not specifically call this the fifth council, as it might have been expected to do, but states: pāramāsan dharmasangitiśadām ova akāra.57 Of the writing down of the Tipitaka and commentaries in the time of Vattagamani, the Sānavavāra, written in Burma in 1861 by Pu Peñndharm, but following earlier sources, states that this should be called only by the name of the fourth council. It quotes as an authority for this statement the Vinaya-tīka called Sarathatthipam, written by Siriputta58 in the 12th century, which states “The council for writing the books was indeed the fourth council.” The Sānavavāra also states59 that the list of elders down to Siva which is found in the Vinaya is the “succession of elders down to those who assembled in the fourth council as recorded in books.”

The Dīpavamsa, followed by Buddhaghosa and the Mahā蔗asangha,60 tells how one of the missions sent out by Mogalabutta after the third council consisted of Sempaaka and Uttama who went to Suvannabhumi, which is usually identified as Burma. The Burmese tradition, however, has it that Buddhism was established in Burma even earlier than that. The Sānavavāra61 tells of the Buddha actually visiting that country, a story doubtless invented to match his alleged visits to Ceylon. The later Burmese tradition even claims Buddhaghosa as a native of Thaton.62

There is evidence for the existence of Buddhism in both Burma and Siam by the seventh century A.D., and a number of Buddhist texts were certainly...

41 MvIV 62.
42 Sp 34, 16–27.
43 Dip V 32.
44 Mv IV 5.
45 Dip V 51; Mv V 10.
46 Dip VII 23–40; 57–59.
47 Mv V 276.
48 Sp 61, 16.
49 Sp 102, 29–103, 22.
51 Saddhammasa 45, 11.
52 Jinaṅk 50, 17.
53 Sp 104, 5–6.
54 Dip XX 20–21.
56 “During his reign 500 Bhikkhus resided in the Alidina cave and released the sacred books” (Pujiyavira, tr. B. Gunawardena, Colombo 1892, ch. 34). “At that time 500 Bhikkhus who assembled at Alidina in the country of Mitala, under the patronage of a certain chief, recited and reduced to writing the text of the Three Pitakas” (Nikayasagga, tr. C. M. Fernado, Colombo 1968).
57 As I am informed by Mr. C. H. H. Ratnayake, Lecturer in Sinhalese at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London.
58 Jinaṅk 61, 11–12.
59 Saddhammasa 49, 5–6.
60 Sp 23, 26–37.
61 Sp 61, 50–51.
62 Etc 30, 8–9.
64 Dip VIII 12; Sp 64, 3–4; Mv XII 6.
65 Etc 36, 37–37, 3.
66 See Ps. MAI NG TAN and G. H. LECH (tr.), The Glass Palace Chronicles of the Kings of Burma, London 1923, pp. 45–50.
known in Burma in the eighth century, although it is not certain whether the whole Tipitaka was known there at that time. The Sāsanavamsa refers to inscriptions stating that King Anuruddha established the religion c. A.D. 1007 after conquering the town of Sulamman (Tathein). He had the Tipitaka brought from Ceylon and compared with that from Sulamman. Communication with Ceylon at this time is confirmed by a report in the Mahāvamsa that King Vijayabahu, finding that there were not enough ordained monks in Ceylon to hold the upasampadā ceremony, asked Anuruddha to send monks to hold the ceremony, and to recite the Tipitaka.

In the following century, when Parakkasamāha I became king, he found that Buddhism in Ceylon was still run by heretics. He accordingly called a council under Mahākassapa and had them settle the points in dispute, and thus managed to reconcile the three main sects in Ceylon at that time.

We read in the Jina-kālamāli that in A.D. 1430 the Sāsanakāram was brought to Siam, and not long after, in 1457–77, a council was held in Siam at which the three Pajñas were "cleansed of scribal errors" by great elders appointed for the task, who were well versed in the Tipitaka. As in the case of Burma, the traffic was not all one way. In 1756 Buddhism had declined to such a state in Ceylon that it became necessary to re-establish the upasampadā, and monks were invited from Siam to do this. They brought with them books of various sorts, on the dhamma and the vinaya, which were not extant in Ceylon. In 1802 Burmese monks were invited to Ceylon to introduce the Burmese upasampadā. Subsequently Sinhalese monks went to Burma and studied the Abhidhamma, and on their return they brought back Pali books written by Burmese monks.

Towards the end of the 19th century King Min-dohn-min, whose tutor Paññāsakdi had written the Sāsanavamsa only a few years before, convened a fifth council (1895–97), where under the presidency of the king eminent monks and laymen read or recited the sacred texts to restore the best readings. The complete text of the Tipitaka was engraved on 729 stone slabs around the Kathdaw Pagoda in Mandalay. The dates on the slabs indicate that the texts had probably already been carved before the council was held, and were then corrected in the light of any discussion.

The Mandalay slabs were re-inked and copied for the sixth council which was held in Rangoon in 1934–35, to mark the 2,600th anniversary of the Buddha's birth (according to the oriental tradition of chronology). We are informed that a draft edition of the Tipitaka, commentaries and sub-commentaries, based upon the fifth council edition which had been revised after comparison with texts from other countries, was prepared by a body of scholars. This was then checked and re-edited by a large number of Burmese monks, and simultaneously by a smaller number of Sinhalese monks. The final version was decided upon (not without argument) by boards of reviewers composed of Burmese, Sinhalese, and Thai monks. The new editions were then ready for printing. The task of the council, spread over two years, was the ceremonial recitation and formal confirmation of the new editions. Although invited, no representative of Cambodia or Laos was able to attend the meetings for scrutinising the new editions, but the Cambodians and Laotians are reported to have given their assent to the decisions arrived at by the representatives of the other countries. While the vast majority of monks present at the sixth council were Burmese, recognition was given to the other countries by appointing their representatives as chairmen for the various sessions.

It is not inappropriate to talk of a Burmese or Siamese or Sinhalese tradition for the transmission of a particular text, and the differences which we find between the readings of the MSS belonging to the various traditions must go back to the councils which have been held from time to time in the different countries. The value of each tradition will depend upon the care with which evidence for variant readings was sifted, and the criteria which were adopted as the basis of the decisions which were made. We have, of course, no way of discovering this for the earlier councils. The way in which the preliminary work for the sixth council was carried out should have resulted in an eclectic edition of the canon and the commentaries, incorporating the best readings from all the oriental editions. It is probable, however, that the Chathawamsispāṇa edition is based predominantly upon the Burmese tradition, but it is not possible to be certain about this without carrying out a detailed comparison between that edition and the one inscribed after the fifth council.

The way in which the upasampadā was re-introduced from one Buddhist country into another, and books were brought by visiting monks, has led to a situation where the traditions of each country have become to some extent interwoven. It is sometimes possible to detect the effect which this has had. When, for example, variant readings in a Sinhalese MS depend upon the similarity in shape of two ākārama which resemble each other in the Burmese script, but not in the Sinhalese script, then we have a clear indication that at some time a Burmese MS has been transcribed into Sinhalese characters. The
export of MSS sometimes results in the fact that a text which has been lost in the country of its origin may be found, safely preserved for centuries, in another country. In more modern times the ease of communication has led to a situation where it can become very easy for cross-fertilization of traditions to take place. The editors of the second European edition of the Sutta-nipāta draw attention to the fact that they have ignored the Siamese edition of that text because it has been influenced by the first European edition. It is nevertheless possible that MSS are still extant in libraries in Ceylon, Burma, and Thailand which are based upon a tradition which predates, and therefore perhaps preserves readings older than and rejected by, more recent councils and editions.

Although not so well documented as the Theravādin tradition, it must be assumed that the other traditions followed a similar pattern of recension and validation as canonical by assemblies of monks. The council held by the Mahāsaṅgītikas after the schism which followed the second council has already been mentioned. The alternative name for the sect suggests that the story of their holding a council is correct, although it is possible that its occurrence was merely deduced by the Theravādins, who observing differences between the canons of the two sects assumed that their rivals would, like themselves, need the authority of a council to authenticate their canon.

Hsiian-tsang records a story that under Kanjia 500 elders subjected the Buddhist texts to a revision and wrote commentaries upon them. These commentaries were then deposited in a stūpa. This is designated in the Kanjia as the third council.\(^{98}\) If the story is true, it presumably refers to the Sarvāstivādins, who were strong in Kashmir, where the council was held. It is, however, possible that the story was an invention, made up as a direct imitation of the accounts of the earlier councils. The fact that one of the commentaries alleged to have been composed at that council actually exists\(^{99}\) does not prove the existence of the council.

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\(^{99}\) See Thomas, EJPT, p. 175.

\(^{98}\) See ibid., p. 176.
qualities seen in Ananda," should be known as Abhidhamma (Marvelous Phenomena).

All the suttas are requested to be preached as a result of repeated assembly of western and eastern, such as Culla-vadala, Mahā-vadala, Sammākārittī, Sakkāyadāna, Sādhakarādānaya, and Mahāpāmaṇa Suttasa and others should be known as Vedas (Analyzes).”

It is clear that all Buddhaghosha knew about some of these terms was the fact that there were in his time a number of texts which happened to have the same name as an aṣṭas. Despite the fact that books called Jātaka, Udāna and Uṣṇīṣa existed in Pali, it is probable that the list of nine aṣṭas did not originally refer to specific works in the canon, but was a description of various types of text. Some Sanskrit sources mention twelve aṣṭas,1 adding anada, avadana (which under the form avadana is the name of a specific text in Pali) and avadana10 to the list. The Mahāvīra speaks of nine aṣṭas,1 and the occurrence of a list of nine in the Saṅghaṃparīṭākārika shows that the smaller number was not confined to the Hinayana schools. The list in the latter text differs somewhat from that found in Pali: abhiṣekā, śrāvakā, abhiṣekā, āṅgika, avadana, āṅgikā, and avadana.

According to the Dipavamsa,11 the change from the old ninefold classification into the later one took place at the first council. In its account of that council, it states that the 500 brahmas who held it divided up the Buddha’s ninefold teachings into chapter (sūtras), collection of 50 (paṭhikās, connected collection (samyutta), and section (sūtapa), “they made the basket of sūtras (sūtrapaṭhikā) which is known by the name of sūta (sūtra-samudaya).”

The division of the canon as it exists today is that into paṭhikās. The only reference to someone knowing the three paṭhikās which we find in the canon is in the later Parivāra section of the Vinaya-piṭaka,12 but the occurrence of the word piṭaka “knowing the piṭaka(s)” in inscriptions at Bharhut13 indicates that in the centuries immediately after the time of Ananda the word piṭaka had gained sufficiently wide usage for it to be used in this public way. Although Buddhaghosha, as stated above, uses the word niśpāṭas in such a way that the term “piṭaka niśpāṭas” can be used to include the whole canon, the word is used in modern times only of the five niśpāṭas of the Sutta-piṭaka.

The Sarvāstivādin also divided their canon into three piṭakas. They had certainly done this by the time of Kaniska, for Hsien-tang reports14 that at the council held during his reign, commentaries were composed upon the three piṭakas. Their adoption of this division, however, must go back to an even earlier time, when the Sarvāstivādin and Theravādin were in close contact, for both gave the piṭakas the same names, even though the texts comprised in the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma-piṭaka do not agree with those in the Theravādin Abhidharma.15

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2 So vāsāna is commonly used as an exposition in a sermon, e.g. vāsāna vaṭṭamaddu (D 46, 21–23).
3 See Thomas, HBP, pp. 272–73.
4 This word too seems to be used of a type of text. Hsien-tang states that the commentary which was composed on the Sutta-piṭaka was called Upadesa-dētra (S. Beal, Buddhist record of the western world, London 1884, 1, p. 185). The equivalent of Pāli āvadana in the Sanskrit lists is avapṭā. This word seems in other contexts to be the equivalent of Pāli raññā, which suggests a derivation from a pair of Prakrit words raññā and raññā, showing the <i>-<i>-<i>-<i> alternation. It is not clear whether these words are in fact connected with raññā.
5 Sri M 560, 21.
7 Dip IV 18–30.
8 Vin Y 5, 14.
10 See S. Beal (tr.), Buddhist record of the western world, London 1884, 1, p. 135.
2. THE VINAYA-PIṬAKA

The Pāli Vinaya- Piṭaka falls into three sections: the Suttavibhaṅga, which consists of the Mahāvibhaṅga (= Bhikkhu vibhaṅga) giving the regulations for the monks, and the Bhikkhunivibhaṅga which gives the regulations for the nuns; the Khandhaka, which consists of the Mahāvagga and the Cūlavagga; and the Parivāra.

In the obituary account which we possess of the first council, it is said that Mahākassapa asked Upali about the twofold vinaya. This suggests that he asked him only about the Piṭimokka rules for bhikkhus and bhikkhunis. In the account which Buddhaghoṣa gives of that council, he states that the theras classified the Mahāvibhaṅga, the Bhikkhu-nivibhaṅga, the Khandhaka and the Parivāras, but he concedes that the Vinaya- Piṭaka as he knew it contained material which had not been recited at the first council. It is obvious, and presumably Buddhaghoṣa realized, that the final two sections of the Khandhaka, which dealt with the first council and the second council which occurred 100 years later, could not have been recited on that occasion, but there is no indication of the portions of the Vinaya- Piṭaka he had in mind when he wrote of texts not being recited.

2.1. The Suttavibhaṅga

The core of the Suttavibhaṅga is the Piṭimokka. This is a set of 227 rules for bhikkhus and 311 for bhikkhunis. In the Pāli canon the Piṭimokka has no independent existence, as it does in the traditions of other Buddhist schools, but is imbedded in the Suttavibhaṅga. The rules fall into eight sections: Piṭiṭṭhita “Defeat” (4), Samuddida “Formal meeting” (13), Anuṭṭhita “Un-determined” (2), Nissagāta “Expiration” (60), Paṭiṭṭhita “Expiration” (72), Pāṭiccha “Confession” (4), Sākhāya “Training” (56), Adhikaraṇa-gamana “Harmless” “Legal questions” (7), giving a total of 227 rules for bhikkhus. The sections of rules for the bhikkhunis follow the same pattern except that they are accused of being under śramaṇa (4), etc. (V. 14, 15, 16).

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2. The Vinaya- Piṭaka has 288 chapters (V. 288, 8–9).

3. The Piṭimokka consists of 227 rules for bhikkhus and 311 for bhikkhunis (V. 18, 3–4).

The Pāli Canon

have no Anuṭṭhita class. The numbers are: (8), (17), (18), (30), (195), (8), (79), (7), making a total of 311.

Each section of the Suttavibhaṅga follows the same pattern, except for the eighth section, (Adhikaraṇa-gamana “Harmless”) which, since it has no explanatory stories and no Old Commentary as do the other sections, would seem to be an addition to the list. The standard pattern consists of (a) a story which leads up to the formulation of the rule. Sometimes two stories can be placed in a chronological order, indicating that one rule was made after another. These stories sometimes occur elsewhere in the canon, which raises the question of which was the earlier position. It is possible that some of the stories were invented or borrowed from other sources to explain rules which already existed. (b) A Piṭimokka rule, which always states the penalty for breaking it. The nature of the Piṭimokka rules makes it possible for a whole as a whole to be a later addition to the code. Although by far the greater number of rules are said to have been enunciated by the Buddha himself, many sub-rules are laid down without reference to him. This means that they were promulgated by some of his chief followers, or even added after his death; (c) the Old Commentary, which is really an analysis of words (Pāli–Pāli). This defines the Piṭimokka rule word by word, giving, for the most part, an explanation in the form of a list of synonyms. The similarity between this method and that found in the Niddesa suggests that both belong to the same period; (d) more stories, telling of deviations from the rules, which were either not so grave as to entail the maximum penalty, or else reasonable enough to warrant modification or relaxation of the rule. Occasionally they were of such a kind that they were not to be rendered permissible by any extenuating circumstances. Sometimes

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2. As suggested by Horner, BD II, p. xxxiii.
3. E.g. Suttavibhaṅga rules IX, X, and XI (see Horner, BD I, p. xvi).
4. Or almost word by word. Horner, BD II, pp. xxv–xxvi, points out a few omissions.
Mahāśāṅgika-Lokottaravādin school which was found in Tihat. Portions of the Bhikṣuṣṭāṇiṭikā of the Sārvāstivādins have been found in Turkestan,19 and also fragments of their Bhikṣuṣṭīṣṭikās. There are also fragments of a Dharmakṣaṭaka Hikṣuṣṭāṇiṭikā, also found in Turkestan.20

For the most part, these Prātimokṣas of other schools do not differ greatly from the Pāli Prātimokkha. The main differences are in the Pācittiya and Sākhāyana rules.21 Of the Pācittiya rules, the difference concerns rules which are similar to other rules, and might be considered unnecessary. Of the Sākhāyana rules, it is probable that different monastic and lay conditions called for variations. The Mahāśāṅgika-Lokottaravādin Prātimokka includes in some cases, e.g. the Pācittiya rules,22 brief statements about the time and place at which the Buddha promulgated the rule. These are very similar to the stories included in the Pāli Sutta-vibhanga.

The other Hinayāna schools also possessed texts equivalent to the Sutta-vibhanga. Fragments from Turkestan of the Sārvāstivāda Vinayas-vibhanga to both the Bhikṣu and Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣas have been published, while fragments of manuscripts found in Ghūgit have been identified as coming from the Māsāvāstivādins Vinayas-vibhanga to the Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa.23 The Mahāśāṅgika-Lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya24 includes the sūkṣma to the Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa as well as the dāna guru-dharmā, which in the Pāli Vinaya-piṭaka are found in the Bhikṣuṇī-khaṇḍhika of the Cullavagga,25 and also the Bhikṣuṇī-praṇītikā and the sādhamma to the Bhikṣuṇī-praṇītikā. The latter text has also been published, under the title Abhāsasākara.26 The Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya gives all the rules for bhikṣuṇīs, even those which duplicate the rules for bhikkhus. It gives stories to explain the promulgation of the rules, but they are not identical with those found in Pāli. There is also a word commentary included, but it is not the same as the Pāli pāsa-bhikkhokha. There are more stories of the avadāna type in it than in the Pāli Bhikkhu-vibhanga.27


See Yuvama, VT, pp. 3–4.


See Pratītikasāh, ed., pp. 69–82.

See Yuvama, VT, pp. 6–7.

See Yuvama, VT, p. 9.


SeeVin 353–57.


The only Apadāna-type insertions in the Bhikkhu-vibhanga is at Vin IV 258–59. There are seven in the Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya, according to Koth, BV, p. xxxvii.

18 See Hornsby, ID I, p. xxxiv.

19 See Hornsby, ID I, p. xxxiv.

20 The slight variations of order and number found in the Prātimokṣas of other schools would suggest an independent origin for some of the rules.

21 E.g. the story of the ox Nandiyāvāla at Vin IV 5, 11–18 = JI 1 191–93 (Nandiyāvālaṭīka). See also the comparison of the versions of the story about the impious brahman found at Vin IV 263–64 = JI 37 25–30 (Chāvaka jātakā) made by L. Almond ("The impious brahman and the pious cāṇḍaka," in Currents in Buddhist Studies, p. 3–18).


23 sūkṣma bhikṣuṇī khaṇḍhika prācittiya dharmā (Vin IV 345, 24).

24 Astu, Chandrika Banerji, Pratītikasāhā (Māsāvāstivādins), Calcutta 1924.
which possibly indicates that the Mahābhāskara-Lokottaravādin text in its present form is later than the Pāli equivalent.

2.2. The Khandhakas

The Khandhakas, in two portions (the Mahāvagga and the Cūḷavagga), is based upon the rules of conduct for the Buddhist Sangha, set in the framework of the biography of the Buddha. It comprises 22 sections: (a) a portion of a biography of the Buddha (Mahākhandhaka), starting from the enlightenment and extending as far as the entry of Sīriputta and Mogallāna into the Order. It includes an account of the first sermon and the four Noble Truths; (b) various rules for bhikkhus in 18 sections; “Observance” (Uposathakhandhaka); “The rains” (Vasamakkhandhaka); “Observance” (Uposathakhandhaka); “Harmonious phenomenon” (Pavārapakkhandhaka); “On houses” (Casamakkhandhaka); “On medicine” (Bhesajjakhandhaka); “On katha” (Kathikakkhandhaka); “On robe-material” (Civarakkhandhaka); “On the monks at Campa” (Campaśakakkhandhaka); “On the monks of Kassapa” (Kassapakkhandhaka); “Formal acts” (Kassapakkhandhaka); “Prohibition” (Pārīvāsikakhandhaka); “Accumulation of offenses” (Samucayakkhandhaka); “Settlement” (Samatākhandhaka); “Minor matters” (Khusukasattākhandhaka); “Lodgings” (Sasanaṇakkhandhaka); “Schisms” (Sanghabhadakhandhaka); “Observances” (Vatākkhandhaka); “Suspending the Pātimokkha” (Pātimokkhathapanaṇkkhandhaka); (c) rules for monks (Bhikkhunikkhandhaka), (d) two supplements giving the history of the first and second councils; (e) the introduction to the Pātimokkha, with a portion of the Old Commentary upon it, which has become detached from the rest of the Pātimokkha rules and inserted in an appropriate place in the Upoṣathakhandhaka.¹⁹

As in the case of the Sutta Buddhavanga, stories are told to illustrate the circumstances in which the rules were first promulgated.²⁰ They are set in the context of a biography of the Buddha, but not in any chronological order, for they represent an attempt to classify the rules by subject matter, so that all the rules on any one subject, e.g., medicines, have been grouped together. Scattered throughout the khandhakas are various rules which were enunciated to the group of five. These must be the first five bhikkhus, in which case all these stories should have been together, if the material had been presented in chronological order. The arrangement by subject matter, so that the stories had to be inserted into the appropriate khandhaka, has led to their becoming separated.²¹

The stories are sometimes found in other texts,²² and it can sometimes be shown whether the Vinaya-pitaka is the borrower or the lender.²³ Sometimes the same story is told to illustrate different rules. Sometimes the same rule is promulgated in both the Khandhaka and the Vibhanga.²⁴ In this case, the same story is told on both occasions. There is the occasional Apadana story,²⁵ which we have seen is held to be a feature of later times. In the Upoṣathakhandhaka, the Buddha’s permission to recite the Pātimokkha is followed by an exhortation to be used when beginning the recitation. This is, in fact, the exhortation from the Pātimokkha itself, as is shown by the fact that it is followed by the appropriate portion of the Old Commentary upon the Pātimokkha.²⁶ Comparison with the Khandhaka section of the Vinaya-pitaka of other sects shows that there are gaps in the Pāli version. There is, for example, no equivalent to the stūpa-passages found in the Khandhaka-vastu of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikī-vādins. The reason is probably because the compilers of the Pāli canon thought that stūpas were the province of laymen, not of bhikkhus.²⁷ The Kathahāṇikhandhaka is very unclear, and seems to have evolved a later stage of Buddhism, that is, after the Buddha’s death. For example, in the Sutta-pitaka, the Buddha’s permission to recite the Pātimokkha is followed by an exhortation to be used when beginning the recitation. This is, in fact, the exhortation from the Pātimokkha itself, as is shown by the fact that it is followed by the appropriate portion of the Old Commentary upon the Pātimokkha.²⁸

¹⁹ Frapwiaulser concludes (EV, p. 139) that the author of the Skandhaka work had available to him an old account of the way in which the Buddha gave fundamental instruction to his first followers.

²⁰ E.g., the ṣuddiśaka rule about most eating (cf. Vin I 223–28) has the same story about the ṣuddiśaka called Śīla as is found at A IV 173–82, but in the latter text there is no reference to the promulgation of the rule. See Chaṇḍa Saṃkhāra Prakaraṇa, “Most eating and the rule of the bhikkhu’s calabash,” in Nāmaśaṅka, SBP, pp. 289–90.

²¹ Frapwiaulser (EV, pp. 146–48) suggests that the account of the eight maravijaya qualities in the sea (pāṭhā mahāpiṭakakku-vihāra-bhadra-dhamma) at Vin II 109 is derived from A IV 200–204.

²² As Vin III 243–44, and Vin I 206–209, we find the same story about the ṣuddiśaka at Vin II 2–44 than they do at A IV 173–82. See also Horner, BD V, p. 196.

been corrupted to the state where it is barely intelligible without recourse to
other versions or to the Pātīyāna. The section of rules for bhikkhus (Bhikshuni-khandhaka) is probably an
addition, made after the rules for bhikkhus, and was therefore at one time the
last section of the Khandhaka. As, however, it is now followed by the accounts
of the two council, and has parallels in the Khandhakas of other sects, it must
be presumed that the Bhikshuni-khandhaka predates the schism between the
sects. The inclusion of the accounts of the council at Rājagaha (after the
Buddha’s death) and at Vesāli (100 years after) shows that the Vinayapitaka
in its present form is at least 100 years later than the death of the Buddha.
Since these accounts are included in all versions of the Vinaya, it can be
concluded that all sects had (approximately) the same Vinaya until the second
council and the schism that followed it. The fact that part of the Vinaya is
later does not, however, mean that all of it is late. The different arrangement
of the khandhakas and the material in the various extant shows that there was
already the beginning of divergence before the time of the second council.

The greater part of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Skandhaka has been discovered
in Gilgit and published. It lacks some of the khandhakas in the Pāli version,
and some of the material is arranged differently, e.g. the historical information
found in the Pāli Māhāvagga appears in the Sanghabhādavatā. Frag-
ments of the Sarvāstivādin Skandhaka have been found in Turkestan, and a
fragment of the Mahāsāṃghika Skandhaka has been found in Afghanistan at
Bamyan. The Mahāvagga is based upon a recension of the Vinaya belonging
to the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin. It corresponds roughly to the Mahā-
vagga portion of the Pāli Khandhaka, but it contains very few monastic rules,
and has many later additions of the Jātaka and Avadāna type.

The inclusion of many stories of the Avadāna type accounts for the fact that
the work is frequently styled the Mahāvastu-Aavadāna in the colophons to
many of the chapters. The use of the word Avadāna in this context resembles
that found in the Mahāsāṃghika (Mantravādīna) of the Dharmapāla, where it is used of the Buddha, instead of theraas and skives in the
late canonical Avadāna. These narrative legends are introduced, not as in the

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Mahāvagga to illustrate the promulgation of a rule but to illustrate the Buddha’s
virtues in his earlier lives. To the material which is given in the Pāli Mahāvagga
is added much which is found in the Mūlasāṃghika of the Pāli Jātaka, so that
the Mahāvastu gives an account of incidents in the remote past of the Buddha’s
career, as well as his birth and childhood, his enlightenment and his activities
as a teacher. Although the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin believed that the
personality of the Buddha was docetic and he was really supernormal (lokuttara),
there is in fact only one short passage which deals with his transcenderit
nature.

Not only are there close parallels between the Mahāvastu and the Pāli
Mahāvagga, which suggest that both texts were dependent upon the same
source material, but there are many other parallels too, sometimes so close
that one version may be corrected with the help of the other. Among
the Pāli texts to which comparison can be made are the Jātaka, Sutta-
pitaka, the Dhammapāla, the Dīghanikāya, the Vinaya-pitakha and the Buddha-
vaṃsa. Even when all these insertions, which probably represent additions to
the Mahāvastu, are disregarded, it can be shown that the Mahāvastu contains
different strata, which differ in the language employed in them.

It is not easy to understand why there is, except for a reference to the two
types of composition, an almost complete lack of monastic rules. It has already
been noted that the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-Vibhanga
includes a section which in the Pāli Vinaya-pitakha occurs in the Bhikkhu-
khandhaka, and it is possible that other Skandhaka material was transferred
to texts, now lost.

When some of the formulae included in the Khandhaka came to be used for
the transaction of business at meetings of the Saṅgha, e.g. for the ordination
of bhikkhus, they gained an existence as independent texts. Although these
usually follow the pattern laid down in the Vinaya-pitakha, the fact that they
have been used in different places and circumstances has led to changes in
detail. A number of these separate karmavihāra have been published.

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See Jones, Mvı tr., i. p. xiv.

See Mvı, i. p. 56.

See Jones, Mvı tr., i. p. xii.


See T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, “The Inventions of the Vinaya
They also existed in the other Hinayana schools, and karmasandhas or karamandhas for bhikkhus and bhikkhunis have been discovered, belonging to the Sarvastivadin and Mahasanghik school.

2.3. The Parivara

In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, the word parivara is normally taken to mean "accessory, appendix, addendum," and such a meaning would suit the Pali Parivara, since it seems to be a supplement to the Vinaya. The place and time of its composition are not known, and some scholars believe that a new view of the fact that it was composed in Ceylon. There is evidence for believing that portions of it, at least, were added in Ceylon, for it includes a long list of teachers who were responsible for teaching the Vinaya in Ceylon, and in the Times of the Swaddharma (Ceylon), ending with a Sutta. It has been claimed, on the basis of these names, that the present form of the Parivara must have been fixed in the first century A.D., for the list contains no names later than that century. The Mahanarayana, however, states that the list which is found in the Vinaya is the successive listing of the names of those who assembled in the fourth council. If that is correct, then we should date Siva to the first century B.C.

The possibility of Siva being connected with the writing down of the canon is perhaps supported by the fact that there are two references to writing in the Parivara. At the end of the first eight (of 16) sections of the first chapter, there is a statement that "these eight sections are written in a manner for recitation," while at the end of the book, after the words Parivara nikilika, there is a statement that Dipamaka, having asked various questions about the words of former masters, thinking out an epitome of the details for the middle way of study, had it written down for the bringing of happiness to disciples. It seems, however, unlikely that if the whole of the Parivara had been composed at the time it was written down, it would have had the references to writing inserted in the way they are, and there seems to be no good reason for doubting that these two statements are interpolations, added when the Parivara, together

with the rest of the canon, was written down in the first century B.C. They have, therefore, some bearing upon the present form of the Parivara, but tell us little about the composition of the various chapters.

Since some of the chapters of the Parivara are summaries of various sections of the Vinaya, it has been suggested that the Parivara is, in fact, older than the Vinaya and originally performed the same function towards it as do the Mahāśāśāsīya for the Mahābhūta of the Mahābhūta of the Mahābhūta. While it is not impossible that the Parivara contains a very early portion of this type which was later enlarged, it nevertheless shows all the signs of being an addition to the Vinaya. The Dipavamsa states that it was one of the books which was not accepted by the Mahābhūta, which suggests either that it did not exist in the time of the schism, or if it existed it had not yet gained canonical status at that time. It seems more likely that a collection was made up of auxiliary works of various dates which sprang up around the Vinaya, and this happened early enough for the collection to have attained canonical status, just as the Nidāna did, although neither claims to be Cittavimutti.

As we have it, the Parivara contains 10 chapters, whereas in his account of the first council Baddhacchana states that the Parivara has 16 sections. Chapter XIV, which deals with the Aparīti regulations, the words parivara niṭṭhita occur, which suggests that at one time the Parivara ended at that point, and the following chapters were added later. It seems possible to divide two of the earlier chapters into halves, which would give a total of 16, and this may be the answer to the problem. In his commentary upon the Vinaya, Maha-pitaka, however, Baddhacchana comments upon all 19 chapters, without any reference to the apparent inconsistency in his statement about the number of chapters, although he is sufficiently aware of some types of inconsistency to find it necessary to comment upon them.

In the first chapter of the Parivara (Mahābhūta), every rule of the Mahābhūta section of the Sutta-pitaka is examined in the exact order in which it was laid down there, with special reference to the place in which it was promulgated. It is a kind of catechism, containing bare or condensed outlines of questions to be asked and answered, in the study of the sūtra. It makes a clear contribution to the task of learning and mastering the Vinaya, and by extracting material from the vast mass of the Vinaya it reduces it to

11 By Malalasekera, DPPN, II, p. 162.
12 Dip V 27.
13 Hornner, BD VI, p. ix.
14 Sutta-Pitaka (Sp 16, 5–6).
15 Vin V 129, 19.
16 As suggested by Hornner, BD VI, p. xiii.
17 Sp 1301–1414.
18 As, i.e., this is a list of the sections of the Mahābhūta (Sp 1348, 6).
19 See Hornner, BD VI, pp. vii–xii.
20 "I believe that in some Buddhist countries the monastic discipline has to be studied before the study of monastic discipline has to be studied before the study of" (Hornner, BD VI, p. vii).
manageable proportions. The next chapter (Bhikkhu-nimittivibhanga) does the same for the bhikkhu rules. Other chapters are similarly devoted to questions and statements about the types and numbers of offences detailed in the Vinaya. The six-hundredth chapter (Ekuttara) is arranged in the same way as the Saṅgiti-sutta and Saṅkāyana-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya and the Aṅguttara-nikāya as a whole, with topics listed numerically, each section being one more than its predecessor. Although classifications of this type may be thought to be relatively late, the presence of the system in several places in the canon, and also in the canons of other sects, shows that it had nevertheless been established in Buddhism before the time of the schisms. The Ekuttara differs from the other texts in that its enumerations are almost entirely restricted to items found in the Vinaya. It resembles the Aṅguttara-nikāya in that it lists items in groups up to the number eleven. In common with the first two chapters, Chapter XIII "the great collection" (Mahāsangītī) consists almost entirely of a commentary on the phrases at the beginning of the chapter, which closely resembles the style of the Old Commentary found in the Saṅkīrtana-sutta. Chapter XIV on the "Kātina" also consists of a commentary upon the ensuing phrases, and gives information about the proper way of making the kātina cloth. As already noted, the relevant section of the Kātina-sutta is not entirely satisfactory, and it is to be observed that this section of the Parivāra is not merely a synopsis of what the Vinaya says, but includes material not found there. This must be old, since it corresponds with what is stated in other traditions about the kātina cloth.

The fifteenth chapter (Upaniṣadaka) consists of a number of questions put by Upāli to the Buddha about the Vinaya, the answers to which were all in the form of sets of five. It is to be compared with the earlier chapter entitled Ekuttara, and even more with the section of the Aṅguttara-nikāya entitled Aṅguttara-vagga, where, however, the Buddha's answers are all in sets of ten. The eighteenth chapter (Saddharmapuṇḍara) is simply named "Dharm-inducing," for it consists of sets of puzzles, based upon apparent contradictions in the Vinaya, the answers to which call for a great deal of mental exertion. The style is reminiscent of the sets of dilemmas in the Minda-pātīs, but in the Parivāra the problems are all drawn from the Vinaya.

The Vinaya-śāstras of other sects also have supplements. In its Chinese translation, the Sāravatavādin Vinaya is followed by the Vinayagāndhakāra and the Uttaragāndhakāra, which includes an Upaliṭapariprśchā, a series of questions
3. THE SUTTA-PITAKA

Buddhaghosa states1 that the Sutta- or Suttanta-pitaka consists of the five n Nikayas: Digha-, Majjhima-, Samyutta-, Anguttara-, and Khuddaka-nikayas, and this is the classification generally accepted now although, as already noted, Buddhaghosa also uses2 the term “five n Nikayas” of the canon as a whole.

The first four n Nikayas consist of discourses (Sutta) ascribed to the Buddha, or (rarely) to a disciple. These sutas are for the most part in prose, with some verse (Suttapada) included. They usually have a short introduction giving the circumstances in which the suta was delivered. In the case of the Digha- and Majjhima-nikayas, the names seem to reflect the length of the sutas, with the long sutas in the Digha- and those of middle length in the Majjhima-nikaya.3 Although there is evidence that the size of some sutas has increased by interpolation, so that their present length is not necessarily a guide to their original size, and we cannot be certain that the shortest sutas in the Digha- were longer than the longest sutas in the Majjhima-nikaya in the early collections.

We can in any case deduce from the fact that the contents of the n Nikayas do not agree exactly in the canons of the various sects that the division of sutas by length was, at best, a somewhat rough and ready method of classification.

By implication, the contents of the Samyutta- and Anguttara-nikayas must be the short sutas. The name Samyutta indicates that the sutas have been arranged together according to their contents, while the Anguttara-nikaya is made up numerically, with each n Nikaya exceeding its predecessor by one. There is inevitably an overlap between the contents of these two n Nikayas, because some of the connected sutas deal with numerical matters.

In the Sutta-pitaka the n Nikayas are called Apanas,4 and the word Apana is occasionally used in Pali in this sense. It is, however, more commonly used in Pali in a general sense,5 and Buddhaghosa defines the word as the study of the

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1 Sp. 15, 15–14.
2 See p. 8 above.
3 Since the Buddhist usage of the word suta differs so greatly from the Brahmanical use of suta, it has been suggested that Pali sutas is to be derived from Sanskrit suttas, not from sutas. If this is so, then the use of the word sutas in BHS would be the result of an incorrect back-formation. The word sutas is frequently interchanged with sutasas.
4 Kampan pon sos Digha-nikaya ti vuicat dighapamjissun sutamana samathike nikanaya na (Sp 36, 30–37); kummo Majjhima-nikaya sos majjhopamjissun patibhavopasamathike dighapamjissun sutamana sos maatike na (Sp 27, 26–8).
5 See THOMAS, HFT, p. 208.
6 See VED, e. v. Apana.
7 The Pali Canon 31

Buddha’s words. Hence a suta can be described as abhajana or n Nikaya. It seems to be used in the Vinaya of the Pali Canon,6 but it is sometimes used by Buddhaghosa in the sense of n Nikaya, and in his commentaries upon the Digha-, Dhammapada-, and Anguttara-nikayas he writes of the Digha-nikaya, the Dhammapada, and the Anguttara-nikayas respectively.7 In the introductory verses to his commentaries upon the first four n Nikayas he states that the Viydhamagga is in the middle of the four Apanas.8

In the Sutta-pitaka the Apanas are named Digha-, Dhammapada-, Samyutta- and Anguttara-nikayas, and the close similarity to the Pali names indicates that the collections had begun to be formed while the schools were still in contact, i.e. before the schisms which started after the second council. The fact that one of the same sutas is sometimes found in more than one Nikaya in the Pali canon would seem to indicate that the n Nikayas of the various n Nikayas could not always agree about the allocation of sutas. The fact that the n Nikayas in each Sutta-pitaka do not coincide with their Pali equivalents would seem to indicate that each school had its own n Nikaya, who, while all agreeing in general with the other n Nikayas of their own and other sects, nevertheless preferred to differ over the placing of some sutas. This suggests that there was in early times a large collection of sutas which were remembered by heart, and the task of allocating them to the various n Nikayas/Apanas had not been finished, or the allocation completed, agreed by the time the schools began to separate. The reference in the Vinaya-pitaka to an upasaka inviting the bhikkhus to some and learn a suta from him before it is lost9 would seem to indicate that the collection of sutas had not yet been completed. The methods of authentication of sutas which are given in the Mahaparinibbana Sutta9 would also seem to apply to the time when the collection of sutas was still going on.

The list usually followed for the fifth n Nikaya, the Khuddaka-nikaya, is that given by Buddhaghosa.10 Khuddakapathana, Dhammapada, Udana, Itivuttaka, Suttanipata, Vinnavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragatha, Theriagatha, Jataka, Niddesa, Patimokkhamagga, Apadana, Buddhavaesa, Cariyapitaka. In Burma the Patimokkhamagga, Nettipakkara, Suttanipata, and Niddesa are also regarded as belonging to the Khuddaka-nikaya.11 Buddhaghosa informs us12 that the Digha-nikaya did not accept the first and the last three in this list, but believed that the theras at the first council

Apana nikan abhajana apana-sutta ma iti budhakakassena param pariga-

puññena (Vism 443, 30–31).
8 E.g. Sp 11, 16; Suttapada 13, 4; MP 13, 4.
9 For Digha-nikaya see Coll. in Visuddhimagga 18 (Sp 2, 6 = Pa 12, 18 = MP 12, 18 = MP 12, 24).
10 Agathanatha khuddakapathana patimokkham magga thera dhammapada udana niddesa, viynavatthu, petavatthu, theragatha, theriagatha, jataka, niddesa, patimokkhamagga, apadana, buddhavaesa, cariyapitaka. In Burma the patimokkhamagga, nettipakkara, suttanipata, and niddesa are also regarded as belonging to the khuddaka-nikaya.
11 Buddhaghosa informs us12 that the Digha-nikaya did not accept the first and the last three in this list, but believed that the theras at the first council

Apana nikan abhajana apana-sutta ma iti budhakakassena param pariga-

puññena (Vism 443, 30–31).
12 For the four n Nikayas see D II 123, 30–126, 5 = A II 167, 33–170, 19.
13 Sp. 16, 12–15.
14 See Gordon, Pali, pp. 4–5.
rected the other twelve (dividing the Nickless into Mahā- and Cūla-nīkāya), and calling them the Khuddakkagathas included them in the Abhidhammapițaka. He goes on to state, however, that the Majjhima-nīkāya added the Carīyapīta, Apārāna, and Buddhāvāna to the Dīgha-Majjhima list, also called the collection the Khuddakagatha, but included it in the Suttanta-Pițaka. This presumably means that the Dīgha-Majjhima closed their list of the Khuddaka-nīkāya before these four texts were regarded as canonical, while the Majjhima-Majjhima closed their list before the Khuddakagatha was accepted.

The Chinese translation of the SAMANTAPADALIKI omits the Khuddakagatha from the Khuddaka-nīkāya, and varies the order of the other 14 texts.13 This suggests that the Khuddakagatha was not included in the version of Buddhaghosa’s commentary which was being translated, or the translators were in contact with, and influenced by, someone who knew that a section of the Theravādin school did not accept it as canonical.

3.1. The Dīgha-nīkāya

The Dīgha-nīkāya14 contains 34 suttas, in three groups: the Sīlakkhandhavagga (1–13) dealing with virtue (sīla); the Mahāvagga (14–23) containing suttas, which mostly have the word Mahā- in their title; and the Paṭimokkha (24–34), which gains its name from the fact that its first sutta is the Paṭimokkha. The suttas differ in content and character, but they all contain a mixture of older and later material.15 The earliest stratum is found mainly in the first suttas, and the latest in the last, while the longest suttas are in the second suttas. The form of the suttas varies. Those in the first suttas are in prose, as are some in the second and third. Many in the second and third suttas are in prose interspersed with verse. Some (e.g., suttas 20 and 32) are almost entirely in verse.

3.1.1. The Sīlakkhandhavagga

Each of the suttas in this sugga has incorporated in it a list of the moral rules (sīlas). Most of the suttas describe the training of a bhikkhu in three stages, beginning with the sīla, then proceeding to the practice of concentration (samādhi), and ending with the full knowledge (pahāsā) of the arahant. The list occurs in its most complete form in the Samaññaphala-sutta, from which portions of it are quoted in the other suttas, which suggests that either the Samaññaphala-sutta existed before the other suttas were composed, or the list existed at first as an independent composition,16 from which all the suttas, including the Samaññaphala-sutta, borrowed it. Several of the suttas discuss the views of the brahmanas on sacrifice and sacred knowledge, the doctrines of various religious schools, the value of caste and self-mortification, and exposed important doctrines. The Buddha’s method of discussion in the suttas of the Sīlakkhandhavagga is much the same in each case. He takes as the starting point of the discussion the object put forward as desirable by his opponent, e.g., sacrifice, caste, and asceticism, and by inserting a higher meaning into the words being discussed, or by concentrating upon the ethical concepts involved, he leads his opponent up to his own conclusion, viz. the goal of arahant-ship.

The Brahmajalasutta (1) tells how the Buddha knows, like a good fisherman, how to catch in his net of views all the fish of philosophy, and to prove their doctrines and speculations to be worthless and obstacles to true salvation. In the course of this, he enumerates 62 different philosophical views, from which the follower of the Buddha must keep away. The sutta is important, not only for the information it gives about Buddhism, but also for the contribution it makes to the history of early religion and philosophy in India. There is also much dealing with social conditions, for as part of his rules for his followers the Buddha lists many activities and professions which they must avoid.

The Samaññaphala-sutta (2) tells how King Ajatasatru of Magadha, after failing to get answers to his questions from other religious leaders, visits the Buddha and asks whether members of the Sākyas who have given up the world will gain any benefit from their action. The Buddha justifies the formation of the Sangha and the enunciation of the Vinaya rules, and gives a list of the advantages to be gained by his followers. The introduction to the sutta gives information about non-Buddhist sects at the time of the Buddha, and since some of it is in a non-Pali dialect of Māra, it is likely that it is taken from the actual scriptures of the leaders being described. The advantages which his followers will gain are given in an ascending order of merit, starting with the honour and respect which are shown to those following the life of a sramana, and continuing through a series of which it is not necessarily restricted to Buddhists, until the final stages, when the four noble truths are attained, the sramanas are destroyed, and arahant-ship is won.

In the Ambatthasutta (3) the young brahman Ambattha visits the Buddha to see if he carries the 32 marks of a great man (mahā-purisā), and becomes

13 See P. V. RATAPRINT AND A. HIRAYAMA (tr.), SBE 29: IX, p. 11.
15 See PANDA, SBE, pp. 77–112.
involved in a discussion about caste, in which the Buddha proves that the bhaginsa Sakyas are superior to the brahmans. The suttas were clearly composed at a time when the 32 marks were already in existence. There is also mention of super-normal powers being employed to enable Ambatthi to see the two marks which are not normally visible.

The Sonasaññhāsutta (4) is also concerned with the question of caste, and deals with the problem of what constitutes the essential quality which makes a man a brahman. The brahmanical view is that a man is a brahman only if he is born of brahmans on both his father's and his mother's side back through seven generations. By the Buddha's argument, however, Sonasaññha is led to accept that the one who attains arahantship is not only called a brahman in Buddhist terms, but is in fact declared to be the only true brahman.

The Khafadassanussutta (5) is also anti-brahmanical, and tells of a brahman who is desirous of holding a great sacrifice, and comes to the Buddha to seek advice about the best way of doing it, and to enquire about the requisite utensils. In the guise of a ledger about king Mahavijaya, the Buddha tells of the Buddhist form of sacrifice, where nothing, whether animal or vegetable, is harmed, and the sacrifices consist of the large of food, offered not only to the king himself, but to all good people.

The Mahālittu (6) falls into two quite separate parts. In the first the question of the ability to attain the super-normal eye and ear power is discussed, and the questioner is told to go to attain such powers that people do not understand. He is led on to consider arahantship as the aim, the eight-fold path. In the second part the questioner is told about Jālyā, who believed that the soul and the body were the same thing, but was led through the discussion set out in the Sāmañña-phala-sutta to the attainment of arahantship.

The Jālyāsutta (7) then follows as a separate sutta in its own right. It can be deduced that its inclusion in the Mahālittu was early, and prompted the formulation of the Digha-nikāya as we have it, because the discussion of sīla occurs only in the Jālyā portion. Without it, the Mahālittu would not have merited inclusion in the Digha-khandhakapada.

The Kassapā-khandhakapada (8) tells of the Buddha's discussion with a famed ascetic about asceticism, and includes a general account of the practices adopted by various groups of ascetics. The Buddha refutes the charge of condemning all asceticism, which probably arises from his own rejection of such practices (although no reference is made to this in the sutta), and maintains that the practices laid down in the eight-fold path and the discipline laid down for bhikkhus are more difficult to perform than mere fasts. As in the Mahālittu, there is a quotation from elsewhere in the Digha-nikāya, but it is not quoted.

The Pāli Canon

in full here. The Buddha tells of a visit from a co-religionist named Niggoda, which is the subject of the Udumbarikāṇhāsutta (22).

The Pāṭimakāsuttava (9) begins with a discussion on the nature of the cessation of consciousness which occurs in trance. Through the path of training mentioned in the Sāmañña-phala-sutta the discussion passes on to the jāna, and in what probably an addition to the suttas, to the first three jānas: nibbānas, which are not included in the Sāmañña-phala-sutta. The idea of consciousness leads to a discussion of the question of soul, which Pāṭimaka regards as being a physical thing. The Buddha explains that there are certain things which he has expressed no opinion on, viz. the ten ārambhicca. What he has expressed are the four noble truths.

In what appears to be an addition, the suttas go on to tell how Pāṭimaka, having been abused by the other mendicants, went back to the Buddha and told him of the mendicants' actions. The Buddha's reply is based upon two metaphors: the first is that of the man who loves a "beautiful woman" without knowing anything about her (which illustrates the folly of saying more than the evidence allows), and that of the transformation of milk into curds, etc. (which illustrates the existence of an unchanging identity behind changing appearances).

The Sāmañña-phala-sutta (10) is attributed to Ānanda, and is specifically stated to have been delivered after the death of the Buddha. It is almost identical with the Sāmañña-phala-sutta, except that Ānanda arranges the states of mind enumerated there as the fruits of the life of a sāmaṇṭa under the three headings of āsā, saṁātisā, and paññā.

In the Kassapā-sutta (11) the householder Kassapa comes to the Buddha and asks him to tell one of his followers to perform a miracle. As in other suttas, the Buddha accepts the interviewer's point of view. He accepts that miracles are possible, but says that it is not his practice to ask his followers to perform them. He states that of the three wonders which he himself has realised, the wonder of education is the greatest, and he gives this in the words of the Sāmañña-phala-sutta. To this is added a second, probably later, portion of the sutta which deals with the problem of the disappearance of the four elements.

The answer is that they disappear in the state of arahantship, when all intelligence comes to an end. To this conclusion is prefixed a mythological preface which describes an ascending hierarchy of fourteen classes of gods. Its purpose...
is to make the gods confess their own inferiority to the Buddha, and to state the folly of seeking refuge in anyone but him.

In the Lohasaka Sutta (12) some points about the ethics of teaching are discussed, and blamelessly and blameless teachers are enumerated. This leads to a reiteration of the exposition set out in the Sakadagamtasutta up to the state of arahantship.

In the Teriyesa Sutta (13) the Buddha criticises the position of the brahmans who base their religious life on the system of the three Vedas. This is the only sutta in the Silakkhandavagga which does not lead up to a discussion of arahantship. It goes only as far as the four brahma-samhita-s—the four state of mind which lead to rebirth in the heaven of Brahma. The Buddha rejects the brahmanical idea of the three Vedas in favour of his own svadhipa. The brahmans with whom the Buddha was conversing had their own ideas about union with Brahma, and here, as commonly, the Buddha was using the brahmanical term Brahman in a specifically Buddhist sense.

3.1.2. The Mahāvagga

A number of the suttas in this sutta include the word ha.12 in their title, and it is possible that they have been expanded from shorter ha.13, but the corresponding suttas with the word Cittai in their titles no longer exist.14 It is, however, possible to deduce that in some cases addition or interpolation occurred.15 Most of the suttas in this set are legends rather than discourses, and they have features which show them to be later than the suttas of the first sutta, where the Buddha is only a man, alive or recently dead.

In the Mahapadana Sutta (14) the lives of the seven Buddhas, i.e. Gotama and his six predecessors, are given as a preliminary to laying down the general conditions necessary for the arising of a Buddha, so that their whole course of action is in accordance with the reign of law in the world (dhamma). The life of Vipassana, the first of the Buddhas, is given in detail, including all the miracles of the conception, birth and death of a Buddha, and the 32 marks of a great man, which have already been mentioned in the Ambatthasutta (3). Although the inclusion of seven Buddhas and the other features suggest a late origin for this sutta,16 it is noteworthy that the paticcasa-mpadi which Vipassana realises has only ten links instead of the usual twelve in the form which Gotama realised,17 since it omits the two ultimate links asajja and samakkha. The use of the word asamkha in the title of this sutta differs from that found in the later canonical text, called by that name,18 where it is used in the Buddha of the sutta, but only of theravada and theravada.

12 The same seems to be true of the Majjhima-nikāya. See p. 44 below.
13 The six previous Buddhas are, however, already mentioned by name at Vin III 7, 34–37.
14 As described at Vin I 1, 10–16.
15 See p. 85 below.
of Pāṭaliputra, which is almost certainly a prophecy made with the benefit of hindsight, and must date from the second half of the 8th century B.C.

The Sarvāstivāda version of this suita has been published. This too contains some of the additions, including the list of eight earthquakes, which shows that the expansion of the original shorter form of the story must predate the schism between the Sarvāstivāda and the Theravāda. A fragment of a Dhammapada version has also been published.

In the course of the wanderings leading up to the Buddha's death recounted in the Mahāparinibbānasutta (16), the Buddha tells Ananda of the former greatness of the city of Kusinārā, which the latter had said was an unseemly place for the Buddha to die in, and the story is told of King Sudassana, who had inhabited Kusinārā when it was a great city. The Mahāsudassanāsutta (17) starts with the same words as are given at that point in the previous suita but goes on to tell the full story. It seems to be aimed towards the layman rather than the bhikkhus when it tells of the king's greatness being due to generosity (dana), self-control (sīla), and self-control (samaya).

The Sanskrit version of this story is included in the Mahāparinibbānasūtra in the place where Ananda first referred to the city. In both the Sanskrit and the Pāli versions it has the character of a Jātaka story, for the Buddha identifies himself with King Sudassana in a previous birth.

The Janavāsāsana-sutta (18) is also an expansion of a portion of the Mahāparinibbānasutta (16), and deals with the rebirths of the Nīdikas which are mentioned in the latter suita. Like the Mahāsudassanāsutta (17), which was probably an addition intended to explain the reference to Kusinārā, this suita shows signs of being a later insertion, because it not only contains miraculous and mythical elements, but also treats doctrinal matters in a numerical way, e.g., the four ways to supernormal power (iddhipāda) and the four inceptions of mindfulness (sati-paññāthā). Both features are typical of later texts.

The Mahāvagīdāsāsana (19) also contains such miraculous elements, and tells of the joy in heaven at the appearance of new gods, who have arisen as such because of the good kamma performed by Gotama. The inclusion of some mundane verses suggests that an older story has been adapted for Buddhist purposes, and the basis of the suita seems to be the preaching of kusumapāda as a means of gaining direct realisation of Brahman. The idea of realisation of Brahman leads, as in the Tiverjānasutta (13), to the enunciation of the four brahma-abhidhā.

A Sanskrit version of this story, with some differences, is found in the Mahābhāskara. Lokottaravāhinī Mahāvastu. As in the case of the two previous suitas, the Mahāsamayasmūthya (20) is concerned with the gods, this time the minor ones, who express their support for Buddhism. The greater part of the suita is a list (in verse) of names of gods, of which a portion seems to be a reworking of a list which occurs in the Āgāthayī suttanta (32). The way in which it occurs seems clumsy, which suggests that it is not great. It is the Mahāvagīdāsāsana suita the gods in the prose belong to the Brahmanvādyka class, not the Sudāvāsāsana; the Buddha is said to be preaching to his disciples about sīla, while no sermon is mentioned in the Pāli; moreover, the Pāli version lacks the list of attributes conferred upon the authors who make up the Buddha's audience. These differences are precisely those which might be expected.

The Pāli Canon

SBE XI, Oxford 1881, p. 22 n. 1), is a gloss upon sarvati empira sarva which has crept into the text, as the metre shows. The mistakes must be an old one, as the words satum kusum occur in the corresponding verse at Divy 56, 3 and MPS 2, 9.

There is some doubt about the date when Pāṭaliputra became the capital of Magadha, but it seems certain that it was after the time of the Buddha. See MALLAHERA, DDPN, vol. II, p. 178.


ENRÊ WALDSCHMIDT, Drei Fragmente buddhistischer Sūtras, in NGAW 1948, pp. 49-81. The discovery of this fragment is of great interest, since the Chinese translation of the Dirghākāma was made from the Dhammapada version (see WALDSCHMIDT, CASE, p. 156).

D II 185, 4-5.

"Mahāvagīdāsāsana suita = MvIV III 207-224,imity DATON, DB, Vol. II, pp. 259-261, comments on some of the differences. WALDSCHMIDT, CASEF, p. 136 n. 3 of the insular and chinesisch versions, diss. Munich 1954. JONES (Mvu t., Illustre i enche, etc. WALDSCHMIDT, CASEF, p. 156)."

"It occurs at J I 27-28.

ENG. and tr. by WALDSCHMIDT, CASEF, pp. 149-62.

See MW, 6, 79, sarvāya and sammaya.

See E. HULTSCH, inscriptions of Asoka, Oxford 1929, p. 51.

The alternative suggestion, that Pāli samaya is to be derived from Sanskrit sammaya is less likely, since it could only have been transmitted through a written North-Western Prakrit form.

"They are discussed by WALDSCHMIDT, CASEF, p. 149."
expected to arise in the course of an oral tradition, when a discourse or a sermon might well change a number of unimportant matters each time it recited a sūtra.

The Sakkāpaṭṭhasutta (21) is the last of the series of mythological sūtras and culminates in the conversion of Sakka, the king of the gods, to Buddhism. It would seem to have been intended as a piece of propaganda, to persuade non-Buddhists not to be afraid of the new religion since even the gods of their own religion accepted it. The sūtra tells how Sakka visits the Buddha, is allowed to ask him certain questions about ethics and psychology, and is so persuaded by his answers that he is converted. The sūtra calls itself a puparatadasa解脱策 (explanation) at the end, although Buddhaghosha includes it among the texts which he calls vedala. This perhaps means that in the early period of Buddhism it was included in that category of text in the nine-fold canon. It would seem to be an early sūtra, since it is quoted by name in the Samyutta-nikāya.22

Fragments of the Sāvatī-sūtra, which have been discovered and published,23 The doctrine expounded in the Mahāsuttapattihasutta (22) is perhaps the most important after the Aryan Path in early Buddhism, and this sūtra is the oldest authoritative statement of the doctrine. The sūtra is in two parts. The first part concerns mindfulness, and is the same as the Sātiyapattihasutta (10) of the Majjhima-nikāya. The second part is a term by term account of the four noble truths, and the addition of this second part perhaps explains why the sūtra is called Mahā, the other sūtras in the Majjhima-nikāya being by implication the Cūka-sūtras. The addition uses a style of definition which is similar to that found in the Abhidhamma-pitaka, and its unusually detailed character has led to the suggestion that it is perhaps a fragment from an early commentary which has crept into the canon.24

The Pajāmakasutta (23) refers to matters which took place after the death of the Buddha. It tells how the chief of the Pāsāni entered the Buddha's disciple Kanasa to question him about rebirth and iner, neither of which the Pāsāni believed in. There is no mention of the Buddha, as either alive or dead, but in his commentary upon the Vimāna-vatthu Dhammapāla states that the sūtra was recited after the creation of the dhamma over the relics.25 During the course of the discussion, Pāsāni's arguments are all refuted, and he is converted to Buddhism. The climax of the sūtra comes when a messenger arrives from the gods to teach the doctrine of generosity (dāna) by laymen. It is possible that the death of the Buddha had led to a falling-off in the gift made to the Shrāvaka, and the gods were employed as a gift means of reminding those who had followed them, before both gods and laymen became Buddhists, of the need to be generous.

3.1.3. The Paññā-śrīh-śrīh-śrīh

The third chapter is the most miscellaneous section, and its contents indicate that definite doctrinal beliefs about the nature of a Buddha had become much more developed by the time it was collected together. This suggests a comparative,26

The Paññā-śrīh-śrīh-śrīh (34) falls into two parts. In the first, the Buddha discusses mystic wonders, while in the second he deals with the origin of things. Both subjects are treated elsewhere—the wonders in the Kuttasutta (11) and the origin of things in the Aggaññhasutta (37). The sūtra begins with the mention of Suanakkha Laccavavutta, who had left the Buddha because he would not perform miracles or discuss origins, but the emphasis changes, and the Buddha becomes eager to show that he has worked wonders. He then begins to discuss origins, but suddenly with an abrupt change of subject he makes a comment upon the stage of release called "beautiful."27

The Udānakkha-suttasutta (25) deals with the same subject as the Sāsa-sāsa-sūtra (8), i.e., the nature of asceticism both true and false, and it treats it in a more elaborate way. The Buddha discusses the different kinds of asceticism and their evil effects, and explains the life of a real lord of the holy life (brahma-kāraṇa).

The Cakkavattissattvasutta (26) tells the story of the righteous monarch, of the corrupt conditions which followed after his time and led to a shortening of the human lifespan, and then a general improvement in morals which will lead to a lengthening of the lifespan again. When the lifespan of humans has grown to 80,000 years, the Cakkavattis Sāla and the future Buddha Mettāyā will arise. Such an idea of future Buddhas would seem to represent a later stratum of Buddhist thought,28 which suggests that this is a later text.

The Aggaññhasutta (37) represents another rejection of the brahmanical claim to be the best caste. To make this rejection, the Buddha tells a story about the beginning of the world, although his reluctance to talk about origins is made clear in the Paññā-śrīh-śrīh-śrīh (24). The Buddha gives etymological explanations for the arising of King Mahasāmata, the khaṭtiyas, the raja, brāhmanas, jīvaka-s, jātaka-s, vesasās and saddhas.29 The sūtra shows that righteousness is above

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22 D II 280, 2.
23 See Sp. 28, 27.
24 See Ud. 18b.
25 See Walschott, CASP, p. 138 n. 10.
26 See P. 284, 287, 290, 291, 327, 330, 331.
28 See D III 34, 20–21.
29 For a discussion of these etymologies see U. Schneider, "Das Etymologien aus dem Aggaññha-Sutta," in Asiaten (Texte, Druckstelle Weiler), Leipzig 1934, pp. 757–83.
lineage, although of those who do put their trust in lineage the bhaktiya is best. The mythological content of this sutta suggests that it is not early.

The Sambuddhanga-sutta (23) is an elaboration of a passage in the Mahaparinibbana-sutta (15), where Sāriputta is rebuked for saying that the Buddha was the best of all Budhhas. In this sutta, Sāriputta goes on to enumerate the various excellences (avantipuṣyas) of the Buddha’s teaching. The sutta mentions in the main only such dogmas as relate to spiritual practice. Since no claim is made for the completeness of such beliefs, it would probably be unwise to try to draw conclusions from any omissions. The sutta ends with the Buddha telling Sāriputta to repeat his discourse frequently in the presence of any persons who may have doubts about him. Such a sentiment seems late, and suggests that the sutta is a late one.

The Paññikasaṅketa (29) is said to have been delivered soon after the death of Nāthaputta, the Jain leader, as a result of the quarrelling which his death caused among his followers. In contrast to this turn of events, the Buddha tells of the conditions of a perfect religion, and gives information about the characteristics of a Tatāka and his powers. The sutta contains a collection of already existing doctrinal points, and seems to suggest nothing new.

The Laṅkhaṇasutta (30) is an elaborate piece of Buddhisology, describing in detail the 32 physical characteristics of the Buddha. In the history of Buddhism this iconographic development has often been supposed to be a late phenomenon and one which rather tends to Mahāyāna ideas. The likeness of the doctrine in this sutta is matched by the likeness of the metre of its verses. It shows a greater variety of metres** than any other canonical text, all of them being, moreover, either new classical types of metre or classical forms of old metres.

** The orthodox tradition records that the verses are not as late and authentic as the bulk of the canon, and in his commentary Buddhaghosa attributes them to Ananda.**

The Sīlaṅgokasutta (31) is really a poem with a prose commentary, and Buddhaghosa calls it a gāthānīyaka.** It tells of the duties of the Buddhist layman. The sutta relates how Māgga practises the worship of the six directions (dīyas) as a result of his father’s death-bed wish. The Buddha sees him doing this, and interprets the six quarters in a Buddhist manner, in a way in which his doctrine of love and goodwill between man and man is set forth with more detail than elsewhere in the canon.

See also K. R. Norman, "Four etymologies from the Sabhīya-sutta," in Balāsottika, ESVR, p. 183 n. 23.

45 The metres include *vatsatā, kappiyagha, rathhadānta, upārāphayo‘paccaya, rucikā, udipagha, and ph感人aka.*

46 See Waddell, PM, § 138.

47 *Eka pañcī pañcī pañcī* is used *Ananda-dhersa pūrṇā mānospaṭṭha it vatt‘ gāta* (SV 977, 36–30).

48 See SV 959, 5.

The Ājātāsakya-sutta (23) is a saving chant (rakkā-maṇḍa) to get rid of evil spirits, and is included among the list of protective utterances (parītāyā). It deals with the sending away of gods, gandhabhas and yakkhas if they attack laymen and laywomen. It contains two lists of supernormal beings, one long and one short. As has already been noticed, a rereading of a portion of the longer list, which begins with an invocation to the seven Budhhas, and then the gods of the four quarters, is found in the Mahāsūmacayasaṅketa (29). Fragments of a Sarvāstivāda Saṅkrit Aṇātika-sutta have been found in Turkestana and published. 49

The occasion for the Saṅgittpa-sutta (33) was the foretelling that took place among the Jains after the death of their leader Nāthaputta at Pāli, just as was the case for the Paññikasaṅketa (29). The name of the sutta suggests that it represents a recitation of doctrinal matters, perhaps as an attempt to provide a summary of the doctrine as a precaution against a comparable confusion arising in the Buddhist Saṅgīta. The title, the fact that the authorship is attributed to Sāriputta, and the nature of the text, which is numerical on the lines of the Anguttara-nikāya, all suggest that the sutta is a late one.

The nature of the text is reminiscent of the māhātka of the Abhidhamma-pitaka and it is noteworthy that the Sarvāstivāda have in their Abhidharma-pitaka a text called Saṅgīta-paṅka, 50 which seems to be a commentary upon the Saṅgītāsutta, of which fragments have been found in Turkestana. 51 The arrangement of the material in the Saṅgītāsutta seems to be entirely haphazard.

The aim appears to be the collection of all points of doctrine, and no account is taken of the fact that there is repetition and duplication, e.g. in the case of the five khandhās and the five upādāna-khandhās. 52

The Saṅgītāsutta (34) is also ascribed to Sāriputta, and seems to be a systematic selection from the previous sutta. 53 Some of the wording is identical with the Saṅgītāsutta. It follows the same pattern of sections dealing with subjects from one to ten, but has ten in each section, thus giving a total of one hundred. Fragments of the Saṅkrit Saṅgītāsutta have been found and published. 54

49 See p. 173 below.

50 See p. 19 above.

51 HELMUT HOFFMANN, Bruchstücke des Aṇātika-sutta, Leipzig 1939 (SRV, V).

52 See p. 107 below.


54 See D 118 233, 234, 2.

55 RUTY DAVIES (DB, Vol. III, p. 283) writes of an "appendix" at the end of each nikāya, but PANDUKO (SRB, p. 131) points out that although suttas 33 and 34 are also together in the Chinese translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, they are not the last suttas there. The Chinese version is based upon the Dhammapadapakṣa version, as WALDSCHMIDT (CRP, p. 130) notes.

3.2. The Majjhima-nikāya

The Majjhima-nikāya contains 152 suttas arranged in three groups of fifty (paññās). The partisans (1—50, 51—100, 101—125) are further divided into vaggas of ten suttas each, except for the last vaga but one, which has twelve suttas.

There is no obvious order followed in the arrangement of suttas, except that suttas with a similar name are sometimes grouped together. There are seventeen pairs of suttas with the same name, distinguished by the prefixes Mahā- and Citta-. In most cases these pairs are together, with Mahā-sometimes coming first, and sometimes Citta-, although in one case the pair are far apart in different vaggas.

One vaga (Mahāyāna-avagga) consists of five such pairs, while the Cittavāna-avagga, on the other hand, contains only two pairs. There are several suttas entitled Mahā-, to which there is no Citta-counterpart.

Of such a pair, the Mahā-version is usually the longer, but the Citta-version is not always. The Cittavāna-avagga (27) is longer than the Mahāvāna-avagga (25) of the Cittavāna-sutta (63), while the Mahāvāna-sutta (64) is longer than the Mahāvāna-sutta (65). Sometimes such linked suttas have nothing in common but their name, e.g., the two Cittavāna-suttas (27 and 28) both begin with the word "samādhi." (STT 65c).

3.2.1. The Mahāsūtra

A number of the suttas in this group are autobiographical, and give information about the Buddha's career. The Ariyiyavasana-sutta (25) contains an account of the Buddha's activities between the time he left home and the conversion of his first five disciples, including his visits to the teachers Aññasaka and Uddaka Rāmaṇaṭt, the Mahāsāka-sutta (30) gives an account of the Buddha's attempts to gain enlightenment by means of asceticism, and of his decision to give up such methods because they failed to gain the goal he desired. The Mahāvāna-sutta (31) contains similar details.

Of the two Cittavānasuttas, the Cittavāna (30) is longer than the Mahāvāna (29). Both deal with the same subject (the simile of the river) and both have the same summary at the end. It is possible that one is not an elaboration of the other, but that both are of different versions of the same sūtra. An important addition in the Cittavāna version of the sūtra is an attempt to enumerate the states which are higher than knowledge and vision (jñāna-samādhi). These are set out as the jñāna and vijñāna.

The Sattapāṭhavasana-sutta (10) contains word for word the first part of the Mahāsāka-suttanānava of the Digha-nikāya (22), and is possibly to be regarded as the Cittavāna-version of that sūtra because it lacks the second portion dealing with the four truths. This has a separate existence in the Majjhima-nikāya (141). [13]

The Mahāsāka-sutta (22) takes its title from the simile of the water-snake which, if handled properly, is unable to harm the person who holds it. It also contains the parable of the raft, which is invaluable for crossing a river.

[14] As suggested by Hooker (MLS, I, p. 8) following Cālamke. It is a comparable account of Gotama's visit to Ajīva Kāśyapa and Udayana Rāmaṇaṭa as found at Mv II 118, 1—120, 16.


[16] See note 40 above.

[17] See p. 44 above.
but must be abandoned when it has served its purpose. In the suttas the Buddha attacks the view held by some that the world and the self (ātta) are the same thing. This seems to be a reflection of the Upanisadic view of a World-Aroun.  

Some of the suttas include ideas which have already been noted as comparatively late when they occurred in the Diṅga-ānasāya. The Mahāśākyāsana (12) gives an account of the ten powers of a Tathāgata, while in the Cūḍāmahāsākyāsana (37) Mogallana visits Sākka’s heaven and makes the Vejasāyana Palace with his big toe by means of supernatural power. The Brahmāmantaśākīsana (49) shows the Buddha challenging a Brahmi, and proving that the Brahmi’s supernatural powers are inferior to his own.  

A number of the suttas recount ascetic practices, e.g. the Mahāśañkarāsana (12), e.g. give information about the Jains, e.g. the Cūḍāmahāsākyāsana (14), while the Mahāśañkarāsana (13) in a series of similes explaining the consequences of the pleasures of sense gives a long list of punishments and torments.  

3.2. The Mahāśaṅkarāsana  

In this sūtra too there are suttas dealing with other religious groups. The Upālissūtra (56) tells how the householder Upali, a Jain layman, visited the Buddha to refute him but became converted to Buddhism, and resisted an attempt by Nāṭigutta to persuade him to recant. The Kukkuraśākīsana (57) tells of two Vision and canine ascetics whose future existence as cattle, dogs, or hell-dwellers is foredoomed. The unkindness and cruelty of asceticism is also dealt with in the Kandaraśākīsana (51), and the Aṣṭapakāsana (80).  

Two suttas in this portion tell of discussions which took place after the death of the Buddha. In the Madhàrāsana (84), and the Ghotamakalāsana (84), an enquiry about the present whereabouts of the Buddha meets the reply that the Buddha has now attained final nibbāna (parinibbāna). There are other indications that some suttas are later than others, even among those which are attributed to the Buddha himself. The Bhaddārāsana (65) discusses the reason for the growth of rules of training (sīkkhāpadañ), and the Buddha points out that the need for an increase in rules only arises when the Sūtras are great and of long standing.  

In several suttas the Buddha continues his attack upon the brahmins. In the Anālayasana (68) he examines the brahmins’ claim to be the best caste, and in the Madhàrāsana (84) his disciple Mahākaccāna does the same. A number of the suttas in this section are narrative stories. The Ratnākāsana (82) tells of the young prince who became a wanderer, and of his father’s attempts to entice him away from religion when he visits the palace to beg later years. The sūtras in the Theragāthā, the Mahāvīraśākāsana (83) relates the story, also found among the ascetics, of a king who regards his first grey hairs as messengers of death, and so abandons his kingdom and becomes a wanderer. The Aṅgulimalasana (86) tells the story of the robber who attempted to kill the Buddha, but was instead converted by him. His verses also appear in the Theragāthā.  

The Brahmārāśākīsana (81) resembles the Ambhaśākīsana of the Diṅga-ānāsāya (3), in that it tells of a brahman visiting the Buddha to see if he really possessed supernatural powers. The brahman is led to see two marks which are not normally visible. The brahman then asks the Buddha how one becomes a possessor of the three Vedas (vedavyāja), and he is given a Buddhist interpretation of the Brahmanical term.  

Two suttas are of great interest because they are occasions for the Buddha to be questioned about the existence of devas and adhisthanas, i.e. beings superior to the devas (gods). In the Saṅgārāvasana (100), the Buddha is asked if devas exist, and replies that adhisthanas, i.e. super-gods, certainly do, so that by implication the existence of devas can be deduced.  

“But now, Gotama, do devas exist?” “I certainly know for a fact, Bhadrakāśa, that super-devas exist.” “But why, Gotama, when asked if devas exist, do you say is your answer not useless and misleading?” “If anyone, when asked if devas exist, then someone with sense can declare that devas exist.” “Then why, Gotama, do you not say in the first place that devas exist?” “It is firmly accepted in the world, Bhadrakāśa, that devas exist.”  

In the Kappakāśalasana (80) he is asked if adhisthanas exist. He conceives that they do, but his follower Āṇanda makes it clear that the pre-eminent position of such adhisthanas was of no importance. Elsewhere in the canon, however, the word adhisthana is used of the Buddha, and since this and adhisthanas are synonymous it seems likely that in the Saṅgārāvasana the Buddha was referring to himself as being superior to the devas, and in the Kappakāśalasana it was the brahmanical adhisthanas which were being disparaged.  


See K. R. Norran, “Dhāvāsa and Adhisthanas in Buddhism,” in JPS 1981, pp. 145–53. The corruptions which have led to the loss of the word adhisthanas in both the Saṅgārāvasana and the Kappakāśalasana must be very old.

48 Th 789–90.
49 T 139–39.
50 Th 136–39.
51 See M I 144, 18–22.
53 See K. R. Norran, “Dhāvāsa and Adhisthanas in Buddhism,” in JPS 1981, pp. 145–53. The corruptions which have led to the loss of the word adhisthanas in both the Saṅgārāvasana and the Kappakāśalasana must be very old.
3.2.3. The Upāpiṇḍikas

As already noted, this period, despite its name, contains 52 suttas, since there are twelve suttas in the fourth book. It has been suggested that suttas (132), (133) and (134), which are all three by followers of the Buddha, and are based upon (131), should perhaps be regarded as forming one suttā, which would make the number correct. On the other hand, since the Savaṇṇavagga (141) seems to be no more than an early commentary on the Buddha's first sermon about the four noble truths, and the Dākkhinavagga (142) repeats Ānanda's pleading of Mahāpajāpatī's cause found in the Vinaya, it is possible that both suttas are interpolations.

It has been pointed out that this section contains more suttas for which a late origin can be postulated than the other two periods. In particular, the suttas in the Vihāravagga (131–42) foreshadow the method of analysis and classification found in the Vihāra in the Mahākammakoḷahūsaka. The Insigilivagga (116) gives a list of pañcavahās in prose and then a longer list in verse. The concept of the pañcavahā is found to be a borrowing from Buddhism in some other religion. The Anarohavahāsukkoḷahūsaka (128) describes the conception and birth of a Buddha in words very similar to those found in the Mahākammakoḷahūsaka of the Dīgha-nikāya (14), where they are applied to the Buddhā Vipassī and in the Nīkās-kathā of the Jātaka. The Gopakamogavahāsukkoḷahūsaka (108) is said to have been delivered not long after the Buddha's parinibbāna by Ānanda, who was asked whether the Buddha had designated any of his followers as a successor (paticcāra) to the Sāriputta after his death. Ānanda replied that no one had been designated, but the Sāriputta was nevertheless united because the Ānāmīya was the successor. The Sāmākamogavahāsukkoḷahūsaka (106) tells of the quarrelling which took place among the Jains after the death of their leader Nīkanūpa. As in the case of the Saṅgītavagga of the Dīgha-nikāya (132), this led to the Buddhā promulgating some sets of numerical categories.

A number of suttas show disciples preaching. In suttas (132) and (133) Ānanda and Mahākammakoḷa repeat and explain the Buddha's words in the Dākkhinavagga (131). In the Dānāvahāsukkoḷahūsaka (130) and the Bhavāsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoḷahūsukkoローン.
The first sūta of the Devatasaññyatā (1) has a short introduction describing how a devatā visited the Buddha and asked a question. The second sūta has an abbreviated introduction, while the third and subsequent sūtas in the sūtras are often a single sentence. The remainder of the sūpas consists simply of verses, which, because they are in the Devatasaññyatā, must be presumed to have been originally uttered by a devatā. A similar pattern can be seen in later sūpas.

The subject matter of the Saṅghāvagga is predominantly ethical, and most of the sūtas deal with the Buddhist ideal of life. Many of the verses are of a question and answer nature. Some are riddles, while others are puns, e.g. sūta 1.2.2, depends upon the five meanings, religious and secular, of udāna: a man does not rejoice who is without upāsī (material possessions), but a man does not lament who is without upāsī (the clinging to existence which results from having material possessions). Sometimes both a religious and secular answer is given to the same question, e.g. in sūta 1.3.4 there are two answers to the question of what is the best of things that rise and things that fall: seed and rain, and also knowledge and ignorance. In a number of sūtas where only a religious answer to a question is given, it would seem probable that the secular answer has been omitted and forgotten, leaving only the paradoxical religious answer. The fact that some of the verses are also found in Jain literature prove their non-Buddhist nature.

The Bhikkhunisaññyatā (5) collects together stories about bhikkhuṇī, who were tempted by Mara. Many of the verses are also found in the Therāgatha, but some do not occur there, and others are ascribed to different thera. Once again, the solution to the problem probably lies in the fact that the early tradition was doubtful about the form of the verses and the speakers, and the Saṅghaṭṭa-bhāsas and Khuddaka-bhāsas transmitted independently a differing tradition. The third and a Sanskrit version of this sānghita has been discovered in Turkestan. It agrees with the Pāli Bhikkunisaññyatā in its contents, showing that the differentiation of the bhāsas tradition pre-dates the schism between the Theravāda and Sammāvāśa. It is debatable whether the prose of the introductions to the verses in the Saṅghāvagga is as old as the verses themselves, or whether it represents the work of the samghikāra at the first or a subsequent council. Since only the verses of the Bhikkunisaññyatā are found in the Therāgatha, it is clear that the prose did not have canonical status for the Khuddaka-bhāsas. The name is true of Yāgāsa’s verses, found in the Vagāhaṭṭhagahaṇa-sūpata with prose intro-

The Pāli Canon
dections, but without them, and with some differences, in the Tharzagālā Gilāmā. A fragment of the Vajrasamayavatika has been found in Turkestan, and portions of the Śrāvastīyavatika and Candrasatā have been discovered and published.

3.3.2. The Nidānavagga

The sutta in this and the subsequent sections of the Sān̄yuttā nikkayas deals mainly with epistemology, metaphysics, and psychology. The Sutta takes its name from its first suttapāda, the Nidānavatika (12), which in 95 suttae deals with the subject of the twelve links, i.e., the twelve links of the chain of cause and effect (patiṭṭhānapatipāda). A number of suttas from the Nidānavatika have been found in Turkestan and published.131 The Ānāgātavatikasutta (15) in the same nikkaya contains 20 suttae which include the words "causeless" in this sense, with the exception of suttas (15, 16, 18), which are abbreviated in the European edition that the words do not appear therein.131

3.3.3. The Khandavagga

This nikkaya takes its name from the Khandhavatika (32), which is its first suttapāda. Despite its division into three groups of 50 (paṭibāsā), the Sutta contains 158 suttae. In them the subject of the khandhās is examined with great repetition, and the impression is given that every sutta which mentions the khandhās, and a few which do not, has been collected together. Many can be found elsewhere in the canon. The Sān̄yuttā raddhasuttas (29) contains 16 suttae which record ten suttas of Sān̄yuttā, some of them a single sentence presented in a stereotyped setting. The Nidānavatika (29) contains 50 suttae, of which the last 30 are merely sketched out in a very abbreviated form, dealing with the different sorts of skatva (upāsana) and explaining the reasons for their birth and practices.

3.3.4. The Sākyyanavagga

The first suttapāda of this nikkaya is the Sākyyanavatika (35), which discusses the fact that it is divided into four groups of 50 (paṭibāsā), and many portions of the Sān̄yuttā nikkaya (33) explain that everything is subject to birth (jāti-dhamma) in this suttapāda, while suttae (34, 35, 36, 37) deal with Upanissad, verses which are addressed to the Buddha, is disposed, and not letting in (anānussatta) of harmful influences through the eyes, etc. Two fragments of a Sandhya version of this suttapāda have been found and published.138 The Ānāgātavatikasutta (43) deals with the uncompounded (asamkhata), i.e., nibbāna, and the path leading to it. Each synonym for nibbāna, and each means of attaining it, is the subject of a separate suttae, and the whole are abbreviated by an instruction to treat each of the synonyms under the same 45 headings (asamkhata).

A number of the Suttas in this nikkaya deal with matters of vital importance to Buddhism, including the Magga magasutta (46) which deals with the eightfold path, the Sīla magasutta (47), which treats the seven elements of enlightenment, the Sīla magasutta (48), dealing with the bases of mindfulness, and the Ānāgātavatika (53), which deals with meditation, but in so abbreviated a form that several of the suttae consist of nothing more than sādānā verses with instructions to expand them.

The final suttae of the fifth nikkaya is the Saccasutta (56). Here among a number of very abbreviated suttae is found the Dhammapadavatana-sutta (56, 57), which also occurs in the Vinaya-piṭaka. Several suttae tell of the difficulties of hearing the truth, including the Chakkasutta (50, 45, 27, 49).

131 Th 1299–90.
132 Waldeisen, CAIF, pp. 147–48.
134 S 1 60. See Ernst Waldeisen, "Buddha frees the disc of the moon (Candrasatā)," in BSOAS 23, pp. 176–82.
136 For the meaning "endless" for amanta-nayavatika see T. Burrow, The Problem of Anāgātavatika, Oxford 1979, p. 47.
137 S II 189–90.
138 As noted by Fehr, S III, p. vii.
in which comparison is made with shooting an arrow through a keyhole, or the possibility of a blind turtle pushing his head through the hole in a yoke drifting in the sea.

As already noted, there is an overlap between the Sāṃyutta-nikāya and the Anguttara-nikāya in the Pāli canon, which arises from the possibility of classifying suttas in two different ways. An examination of the contents of the Chinese translation of the Sāṃyutta-nikāya, which is based upon the Sarvāstivāda version,114 shows that it includes manyanta which in the Pāli canon appear in the Anguttara-nikāya.115 This would seem to indicate that at the time when the dhammas were collected the distinction between the "connected" and "numerical" classifications was not very clearly drawn.

3.4. The Anguttara-nikāya

The name of the nikāya116 means literally "the by-one-limb-more-collection," and the text is of the type already seen in the Dīgha-nikāya (e.g., Buddhaghosa mentions 2,457 suttas,117) but the number in the text as we have it is approximately 2,300 (cf. 2,563).118 It is difficult to decide the number accurately because the text and the commentary do not always agree on the way in which the suttas are to be divided.119 The suttas are divided into eleven sections (niṣpātas), arranged in about 160 sappās. Each sappā contains as a rule ten suttas, although the highest number in any one sappā is 262 and the lowest seven.

The Anguttara-nikāya is called the Ekuttara-nikāya in the Mahānāmaputta,120 and the Sanskrit version is called the Ekottarakāgama. Each niṣpāta contains suttas dealing with subjects in some way connected with the number of the section, e.g., the eka-niṣpāta begins with the single form which enlists a man’s heart, i.e., that of a woman, while the chīdanta-niṣpāta ends with the eleven qualities which must be cultivated to ensure the comprehension and destruction of lust.

114 See WALKERHORST, CASP, p. 136.
117 Sp 18, 10–12.
118 “These are, in fact, at most about 2,341 suttas in the Anguttara” according to HARDY (A V, p. vii).
119 See HARDY’s comment at A IV, p. iii.
120 E.g. M 562, 17: 302, 2.

In some of the higher-numbered niṣpātas, i.e. from the chakka-niṣpāta onwards, combinations of smaller numbers are sometimes resorted to get the higher designations, e.g. sutta (9.25) contains the five dhammas and the four niṣpātangas, while sutta (11.11) contains three different sets of three dhammas and a set of two dhammas. With a few exceptions, however, the component parts of such composite suttas are not mere repetitions of the material found in the appropriate places in earlier niṣpātas.121 Sometimes the complements have no obvious connection. Sometimes some connection can be deduced, e.g. the five dakkhas and the five vippatti in sutta (7.11),122 where the latter are to be practised for the destruction of the former. Sometimes the component parts are opposites, e.g., the five dakkhas and the five vakiras in sutta (10.65).123

Many of the suttas occur elsewhere in the canon, and it seems reasonable to assume that in part, at least, the Anguttara-nikāya consists of compilations of such numerical matters as already existed. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to be certain whether the Anguttara-nikāya is the borrower, or has been borrowed from, e.g. the eight cardinal rules for akkhantis occurs as an independent sutta in the Anguttara-nikāya,124 but occur as part of the Bhikkhuni-khākha in the Vinaya-piṭaka125 in an entirely appropriate place. On the other hand the eight earthquakes which occur in the niṣpāta126 seem to be an insertion in the Mahāparinibbānasutta of the Dīgha-nikāya (16.1).127 It is noteworthy that, while many of the enumerations in the Anguttara-nikāya occur without any introduction, in the case of the eight earthquakes the narrative story which leads up to their enumeration in the Mahāparinibbānasutta is also given in the Anguttara-nikāya, which seems to indicate that borrowing took place in both directions. The statement about eight types of assemblies which also occurs in the Mahāparinibbānasutta is extracted from there and given in the previous sutta in the Anguttara-nikāya.128

There are certain noteworthy omissions in the Anguttara-nikāya, e.g., the three refuges (arāpas) and the three characteristic properties (lakkhanas) are not found as such, nor are the four noble truths129 nor the eight-fold path.130

114 A IV 407.
115 A V 226.
116 See HARDY’s comment at A V, p. vii, and his list of composite suttas at A V, 422–27.
117 A IV 466.
118 A V 198–21.
119 A IV 574–79.
120 Vin II 233–256.
121 A IV 368–37.
122 D II 197–199.
123 Cf. D II 190–110 and A IV 307–308.
124 Mrs HAYES DAVIDS points out that the four truths occur in the cattaka-niṣpāta, but under the titles of dakkha and doko, not of arivo, as elsewhere. See A VI, p. vii n. 2.
125 The eight-fold path, with the addition of samma-māna and samma-sāsana, occurs in the dakkha-niṣpāta (A V 223).
With reference to the *sūtras* and the *lakṣaṇas* it has been suggested that the omission arises from the fact that these doctrines had not yet become important by the time the *sūtra-sūtra* was closed.\(^{143}\) Such an explanation would not suit the four trunca and the eight-fold path, and it seems likely that these doctrines were omitted because they were not important and so well known that they were remembered in their original settings, and did not need to be transplanted to the Anguttara-nikāya. The fact that they had been included in the Samyutta-nikāya was perhaps also a factor contributing to their omission, although as has already been noted a certain amount of duplication has taken place. The fact that there is not more important implies that there was a conscious “sharing” of *sūtras* between the two *dāsaka-s* traditions, i.e. the Samyutta- and Anguttara-nikāyas are not entirely independent compilations.\(^{144}\)

One reason for the blurring of distinction between the Samyutta-nikāya and the Anguttara-nikāya can be seen in the way in which some *sūtras* contain *sūtras* which are entirely independent compilations.\(^{145}\) The ten *sūtras* of *sūtra* (1.1) deal with the relationship between husband and wife; *sūtra* (1.14) has 50 *sūtras* giving the names of the most prominent men and female disciples and their virtues; *sūtra* (1.26) contains 262 *sūtras* on different kinds of meditation leading to *sīlvās*: *sūtra* (5.18) has ten *sūtras* about *sīlpās*: there seem to be certain inconsistencies in the way in which the *sūtras* and *sūtras* have been constituted. The first two *sūtras* of *sūtra* (1.6) are a continuation of *sūtra* (1.5) and should have belonged to it.\(^{146}\)

Many of the *sūtras* in the Anguttara-nikāya are of a non-narrative type, following a stereotyped formulaic presentation. This allows for interpolation into the appropriate *sīlpās* at any time up to the final fixing of the canon. Some of the *sūtras* at the end of the tenth *sīlpās* seem to be additions, since they include groups of 20, 30 and 40.\(^{147}\) It is probable that the whole of the eleventh *sīlpās* is an addition.\(^{148}\) It has hardly anything original in it, and its three *sūtras* represent the smallest number of any *sīlpās*. The *Abhidhammakośa* says that the Anguttara-nikāya has only ten *sūtras*, and the same seems to be true of the Chinese translation.\(^{149}\) It seems possible that some of the *sūtras* at the end of the tenth *sīlpās* are, in fact, based upon the added eleventh *sīlpās*. After the *sūtra* dealing with 20, 30 and 40, there are three

\(^{143}\) See Pand. Sūtr, p. 222.

\(^{144}\) As suggested by Mrs Revs Davies (A VI, p. viii).

\(^{145}\) The *sūtra* is entitled “Five-Finger *sīlpās*” (*pañcāūsīlpās*), but this applies from the third *pañcāū* onwards. The first two *sūtras* deal with the long versions (*pañcāūsīlpās* *pañcāū*), which is the subject of the last two *sūtras* of the previous *sūtra*. The mechanical division of *sūtras* into *sūtras* of ten has led to connected *sūtras* becoming separated.

\(^{146}\) See A V 304–308.

\(^{147}\) See Pand. Sūtr, p. 231.

\(^{148}\) As noted by Hardy (A V, p. viii n. 1).

\(^{149}\) Quoted from *Mīmāṃsā* by Pand. Sūtr, p. 231.

\(^{150}\) Pand. Sūtr, p. 231.

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The Pali Canon

*sūtras* listing groups of ten.\(^{144}\) These are, however, the ten qualities required to destroy lust, and are parallel to the eleven qualities which are found in the eleventh *sīlpās*.\(^{145}\) It is likely that the compiler of the *Abhidhamma-sīlpās* realised that his material could easily be adapted to fit the earlier *sīlpās*, and therefore compiled appropriate *sūtras* and inserted them there.

It is likely that the Chinese version of the Ektottara-kāga belongs to the school of the Mahāsāṅghikas, and was translated not from Sanskrit but from an extract from the Saṃskṛta-saṁyuktasūtras, quoted by Śāntideva in the Prakrit original of the Chinese translation.\(^{146}\) The Sanskrit fragments of the Ektottara-kāga have been found in Turkestan and published.\(^{147}\) They all belong to the *sāsana*-sūtras, and correspond to the *Nīlamapadānawagga* of the Anguttara-nikāya. A comparison with the Chinese version of the same *sūtra* shows a certain amount of deviation. Portions of a *sūtra* found in Gilgit and published.\(^{148}\) By chance there is an overlap with some of the Turkestan fragments, which makes it possible to state that there is a verbal correspondence between the two versions. This is perhaps not surprising, since they belong to the Saṃskṛtaśāstra (Turkestan) and Mādhyāmikasūtras (Gilgit) schools.

3.3. The Khuddaka-nikāya

3.3.1. Khuddakapāṭha

As has already been stated, both the Dīgha-nikāya and the Majjhima-nikāya excluded this work from their lists of canonical texts, which probably means that it had not yet attained canonical status at the time when their lists were closed. The Khuddakapāṭha is also omitted from the Chinese translation,\(^{149}\) which implies that either a recension of his work existed in which the Khuddakapāṭha was excluded, or the Chinese trans-
latter were influenced by someone who knew that some schools did not accept the work as canonical. If we can be certain of our assumption that it had not yet gained canonical status when the schools of Abhidhamma closed their lists, then we can conclude that it is the latest text in the Abhidhamma.

It consists of nine short texts. The first is the Buddhist confession of faith (the three refuges), the second a list of ten commandments for śākyamuni (vessana-sīkṣāpādānta), the third a list of 20 parts of the body, and the fourth a list of ten novices' questions set out in numerical order—"What is one, etc.", including some of the most important Buddhist terms, such as the four noble truths and the eight-fold path. The other five pieces are short suttas, used for liturgical purposes: Mahāsāntassa, Rattanaśutta, Tīrakāpāsutta, Nīdiṣṭhāpiṇṇa-sutta, and Mottasanū. The first two and the last also occur in the Suttanta, while the Tīrakāpāsutta occurs in the Pāvakkattha. The first four compilations have parallels in the Vinaya-pitaka, so that in effect all but the Nīdiṣṭhāpiṇṇa are found elsewhere in the canon, and the whole work was probably compiled as an extract from the canon to serve as a handbook for novices. It probably owes its canonical nature to the fact that it is (nearly) all from the canon.

3.2. Dhammapada

The Dhammapada is a collection of 423 verses arranged in 25 sātras, each containing between ten and 26 verses, except for the last, entitled Brahmāma-vagga, which has 41 verses. The titles for the most part reflect the subject matter of the verses, e.g. the Puppitavagga (4) contains verses which with only two exceptions contain either the word sūtra or the name of individual flowers, or include the key word in a refrain, e.g. the Brahmāma-vagga (25) includes the word brahmāma in every verse except one (241), and has the refrain tam sakāvi kriyā brahmāma in 32 verses.

More than half the verses occur elsewhere in the canon, although it is difficult to be certain whether they were collected together from those sources, or whether both took them from a third source. The existence of some of these verses in Jain or brahmanical texts suggests that they were taken from the general store of floating verses which seems to have existed in Northern India in early times. The metres included in the Dhammapada are Pārīkṣā (with some Jāpatī, Vatsiyā with some Jātavasā, and Aṣṭakapadda). Although it may not be the most popular arrangement, comparison with other texts, to be the choice of the compiler. In many cases verses are by their content, appropriate to more than one sūtra, which accounts for the differences which can be observed between various recensions.

Although there are differences of opinion about the poetic quality of the verses in the Dhammapada, the number of different versions we have of it is the evidence for the popularity of this type of literature. From Turkestan there is a Sarvāstivadīs version entitled Uddānadvagga, which includes about 1000 verses, including adhibhūta, in 33 sūtras. There is also an incomplete version in (Gandhāri Pāli) which was acquired in Khotan. This perhaps belonged to the Mahāsānta school. It contains, in its incomplete form, 342 verses of which many are fragmentary, and probably had 26 sūtras, of which (4-5), (9), and (23-26) are lost. It is probable that both the Uddānadvagga and the Gandhāri Dhammapada had originally about 360 verses in common with the Pali Dhammapada, but although there are close parallels between these various texts, there are considerable differences, e.g. the Śilavyavagga of the Uddānadvagga (9) contains none of the verses found in the sūtra which probably had the same name in the Pāli version, and the verses which the two texts have in common are spread over eight other sūtras. The Pali Dhammapada has no sūtra entitled Sīkā, and the verses it has in common with the (presumed) Śilavyavagga of the Gandhāri version are found in seven sūtras. Nevertheless, there is presumably some significance in the fact that the first three sūtras of the Gandhāri Dhammapada occur in reversed order, as the last three of the Pali version.

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179 See pp. 40–47; vv. 222–38; vv. 143–52.
182 WINTERSTEIN, HILL, p. 83.
183 Cf. Dhp 404 with Uc XXV 25; and Dhp 223 with Mhāv 39. 59.
The Mahābhārata-Lokuttaravādin Mahāvastu contains two sūtras, one called the Sahasravargita, 123 the other unnamed but probably the Bhāvanavargita, and a few sporadic verses attributed to the Dhammapada. 124 It was found in Tibet. 125 It is in Pāli, with some attempts made at Sanskritization, and contains 415 verses in 32 sūtras, of which only 15 have titles found in the Pāli version. 126 The relationship between these various versions and the four translations of the Dhammapada which exist in Chinese is not clear, although the oldest of these, dating from A.D. 544, seems to have some affinity with the Pāli Dhammapada, since it includes in its 29 sections all 20 of the Pāli version (9-32, 31-35), with corresponding titles in the same order. The remaining verses seem to have come partly from the Udāna, partly from another text or texts. Although the verses in the sections which correspond are not exactly the same as those in Pāli, the changes, additions, and omissions seem to be no greater than are usual in normal manuscript transmission. 127

3.3.3. Udāna

The Udāna 128 consists of eight sūtras, each containing ten suttas which end with a solemn utterance (udāna). This is usually a single verse, but it is occasionally more, and in a few cases is in prose.

To some extent, as in the case of other collections, some reasons can be seen for the arrangements of suttas into sūtras, e.g. in sūtra (1) all the verses contain the word brāhmaṇa. In sūtras (2) the udānas of nine of the ten suttas contain the word udāna, and the exception has the compound pāṇḍava in common with the udāna following it, and is doubtless placed there by association of ideas. The same association of ideas probably accounts for other connections which can be seen in sūtras which do not have as obvious a theme, e.g. sūtras (2.3) and (3.3) have a refrain in common; sūtras (2.3) and (3.4) have the words pāṇḍava and udāna in common; sūtras (3.8) and (3.9) have pāṇḍava in common.

123 Mnu III 454–56.
124 Mnu III 421–22.
125 Mnu II 212, 10–29; III 166, 16–17.
129 See Devadatta, G. Dharm, pp. 35–38.

The Pāli Canon

The term udāna is one of the categories found in the nine-fold classification of the canon. Although Buddhaghosa states that in that classification the term actually refers to this text, 131 it is more likely that it refers to a general type of literature, of which the Udāna is an example. In this connection it is of interest to note that Dhammapada states 132 that the majority of the Buddha’s udānas are in the Dhammapada. As has just been noted, the Sarvāstivādin version of the Dhammapada is entitled Udānavarga.

The commentator also states 133 that the verses of theri- and theravāna in the Pāli Canon are not udānas, but annāmas. This is probably an attempt to explain why the collection contains only 59 udānas. It is nevertheless clear that there are many other udānas in the Canon, and it is uncertain why this collection should be so small. Some of the udānas which are found elsewhere in the Canon, with and without the narrative story which introduces them, e.g. the first four suttas of the first udāna occur at the beginning of the Mahāvannikas of the Vinnaya pātika. Sometimes the narrative portion of the udāna occurs elsewhere without the udāna, e.g. the first sutta of the Fourth udāna. As is usual, it is not always easy to see which text has borrowed from which, and in some cases it may be that both texts took the suttas directly from the great body of oral material which must have existed in the early days of Buddhism.

Although some of the udānas are in what was probably their true historical setting, it seems clear that some of the suttas have either been adapted, or even invented, to provide an occasion for the utterance of the sūtra. The first four suttas of the eight udānas have the same story, which is merely a brief statement that the Buddha was preaching a sermon concerned with udāna. The fifth and sixth suttas of the sixth udāna also share an introductory story. It did not escape the commentator’s notice that the verses and narrative portions are separate, and he ascribes the narrative portion to Ananda, 134 who at the first council introduced each of the suttas with the words evaṃ su udāna.

The metres found in the udānas include Tripiṭaka (and Jāppil), Vātālipī (and Ājīvīkabandhasa), Ājīvīlipī, and Old Ājīvā. 135 Some of them are prose, e.g. suttas (6.8–6.10) and (8.1–3). 136 The udānas in sutta (5.10), which is found elsewhere, 137 is a mixture of prose and verse, some of the latter being prose which has been forced into verse form.

131 Sp. 28, 16–19.
133 Ud 4.23, 12.
136 Ud 26, 9–27.
137 Ud 4.23–28.
138 = see A˚ KERBÆK, AST, pp. 18–19.
3.5.4. Itivuttaka

The Itivuttaka presumably takes its name from the opening words of each suttavagga l' disayu bhaggavada. The text is stated by Buddhaghosa to be the work of that name included in the nine-fold classification of the canon. It is, however, likely that as in the case of the Udāna, itivuttaka is simply a general term, and the text we possess is only one example of the type. The name appears in the form Itivuttaka in the Sanskrit lists, but this would appear to be an incorrect back-formation.

The Itivuttaka consists of 112 suttas arranged in four sūtras, sub-divided into suttas, and is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The prose is not intended as a narrative, giving the circumstances in which the verse was uttered, as in the case of the Udāna, but the prose and verse complement one another, so that the same idea, whether in the form of doctrine or admonition, is presented partly in prose and partly in verse. It seems likely that the prose passages are, in fact, explanations of the verses, despite the fact that they precede them. Sometimes only a single verse of a set has a prose counterpart, with nothing in the prose corresponding to the other verses. In many cases the prose and verse treat the same subject, but one is a supplement to the other. Occasionally the link between the two is very weak, e.g. in sūtra (92 = 5.3.5) the verse states that the man who is full of lust (ajjī) is far removed from one who is free from lust, whereas the prose tells of a man who might be near to the Buddha physically but far removed morally, and vice versa. The reason for the juxtaposition of prose and verse seems to be nothing more than the verbal similarity based upon "near" and "far." The prose of sūtra (93 = 5.3.4) consists of the statement that there are three fires, i.e. those of lust, hate and delusion. The seven verses of the sūtra constitute a short poem about those who by extinguishing the fires gain release from rebirth.

Like the Anguttara-nikāya, the Itivuttaka is arranged on the niyati system, with items arranged numerically from one to four. It is not surprising that there are some parallels with both the Anguttara-nikāya and the Pāippālī-sūtra, which is also arranged on the same system. This is particularly so of the short fourth sūtra, which has only 15 suttas of which seven are identical with suttas in the saṅkha-sūtra of the Anguttara-nikāya, and one is similar.


3.5.5. Suttasācita

The Suttasācita consists of 1,149 verses, with some prose passages, arranged in five sūtras. There is evidence for believing that the text is a compilation of material from different sources, and some of its contents can claim to be among the oldest Buddhist poetry known to us. The last two sūtras, the Addākavakavaka and the Pāippālī-sūtra, are mentioned by name in some of the Pāli canonical texts and in the Saṅkha-sūtra; the quotations which are given from them coincide with the text as we have it now. This does not, of course, prove that the whole text existed in its present form at the time of the Buddha. The great age of the two sūtras is also supported by the fact that a commentary upon them, the Niddasa, was composed at a sufficiently early date for it to be valid.

43 With 4.5 cf. Pp. 54.
44 See E. L. WOODWARD, II tr., p. ix.
46 See K. $WATANARE, op. cit., p. 44, that the original of the Chinese translation was a Sanskrit text, because the texts brought to China were alleged to be "in the Pali language." However, this is misleading, since the Pali language is not unique to the Pali language, and may refer either to the Saṅkha-sūtra or the Pāippālī-sūtra. See K. R. NORMAN, "The role of Pali in early Sinhalese Buddhism," in Recenti, III, 1936, pp. 19.
47 See K. $WATANARE, op. cit., p. 49.
49 See R. C. WARDER, p. 39.
50 See pp. 47 and 50 above.
included in the canon. A number of individual suttas or other passages are found in Sanskrit texts of other traditions, suggesting that the suttas are old enough to predate the schisms between the sects.

The fact that the Niddesa deals with two suttas and one independent sutta, and the separate existence of individual suttas in other traditions, suggest that at the time of the compilation of the Niddesa, and even later, not only were the suttas still regarded as independent works, but so too were the suttas. It is, however, unwise to press this too far. At the time of the composition of the Chinese translations, which must have been long after the formation of the Theravāda canon, the suttas were still separate in the tradition from which the Chinese made their translation, since it seems that only the Athākavagga has a Chinese counterpart.

The Upanissadas begins with the Upanissad, a short poem in the Awasthpavagga meter, which in a Mahāvīra likened himself to worldly emotions, likened to a snake casting its shadow, a silhouette which serves as a “curious refrain.”

That this was originally a separate text is shown by the fact that in other traditions it is found as part of the original. Linguistic differences between it and the other suttas of the Upanissadas can also be seen.

The second sutta in the conversation between the herdsman Dhamiya and the Buddha, in which the two speakers, in alternate Pāli/Sanskrit/Sanskrit/Sanskrit verses, and the contrast of the divine and secular life. Of considerable interest are hypermetric insertions into each verse (it Dhamiya gosu, its Bhagavak) which make the identity of each speaker clear. These are probably to be regarded as poet’s remarks, which have been incorporated into the text. Their are as shown by comparable instructions in the Aṭṭhakavagga and Pāramittavagga. The third sutta of the suttas is the Khaṇḍakavagga, a set of 41 verses extolling the life of a wanderer, of which all but one have the refrain “He should wander alone, like a rhinoceros born.” The suttas itself gives no indication of

that the comparison is with the horn of the rhinoceros: yosa kujjapācchero vihassu viharāyāt hārdapi sarvāyāt tathāपकालपति-कालपति (Nidda II [No] 26), 4-9. Doubtless the singularity of the fact that one horn, impressed them, and resulted in its use as an example of “one-ness.”

See p. 48 above.

Sārād kuyyapakālpanīkā vātāsena karanāy, vātāsena prati-kālpanīkā

that the comparison is with the horn of the rhinoceros: yosa kujjapācchero vihassu viharāyāt hārdapi sarvāyāt tathāपकालपति-कालपति (Nidda II [No] 26), 4-9. Doubtless the singularity of the fact that one horn, impressed them, and resulted in its use as an example of “one-ness.”

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The first *sutta* of the Ādittavagga gives the main message that salvation is to be obtained only through the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha. It is the Khuddakaṇḍa, as is also the Mahānikkhaṇḍa (2.4). A number of *suttas* are attacks upon the brahman caste. The Brahmavādattātanukkhaṇḍa (2.7) tells of an ideal society, along Buddhist lines, without wealth and sacrifice, and was brahmanas over to Buddhism by explaining that this ideal state once existed in the past, and was proposed by brahmanas who followed the practices which the Buddha advocates. A number of *suttas* are composed in the Prayaḷā or mixed Prayaḷā/Japali metre, which is found predominantly in the earliest stratum of Pali verse. Among these *suttas* is the Nibbāṇa (2.8), in which the good teacher is likened to a skilful man who is able to help people across the stream (of samsāra) in his boat.

A man should honour one from whom he can learn the doctrine, just as the devotee honours gods. Being well-disposed and learned, he reveals the doctrine when he is honoured.

If anyone cultivates such a man carefully, making it his aim and listening attentively, entering upon the doctrine and what conforms with the doctrine, he becomes wise, understanding, intelligent, and subtle.

But even one with a good fool, who has not learned the truth and is erroneous, once goes to one death, having failed to understand the doctrine clearly in this world, and not having overcome doubt.

How can a man who has gone down into a river, a swift-flowing stream in space, and is carried along by the stream, help others to cross it?

In the same way, how can one who has not learned the doctrine, and has not listened to the explanation given by the learned ones, who is ignorant of himself and has overcome doubt, help others to realize it?

If one embarks on a steam boat, provided with oar and rudder, could bring many others across there, being skilful, thoughtful, and knowing the means thereof.

In the same way, one who has knowledge and has developed himself, who is learned and unshakable, understanding it himself could make others realize it, if they have the ability to listen attentively.

Therefore we should cultivate a good man who is wise and learned. Understanding the meaning, and following (the path), knowing the doctrine, one attains happiness. (216–25)

The Mahāvagga includes a number of *suttas* which contain biographical data about the Buddha. The Pabbajīsutta (3.1) praises the ascetic’s life, and gives a description of the way in which King Bimbisāra of Magadha tried to tempt the Buddha with wealth. The Pāṭimāsutta (3.2) tells of the exertion which was needed to gain enlightenment on the banks of the Narmarāj, and leads into a dialogue with Mara. Both of these *suttas* occur in Sunthiri in the Mahāvagga, as does the Sākhāya-sutta (3.6) in which the wanderer Sākhāya visits the Buddha and asks him to explain the meaning of a number of terras.
texts belonging to other traditions. The name is Sanskritised as either Arthavargya or Aṣṭavargya, and although arguments can be produced for following either form, the existence of four ātānas in the ātāna with the term aṣṭakakṣisūta in its titles (2.2–6), each containing eight verses, suggests that the ātāna was called after the ātāna, as frequently happens, and it correctly Sanskritised as Aṣṭakakṣisūta. In view of the fact that many of the ātānas in other ātānas are found elsewhere in the canon, it is perhaps remarkable that none of the ātānas in the Aṣṭakakṣisūta is found elsewhere in the Pāli. The reason is, perhaps, that the ātāna was regarded as a closed body of ātānas very early in the history of Buddhism, as is shown by the fact that it is already in the Udāna described as having sixteen ātānas, which led to its obtaining a status of being original and indivisible. It seems that it is the only ātāna to have been translated into Chinese, which presumably means that it was the only ātāna found in the canon from which the Chinese translation was made. The only fragments which have been published from Turkistan corresponding to any portion of the Suntanipata also belong to this ātāna. They presumably belong to the Satavatcūdān ātāna.

There are other indications that the ātāna is old. As already noted, a commentary upon it, entitled the Niddesa, is regarded as canonical. The Turvāsaṃvāda (4.14) is in the Old Āryā metre, which is found only in a very old text. From the number of variant readings which are mentioned and commented upon in the Nāgas (4.14) it would seem that the ātāna had already had a long history of tradition and development by the time of the Niddesa’s composition. The ātānas have no prolegomena, although they are found in the Sanskrit and Chinese versions. Those found there do not, however, agree with the appāya which are given in the Paramattakapīṭakī, which indicates

that such introductory stories are of later, independent, composition. Neither which suggests that it is a later interpolation.

Several ātānas in the ātāna warn the bhikkhus against sensual pleasures. The purity is not gained by disputation. The ideal man is described, and the dangers of sexual intercourse, and the Māgaddhāya (4.7) warns of the drone rejected Māgaddha’s daughter when she was offered as his wife. The nature, and there is an absence of deep philosophical concepts, which tends to confirm the early date of the ātāna.

The Pāñcavāsagāna begins with 56 ratthapāthas, which tell of the brahman Vārāṇasi sending his sixteen follow to the Buddha. There follow the sixteen questions they put to the Buddha, and the final section of the ātāna tells how the sixteen resolved to stay with the Buddha. The ratthapāthas are not composed of the Niddesa, which means that either they did not exist when the ātāna was composed or, if they did exist, they were not yet regarded as canonical. The Parātaṃmakapīṭakī describes them to Ananda. The concluding section, including a prose passage, is commented upon by the Niddesa. The Parātaṃmakapīṭakī attributes it to the suṇātaṃpatīka.

The sixteen questions (puechā) are of a more metaphysical nature than the ātānas of the Aṣṭakakṣisūta, and are concerned with the crossing of the stream, and the escape from birth and death, which accounts for the title of the ātāna, of it do not occur elsewhere in the canon. Its antiquity is shown by the very form being specifically attributed to a particular question (patha) in the ātāna. Despite its age, there are indications that it has been made up from earlier sections. If it had been composed as a single entity, one might have been expected the metre to be standard throughout, but this is not so. Some sections are in the Tirivatthu (4.11), metre, and some are written entirely in the Ātāna, some in the mixture of the two, and in the case of the Pāñcakāmāvyasagāna (6.4) interpellations have crept in to such an extent that it is
not easy to decide what the original readings might have been. The "reciter's remarks" which have been inserted in each phrase to make the identity of the speakers clear are commented upon by the Nidāna, which means that they must have been added at an early date. Even in the rāmapali and suttas which are not commented upon in the Nidāna there are metrical and linguistic features which are generally reckoned to be old. Although it is not easy to date such phenomena, there seems little doubt that the Suttanāpasā contains some of the oldest Pāli verses which we possess.

3.2.6. Vinānavaṃśa

The Vinānavaṃśa (98) consists of 83 stories in seven rāmas, describing the grandeur of the heavenly abodes (vidyārūpas) enjoyed by those who have been reborn as devas as a reward for meritorious actions done during their births as human beings. The stories all follow the same pattern, in which a deva is asked by Moggallāna the reason for his enjoying the vidyārūpas in which he dwells, and the deva thereupon relates his previous good conduct. The stories are doubtless intended for laymen, to induce them to live a good life by promising rebirth as a deva as a reward. The text is probably a late addition to the canon, and represents a period when the doctrine of kamma had come to be represented as a simple deed-and-reward mechanism.

The metrical style of this story is in general, merit little attention, and most scholars agree that as we have it the Vinānavaṃśa must be one of the latest texts to be admitted to the canon. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the style of story is old. The existence of the Kūṭikavamsa (99), which corresponds closely with the Kūṭikavamsa in the Mahāvamsa (100), indicates a date of origin prior to the split between the sects. There was also an Sāvatthuvādī Kūṭikavamsa (101) known as the Vinānavaṃśa, which may, on the strength of the fragment of that text which has been published, be assumed to have been a collection of the same character as the Vinānavaṃśa, and also based upon the same concept of punishment and reward, which must therefore have been older than the two works.


348 E. R. GOODEALL, PTS London 1886, and S. A. JAYANTIKARA, PHS London 1917; and S. S. BENNETT, SDR London 1917. There are no verses in gāthās, metres, and those in nāṭikādasakadasa metres are probably late. See WARD, PII, § 163.

349 Ms II 191–93.

As in the case of the Vimanavanathu, there are parallels with the Jataka collection, and there must have been a period of development, during which time enlargement of some of the stories took place. The existence of a text named Prasiddhavaca in the Kusuvarimaha of the Suratavatthu canon suggests that this sect had a text comparable to the Petavatthu, and fragments of it have been discovered. As already noted, the Tirukkudupatavatthu (1.5) has been borrowed by the Kashyapakapatha.

3.5.8. Thuraṅgāthā

The Thuraṅgāthā is a collection of 1279 verses, arranged in poems, ascribed to 264 thera who, for the most part, lived during the lifetime of the Buddha or shortly afterwards. The poems are arranged in sīpāsas according to the number of verses which they contain, e.g. all the poems of one verse are in the eva-sīpāsa and so on. For the eva-sīpāsa and thereafter the sīpāsa number is simply a rough guide to the number of verses which the poems contain. Within the sīpāsa there is no obvious arrangement, but certain patterns are apparent, as verses are linked together by subject, or refrain, or by "catch-words," e.g. Th 55-60 have the common theme of kriyā(ākā). Sometimes verses are placed together because of some relationship between the authors, either of name or family, e.g. Th 11 is by Culla-gāvavaka and Th 12 by Mahāgāvavaka; Th 107 by Dhammasava and Th 108 by his father. Doubtless this is a reflection of the way in which the collection was made. Verses were recited by the sīpāgāthikas as they remembered them, and the recitation of one verse prompted the memory of another.

Not all verses were in fact recited by the thera to whom they are attributed. Sometimes they were addressed to them, or are about him, but they became "his" by virtue of the fact that they were connected with his name in the tradition. Sometimes verses ascribed to one and the same thera occur in two places, and sometimes verses under his own name are in one place, and those under him, in another.

The first and last half-verses of the Kusuvarimaha (54 = III.9) are to be compared with verses 28 and 32 of the Kusuvarimaha (51 = I.9). The Thiraṅgatavatthu (18 = I.10) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely resembles the Gahapatatā (454 = I.4) closely
of a general nature, while in others the description of the attainment of peace is coupled with a statement of personal conditions and surroundings, frequently tainting. Quite often the poem consists of a secular portion, in which such descriptions of nature are given, followed by a religious section in which we learn of the donor’s attainment of his goal. The first part of the verse is similar to the style found in the later Mahābhārata Prakrit collection attributed to Hāla,109 likely that the genre was known to the composer who composed the verses found in the sections of some natural phenomena, e.g. the beginning of the rains, which is then linked to a secular occurrence, e.g. the absence of the traveler, the Thermagāthā verses begin with the natural phenomenon which is then linked with a religious experience.110

Spread with garlands of hareri flowers, the regions of the earth are delightful. Breezing with elephants those lovely rocks delight me. Those rocks delight me, the colour of blue clouds, beautiful, cool with water, having pure streams, covered with Indrapatta meadows. Like the shade of a blue cloud, like an excellent pabled house, resembling with elephants those lovely rocks delight me. The lovely surface are rushed upon; the mountains are resorted to by seers. Made to resound by peacock; those rocks delight me. It is enough for me, desiring to meditate, resolute, mindful. It is enough for me, a resolute bhikkhu desirous of the goal. (1632-40)

Although it is probably true to say that the authors of these verses were not trying to be poets, but were merely aiming to give an account of their religious experiences in a way in which they felt was most appropriate for such a statement, i.e. in verse, nevertheless it is noteworthy that, together with some of the verses of the Dhammapada and the Suttanipata, the Therigāthā and its companion collection the Therigatha form some of the more poetical, as opposed to more Buddhist, parts of the Pali canon. Fragments of the Sarvabhūvānaśīhāvarāgītha have been discovered in Tussatan and published.112

3.3.9. Therigāthā

The Therigāthā113 consists of 222 verses forming 73 poems, arranged in nīlāta. As with the Therigāthā, the final addāna verses cause problems, since

it refers to 494 verses** uttered by 101 thers. Since one poem is said to be by a group of 30 thers, it would be possible to obtain a total of about 100 thers, but this ignores the fact that another poem is said to have been uttered by 500 thers.

The Ṛṣita system is the same as in the Therāgāthā, and the method of collection by association of ideas seems to have been very similar.*** There are similar problems concerning the omission of verses and the attribution of some to other thers in other texts. There is also the difficulty, already mentioned, of the verses found in the Bhikkhunisamayutta of the Samyutta-nikāya (5), of which some do not appear in the Therāgāthā, and others are ascribed to different thers. We may assume that there was uncertainty in early times about the authors and the circumstances in which they uttered their verses, or, in the case of different Ṛṣita-schools followed different traditions about this.

Although some of the verses are of such a nature that it is impossible to tell the sex of the author, many are indubitably by women. We read of mother who are 2-3... the Sadakā by the death of a child or husband, and of courtesans who give up their way of life and become bhikkhunis. One of the most beautiful poems in the whole collection is the lament, in Ādipadaṁśa metre, by the former courtesan Ambaśāli for her lost beauty.

My hair was black, like the colour of bees, with curly ends; because of old age it is like back-dries of hemp; not otherwise is the utterance of the speaker of truth.

Covered with flowers; my head was fragrant; like a perfumed box; now because of old age it smells like a dog’s fur; not otherwise... Formerly my breasts looked beautiful, swelling, round, close together, lofty; now they hang down, like empty water-bags; not otherwise... Formerly my body looked beautiful, like a well-polished sheet of gold; now it is covered with fine wrinkles; not otherwise... Formerly my thighs looked beautiful, like an elephant’s trunk; because of old age they are like stalks of bamboo; not otherwise... Formerly my elbows looked beautiful, possessing delicate elbows, decorated with gold; because of old age they are like sticks of reed; not otherwise... Formerly my feet looked beautiful, like (shoe) full of cotton-wool; because of old age they are cracked, and wrinkled; not otherwise... Such was this body; now it is decrepit, the abode of many pains; an old house, with its plaster fallen off; not otherwise is the utterance of the speaker of truth. (723–25, 765–70)

The last two poems of the collection are long compositions in the Āpād metre. Although they contain features which might be regarded as late, the

...the number of verses they contain, so that in the chaṇḍikas the stories contain

** Th. 506–47.

*** Th. 541–52.


***** See p. 63 and 43 above.


only one verse. In higher-numbered jātikas the number of verses does not always agree with the nipata number, while the last nipata contains ten very long verse stories, and is known merely as the maddhā nipata.

The general form in which the Jātaka stories have come down to us is that of an incident in the present (posspuralātikā) which gives rise to the Buddha telling of an event from one of his previous births (attamatakā); the attamata are usually embedded in the attamatakā, but are sometimes found in the posspuralātikā; then follows the word commentary to the verses (ṣayyākaraṇa), and finally the sammohana, where the characters in the attamata are identified with those in the circle of the Buddha’s acquaintance (Buddhā partial). The sammohana therefore properly belongs to the posspuralātikā. The story of the present is often all but omitted, with the words “This story was told about . . .”, or with a reference to another story to be told later.

It has been shown that the word commentary, the prose of the framework, and the prose of the stories are all the work of the same author, and the question of his identity will be discussed later. Jātaka, however, is one of the classes in the nine-fold classification of the early Buddhist canon, and the presence elsewhere in the canon of a number of stories of the Jātaka type, some of them almost identical with stories found in the Jātaka collection, shows that the stories in which the verses are placed are sometimes of great antiquity. We may therefore assume that, for the most part, the commentator upon the Jātaka collection was making use of older material, some of it already associated with particular verses, when he compiled his stories. This view is supported by the fact that Jātaka stories, some of them almost word for word identical with the Pāli version, are also found in Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

The background story into which the Jātaka verses are inserted sometimes agrees with, and sometimes differs from, the corresponding Pāli story, showing that the association of verse and prose sometimes, but not always, pre-dates the schism between the sects. Although the prose stories in their present form are so much later than the verses, it is nevertheless convenient to deal with both verse and prose together.

The Jātaka collection proper is prefixed the Nīlakaṇṭha, which gives what is in effect a biography of the Buddha. It is in three sections: 1. The story of the beginning in the remote past (dāreṇāvijñā), which tells the history of the Buddha-to-be from his existence as Sūmudda during the time of the Buddha Dippadāra down to his birth in the heaven of the Tuisa

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See Bollû, KL, pp. 1–11.

See H. Lüders, Die buddhistische Literatur, Leipzig 1941, p. 144.

See p. 15 above.

See L. Alzoud, “The impious brahman and the pious caṇḍas,” in CORSINS, REH, pp. 8–11.

See Jones, Muna et, II, pp. x–xi.

Ja I 2–17.

The Pāli Canon
reliefs on the Bharhut stūpa, showing that they had already become popular by the second century B.C.

Other sets of Jātaka verses are ballads where the verses provide a dialogue and the prose identifies the speakers. Some are narrative stories, where the action may either be supplied in the verses or supplemented by prose insertion. A number of the longer Jātakas in the Mahāpāta are divided up into shorter sections (bhāṣaṇas), which suggests that they were at one time independent texts. If this was not so, then it is difficult to understand why the bhāṣas of the Bhūrīdatājātaka (543) or the Vahuruarpājātaka (545) are not regarded as separate Jātakas.

Certain observations may be made about the relationship between the verses and the prose stories. The fact that the verse in the Bījarājātaka (128) includes a mention of a satā (gālle), whereas the prose story is about a jackal (śīpla), indicates that the prose is a later, and somewhat careless, addition. In the Vasanratājātaka (547) the use of the word paccaya in an unusual sense of “proper” in connection with an elephant has led to the word being misinterpreted as the elephant’s name by the prose writer. On the other hand, some of the verses are very difficult to understand without a prose introduction.

One Jātaka presents a problem which from the commentator’s remark about it can be assumed to be very old. The Mahāvānaprājātaka (77) has only one verse, as it is to be expected as it is in the śāntaśāstra. It seems to consist of seven pādas. The pratiṣṭha at the beginning of the Jātaka, however, begins with the fourth pāda. Since the verse narrates the sixteen dreams dreamed by the King of Kusāla, it is strange that the pratiṣṭha seems to begin with the eleventh. The seven pādas are given in full in the course of the prose of the paccayappamottaha. They are then repeated, in an abbreviated form, in the attarottakha, but it is clear that, in a very unusual way, they are canonical in the story of the prose because the commentary (upon the word abhā) is there. When, then repeated, is an eighth pāda, which is commented upon in the attarottakha. The commentator adds an explanatory note after the samaddhāna, stating that the attarottakha after the death of the Buddha put the first three pādas into the commentary, presumably because they did not accept them as canonical, and made a pāda of the remaining five pādas.

From abhābhāvān (Ja V 412, 14).


12 There are also prose passages in Ja II 147, 2–3** and 147, 10–11**, as BOLLÈ (KJ, p. vi n.) points out, which are commented upon. These two short passages are, however, taken from elsewhere in the canon (Vin II 110, 19–21 = AII 73, 6–8), and were therefore canonical prose before they were included in the Jātaka.

13 As pointed out by ALAARD, JOI (B) 13, p. 200 n. 2.


of the elokṣūpāṇa, which is entitled Itihāsagōra and contains a set of Jātaka stories which show how women are so jealous that they will stop at nothing to deceive their husbands.

Several Jātaka stories can be shown to be old because they have counterparts in Jain canonical texts, and sometimes the similarity between them is so close that one version can be used to restore the text of the other. The Māhāyāna-Jātaka (497) and the Ādittavādā-Jātaka (499) both belong to the class of what has been called "second poetry" in which the plot and self-control of the wandering ascetics is contrasted with the formal ceremonialism of the brahmins. These two Jātakas have direct parallels in Jain literature. The Khumbakārśā-Jātaka (408) also has parallels in Jain texts. The verses contain a memorial pūjā which gives the names and home cities of the four pucce-khuddas, and four other pūjās which describe the signs which led them to enlightenment. The verses do not state that they were pucce-khuddas, although the poem story makes this clear. The situation in Jain literature is the same. One verse gives the four kings and their cities; another gives the four signs. The verses do not state that they were pucce-khuddas, but the (later) prose stories do. As in the case of the Māhāyāna-Jātaka and the Ādittavādā-Jātaka, although the similarities are great, there are sufficient differences to make it clear that, while it is obvious that the Buddhist and Jain texts must go back ultimately to a common ancestor, they had been so worked over by the redactors of the two traditions that it is not possible to restore in full without original lay beneath all the changes they had introduced.

In some cases it is possible to distinguish such insertions from the original material by means of metrical analysis. In the oldest stratum of Buddhist literature the Tripiṭaka.Jātaka metre was used for narrative verse, while at a later date the Aṣṭaṭhākā (Stūk) metre replaced it for this purpose. A Jātaka story, which in its present form consists of a mixture of Tripiṭaka and Aṣṭaṭhākā verses, can sometimes be restored to something nearer its original form by removing the verses in the latter metre. The Sūryā-Jātaka (499) tells the story of King Śrīva who gave his eyes away as an act of extreme generosity. It consists of a mixture of Tripiṭaka.Jātaka and Aṣṭaṭhākā verses. It has been shown that the removal of the latter leaves a poem which is incomplete in itself.237

The Hādīṭā-Jātakā (643) is an anti-brahmanical Jātaka. In a long and complicated story it tells how the Bodhisattva was reborn as a nāga prince. He was captured by a treacherous brahman, who kept him in a basket and made him dance before audiences. The climax of the story is a long denunciation of the brahman caste and a rejection of their claim to be superior because of their knowledge of the Vedas and sacrificial ritual. It is written in a mixture of Tripiṭaka and Aṣṭaṭhākā verses, and by removing the latter it is possible to restore an earlier version of the Nāga-story in Tripiṭaka metre.238

In the Daśabrahmanapādā-Jātaka (408) a minister named Vidyūra tells King Yuddhijīva of the ten classes of those who are brahman by name alone, having by their evil conduct forfeited their right to be so called. He then describes the only true brahman and when instructed to show those genuine brahmanas invites 100 pucce-khuddas to a meal. Vidyūra (in the same minister being won in a game of dice by a yakṣa and taken to the nāga world. There he delighted the nāga king with the answers he gave to questions put to him, and was released. An analysis of the metre shows that over half of the Jātakas is in the Aṣṭaṭhākā metre. The removal of the verses in this metre leaves a narrative poem (dīgha-vāsara) consisting of about 150 verses in the Tripiṭaka and Kāśāya metres.239

The Vessantarā-Jātaka (451) is the last, longest, and most important of the whole Pali Jātaka collection. It tells of the Buddha’s earlier birth as Prince Vessantara, a man so generous that he gave away everything he possessed, including his two children and, finally, his wife. Because of the emphasis upon generosity, one of the greatest Buddhist virtues, this Jātaka story is obviously Buddhist in character, and it has been regarded as a purely Buddhist legend, where the hero is already the Bodhisattva of the later dogma. It has, however, been shown that when a small number of verses borrowed from the later Vessantarā-Jātaka are removed from the text, the remaining verses are entirely un-Buddhist—in the sense that generosity might be expected to be a virtue in many Indian religions—and its hero is made a Bodhisattva only in the conventional prose story.240

The text consists of over 360 verses (Aṣṭaṭhākā) verses. There are clear signs that the author of the later prose story did not understand some of the details in the verses, and has consequently inverted features to fit in with what he thought the verses meant. The way in which Vessantarā’s elephant has acquired the name Pācaya has already been explained.241 Other misunderstandings have arisen from the fact that verses have been somehow transposed during the

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239 Winterburn, HJ, p. 152.
241 See p. 39 above.
transmission of the story, and the author of the prose version has invented
details to fit in with, and explain, the confusion which has resulted.\textsuperscript{141}

Despite the large number of stories found in the Jātaka collection, it is clear
that it by no means includes all the Jātaka stories which existed in North
India in the early days of Buddhism. There are stories found elsewhere in
the Pāli canon which are technically Jātaka stories because they purport to
tell of the Buddha in an earlier birth, and conclude with an identification of the
characters, and are nevertheless not found in the collection.\textsuperscript{142} There are also
several Jātaka stories in the Mahāvastu which do not have a parallel in the
Pāli collection.\textsuperscript{143} The Dīpavamsa tells of the Mahāsāṃghikas making changes
in the canon after their separation from the Theravādins, and states that they
rejected a portion of the Jātaka.\textsuperscript{144} This presumably means that the contents
of the Jātaka collections of the two sects differed, doubtless because they
both added to their collections after the schism.

3.3.11. Niddesa

The Niddesa consists of two parts. The Mahā-niddesa\textsuperscript{145} is a commentary
upon the Aṭṭhakakavagga of the Saṅhītipās, while the Culla-niddesa\textsuperscript{146} is a
commentary upon the Pāṭimokkavagga and the Khaggavīsūsasuta of the
Upanisadavagga of the same text. The fact that these two commentaries are
considered to be canonical shows that they must be very old, for the Therava-
din tradition states that the last addition to the canon was the Kathāvatthu,
which was recited at the time of the third council during the reign of Asoka.\textsuperscript{147}

The Niddesa must therefore be earlier than this. On the other hand, the
Dīpavamsa states that the Niddesa was one of the texts rejected by the
Mahāsāṃghikas after the second council.\textsuperscript{148} This is perhaps not to be taken
literally, but means that the Niddesa was not included in the Mahāsāṃghika
canon, either because it did not exist at the time of the schism, or because it
had not yet attained canonical status.

According to the Saddharmapundarīkakāra,\textsuperscript{149} the Niddesa was composed by the
Buddha's disciple Sīriputeru, but it has been pointed out\textsuperscript{150} that if this was so,

\textsuperscript{141} See Conze and Rhys Davies, op. cit. (in n. 349), pp. xxxi—xxxiii.
\textsuperscript{142} At the end of the Gāthākathāsutta of the Majjhima-nikāya (61), the Buddha
identifies himself with the young brāhman Jīvaka (whom sengama yasasoka Jīvaka
māyāsoka cātena [M II 54, 18—19] in the story of past time [Mahāvastu] khe led
told. This makes the story technically a Jātaka.
\textsuperscript{143} E.g. the Pāramāsīsasutta (Mii I 89—81).
\textsuperscript{144} Dip V 37.
\textsuperscript{145} L. de la Vallee Poussin and E. J. Thomas (ed.), Mahāniddesa, PTS London,
Part I 1906, Part II 1917.
\textsuperscript{146} W. Stede (ed.), Cullaniddesa, PTS London, 1918.
\textsuperscript{147} Dip VII 41; Mii V 275.
\textsuperscript{148} Dip V 37.
\textsuperscript{149} Nidda I 1, 14—15.
\textsuperscript{150} D. F. Badham, Nidda I, p. vii.

then it is surprising that he should give three different explanations of his own
words as recorded in the Saṅhīti.\textsuperscript{151} Although it is possible that some of the
explanations given in the Niddesa go back to the time of the Buddha, and
were perhaps compiled by Sīriputeru, the whole work in its present form
must have been produced at some later time. The attribution was probably made
because the Niddesa is of the same type as the exegetical explanations
attributed to Mahākāśyapa and Sīriputeru in various canonical texts.\textsuperscript{152}

As has already been noted,\textsuperscript{153} the three texts on which the Niddesa comments
justly claim to be among the very oldest of Buddhist texts. The Aṭṭhakakava-
gga and Pāṭimokkavagga are quoted from by name in other canonical texts,
while the Khaggavitāsasti is not only taken over into another canonical
Pāli text,\textsuperscript{154} but is also found in the Mahāvastu.\textsuperscript{155} It is therefore perhaps not
surprising that commentaries should have been compiled upon these texts
sufficiently early for the commentators themselves to be accorded canonical
status. Nevertheless there must have been a not inconsiderable period of time
between the compilation of the texts and the commentaries upon them, for
variant readings had already arisen which necessitated mention with alternative
explanations.\textsuperscript{156} That other commentarial traditions either existed at this
time of the composition of the Niddesa, but were not employed, or were developed
later, is shown by the fact that the Paramāsīsasutta mentions explanations
not included in the Niddesa.\textsuperscript{157}

The type of comment made in the Niddesa is very similar to that found in
the Old Commentary in the Vinaya-piṭaka,\textsuperscript{158} in that it consists of long lists of
synonyms or near synonyms. It does, however, also include exegetical passages,
which presumably mean that it represents a slightly later type of commentary.
There is no attempt made as abbreviation, and passages are given in full every
time they are repeated. The beginning of stereotyped explanation can be seen,
e.g. every time the word kappā, or a verb based upon the root kapp-, occurs,
the Niddesa states that there are two types of kappā, i.e. bhūti-kappā and
dīgha-kappā.\textsuperscript{159} This happens even if the words occur in successive verses. The
results is not an organic structure of exegesis, but a series of disconnected
phrases.

\textsuperscript{151} Nidd I 445, 29—447, 6 (ad Sn 955).
\textsuperscript{152} E.g., M I 111, 21—113, 7 and B III 7, 1—9, 8.
\textsuperscript{153} See pp. 63 and 65 above.
\textsuperscript{154} Ap 4—13.
\textsuperscript{155} Mii I 337—39.
\textsuperscript{156} E.g., jīvaka ti jīvaka bhajeto cañjana kato rañjana, asami bhajate
but bhāsita donāti aśī aśīa (Nidd I 467, 5—7; ad Sn 959; jīvaka tathā bhajate).
\textsuperscript{157} Pj II 572, 12—14 and Sn 959 read bhajate in the lacuna and explains it as
bhāsita. It quotes bhāsita (close to bhajate) as a variant reading, but dismisses
this as inappropriate in the context (sa puna bhāsitaṃ puno bhāsitaṃ).
\textsuperscript{158} As noted by M. H. Bloch, rev. of Mahāniddesa Part I, in JSSR 1918, p. 375.
\textsuperscript{159} Cf. Nidd I 97, 1—3 ad Sn 792 (śūnākappāyā) with 97, 28—30 ad Sn 794
(hāppayāyā).
which serve as explanations of the individual words, not in the particular setting of the Suttanipāta, but in any setting. This state of affairs led the editor of the European edition of the Olfa-Nidānas to adopt a modified form of presentation instead of editing the text in the usual way. As a result of this arrangement, he hoped to facilitate the tracing of such expository material back to its source.

Sometimes, however, the exposition is improved by giving explanations, e.g. *kathavācāyā "doubt" is explained as *sīkācāya, and examples are then given of the ways in which doubt can arise. References to the Nikāyas are frequent, e.g. when explaining *sī kāya, which is quoted at S III 9.19 as occurring in the *Maṇḍganiṇaṇa of the *Aṭṭhatāvagga, the author of the Nidānas quotes *S III 9.14—12.27 verbatim.

A comparison of the Nidānas with the portions of the Suttanipāta upon which it comments enables us to deduce certain information about the relative dating of both texts. The presence in the Nidānas of comments upon the rebirther’s remarks and the prose passages enables us to state that these features, although assumed to be late, are nevertheless not as late as the *sīkācāyas of the *Aṭṭhatāvagga which are not commented upon. These *sīkācāyas, however, are commented upon by the *Pannāṭhaṭṭhakā, where they are attributed to *Anāda. This presumably means that the author of the *Pannāṭhaṭṭhakā found commentarial material upon the *sīkācāyas in the *Maṇḍa-āṭṭhatāvagga of the *Mahāvihāra, or he would have made a comment to that effect as he did for other verses which lacked comment in the *Sinhalasene tradition. The fact that neither the Nidānas nor the *Pannāṭhaṭṭhakā comments upon *S III 830 presumably means that this verse is a very late interpolation.

The presence of certain geographical data, e.g. the mention of *Java, *Sāvannya, *Kīsaṇa, *Takkha, etc., in the Nidānas has led to the suggestion of dates as late as the second century A.D. for its compilation. It is true that the inclusion of the name *Akkāka in the lists of places means that that particular portion of the lists is post-Alexander, but leaving aside the possibility of a name or names being inverted into an already-existing list, the beginning of the third century B.C. would seem to be quite suitable as the date of its composition.

Recent archaeological evidence has shown that there was trade between India and the East before the time of *Aṣoka, so there is no reason to doubt that these names could have been known in India at a sufficiently early date for such geographical lists to have been compiled before the date of the third council.

Those who suggest late dates for the compilation of the Nidānas forget that the *Sinhalasene tradition recorded the fact, related to us by *Buddhaghosa, that the *Nidānas existed before the first century B.C., and had by that time been forgotten by all *bhikkhus except one. From fear of its disappearing altogether the *Mahāvihāra was persuaded to learn the Nidānas from this one *Bhikkhu, and others learned it from *Mahārakkhaṇha. It was the resolution that canonical texts could easily disappear if the oral tradition died out which precipitated the writing down of the canon during the reign of *Vaṭṭagāmaṇa.

3.5.12. *Pattimāhānāgga

The *Pattimāhānāgga consists of three *pānągas, each containing ten topics (*kathās). It is intended to teach the path of discrimination (*pattimaññagga) and tries to show how understanding of the truth taught by the *Buddha occurs. It is attributed by the *Suddhāmappakāsī to the *Buddha’s disciple *Sāriputta, just as in the *Nidānas. The reason for this may be that there seems to be a close relationship between the *Pattimāhānāgga and the *Dhammapadāsa of the *Dīgha-nikāya (34), which is also attributed to *Sāriputta.

The form of the text suggests that it is late, and this view is supported by the fact that the term *pattimāhāni does not seem to occur in the older parts of the *Vinaya-piṭaka or the first three *Nikāyas. It occurs in some *Abhidhamma texts, and in the *Nidānas, *Apādāna and *Buddhavamsa of the *Khuddakaṇḍa. That the text is later than much of the canon is shown by the quotation of whole passages from the *Vinaya-piṭaka and portions of the *Sutta-piṭaka. Nearly every section is given a *sūtra basis in this way. A general acquaintance with early *Buddhist legends is assumed, e.g. in the section on

*** See HEMANGSU BHUSHAN SARKAR, “The date of the Pali Nidānas and its implication for the history of South-East Asia,” in JASS(B), 19, 1977, pp. 44–45.

** See *Sp 855–90.


" See *Patha-1, 18.

" See *WARDEN, Patijn tr., p. xxi,

" See ibid., pp. vii—viii.
supernormal power (iddhā) as the names of arahants who possessed such powers are given without any further comment, as if their stories were well known.

There is a list of contents (nātāka) at the beginning of the text, but this gives only a list of the 73 knowledges discussed in the first section (Sānakkathā), and does not apply to the whole work: Such a nātāka seems to be an Abbhidhamma-type feature, and the various topics are treated in the form of questions and answers, as in the Abhidhamma, but in form it is a suttta text, since it includes the standard opening words me sudāya in some sections, and the vocative bhikkhave also occurs. It is, however, possible that these words occur as parts of quotations from suttta texts, and are not fundamental features of the Paṭisambhidāmagga itself.

The text is included among the list of those which the Dipavamsa states were rejected by the Mahābodhisattva, which probably means that, if it existed in any form at the time of the schism, it had not yet been accepted as canonical. The existence, however, of the technical term pratissānīdāna in Buddhist Sanskrit shows that the concept was not an invention of the Theravāda but was in existence when the other sects separated from them. The Paṭisambhidāmagga is not included among those texts which Buddhaghosa informs us were not accepted by the Digga-bhikkhus, so it may be deduced that it was recognised as canonical before the composition of the Aṅgika, Buddhavamsa, Cariyāpiṭaka and Khuddakaṇḍa.

The text presents a systematic exposition of certain important topics of Buddhism, and describes how insight is to be obtained. The way begins with proper knowledge, and the first āhāra, amounting to almost a third of the whole text, is consequently devoted to āsanga, which includes knowledge of the great pity of a Tathāgata. Other important topics to which āhāra are devoted include the regulation of breathing (avinda) as an aid to mindfulness (1.5); kamma (1.7); the noble truths (2.2); the factors (sāraṇī) of enlightenment (2.3); loving-kindness (mettā) towards creatures (2.4); the discriminations (patisambhidā) which give their name to the entire text (2.6); emptiness (śūnyatā), i.e., the fact that all dharmas are devoid of self (2.10); supernatural powers (iddhi) (3.2); the foundation of mindfulness (satipatthana) (3.5); and insight (vipassanā) (3.9) which together with serenity (samatha) is also treated in the section on the path (suttavatthu) (2.1).

Although the Paṭisambhidāmagga is not an Abhidhamma text, in the sense that it does not appear in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, it has been suggested that

at some early date it was in fact classed among the Abhidhamma texts. It seems to have certain features in common with the Vihaṅga, e.g. nearly half of the section titles of the Vihaṅga appear in it, and like the Vihaṅga it contains an interwoven exegetical epiphonsia. To some extent it seems to imply knowledge of the Vihaṅga, e.g. when discussing the four satipatthanas the Paṭisambhidāmagga comments only upon bhavani, which is not included in the comment upon satipatthana in the Vihaṅga. Sometimes the Paṭisambhidāmagga seems to go beyond what is found in Abhidhamma texts, e.g. in place of the seven powers (bhūnavi) of an arahant ten are given, similarly ten ākāram are listed in place of the usual four, and ten dīghapārami as well as the usual four āsanas.

3.5.13. Aparātha

The Aparātha is a collection of legends in verse, in which the noble deeds (apārāthas) done by Buddhist heroes and heroines in earlier existences are glorified. It contains 65 sargas of the biographies of 54 heroes and in four sargas of 40 heroines, both of whom lived at the time of the Buddha. Each of these stories gives first of all a description of the hero or heroine in one or more previous births. They all contain a story of the past and a story of the present, but they differ from a Jātaka story in that in the Jātaka the story of the past and the present always refer to the Buddha, whereas the Aparātha deals usually, but not always, with an arahant. The stories generally follow the same pattern. The author tells of the adoration made to an earlier Buddha, and the prophecy made by that Buddha that the doctrine of Gotama Buddha would be heard. The story goes on to say how this came true, and how the author became an arahant. The purpose is to show that even the smallest meritorious act has the potentiality to give great results even after the passage of immense periods of time.

The Aparātha is almost an appendix to the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā, since it connects together the past and present lives of the theran and therī. The last two poems in the Therīgāthā are, in fact, an Aparātha nature. Many of the authors of Aparāthas are also mentioned in the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā collections, and in his commentaries upon these texts Dharmapāla includes the Aparātha section relevant to the hero or heroine. There are, however, certain discrepancies in his assertions, and one of the Aparāthas

See Warzak, Pātīs, p. xxiii, and Arnold, Pātīs II, p. iv.


Pātīs II 188, 12.

Pātīs II 205, 6. Cf. As 91–92, where the ten-fold ākāram is also found.

Pātīs II 130, 17.


See p. 77 above.

See p. 133 below.

See Mullen, Thii, p. ix.
he includes does not occur in the Apadana collection in its present form. The collection, however, includes many themes which do not appear in the Theragāthā, and does not include all the theres who are in the Theragāthā. On the other hand, there is an Apadana for Yasodharā, although there is no poem for her in the Theragāthā. A large number of the theres are not identifiable since they have names made up from the deities which are related in their Apadana, e.g. "Mangogive".

Many of the stories which are told have a mythological nature, which suggests that the Apadana is one of the latest books in the canon. The type of act which is glorified also implies lateness, for there is mention of the worship of Māya, shrines and relics, and there is an emphasis upon heroism and humanitarian deeds. Nevertheless, there is already mention of some of these activities in the Theragāthā and Therigāthā, which can be dated with fair probability to the period between the fifth and the third centuries B.C. of the Apadana, however, refers to the Kathāvatthu as an Abhidhamma compilation, which proves that that particular Apadana must be later than the third century. The nature of the Apadana collection is such that it was simple for more and more Apadanas to be added until the time when it was fixing as canonical, which was perhaps at the time of writing down, after which additions were probably not made.

A few Apadanas depart from the usual pattern. The first section of the text is entitled Buddhāpadāna, and in the use of the word apadana in connection with the Buddha is reminiscent of its usage in the Mahāpadāna of the Dīgha-nikāya (14). In this section the Buddha himself tells of the Buddha's life, the ideal lands of beauty where the Buddhas live. A picture is painted of Buddhās and the situations to which each other, and there is mention of discourses concerning the Buddhas and vice versa. The whole idea would seem to be late, and it has been regarded as foreshadowing Mahāyānic beliefs. It has even been called a completely Mahāyānic passage, but it does not seem to be necessary to go so far.

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889 See Woodward, Th. I p. viii.
891 It is one of the texts rejected by the Dīgha-Māyaṇa (see p. 9 above). Malalasekera reports (DPPN, I, p. 116) that the Apadana contains the names of 55 Buddhas.
892 "ūkktivā setvān dhammāyānaṃ'som Kathāvatthavimoccuṇḍika
893 evomān avāsānaṃ vaṭāvānaṃ anavāya (Ap 37, 1).
895 See p. 36 above.

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The Pāli Canon

as that. A simpler and doubleness earlier idea of the Buddha's life is found elsewhere in the Apadana, and also in the Theragāthā and the Mahāpadāna. A more elaborate form of the idea is found in the Mahāvaṇṇa, also a Mahāyāna text, although not free from some Mahāyāna influence. The form of classification which Buddhās adopt for the Buddha's life shows that the concept was widespread by his time, although he gives no indication of the nature of these divisions. Whether any Mahāyāna influence should be seen in this text is doubtful. It has been rightly pointed out that many ideas in the Mahāpadāna follow from the dynamics of early Buddhist thought, which leads to the existence of one and the same idea in two forms in two different traditions. Linguistic evidence suggests an unusual origin for this Apadana, as will be carried further in this text than in any other Theravāda text, but which nevertheless follows on from the concept of a miraculous Buddha which occurs as early as the Dīgha-nikāya.

The second section of the Apadana is the Pratibuddhāpadāna, in which the Buddha is asked by Ananda about the pratibuddhāpadāna. In the course of his reply, the Buddha includes the verses in the Tripičā metre which occur in the Khavvavāca-paitaha of the Suttañcita. As has already been noticed, the Suttañcita says nothing about the speakers of these verses, although the Niddesa attributes these to the pratibuddhāpadāna, and to the Mahāvaṇṇa. In the Pratibuddhāpadāna, which is placed in the middle of the Apadana (387), the Buddha tells of his bad deeds, as a result of which he suffered numerous rebirths in hell. The remains of these deeds caused him many unpleasant experiences even in his last exist-
and sects in it (the so-called optative used as an aorist). The majority of the latter occur in the Buddhāpādaṇā. Since there is no reason to assume that these features arose in Ceylon independently, we have to suppose that they are indeed old mainland features. This does not necessarily mean that the verses containing these features were all composed on the mainland of India at an early date, for we cannot rule out conscious archaizing in some cases. What is, however, important is the fact that, whether genuine features or archaisms, they indicate knowledge of phenomena not common in Pāli. If they were at one time more common in Pāli, then they have been edited out of our texts, and their existence in the Apadāna presumably indicates that this text or portions of it did not undergo the usual editing procedure. An alternative explanation demands that the composer of the verses containing the anomalous features had knowledge of them through a source no longer available to us, from which they borrowed them into Pāli.

The word ayadāna occurs in Sanskrit in the sense of a great or noble deed, but the more common spelling is avadāna, and this, as was noted in the case of the Sanskrit equivalent of the Mahāpādaṇa of the Dīgha-nikāya (14), is the usual form in the word of Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Just as the Ayadāna goes with the Therāpattā and Theragāthā, similarly in Sanskrit there are texts of a comparable type which go together. The Sanskrit Anantarapattamātā is a collection of Avadānas which goes with the Shravakāgāthā, and fragments found in Turkestan indicate that there are parallels with a number of the Pāli Ayadānas. There are also parallels in the Vinaya-pitaka of the Mahā-Sarvāstivādin, found in Gilgit, and it seems that the Anantarapattamātā has been transferred to that text in the canon belonging to that sect. The fact that a portion of the Avadānas corresponding to the Pālavakānamapātāi-Apadāna has been discovered in Turkestan, and its existence in Tibetan and Chinese versions, indicates that the Ayadāna was the common property of both the Śāraṇavādin and Sarvāstivādin, and is therefore likely to be quite early.

3.5.14. Buddhāvagga

As has been noted, in the Vinaya-pitaka and the Dīgha-nikāya there is mention of the six Buddhas who preceded Gotama. The Buddhism doctrine developed, and by the time that the canon was closed the number of Buddhas before Gotama had reached twenty-four.

The Buddhavagga opens with the description of an exquisite Jewel Walk (vedana-vedana) which Gotama, just after he had become a Buddha, constructed in the sky and paced upon. He was visited by Sāriputta with 500 arahants, who asked him about the resolve and aspiration he had made for Buddhahood. In reply, Gotama relates the lives of 24 previous Buddhas, and tells what he, as a Bodhisattva, did under each Buddha. The account he gives of himself as the aconic Sāriputta in the first of these former births is the longest and most detailed.

The 24 chapters devoted to the previous Buddhas chronicle certain features, always substantially the same, although the details vary, in their life on earth both as Bodhisattva and Buddha. As well as being a chronicle of those Buddhas, it is also a history of Gotama through the times of all the Buddhas who preceded him.

The Buddha doctrine shows in fact an even later development, because the 26th chapter, in which the Buddha gives, very briefly, the details about himself, which probably served as a model for the history of the other Buddhas, he mentions in the 27th chapter three Buddhas earlier than Dipankara. These three were perhaps not thought to be so important because tradition did not tell of Gotama making a resolve and aspiration under them. The commentator states that the 18 verses of this chapter were established by the sāṅgītikāras and should be regarded as the envol (svāmāropakāra). It would seem that the Buddhavagga, even as added to by the sāṅgītikāras, should have ended there, but in the text as we have it there are two further verses, in which the Buddha refers to himself and to Mātayāna, who, as has been noted, is referred to in the Okkavattakānāhārānta of the Dīgha-nikāya (29). A further chapter (28) gives an account of the distribution of the relics of the Buddha, which is related to and based upon that at the end of the Mahāparinibbānānta of the Dīgha-nikāya (16). The commentary makes no mention of this chapter.

The reason for the production of the Buddhavagga would seem to be the fact that the history of the one Bodhisattva who would become the Buddha Gotama was needed an account of previous Buddhas to show that he did not suffer from the abnormality of uniqueness, and that his enlightenment was gained through the example of others.
only after striving through many births for the fulfilment of the ten perfections. To complete them all is a necessary self-preparation for enlightenment.

The Buddhavamsas is therefore a developed Bodhisattva doctrine, but it was not developed further, even in the Abhidhamma. Whether the Buddhavamsas with the idea in it was borrowed from another sect, as has been suggested, or whether it was an idea old enough to be common to both the Theravadins and the Sarvastivadins, who developed it much further, is impossible to decide.

The whole text is composed in the Sāsāka metre, which shows no particularly early features, and in view of the state of development of both the Buddha and the Bodhisattva doctrines, it would seem that the Buddhavamsas is a relatively late addition to the canon. As has been noted, it was not accepted as canonical by the Mahāsāṃghikas. It has been pointed out, however, that there is no reference to a tooth of the Buddha having been taken to Ceylon in the account of the distribution of the relics, although there is alleged to be a Sinhalese version with such a reference. This therefore implies that the text was in its present form including the additions at the end, i.e. Ceylon, the arrival of the tooth in Ceylon.

3.5.15. Cariyāpīṭaka

The Cariyāpīṭaka is the fifteenth and last book of the Khuddaka-nikāya. It consists of 35 Jātaka-type stories arranged in three vagga, intended to illustrate the ten perfections (pāramī). At the end it is called Buddhavatthakāya, which again shows the unusual use of the word apāramī instead of Jātaka in connection with the Buddha.

According to the commentary, the Cariyāpīṭaka was related by the Buddha at the request of Sāriputta. Each story is told in the first person, of a rebirth in earlier time, in which the Buddha followed his set aim of obtaining enlightenment by mastering the ten perfections. Those are mentioned in the Buddhavamsas, and the Buddha expressed his wish to bring them to fulfillment. The first vagga has ten carīvīra (lit. "proper conduct"), all concerning the dāna-pāramī. The second also has ten, concerning the ākāśa-pāramī. The third vagga has fifteen carīvīra, five for the ākāśa-pāramī, one for the adhisthāna, four for the ānubhūta, two for the āvāha, and one for the nāma-pāramī. One of the apāramīs in the end of the text implies that the other three pāramīs have also been attained. There are terms in various jātikas which can be interpreted as implying the three missing pāramīs, and it is perhaps not necessary to follow those scholars who believe that part of the text must be missing.

The Cariyāpīṭaka is largely based upon the Jātaka collection, from which stories illustrating the perfections have been adopted. Of the 35 Jātaka 32 can be directly related to the Jātaka collection. Another can be related to the Dīgha-nikāya, and one to the Majjhima-nikāya. The remaining story consists of a single verse, and is too short for identification. In the Nīlakaṇṭha-jātaka of the Jātaka, the ten pāramīs are mentioned, with examples of each extracted from the Jātaka. Reference is made to the Cariyāpīṭaka for a longer account. There are only 21 Jātakas in common between the two, which has led to the suggestion that the reference may be to a different recension of the Cariyāpīṭaka from that available now.

The metre is Sāsāka throughout, except for two Trisūkti verses taken over from the Jātaka. Although the stories are, with the exceptions already noted, borrowed from the Jātaka, there is in some cases not a single verse in common with the Jātaka. The longest poem in the Cariyāpīṭaka is devoted to the story of Vessantara, and there are about 20 verses common to it and the Vessantarahātaka. Rather than these being borrowed from the Jātaka, however, it has been shown that the reverse is true. The verses have been taken over into the prose story which amplifies the verse of the Vessantarahātaka, and is usually introduced with the words tasa varana. Compared with the Jātaka verses those in the Cariyāpīṭaka are mediocre, and introduce sentimental and supernatural features lacking in the Jātaka. The form of presentation and the metre, and the fact that the Cariyāpīṭaka serves in effect as a supplement to the Buddhavamsas, all suggest that it is a late text. As already noted, it was not accepted as canonical by the Mahāsāṃghikas.

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134. *Pannāṇa paripācanaṁ bhūtānaṁ nimbikaṁ ca* (Cp. 56. 5, 7).
135. *Chandaśā padaṁ ghati jātakānaṁ nibbānaṁ* (Cp. 43).
137. *Buddhavedānāṇam paścīma divasthānasaṃsaptaka yāvan anādattā (Cp. 103. 11-12)*
138. *See p. 36 above*
139. *Everett H. Horne, Buddhism, SBD London, 1915*
4. THE ABHIDHAMMA-PITAKA

It is clear that the Abhidhamma is later than the rest of the canon. There is no mention in the chronicles of resting the Abhidhammas at the first or second councils, although the Mahavamsa states that the arahants who attended the second council knew the tipiṭaka. The Mahāśāṅgikas who resided at the Theravādins after the second council are said to have rejected the Abhidhamma. This presumably means that there was nothing corresponding exactly to the Pāli Abhidhamma in their canon, from which it may be deduced that the Abhidhamma did not exist at that time or at least was not recognised as canonical.

In a number of places in the canon we find the term Dhamma-dhāra Vinaya-dhāra. These are often used to mean that Mahāvihara and Abhidhamma are synonymous. The commentators, however, sometimes say that in this context Mahāvihara means Pātimokkha, and this interpretation probably arises from the fact that Mahāvihara means “sacred,” and can therefore be used both of a summary of the Pātimokkha rules and of the type of summary of contents which is found at the beginning of the Paññāvagījasutta, and in the majority of the texts of the Abhidhamma-pitaka. Mahāvihara occur in two places in the Dhammapāla-sūtra (at the beginning, and one later), in the Vihāra (in four places, not at the beginning), the Dīgha-nikāya, Puggala-nikāya, Vinaya, and Paññāvagīja. Although there is no Mahāvihara for the Kathāvatthu, nevertheless Mahāvihara uses the term when he maintains that the Buddha laid down the outline to be followed by Tiśa when he recited that text at the third council. The Mahāvihara-sūtra is a commentary upon the Mahāvihara texts; in the case of the Kathāvatthu the Mahāvihara is simply the index of contents.

It seems likely that by the time of the third council the Mahāvihara were already in existence, with perhaps a certain amount of elaboration to show bhikkhus how each term of the Mahāvihara should be expanded. In the case of the Dhammapāla-sūtra it can be assumed that the text was already available at greater length, since the existence of what Buddhaghosa calls an abhidhamma in the body of the text as we have it would seem to indicate that the chapter upon which it comments must be very old. The Buddhaghosa states that the Buddha Kassapa preached seven treatises, and the commentary states that these were the seven texts of the Abhidhamma-pitaka. Although this is clearly an anachronism, it suggests that the Abhidhamma-pitaka was in its present form by the time the Buddhaghosa was composed.

The term abhidhamma is found in the Vinaya-pitaka and the Sutta-pitaka, and seems in origin to be the preposition abhi together with the word dhama, with the meaning as regards the dhama. We find in the Mahāvihara-sūtra the phrase pādājīrī bhikkha abhidhammā nābhikīrī, and the word also occurs in a context with abhiyāna in the Vinaya-pitaka: abhidhammā vināca abhiyāna vināca. These were then taken as being the locative of abhidhamma and abhiyāna and were given a separate existence, e.g. ko abhiyāna, ko abhidhamma.

So the compound abhidhamma-abhiyāna must have meant “discourse about dhama” at first, and then “discourse about abhidhamma.” When we are said of a bhikkha that abhidhamma kō para bhikṣi abhiyāna paṭihāsi so anāvādita so nirvajjita, it is probably an elaboration and analysis of the doctrinal principles intended, just as abhiyāna would mean a concise discussion of the rules of discipline. There is, however, no separate Abhiyāna-sutta, for the elaboration of the rules of discipline exists in the Vinaya-pitaka itself.

The codification of such principles which require exposition would give rise to the Mahāvihara integrates the forms of the Mahāvihara books, and now serve as tables of contents. The elaboration of these principles, their definition, and their proof by adding sutta passages would form the Abhidhamma proper. This is what we find in the Abhidhamma-pitaka collection as we have it. These matters must have been discussed before the separation of the Sarvāstivādins.

10 As 6, 26.
11 Br XXIV 4.
12 Sakala sutta sanskrtitā nābhikīrīna samanta-balam abhidhamma-pitakā niṣṭhītā Vaisākha-pitakā dasava niṣṭhītā (Br II 259, 26–26).
13 See CED, s.v. abhidhamma.
14 N. II 229, 4 (= abhiyāna abhiyāna, sanneva samvikkhatā samkathā-suttaṃ abhidhamma-abhiyāna niṣṭhītā) (Br IV 28, 24).
15 Vin I 4, 24 (≡ mahāvihara vināca vināca vināca paṭihāsi so anāvādita so nirvajjita Vinaya-pitakā niṣṭhītā) (Br II 389, 3–6).
16 Vin I 4, 19 (≡ maha-vipassanā-suttaṃ vināca paṭihāsi so anāvādita so nirvajjita Vinaya-pitakā niṣṭhītā) (Br II 389, 3–6).
18 Vin I 17, 17. Cf. suttā sangha nābhikīrīne (Vin I 2, 19).
19 M. II 214, 24.
20 Br IV 308, 1.
21 Abhiyāna-sutta Khandhaka-Pariśāpara (M. V 7, 2–3; and A. IV 308, 1).
from the Theravāda, but not long before. The two sects agree closely in their Vinaya-pitakas and Sutta-pitakas, but beyond agreeing about the number of Abhidhamma texts, and the title of one book, there is little agreement in their Abhidhamma-pitakas. The two collections are two sets of texts compiled by two sects who independently examined and elaborated the same subject matter. Once the word abhidhamma had lost its original meaning, the commentators interpreted it as “higher, special dhamma.” At the beginning of the Atthasālīni Buddhaghoṣa asks himself what abhidhamma is, and answers the question as follows:

“Wherein is what meant by ‘Abhidhamma’? That which exceeds and is distinguished from Dhamma (the Suttas). The preddha, like air, is used in the sense of preponderance and distinction, as in such passages as, ‘Severe pain overwhelms (sābhiṣkritassu) me, brother, and do not spare,’ and of eminent (sābhikartan) beauty. Again: Hence when many sunshades and flags are uplifted, the sunshade which excels the rest in size and is of distinguished colour and form is called abhidhamma; the pre-eminent sunshade, and the flag which is the largest and is replete with various distinguished paints and colours is called abhidhamma, the pre-eminent flag”... Even so this ‘dhamma’ is called Abhidhamma, because it excels and is distinguished by several qualities from the other Dharmas. In the Suttanta, the five aggregates are classified partly and not fully. In the Abhidhamma they are classified fully by the methods of Suttanta-classification, Abhidhamma-classification, and cakkaṁ... In the Suttanta the four applications in mindfulness are partially classified, not fully. But in the Abhidhamma they are classified in detail under the three methods... In the Suttanta knowledge is partially classified, not fully... But in the Abhidhamma there is a detailed classification of knowledge after the table of contents [sāmakā] has been thus laid down: Under the mystic method the basis of knowledge is... and so forth... Thus it is to be understood that the Abhidhamma exceeds and is distinguished from the Dharmas.”

The order of texts in the Abhidhamma-pitaka is, according to Buddhaghosa, Dhammasaṅgani, Vibhaṅga, Dīśanakkha, Puggala-paññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka, and Paṭṭhāna, but in the Chinese translation of the Samantapāsāṅkika the Puggala-panñatti and Kathāvatthu come after Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna. Buddhaghosa states that the textual order of the Abhidhamma originated with Sāriputta, who also determined the numerical order in the Paṭṭhāna. He is reported to have done this to make it easy to learn, remember, study and teach the dhamma. To guard against accusations that this would mean that the Abhidhamma was not Buddhist doctrine, Buddhaghosa goes on to say that Sāriputta was not the first to understand the Abhidhamma, for the Buddha was the first abhidhammika.

4.1. Dhammasaṅgani

The saṅgāka of the Dhammasaṅgani consists of a list of 22 triplexes (tikkas), beginning with states that are good, bad, and undeterminable, and 100 couplets (līkās), beginning with states that are moral roots and not moral roots. These various states (dhamma) comprise all mental material conditions, and the saṅgāka is an outline of a universal system of classification comprising the whole analytical teaching of the Buddha.

The Dhammasaṅgani is a “Compilation of States”, dealing with the enumeration and definition under particular group headings of these states, in accordance with the Buddha’s different modes of analysis. The term dhamma is used in a broader sense than the word “state” in English, and comprises not only the discrete states of consciousness whose individual classification depends upon appropriately associated mental concomitants (cetasikas), but also those mental concomitants themselves. Material quality (rūpa), the four great essentials (mahāsāṅkha), the dependent material qualities (upadhiṣṭā rūpa), and even nābha (samkhāvata dhamma) are included within this term.

The greater part of the Dhammasaṅgani is an explication of the states in accordance with the system of analysis. So, to the question “What are good mental states?”, the answer is given that when a good thought concerning the phenomenal world has arisen there is contact (phassa), feeling (vedanā), and 54 other states. These are then defined in detail, and then subjected to further analysis, with summaries given of the psychological functions involved in each. The whole analysis is then repeated for different types of thought, and then for the jānas. The answer to the question consequently takes 66 pages. The question “What are good states?” is answered more briefly, since it is discussed only in connection with twelve bad thoughts.

The final section of the Dhammasaṅgani serves as a commentary upon the text, although in the Dhammasaṅgani itself no reference is made to it being anything other than a genuine portion of the work. Buddhaghosa, however, calls it aṭṭhakathāsīla, and gives it the name aṭṭhakathā. He ascribes it to Sīlāputta, and states that he uttered it for a pupil who was unable to remember the elucidation of the Dhammasaṅgani. He gives, however, an alternative story, informing us that the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā rejects Sīlāputta’s authorship and ascribes it to the Buddha himself. It is stated in the

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18 See Waddell, IR, p. 219.
19 As 2, 15–3, 20.
20 As 3, 21–23.
21 P. V. Bapat and A. Hirakawa (tr.), Shin-Chien Pi-Pu-Sha, Pome 1879, p. 11.
22 As 17, 12–14.
23 As 17, 12–14.
25 Dis 1–3.
26 See Iggeden, Vibh. tr., p. xvii.
27 Dis 9–72.
28 Dis 73–87.
29 Dis 234–64.
30 See Mr Reyrs Davids, Disc tr., p. 334.
31 As 406, 22.
32 As 11, 38.
33 As 410, 1–10.
Dipavamsa\textsuperscript{46} that the Aṭṭhukhāna was one of the texts rejected by the Mahāsāṅghikas when they split from the Theravāda. This may mean that this portion of commentary did not exist at the time of the schism, or was not yet accepted as canonical. If the Sinhalase commentary tradition accepted it as Purakkāra,\textsuperscript{1} it is probable that it had already been included in the Dhammanāgani by the time of the third council.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{4.2. Viññāṇa}

There were a number of topics to which the Buddha devoted particular attention in some of his discourses, to which a special degree of further analysis could be afforded, to show that not only could a general statement be made about the subject, but further inquiry would show that the statement of general truth could also be a statement of particular truth.\textsuperscript{47} These topics included the five ākāśagunas, the ṭhānānas, the dharmas, the four truths, the indriyas, etc. The beginnings of this type of analysis can be found in a number of viññāṇapassānas in the Majjhima-nikāya.\textsuperscript{48}

The Viññāṇa\textsuperscript{49} has eighteen chapters, most of which have three sections: Suttanta-bhājana, Abhidhamma-bhājana, and Paññāphucchaka (noteschisms). In the Suttanta-bhājana section the method of analysis and the definitions used by the Buddhists in general discourses are shown, and some of these analyses are found elsewhere in the canon, e.g. that of the Saccavilāsas is found in the Saccavivāhaṃga (141). With the difference that there it is a discourse put in the mouth of Skruputta, whereas in the Viññāṇa it is an impersonal set of questions and answers. In the Abhidhamma-bhājana section we find the technical analysis and the definitions employed when the same matter is discussed from a strictly philosophical point of view. In the chapters which have a Paññāphucchaka section there is an explanation in detail of how each of the special terms used are to be defined within the framework of triplex and quadplex which is enumerated in the Dhammañāgani.

The Viññāṇa does not have a māṭikā at the beginning, although the Mahayavadehā, which is a commentary upon the māṭikā, takes the titles of the chapters as forming a māṭikā. There are, however, separate māṭikās occurring in four of the viññāṇapas:

\textsuperscript{46} Dip Y 31.
\textsuperscript{47} See K. R. Norman, "Four etymologies from the Sākhya-sutta," in Balacīrīvara. IBSR, p. 184 n. 32.
\textsuperscript{48} See Jogeder, Vihe vr., p. xvii.
\textsuperscript{49} See M III 187–237 (Viññāṇa-vagga).

\textbf{4.3. Dhiṅkiṭṭhā}

Although the Viññāṇa devotes a whole chapter to the analysis of the elements (dhiṅkiṭṭhā), the subject itself is of such an intricate and far-reaching nature that particular and detailed attention to its technicalities is required.\textsuperscript{51} This great expansion of the analysis of the elements forms the contents of the Viññāṇa, which forms the third volume of the Abhidhamma-pitaka, and also the third volume, with the Dhammañāgani and the Viññāṇa, of what may be regarded as a sort of trilogy.

It is a short text of 14 chapters, in the form of questions and answers about the elements of psychical phenomena and their mutual relations. The māṭikās gives the 16 methods, viz., classification and unclassification (samyakā sammayya), classified and unclassified (samyakā sammayyena sammyakā, etc., under which

\textsuperscript{51} Jogeder, Vihe vr., p. iv.
\textsuperscript{52} See H. NAIKURA, Indonesian Buddhism: a survey with bibliographical notes, KUFS Publication Japan, 1960, p. 184 n. 10.
\textsuperscript{53} Jogeder, Vihe vr., p. xii.
\textsuperscript{54} Jogeder, Vihe vr., p. xvi.
\textsuperscript{56} Dhiṅkiṭṭhā 1.
the internal and external states will be considered, and then lists the 105 internal states, viz. the five khandhas, the twelve dhammas, etc., and states that the external states are the 22 triplets and 100 couples of the Dhammasaggaāgati.

It also gives the principles of the methods and their characteristics. The text itself is a working out of the abhidhamma, whereby all the states are classified under the aggregates (khandhas), bases (ayatanas) and elements (dhammas). Although the elements are also dealt with in the Dhātuvihāra of the Vihāra, and in the Dīṣṭāvibhaga of the Yāma, the treatment there is in much less detail. The system employed in the Dīṣṭāvibhaṣā has been described as a most beautiful piece of work in the mathematical sense, a work of precision and analytical exactness.\

The text was expanded in order to dispel wrong ideas about individuality (atta). It deals with the states (dhammas), which are the only things to be found, under the categories of khandhas, ayatanas, and dhāmas, which are all essential (non-self). Therefore there is no atta, but only the rising and passing away of states which are either aggregates, bases, or elements.

4.4. Puggala-paññāatti

Despite its presence in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, the Puggala-paññāatti owes much in both form and content, to the Sutta-piṭaka. The non-empirical nature of the book is emphasized by the fact that in it puggala is not used in the sense of "underlying personality" (that is almost synonymous with atta), which is found in the Kathāvatthu and the Tīkā, but simply in the sense of "person, individual". This possibly supports the view that the Puggala-paññāatti is the earliest of the Abhidhamma texts.\

The text shows signs of having been earlier a work of the Vihāra type, for the saṅgītika begins with the statement that there are sixpaññāatti, viz. those of the khandhas, the ayatanas, the dhammas, the saṅgītika, the indriyas and the puggalas. It then goes on to list the five khandhas, the 12 ayatanas, the 18 dhammas, the four truths, the 20 indriyas, and all the puggalas in classes from one to ten. The text itself, however, goes on to explain only the puggalas in detail. The form is very similar to that of the Saṅgītika of the Dīṣṭāvibhaṣā (33), and a portion of the catūro puggala section is identical with the catūro puggala section of the Saṅgītika. Similarly there are parallels with the saṅgītika and the puggala sections.\

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37 See Sravaka, pp. 65–73.
40 See B.N. 111, p. 773.
The Kathāvātthu consists of a discussion of certain statements, of which 500 were orthodox and 500 were unorthodox, according to Buddhaghosa, although a modern authority states that it contains the refutation of 552 heretical statements. The work is set out in 23 sections, each dealing with between five and twelve questions. The discussion is set in a framework of question and answer, although it is not always possible to be certain whether the protagonist in each discussion is the Theerāvāda opponent or the hero. The commentary usually, but not always, indicates who is speaking.

There is no indication in the Kathāvātthu itself of the names of the propagators of the heresies which are being refuted. These are supplied by Buddhaghosa in his commentary, and it has often been pointed out that some of the heresies being confused are ascribed by him to sects whose origins are usually dated many centuries later than Asoka. There is, however, no need in principle to assume that some of the heresies cannot be as early as the date normally given for the composition of the Kathāvātthu, simply because the schools to which they are attributed did not exist before the first century B.C. Very few of the heresies seem to be anything more than obvious quibbles, which the audience to any sermon could have raised. The date of their adoption by a recognised sect could well have been much later.

The framework of the dialogue is stereotyped and abbreviated, which means that it would have been a simple matter to add refutations of new heresies as they arose, merely by following the pattern of dialogue employed. The latest date for the addition of such refutations was probably the first century B.C., when the canon was written down, or the time of the closing of the commentary upon the Kathāvātthu, i.e. the Sinhalese commentary upon which Buddhaghosa’s was based, after which time any insertions would be obvious. There is, however, no need to doubt that the structure itself, and the first few heresies which are refuted, are old. The first section (Puggalapadā) deals with the non-existence of a permanent individuality (pañcikī), which was one of the Buddha’s most important teachings. The second section deals with the refutation of a number of points about the nature of an arūḍh, which so closely resemble what is stated in other traditions to have been the cause of the schisms which followed the second council that there can be no doubt that they are due to a century or more before the time of Asoka.

The Kathāvātthu is noteworthy for the number of so-called “Māgādhins” it contains, especially the nominative singular male and female forms in -e. An anal.

49 See Kṣamasacca pācāṇa sutakānubhāya yamavide pācāṇa (An 5, 4).
50 See Ān. V. 3, p. 6.
51 See p. 135 below.
52 See Mrs. H. V. Davids, A., p. xxxii.
53 See the manuscript of An 5 and the methodology of debate, see Jayavarmawaya.
54 For the methodology of An 5 and the method of debate, see Jayavarmawaya.
55 For the methodology of An 5 and the method of debate, see Jayavarmawaya.
56 For the methodology of An 5 and the method of debate, see Jayavarmawaya.
57 For the methodology of An 5 and the method of debate, see Jayavarmawaya.

The Viśnu-Pāli Canon contains more canonical quotations than any other Pāli canonical text. It quotes from the Viṁavu and the Suvas-piṭaka, including nine texts of the Khuddaka-nikāya. It also quotes from the Dhammassagga and the Vihāra-piṭaka of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. There are, however, a few discrepancies in these quotations from the texts as they exist today, which perhaps means that they were being quoted from another recension, or that the author was quoting from memory.

4.6. Vasanā

Vasanā is a book on applied logic, and the same “book of pairs” is derived from the fact that all phenomena are considered in the light of a particular thesis and the opposite antithesis. It enables a student to check whether all items of an antithesis are covered by a statement, or only some of them, e.g., does the statement “All X is Y” mean that all X is Y?

The text is in ten chapters called Vasanās. Although the printed edition does not have a Table of Contents, the commentary treats the chapter titles as though they formed a mātikā, and the Mohavechakānanda confirms this that it is a ten-fold mātikā. The title of each chapter explains the subject to be discussed in it: Vāc, dealing with the roots of kusa and ávācā dhammas; Khandha, with the three khandhas (kusa, anu-khanda and citta-makkhā), Āmantha, with the three sākhās (kusa, anu-khanda and citta-makkhā), Āmantha, with the three sākhās (kusa, anu-khanda and citta-makkhā).

With the exception of the Māla-vasanā and the Amma-vasanā, the method of treatment in each chapter is threefold. There is first a prāpti, then a mahayāna, and finally a niyama. The prāpti...
in which the term and its concept are delimited, with a division into the vedosāma, which states only the questions, and the vedoksa, which repeats the questions with their various answers. The main part of the chapter is called in the commentary the Paratāvāra. This seems to refer not to procedure generally, but to living process, and considers the problem of where and as what the individual will be reborn. The Panjikāvāra deals with the extent to which a given individual, i.e. a class of beings, understands the category under consideration. It has been suggested that such a text, which seems to be intended for someone who has already studied the system, but wishes to become fully competent in it, is perhaps the latest of the books in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka.

4.7. Paṭṭhāna

The Paṭṭhāna is the last and longest book of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. It deals with the 22 triplets (tīkās) and 100 couples (dukas) of the Dhamma-sangāga, i.e. all the realized, with reference to the 24 conditions (phasaṇas). It aims to show how the causes and their results are related. In the Paṭṭhāna, the Karmaseta in the form of triplets, couples, couplet-triplet combinations, triplet-couplet combinations, triplet-triplet combinations, and couplet-couplet combinations are treated by four methods: positive, negative, positive-negative, negative-positive. The triplets, etc., are dealt with under seven headings: dependent, co-nascent, conditional, supported, conjoined, associated, and investigation. Under each heading the relations between the conditioning states and the conditioned states of the conditions involved in each state are treated. The text consists of a mālā, listing the 24 conditions, viz. hetu, ārāṣṭram, adhipatī, etc.; a questions chapter; and then the triplets followed by the couples, etc. In the questions chapter, the questions are asked taking the conditions singly, and then by two, by threes, etc., up to the maximum combination of 24, referring to each of the seven ways of taking the triplets (i.e. the seven combinations of each), in relation to each way of taking the triplets, by the four methods, viz. positive, negative, etc., and under the seven headings, viz. dependent, co-nascent, etc. If all the possible combinations were taken, there would be about half a billion questions, but not all can be answered, e.g. for the 49 questions obtained by combing the first (hetu) condition with dependent heading, in the positive, only nine answers are obtained. In

the classification (saṃkhāra) section these are dealt with at length, but in the enumeration (anvikṣa) section only the numbers are given. The text does not give all the questions and answers, but only those necessary for illustrating the types of the questions. So, only the 43 questions for the first condition, taken singly, are given in full, the remainder being abbreviated, although the numbers are given in the enumeration chapter. These chapters the enumeration chapters of the Paṭṭhāna list arithmetically the numbers of presentation by charts.

4.3. The Abhidharma in Sanskrit

As already noted, the Sarvāstivādana possessed an Abhidharma-piṭaka, which like the Theravāda Abhidhamma-piṭaka contained seven texts. An examination of the titles of these texts, however, shows that only one, viz. the Dhūṭānyā, resembles any of the Theravāda texts, and we must either assume that the number seven in each collection is a coincidence, or deduce Abhidhamma-piṭaka and deliberately rejected their texts and replaced them by new ones after the schism. One of the Sarvāstivādana texts is entitled Śaṅgiti-pārśīya, and is attributed to Śīloputra in the Chinese translations, but to Māhiśa-kauśika in Sanskrit and Tibetan sources. This text seems to be a commentary upon the Śāntisūtra of the Dīgha-nikāya (33), which is also attributed to Śīloputra. A fragment has been found at Bamyan and published, and more fragments have been discovered in Turkestan.

81 See ibid., between pp. 128 and 129.
82 See p. 17 above.
84 See WARE, IB, p. 219.
85 See TAKEDA, JPTS 1924—1925, between pp. 74 and 75.
86 See WARE, IB, p. 319.
87 See S. LAVERTY, "Note sur des manuscrits sanscrits provenant de Bamyan (Afghanistan) et de Gilgit (Casbérie)," in JA 1922, pp. 1—45.
88 See VALENTI-KREIBERG, Das Śāntisūtra und sein Kommentar. Saṅgiti-pārśīya, Berlin 1908 (STT, IX).
Chapter III

EARLY POST-CANONICAL TEXTS

1. EARLY PROSE TEXTS

It seems clear that early in the history of Buddhism a need was felt for guidance on how to interpret *suttas*, so that those bhikkhus who wished to teach and explain the Dhamma to their followers might be able to do so. The result of this need was the production of two works which are in effect treatises upon hermeneutics, offering instructions for analysing, construing, investigating, and identifying common themes in the *Dhamma*, so that anyone wishing to interpret could derive from the texts a correct understanding of the meaning of the Dhamma.1

The *Patañjali*2 seems to be the earlier of these two works. Its name presupposes a *pīṭha* of which it is the *upadana*.3 As already noted,1 the word *pīṭha* occurs very rarely in the canon in the metaphorical sense of “a basket of scriptures,” but it is not applied to the Buddha’s teachings. Since the word *pīṭha* occurs in inscriptions of the second century B.C., there would be no objection to dating the *Patañjali* to that century, or even earlier. There is nothing in the text to suggest any connection with Ceylon, and it was probably composed in India.2

The work is ascribed to *Kassāṇa,* but if it was in fact composed by an author of that name, then the need to date the work some time after the completion of the canon means that it cannot be the *Kassāṇa* who was a disciple of the Buddha. Since that *Kassāṇa* was renowned for his analytical powers,4 it is perhaps not surprising that a book entirely devoted to analysis should be attributed to him. It is probably this attribution which has led to the *Patañjali* being regarded as canonical in Burma.5

Little is known about the history of the text. *Buddhaghosa* quotes a passage from a text he calls *Pajjā,* but the quotation he gives is not in our modern editions. He was perhaps quoting from a different text, with a similar name, or from a different recension of our text,6 or it is possible that the sentence he quotes occurred in a passage which is now missing. The commentator Dhammapāla states that he has collated the *Patañjali* with the *Nettipakarana,7* before writing his commentary upon the latter text, but at some later date the *Patañjali* must have fallen into disuse, doubtless as a result of being eclipsed by its successor, and the manuscript tradition must have been very close to extinction. All available editions of the work must go back to a single manuscript, for they all show the same corruption, arising from the inclusion of a portion of the *Sumantavilāsa*, from which a page of a manuscript must have intruded at some time without being noticed.8

The method the *Patañjali* teaches is conceived simply for the purpose of the correct wording of known ideas. It is intended to help those who already know intellectually the Buddha’s word and the ideas it promulgates. It is not intended to discover anything new, or to prove any conclusion at all. It is aimed at those who, knowing the Buddha’s *Dhamma*, wish to explain it and expand it for the benefit of those who do not know but wish to learn. Its purpose is to avoid wrong exegesis, which may lead to contradictions and departures from the teaching.

The method follows the following pattern.9 Since any individual “thread” (sutta) of the Buddha’s teaching must, when recited in explanation of it, be recited in agreement with the teaching as a whole, and not in conflict with it, and since the teaching as a whole is enormously bulky, sixteen models (kāraṇas) of conveying a communication are set up, so as to represent the teaching as a whole. When an individual thread is expanded and explained in accordance with these sixteen kāraṇas, the resulting new material should thereby avoid conflict with the teaching as a whole. The kāraṇas deal only with phrasing. For guiding the phrases, when established in this acceptable way, to the meaning-as-suffix, viz. liberation from suffering, which is prescribed by the teaching as a whole, five guide lines (nayas) are set out to guide the tested phrasing to the verbal expression of its meaning-as-suffix.

Although early Western scholars thought that the *Nettipakarana* was merely a commentary, it is clear that it is, like the *Patañjali*, a guide to those who wished to write commentaries, or give explanations of canonical texts.10 A close comparison of the two texts shows that they are very similar.

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4. See P. 16 above.
6. See P. 17 above.
7. Ed. ajjana bhikkhuna akkara pitaka bhikkhunam... samghah bhikkhunam... saccakamma akkara bhikkhunam... yuddham Maha Kassana (A. 153, 27-29).
8. See BODH, PAB, p. 5.
10. See Naśamoli, Nett 1, p. 11 and p. 16 above.
12. See Naśamoli, Nett 1, p. 16, 16.
13. See ibid, p. viii.
14. See ibid, p. vii.
in content. The material which is found in the Petakopadesa, but not in the Nettippakara, seems sufficiently important to the method for its omission to be justified. The material found in both seems to be in an improved form in the Nettippakara. It therefore seems correct to conclude that neither text is a continuation of the other, but that the Nettippakara is a rewritten version of the Petakopadesa. Its superiority would explain why it has a commentary by Dhammapala, while the Petakopadesa has no commentary. It seems inconceivable that anyone who has read the Nettippakara could then go on to write the Petakopadesa, while the converse seems quite reasonable.

The fact that the Nettippakara contains verses composed in the Arap metre* implies that these portions, at least, of the text were composed in North India at some time prior to the introduction of the text into Ceylon, for it is clear that the knowledge of the Arap metre was lost in Ceylon. Since the use of the metre was lost in Pali at an early date, it is likely that the verses must have been composed at some time before the beginning of the Christian era. This, of course, implies a date earlier than this for the composition of the Petakopadesa. Like the Petakopadesa, the Nettippakara is regarded as canonical in Burma. It is ascribed to Kasakha, who is identified with the Buddha’s disciple by the commentator Dhammapala.

The influence of the Nettippakara and, through it, of the Petakopadesa is great. Buddhaghosa makes use of its method, and many of the technical terms employed by him and other commentators are borrowed from it. Buddhaghosa, on occasion, quotes from it. An early prose text for which an Indian provenance has been surmised is the Milindapada, which gives an account of a dialogue between the Greek king Menander (or Menander) and the theravada Naga. Nothing is known certainly about the origin of this text. An earlier limit for its date of composition is given by the fact that Menander ruled in the middle of the second century B.C., while it must have been compiled by the fifth century A.D. since

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Buddhaghosa quotes from it, and clearly regards it as authoritative. Since the words he quotes do not agree entirely with the text as we have it, it is not absolutely certain that the text he had available to him was identical with ours.

From the facts that Menander’s kingdom was in North-West India, his ministers have names which can in some cases be related to genuine Greek names, some knowledge of a typical Greek city is shown, all geographical details relate to North India, and there are one or two words and phrases in the text which do not follow the usual pattern of Pali, it has been assumed that the Milindapada is a Pali translation from a Sanskrit or Prakrit original composed in North India about the beginning of the Christian era. There is also a Chinese version, which can be dated to a time earlier than the fourth century A.D. Since it differs somewhat from the Pali version, it has been thought to be based upon the hypothetical Sanskrit version. It has also been suggested that the original of the Milindapada was in fact written in Greek.

It is clear that the text is made up of material composed at different times. From the fact that the words Milindapada samayana occur at the end of Book III, it has been deduced that this was the end of the original portion of the Milindapada, but it is possible to see that even in this short portion there are insertions. There is a reference to the six teachers*, which is entirely anachronistic, since it refers to conditions at the time of the Buddha, and is based upon the Samanta-patalokanta of the Digha-nikaya (2), note, and a biography of Naga asa from his conception to the attainment of

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See also the list of correspondences given by HORN, MIL., I, p. xx.

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* Milindapada is said to have approached Naga in Bactria, which is perhaps the modern Skhota. See HORN, MIL., I, p. 1 n. 3.

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See HORN, MIL., I, p. xvi.

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See DAVIS, MIL., I, p. xiv., and TAN, op. cit. (in n. 29), pp. 422-23.

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See HORN, MIL., I, p. 320.

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See HORN, MIL., I, p. xx.

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See NEFF, MIL., I, p. x.

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See DAVIS, MIL., I, p. xiv.

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See HORN, MIL., I, p. xx.

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See DAVIS, MIL., I, p. xiv.

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See DAVIS, MIL., I, p. xx.

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See DAVIS, MIL., I, p. xx.

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See DAVIS, MIL., I, p. xx.

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See DAVIS, MIL., I, p. xx.

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See DAVIS, MIL., I, p. xx.
The relationship between these bhadra and the Jaina-a-bhadra, whom he mentions at the same time, is not clear.

The fourth of these early prose texts which were probably composed in North India is the Visuddhimagga, and as will be noted below there is some doubt as to whether this work is still extant. Its importance lies in the fact that it was made use of by Buddhaghosa when he wrote the Visuddhimagga. Buddhaghosa does not quote the Visuddhimagga by name, but the author of the eighth upon the Visuddhimagga states that the word abhasa (at Vism 102, 31) refers to the theravada Upasika who was responsible for proposing a refined method of classifying temperaments in the Visuddhimagga. A Chinese translation of this text, made in A.D. 505, exists, and it includes the refined suggestion. It also includes other points rejected by Buddhaghosa, which Dhammapala ascribes to the Abhayagiri yaksha. This has led to a belief that the Visuddhimagga was an Abhayagiri text, which was regarded as lost with almost all other Abhayagiri texts when the Mahayana school finally triumphed over its main opponent. It has, however, been pointed out that all the points which Buddhaghosa rejects are non-Mahayana, and are well within the Hinayana field. The Visuddhimagga has, therefore, been identified as a Theravada text. It has been suggested that the author of Abhayagiri was the same as the Upasika who is mentioned in the lists of theras in the Parivara of the Vinaya pitaka. If this suggestion is correct, then the text would date from about the first century A.D., but there is no other evidence to support this suggestion. All that can be said is that, if Dhammapala is correct, Buddhaghosa knew of the Visuddhimagga, which must therefore be earlier than the fifth century A.D., but not necessarily much earlier.

A comparison of the Visuddhimagga with the Visuddhimagga, in its Chinese form, shows that the latter is much shorter than the former. It follows the same three general divisions of suttas, sambuddh, and paññadhi, but does not superimpose the pattern of the seven suttas. Less space is devoted to the paññadhi portions and there are no illustrative stories. Although the appearance in both works of what appear to be several nearly identical passages suggests that they both drew much from the same sources, the general style differs. The main differences between the two texts arise from the way of handling the four
2. THE EARLY CHRONICLES

Tradition, as recorded by Buddhaghosa, states that the commentaries were brought to Ceylon by Mahinda. It can be deduced that included in this commentarial material was information about the early history of Buddhism in North India. To this in the course of time was added material concerning the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon, and its subsequent progress there.

Nothing is known about the language or languages in which this historical material was composed. It seems probable that, like the canon itself, it was originally in a number of dialects, but it is uncertain whether it was reduced to a single dialect when the canon was rendered into Pali. It is also probable that the additions made in Ceylon were in the current Sinhalese Prakrit. From the form of later texts which were based upon this historical tradition it has been deduced that it consisted of a mixture of prose and verse, and it has been claimed that the prose was in Sinhalese Prakrit while the verses were in Pali. The main reason for this belief appears to be the fact that later classical Sinhalese prose is often interspersed with Pali and Sanskrit verse, but almost never with Sanskrit prose. As will be seen, there is some evidence that some, at least, of the verses were in a non-Pali dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan.

The first extant attempt to put together history and legend in verse and to make a continuous chronicle (vamsa) about Ceylon is the Dipavamsa. This tells in 22 chapters the history of the island from the time of the Buddha, who is reported to have visited Ceylon three times, down to the end of the reign of Mahasena in the fourth century A.D. It must therefore have been written after the time of that king. The fact that it is quoted by name several times by Buddhaghosa suggests that it is to be dated to the period between Mahasena and Buddhaghosa, but some doubt remains because there are minor differences between Buddhaghosa's quotations and the text which we possess, which may mean that Buddhaghosa was following a different recension of the text, or that he was quoting from an earlier version of the text than the one we have, perhaps even a Dipavamsa-ajjhatuka upon which our Dipavamsa is based.

Before beginning the account of the history of Ceylon, the early history of Buddhism in India is related, down to the time of Asoka and the sending out of the missionaries, and including accounts of the three councils. The story of Ceylon proper begins in chapter nine. The text shows signs of being made up from a collection of material which frequently overlaps. The author makes no attempt to assimilate his material, but is content to place different versions of the same occurrence side by side. So we find two slightly divergent names of the same individual, two descriptions of the first council, and of the second council, with some verses identical in the two versions. There are also two versions of the third council, while the story of the events sent to Ceylon by Asoka is treated three times.

Many verses in the Dipavamsa are so sketchy that they are unintelligible without help. Where the relevant stories recur in the later Mahavamsa the essential details are added, and we are able to use the later text as a commentary upon the earlier one. There are also verses which were clearly intended to be
memory verses. In the form in which they occur in the *Dīpaṃkara* they are sometimes meaningless, and it is only the fact that they are elaborated in the *Mahāvamsa* which enables us to understand them. These facts are consistent with a belief that the *Dīpaṃkara* was dependent upon a written tradition which was in turn based upon an oral tradition, in which memory verses were essential.

The author's name is unknown. His command of Pāli seems to have been poor. The syntax of some of his sentences is very difficult, and he is capable of producing grammatical impossibilities. The metre is *Shakas* and *Jayatī*, except for a few passages which seem to be in prose, although it has been claimed that these are really verses in irregular metre.

Although the introductory *Bīhāranīkāla* which Buddhaghosa prefixes to the *Samantapradīpika* is not a verse, it is convenient to deal with it here because it is a large extent based upon the same materials as the *Dīpaṃkara*. Buddhaghosa wrote this introduction to explain the *Nidāna*, the "inception" or "origin" of the *Vinaya*, with the aim of establishing the authenticity of the *Vinaya* before starting to comment upon it. To this end he gives an account of the history of Buddhism down to the proclamation of the *Vinaya-pitaka* by Mahā-ārya in the presence of Devanampiya, under the presidency of Mahinda, after the introduction of Buddhism to the island.

In his account of the first three councils Buddhaghosa is dependent upon the historical material collected at the *Mahāvīhāra*. As we have seen, it is clear from the use made of the same materials by the author of the *Dīpaṃkara* that it consisted of two or three versions of some of the events, which had been transmitted in a quite disjointed fashion. Whereas these versions are simply included side by side in the *Dīpaṃkara*, Buddhaghosa makes a very successful attempt to integrate them.

Buddhaghosa twice quotes the *Dīpaṃkara* by name when quoting verses, but the fact that there are slight variations from the text of the *Dīpaṃkara* which we possess perhaps means that he was quoting from a different recension, or that he was quoting directly from the *Shaśāla* version of the *Dīpaṃkara*, upon which the text we have was based. Since some of the verses are memory verses, it is likely that they are old ones from the *Shaśāla-āṭṭākāla*. On a

E. g. *Dīpaṃkara* 2. 4 is expanded at *Mari* XIX 2. 12.

*E. g.* *Dīpaṃkara* occurs as an expository singular form at *Dīpaṃkara* 82. 84 and XIX 60, doubtless by analogy with *rajaśīrām*


Dip XI 79–81 quoted at *Sp* 74, 19–22 and Dip XII 1–6 quoted at *Sp* 76, 15–76. 11.

further occasion Buddhaghosa quotes a verse found in the *Dīpaṃkara*, but he merely introduces it with the words *pathākī.* Another verse is given without any reference to the source, and two further verses, almost identical with two that suggest that Buddhaghosa was indeed quoting the sources from which the *Dīpaṃkara* itself drew its material. On the other hand, in his commentary upon the Kathavatthu Buddhaghosa quotes a long passage from the *Dīpaṃkara* that portion at least, Buddhaghosa had access to a text virtually identical with ours.

The second of the great *vinaya* texts is the *Mahāvamsa*. The commentary upon the text states that the author's name was Mahākāma. He gives as his reason for writing the *Mahāvamsa* the fact that the earlier work compiled by contained many repetitions. This is but a description of the *Dīpaṃkara* of the Mahāvamsa was intended simply as a replacement of the *Dīpaṃkara*. The author of the *Mahāvamsa* is referred to a *Sahāvatihakāla-Mahāvamsa*, which is full of faults. This was presumably a historical text, or an introduction to a work. The commentary further states that the *Mahāvamsa* is a translation of the *pāṇi-pāṇi*[ka] from the Shaka language into *Pāṇi-pāṇi*[ka], i.e. Pali, and calls the text *Pāṇi-pāṇi*[ka]*vamsa* because it is written in verse.

The *Mahāvamsa* begins and ends with the *Dīpaṃkara*, but it is both adds and subtracts. It omits, for example, the description of the changes made to the canon by the Mahākāmas after they had split from the Theravāda. The *Mahāvamsa* inserts what was doubtless in origin an independent poem about him, comprising eleven chapters.
Mahānāma may be said to have succeded in his aim of writing a work which is free from faults. The reason for the fact that the Mahāvamsa is so superior to the Dipawansa is perhaps to be seen in Buddhaghosa’s work. It has been suggested that Mahānāma educated himself for the task of writing his great chronicle by reading Buddhaghosa’s introduction to the Samantapāsākikā. The text has many claims to be regarded as a kāyika. The metre throughout is Skhiva, apart from a prose quotation from the Yamasika, except that the final verses of each chapter is in an ornate metre, e.g. Nacārī (I), Nacārī (II), Vatsarāntika (III), etc.

Although the Mahāvamsa we possess is a very long work, taking the history of Ceylon right down to the nineteenth century, the older original composition, of which alone the commentary gives an explanation, ends in the middle of chapter XXXVII, where we find after verse 50 the words Mahāvamsa nīṭhito. Verse 50 is in the Skhiva metre, which indicates that it was not the original ending to the chapter, for which an ornate metre would have been expected. Presumably the original ending was removed when the chapter was copied.

It would seem that the Dipawansa, Buddhaghosa’s Bāhūrānīdāna, and the Mahāvamsa are all based on the Sīkṣāṇa sthānasthākaḥ material which was kept at the Mahāvihāra, and the differences between these three works are due to the various authors making use of different strands of the material, and laying different emphasis upon the material which they have in common. It has been suggested that some of the differences between the Bāhūrānīdāna and the Mahāvamsa arise from the fact that the former was translated directly from Śivasāla Prākrit into Pāli prose, while the author of the latter was under the restriction of metrical considerations. The differences between verses in the Dipawansa and the Bāhūrānīdāna have been put down to recension variation, but such differences could equally well be explained as arising from alternative interpretations of verses in non-Pāli dialects.

3. THE EARLY COMMENTARIES

At the beginning of several of his commentaries Buddhaghosa states637 that he is basing his explanations upon the sthānasthākaḥ which were first recited by the 500 therai, i.e. at the first council, and afterwards brought to Ceylon by

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637 See Mv 73.
638 By Gruen, DM, p. 74. If this is so, then Mahānāma is later than Buddhaghosa.
640 Mv 145.
641 See Gruen, DM, pp. 18–19.
642 See Jayatunga, Sp tr., p. xxxv.
643 See p. 151 above.
644 See K. N. Norman, “The role of Pali in early Sinhalese Buddhism,” in Beecroft, BCHS, p. 34.
645 Sv 1.15–18 = Ps 1.17–21 = Mv 1.1.15–21.

Mahinda and translated into the Sinhalese language for the sake of the inhabitants of the island. From the many references to events and personages in Ceylon which we find in Buddhaghosa’s commentaries, and which we presumably taken from the Sīkṣāṇa sthānasthākāḥ, we can be certain that additions were made to these sthānasthākāḥ after their arrival in Ceylon. A critical examination of the commentaries suggests that no additions were made to them after the first century A.D., but since it is said that the Sīkṣāṇa sthānasthākāḥ were committed to writing at the same time as the canon in the first century B.C., it may be possible that little exegetical material was added after the latter date.

There is no direct evidence that any commentarial material was in fact recited at the first council, but there is clear evidence that some parts of the commentaries are very old, perhaps even going back to the time of the Buddha, because they afford parallels with texts which are regarded as canonical by other sects, and must therefore pre-date the schisma between the sects. As has already been noted, some canonical texts include commentarial passages, while the existence of the Old Commentary in the Vajra-pitaka and the canonical status of the Niddesa pārīya that some sort of exegesis was felt to be needed as a very early stage of Buddhism.

We cannot be certain whether Buddhaghosa was correct in stating that the early missionaries translated the commentaries they brought with them into Sinhalese Prākrit, but what we know of the development of that dialect between the first century B.C., when the commentaries were allegedly written down, and the fifth century A.D., when Buddhaghosa is believed to have written his commentaries, suggests that he was quite correct when he stated that the sthānasthākāḥ in the Sīkṣāṇa sthānasthākāḥ were no longer intelligible outside Ceylon. It may be suspected that they were only intelligible to a very small number of Mahāvihāras inside the island.

The fact that the Dipawansa sometimes gives two or three versions of the same event suggests that the tradition of the Mahāvihāra was based upon a mass of disjointed chronicle material, and there is no reason to doubt that the situation with regard to exegetical material was exactly the same, with commentaries gathered together from a number of sources. This would explain why we sometimes find commentators giving two or more, sometimes contradictory, explanations of the same word or phrase. Some commentators, especially Buddhaghosa, give information about the commentaries they are following, and from the way in which some views are brought forward only to be rejected...
it is clear that those living at the Mahāvihāra also had access to the records of others sects which were regarded as hostile, if not actually heretical.

3.3. Buddhaṭiccharaka

The Mahāvihāra states that after his conversion to Buddhism in North India Buddhaṭiccharaka wrote a book entitled Nāgodaya and then a commentary upon the Dhammaśāstra called the Aṭṭhāsāstra. He then began to compile a commentary upon the Paribarta, but was advised to go to Ceylon, for only there was the commentarial tradition preserved. In Ceylon he went to the Mahāvihāra, learned the commentaries, and wrote the Visuddhimagga, described as a summary of the Tipiṭaka, to persuade the Sāṅgha that he was a fit person to be entrusted with their books.

The story in the Mahāvihāra states that to test his ability the theravāda of the Mahāvihāra gave him two verses to comment upon, and the account given at the beginning of the Visuddhimagga does not contradict this. He begins by quoting two verses from the Sānghaṭī ṃiti, and the whole of the Visuddhimagga is in effect a commentary upon the first of those. He states that the book was written at the request of the theravāda Sangha, who is named as his teacher in the Mahāvihāra.

The Visuddhimagga is not so much a commentary as a sort of encyclopaedia, a compendium of Buddhist doctrine and metaphysics presented in a logical and systematic manner under the three heads of sīla, samādhi, and pañña, as Buddhaṭiccharaka himself states. These three heads have already been noted in the Visuddhimagga, and there seems no doubt that Buddhaṭiccharaka made use of this earlier text when writing his own work, although it is going too far to say that the Visuddhimagga and Visutthnīmagga are one and the same work appearing in different attire. The Visuddhimagga extracts from the Piṭaka all the central doctrines which pivot upon the four truths, and presents them as a coherent systematic whole by way of quotation and explanation, interspersed with treatises on subjects of more or less relative importance. It illustrates by means of a large number of stories, set in either India or Ceylon, the whole being assimilated into an eloquent edifice. An examination of the stories shows that those referring to India are, where a date can be assigned, none of them later than the third century B.C. i.e. the date when Mahinda brought Buddhism to Ceylon. None of the events in Ceylon can be dated later than the latest datable theravāda, and this, as has been noted, is either the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. The Visuddhimagga is a masterly summary of Buddhist teaching, and can be regarded as an exposition of the ninefold teaching of the Buddha. It is best regarded as a detailed manual for meditation masters, and as a work of reference. As such, it can stand alone, but since many of the passages Buddhaṭiccharaka quotes occur in texts upon which he has written independent commentaries, there is some overlap, and many passages commenting upon identical material occur word for word the same in each commentary.

The Gandhārapada states that Buddhaṭiccharaka was the author of twelve commentaries in addition to the Visuddhimagga: those on the Vinaya-piṭaka, the first four niṭūyas, the Aṭṭhāsāstra-piṭaka, the Pitakās, and the Dhammapada, the Jātaka, the Khuddakapātika, the Suttaṅga, and the Apekkhī. Although there is some doubt about the last five, the remainder are generally accepted as being by Buddhaṭiccharaka.

At the beginning of the Samantapāṭalika Buddhaṭiccharaka states that he is putting his commentary upon the Mahā-āṭṭhāsāstra, the Mahāpurāṇa and the Mahāpaññā comments, and he is embodying the tradition of the elders (theravādin) in it. He also refers to the opinions of individual elders, and clearly holds Mahāpaññā and Mahāpaññā in high regard. He also refers to the Śakyaṃśa, an abridged form of the Mahāpaññā, and to the Paccarī commentaries, which is perhaps also an abridged version. He also mentions the Anāthaśīpika, although almost always to reject its views. The fact that the Anāthaśīpika country in South India was a Dravidian-speaking area has led to the suggestion that this commentary came from that area and was in a Dravidian language. There is no evidence for this belief, either as a specific

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113 See Nāgamoli, Vism tr., p. xx.
114 See p. 119 above.
115 Gv 20, 18–20.
116 Gv 20, 18–20 does not include Pararamasitāpiṭaka, but at 68, 34 it is stated that Buddhaṭiccharaka wrote the aṭṭhāsāstra on the Butantiṭaka without being requested (aṭṭhāsāstra nu Butantiṭakaṁ na cetapatiṭakāṁ prathamata sansāraṁ).
118 Sp 2, 16–18.
119 Sp 2, 21.
120 See Adirahama, EBIC, p. 91.
121 See ibid., pp. 12–13.
122 See ibid., p. 12.
123 Another authority, usually mentioned only to reject it, is Kej, see ibid., p. 39.
124 See Adirahama, EBIC, p. 12.
statement from Buddhaghosa or an adoration from the views quoted from the Andhaśīnī. Although there are one or two references in other commentaries by Buddhaghosa to a Vinaya-āthākāṭhikā, there are no references to it by name in the Samantapāśasīka. The references to it do not fit well with the Samantapāśasīka itself, and seems likely that it is a Sīhala āthākāṭhikā.

To the commentary upon the Vinaya-piṭaka proper, Buddhaghosa prefixes a Bihināddha which has already been mentioned.113 Besides the chronicle portions which can be compared with the other chronicles, there is a great deal of material about the classification and content of the canonical texts. The Samantabhadraśīla,114 Pāpacāntiśi,115 Sārasthīyapanāśīla,116 and Mānarathopāśīla117 are Buddhaghosa’s commentaries upon the Digha, Majjhima, Sānchiya, and Anguttara-nikāyas respectively. He states at the beginning of each of these that since certain things have already been dealt with in the Vinuddhamagga, he will not deal with them again, for the Vinuddhamagga stands between and in the midst of all four collections.118 In the Sānchiya commentary he inserts a stanza referring to the two previous collections,119 i.e. the Digha-nikāya and the Majjhima-nikāya, for the explanation of the names of towns and illustrative stories. The Anguttara commentary replaces this by another stanza referring to the Digha and the Majjhima by name for the same purpose.120 Since the Vinuddhamagga is referred to in this way the beginning of each of these four commentaries, we must assume that when he refers in the Vinuddhamagga to the āthākāṭhikā upon the Anguttara, Majjhima, and Sānchiya-nikāyas,121 he is referring to his own commentary upon these texts, but the Sīhala āthākāṭhikā thereon.

Buddhaghosa’s commentaries upon the Dhammapadagāti and the Vibhādhā are individually named as the Atthasaliśi and the Samadhatavinodani.122

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113 E.g. Vism 72, 23 and 272, 2. See Jayawickrama, Sp tr. pp. xxi–xxiv.
114 See p. 116 above.
119 Ṣaṅkhya Vinnudhamagga (ten 51–79) (V S 2, 6 = Ps 1, 4, 10 = Epk 1, 2, 18 = Mrp 1, 2, 26).
120 Epk 1, 2, 3–4.
121 Mrp 1, 2, 8–10.
122 E.g. Vism 115, 24; 72, 24: 287, 8.
included in the other, and on other occasions the views given in the Visuddhi-
magga are merely listed as alternatives. It seems strange that someone like
Buddhaghoṣa should give his own interpretations as alternatives, and if he
were really revising an earlier opinion it might have been expected that he
would mention his change of mind. Strong though these arguments may be, they
are not conclusive. The answer perhaps lies in the relative dating of the Visuddhi-
magga and the Atthaśālinī. The Mahāvīraṃa states188 that Buddhaghoṣa wrote
the Atthaśālinī in India, before going to Ceylon. If this was so, then he must
have re-written it there, because he refers to commentary material from the
Mahāvīraṃa.189 If we accept that the Atthaśālinī was an early work which was
later re-written,190 then it does not seem unlikely that Buddhaghoṣa should in-
corporate later views from the Visuddhimagga while still retaining earlier views
expressed in the "first edition" of the Atthaśālinī. There are several references
in the Sammohavivadānī to the Atthaśālinī as the commentary which should
be preferred over it,191 and since Buddhaghoṣa’s authorship of the former
work has never been disputed it would seem reasonable to suppose that he
wrote the latter work too. The suggestion that the Atthaśālinī was written by
a pupil of Buddhaghoṣa need not perhaps be taken very seriously. A study
of Buddhaghoṣa’s Abhidhamma-pitaka shows parallels with the Atthaśālinī,192
and although dependence upon the same traditional commentarial material
cannot be ruled out as the cause of this, the tradition193 that Buddhaghoṣa
summarized Buddhaghoṣa’s commentaries suggests that the Abhidhamma-vi-
htaśālinī is indeed based upon the Atthaśālinī. Buddhaghoṣa’s authorship is
not likely to have been summarised without a pupil of Buddhaghoṣa.

Another possible solution for the problem of Buddhaghoṣa seemingly re-
jecting the views he had put forward in the Visuddhimagga is that these views
could have been his own,194 as opposed to traditional ones taken over from the

188 Mvv.XXVII.223.
189 As 2, 4, One passage (As 82 - 106), entitled Dvārakāśāhā, is specifically at-
tributed to the Mahā-āggaśāhā, while another, entitled Vipakṣaśāhā (As 367-47), seems to have been taken over almost verbatim or perhaps slightly altered
from a rather formalised earlier source, almost certainly a Sāṅkha-āggaśāhā. It starts with what it calls a nāda, in effect a table of contents, and
then gives a reference to the Commentaries, which are referred to at verse 163 - 164 as an
authentic version in accordance with the views of the teachers of the āggaśāhā.
See J. S. Cohns, "The Paṭham and the development of the Theravāda Abhi-
190 Re-writing is perhaps indicated by the fact that the Sammohavivadānī quotes Mvv.XXVII.172 - 174 (41, 5 - 56) but later (56, 22) states that Buddhaghoṣa
wrote the Atthaśālinī in Ceylon after composing his commentaries upon the
nīkāyās.
191 See Vīhi-s. 43, 14 - 15; 386, 14 - 15; 416, 4 - 5; 417, 13 - 14.
192 C. Bhādha, 2, 3 - 4, with As 62, 1 - 17.
193 See p. 138 below. The alternative explanation, that the Atthaśālinī is based
upon the Abhidhamma-pitaka, seems untenable, because some of the latter is almost
in intelligible without reference to the former.

Later post-canonical texts

Sīlākā śāhāśāhā. Although the implication is that Buddhaghoṣa is at all times
following the Mahāvīraṃa tradition, he, and other commentators, do some-
times state that they are giving their own opinion about something. It is possible
that this happened more frequently than would appear. It is clear that on occasion
the views put forward by the commentators lacked authority, since readers are
sometimes allowed a choice about accepting the view or rejecting it.195

Although, as stated, the Sammohavivadānī several times refers to the At-
thaśālinī, we also find in the Atthaśālinī the statement, repeated,196 that point
will be clarified in the Vibhaṅga-āggaśāhā. This presumably means that
Buddhaghoṣa was carefully planning ahead for one commentary while he was
writing another, and was already making decisions about the proper place to
deal with the traditional material he was sorting through. It may be assumed
that a similar practice accounts for other cross-references which are found in
his commentaries,197 although extensive reworking and rewriting of his
commentaries occurred, which would have enabled him to incorporate later
views in books written earlier.

The five commentators included in the Paṭaṇakaparipākāśāhā198 are much
shorter than the Atthaśālinī and Sammohavivadānī. The most interesting of
the set is the commentary upon the Kathāvāhā,199 which makes a consid-
erable part of the interpretative views put forward in the Kathāvāhā as being
views of particular sects. It starts with a brief account of the origin of the
15 schools which arose before the third council, and then the six more which
arose after the end of the second century of Buddhism.

The author of the commentary is clearly aware that some of the views re-
ferrred to could not have arisen in Tissa’s time. He explains this by stating that
Tissa spoke to prevent views which were going to arise, by analysing the topics
discourse (paṭākāsam) established by the Tathāgata.200 When identifying the
holders of the views the commentator sometimes uses the word "now" (estaraka), implying that the schools still existed in his time and still had that view. It is, however, possible that Buddhaghosa took over the word estaraka from the Sihała avatārakāra he was following, and "now" refers to the time when the latter were compiled.146

Although, as already noted,147 the Pātimokkha does not have a separate existence in the Pāli canon, being embedded in the Vinaya-piṭaka, Buddhaghosa wrote a commentary upon it, including the introductory portion which has become detached from the rest and is found, together with the Old Commentary, in the Uposathakādiṇhaka.148 He comments upon the Old Commentary as well as upon the Pātimokkha itself. He states that he is doing so briefly (sāvakāhāra), and he refers to the Samantapādikā for a more detailed account.149

The Kālinikavatārakāra150 calls itself a mātikā avatārakāra,151 where mātikā means the text of the Pātimokkha extracted from the Suttavihāras and, in the case of the introductory portion, the Mahāvagga. This use of mātikā is found elsewhere in works by Buddhaghosa. It has already been noted152 that he explains the word mātikā-dharā as deepārthika-jāti, and in the Kālinikavatārakāra we find the Mahāvihāra referred to as mātikā,153 and also a distinction drawn between the mātikā and the Padavajāra.154 In the Visuddhimagga mātikā seems to be used of the Pātimokkha,155 and in the Athādhaśāri it refers to a part of the Vinaya-piṭaka.156

The word mātikā in this sense must be old, for the Sihała avatārakāra is called the Sihaḷa-mātikā-avatārakāra.157 Besides this, Buddhaghosa presumably also made use of the same commentaries he employed when writing the Samantapādikā; for he mentions the Kurundu and the Mahāśāracarī commentaries.158 These authorities did not always agree, and Buddhaghosa notes that the Sihaḷa avatārakāra differs from the explanation given at one point in the Samantapādikā.159 References to the Samantapādikā are frequent, and there are more

146 See Aitv and Bhoj Davar, Ky tr., pp. xxiii–xxiv.
147 Dhamma sāvakāhāra at Sp. 62. 10 probably refers to a date in the first century.
148 See Aitv, EHBC, p. 87.
149 See p. 18 above.
152 Kālinikavatārakāra nāma Madhhābārakāra (Kgl 1, 1–3).
153 See p. 99 above.
154 Kgl 132, 40.
155 Nā vac mātikālasa padavajārāya vutthiyo (Kgl 95, 28).
156 Dace mātikā jātiyo raja (Vin 312, 29). See Nāmavali, Vin 1 tr., p. 17 n. 11.
157 Aitv 19, 2.
158 Aṣayam ca ṝatiyo Sihaḷamātikā-avatārakārasya vutto (Kgl 106, 24–25).
159 See Kgl 118, 11 and 119, 25.
160 Samantapādikālasa pan’ asa cāraṇaḥkaraḥ (Kgl 130, 25).
This is intended. On a number of occasions he draws attention to the fact that a reading in the books (pathakalas) is not found in the pathakala, or that the pathakala has a different reading. He sometimes quotes, tacitly, material from an earlier commentary.

To Buddhaghosa are also ascribed commentaries upon the Khuddakapāṭha and the Suttapitaka, both called Paramatthajātikī. Despite the fact that Buddhaghosa’s name appears at the end of both, doubt has been expressed about their authorship, and it has been suggested that the two works are perhaps by different authors. There is no reference in the Khuddakapāṭha commentary to an earlier Sīla commentary, but there are references to former teachers (pathakarīyas) and teachers of the commentary (pathakalīyas) as well as pariyāpas and Therīpas. The author, never in his life for believing that the Khuddakapāṭha commentary is not by the same author as the Visuddhimagga.

The commentary upon the Suttapitaka also shows some knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, but no more than Buddhaghosa shows in the Visuddhimagga, and this seems to be no reason for denying his authorship. The repetition which is found in the commentary upon the Khuddakapāṭha, e.g. the full commentaries in both texts upon the three nāgas which the Khuddakapāṭha and the Suttapitaka have in common, is certainly strange when his habit of referring from one commentary to another, as already noted in the case of his Sutta-pitaka and Abhidhamma-pitaka commentaries, is considered, but the fact that these repetitions are word for word the same cannot prove that they are by different authors.

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139 E.g. pathakaha pana “aktī mani nettī pañca” ti patha (jha II 241, 17).
139 E.g. pathakaha pana “kāma dukkha loke” ti patha (jha II 241, 17).
140 E.g. there is an evisceration in the prose story of the Aponnakajātaka at jha I 101, 14–22.
141 See ANTHOLOGY, p. v–ix.
142 See NÄMBOLL, p. i v–ix.
143 See NÄMBOLL, p. i v–ix.
144 See G. T. WINKLER, p. i v–ix.
145 See WICKRAMASINGHE, p. i v–ix.
146 See G. T. WINKLER, p. i v–ix.
148 See p. 58 above.
3.2. Buddhadatta

There is a tradition, recorded in the Vinayasūkṛatadipāṇi,²³⁰ a twelfth-century commentary on the Vinayapitikottara written by Vācana, that Buddhadatta made summaries of Buddhaghosa's works after the latter had translated them from the Sīhala Prakrit.²³¹ The later Buddhaghosapati tells a different story.²³²

²²⁵ Mahānāma's accession is recorded at Min XXXVII 210 and his death at XXXVII 247.
²²⁷ See Groen, Col tr., i. pp. v-vi.
²²⁸ Dp 1615, 14-26.
²²⁹ Dp 127 above.
³³ See CPD, Vol. i, p. 471, s.v. māvakkha³.
³³⁴ See Buddhadatta, Cetr., pp. 168-59.
³³⁵ Bu-up 36, 6-8 tells only of Buddhadatta encouraging Buddhaghosa with his translation work.

²³⁰ The Mahānāma states that Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon in the reign of king Mahānāma.²²⁵ While there is some doubt about the precise dating of the Sinhalese kings, it is generally accepted that Mahānāma lived in the first half of the fifth century A.D.²²⁶ If the letter which is reported to have been sent to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 428 by Ma-ho-nun²²⁷ was sent by the same Mahānāma, then the date is confirmed. At the end of the Samantapāṇḍita's Buddhaghosa states that he wrote the commentary between the 20th and 21st years of king Sirinīvāsa.²²⁸ It is assumed that the names Mahānāma and Sirinīvāsa refer to the same person. If this is the same king who is called Sirinīvāsa at the end of the commentary upon the Dhammapada,²²⁹ then that commentary, whether or not by Buddhaghosa, can be dated to the same period. A lower limit to the possible date for Buddhaghosa is given by the fact that the Chinese translation of the Samantapāṇḍita was made in A.D. 489.²³⁰

²³¹ It is worth noting that, although we are informed by Buddhaghosa himself that he translated his commentaries from the Sīhala language (and from Dravidian too, if we are wrong to reject this suggestion), there is no trace of this translation process to be seen. Although attention has been drawn to a few passages in Buddhaghosa's commentaries where nominative singular forms in -ā, which is a characteristic of early Sinhalese Prakrit,²³² are to be found, a close examination shows that these forms are rather to be regarded as Māgadhī forms, or at least traces of some North Indian Prakrit.²³³ There seems to be no evidence for the existence of untranslated Sinhalese Prakrit forms in any of Buddhaghosa's commentaries.

²³² The text was composed during the reign of King Chandragupta of the Kālāma (or
Kashiba or Kambha) is said to be king of the Cola country.292 If, at some future date, it proves possible to give a firm date to this account on the astronomical grounds, then we should be afforded a firm basis for the chronology of both Buddhist and Indian history in the contemporary kings of Ceylon.

An examination of the commentary to the Buddhistapadā,253 which is also ascribed to Buddhabhadra, shows that it must have been compiled at a later date, presumably by another Buddhabhadra.

3.3. Mahānāma

There is a commentary305 upon the Paṭisambhidāmasagga ascribed to Mahānāma,306 and entitled Sādhamānappakāsita. The Gandhāvakaṇa states that it was written at the request of the physician Mahānāma.264 The colophon to the text says that it was written in the Mahāvihāra in the third year after the death of King Maggaṇika,307 who is generally dated to the first half of the sixth century A.D.308

There is no evidence that a Sāhita evakṣaṇāya upon the Paṭisambhidāmasagga existed, which perhaps explains why Buddhabhadra did not write a commentary upon it. Buddhabhadra, however, quotes extensively from the Paṭisambhidāmasagga in the Mahāvihāra,309 and in turn Mahānāma borrows extensively from the Viśuddhimagga in his explanations of the Paṭisambhidāmasagga.310 Buddhabhadra’s commentaries upon the four sūtras all refer to the Viśuddhimagga in their opening verses, implying that study of the latter was essential for understanding the sūtras. It has been suggested that Mahānāma was doing much the same for the Khuddaka-nikāya, and by quoting where necessary from the Viśuddhimagga, instead of merely referring to it, he was providing a basic commentary for the Khuddaka-nikāyas.311

The commentary begins with the statement that Sākappa explained the Dhammacakkavattanasutta by composing the Paṭisambhidāmasagga,312 thus indicating the main theme of the attainment of enlightenment by understanding the four truths. It continues by seeking to present the Paṭisambhidāmasagga as a systematic and orderly exposition of the way to arhantship, with each

306 See p. 145 below.
308 Gv. 61, 3.
309 Gv. 70, 16.
310 Paṭisā 764, 2.
311 The probable date for Maggaṇika I is A.D. 496–513, which gives A.D. 516 as the date of completion for Paṭisā. See Warder, Paṭisā tr. p. xiv.
312 See Vick, pp. 588–596.
313 Warder, Paṭisā tr., p. xiv.
314 Warder, Paṭisā tr., pp. 161–166.
315 Paṭisā 1–2.

Early post-canonical texts

3.4. Upasena

There is a commentary upon the Niddesa entitled Sādhamappajjottaka,316 although the Gandhāvakaṇa also calls it Sādhamappajjottaka.317 It is ascribed to Upasena, both in the Gandhāvakaṇa318 and in the colophon to the commentary itself.319 It is said to have been written at the request of a herm named Deva.320 Upasena himself states that he wrote the work at Anuradhapura in the 26th year of the reign of King Saṅghabodhi,321 whose dates are disputed. He probably lived about the middle of the sixth century A.D.322

Included in the commentary upon the Niddesa is a comment upon the relevant verses of the Suttanta paṇḍita about which the Niddesa comments. For this purpose the author has sometimes borrowed passages, without attribution, from the Paramatthajotika.323 It has been pointed out that he sometimes does this very carelessly, borrowing the later part of a story, without mentioning its beginning,324 so that it is unintelligible without reference to the Suttanta paṇḍita commentary.

Other explanatory material, e.g. on the paṭisambhidāmasagga and the noble truths, is borrowed from the Viśuddhimagga and the Sammohavinodanika. Such wholesale borrowing from Buddhabhadra’s commentaries provides an upper limit for Upasena’s date.

3.5. Dharmapāla

The Gandhāvakaṇa states325 that Dharmapāla wrote commentaries upon the Nettippakappakaṇna, the Hīnayāna, the Udana, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Theravāda, the Vinaya坑ṭhavada, and the Sutta pitṭa, upon the Viśuddhimagga, as well as upon some other sūtras which are usually assumed to be by another Dharmapāla.326

317 Gv. 61, 11, although, as Gv. 70, 23 it is called Sādhamappajjottaka.
318 Gv. 61, 11 and 70, 24.
319 Nidda 125, 24. The editor’s reference to Upasena (I, pp. vii–viii) is an error, as he later points out (II, p. 80).
320 Gv. 70, 24.
321 Nidda II 102, 1–3.
322 BUDDHAPĀLA (Nidda 1, p. ix) concludes that Saṅghabodhi I, who came to the throne in A.D. 534, would give a date around A.D. 549 for the completion of the Nidda.
323 See Nidda I, pp. vii–viii, where the editor ascribes Fj II to Dharmapāla.
324 See ibid., p. viii.
325 Gv. 60, 5–7.
326 See p. 148 below.
which explains the circumstances in which the verses which follow came to be delivered, then the verses, and finally a commentary upon the verses. Dhammapāla attributes the first two of these sections to the Buddha who, when explaining how it was that the verses came to be uttered, himself repeated the relevant verses. From this point of view, then, only the third section forms the commentary proper. The purpose of the commentary is to clarify the identity of the speakers of the verses, and to explain the meanings of the words which occur in the verses, by way of a series of linguistic equivalents and synonyms.

There is little exposition of the doctrine supposedly lying behind the verses, and Dhammapāla is relatively silent on matters of doctrinal importance.

The situation with regard to the commentaries upon the Therā and Thērīgāthā is not greatly different. Dhammapāla gives an introduction to each set of verses, usually based upon the Apādana tradition, although it is not always clear how the various Apādanās were linked with the various elders. In the case of the "great" elders, the stories given in the Mahāparinibbāna and the Dhammapāla-āṭṭākathā are closely followed, with some compression and omission of details. In each case the elder is named with his birthdate, and the appropriate Apādana is then quoted, with a small number of exceptions. Sometimes, however, the Apādana insertion is made awkwardly, often it is attributed to the wrong elder; and once a non-existent Apādana is quoted. It seems probable that Dhammapāla did not, in fact, include them in his commentary, but they have been added during the course of the scribal tradition.

Although many of the stories which Dhammapāla gives agree with information which we have about the elders from other sources, some of the stories seem to be deduced from the information given in the verses, or are pure invention, sometimes based upon misunderstanding of the verses. In some cases he mentions conflicting traditions about the elders. It is clear that the text of some of the verses had already been corrupted by the time that Dhammapāla wrote his commentary, and while some of the stories make the meaning of obscure verses clearer, in others it seems that the meaning had already been lost.

Even when no corruption has taken place, it is obvious that Dhammapāla, or the tradition he was following, did not understand the meaning of some of...
the words he commented upon. Sometimes he contradicts himself, or gives
different explanations of the same verse when it occurs twice, perhaps by
overnight, or perhaps because there was a different tradition of explanation
for the two occurrences. On the other hand, some of the explanations seem to
be very old, and some of them seem to be based upon forms in dialects other
than Pāli, which probably means that they were brought from North India
centuries earlier.

As in the case of the commentaries upon the Petavastu and Vimānavaśīta,
there are sometimes alternative readings and explanations, which suggests
that there were already in the Mahāvihāra tradition collections of commentarial
material from various sources with conflicting exegesis.

Since the Carīyāpādīsaka consists almost entirely of Jātaka stories in verse, the
greater part of the commentary is devoted to the narration of the birth
stories in prose. The source for the commentary is several times stated to be the
upadānī or the Jātakatīkabhūsana, but whether this means the Jātakatīkabhūsana
which we possess today, or the upadānī upon which that text is based, cannot
be determined. The latter part of the commentary, however, consists
of an explanation of the Nigamananātha of the Carīyāpādīsaka. This enables
Dhammapāla to discuss the ten paramāsa at length. He points out that some
Buddhists recognize only six paramās in place of the ten recognised by the
Theravādis. As is well known, most schools except the Theravādis accept the
smaller number, but it would seem more likely that ten represents an increase
from six rather than that the rest reduced the number from ten to six, as
Dhammapāla suggests.

While it has never been doubted that these commentaries, and those upon
the Udāna and the Itivuttaka, are to be ascribed to Dhammapāla, there

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E.g. he did not realize that phalest (Th 927 and 1121) is a future active
participle.

E.g. he gives different explanations for Th 930 and 1131, although they are
identical.

Commenting upon cula (Th 170), Dhammapāla gives an explanation which
must have been given originally in a dialect where the word for "thief" was
pronounced as cula (Th 170, 4-5). The gloss tana, given for obsūdasos (Th 612),
is more suitable for obsūdasos, and presumably goes back to a dialect where both
words were pronounced in the same way (Th a II 296, 2-3).

E.g. these explanations are given for the word tāmāsakāsaka (Th 19) as in Th a

Ed. D.I. HART, PTS London, 1939; 2nd edition (with indexes by H. Kopt),

E.g. Op a 356, 32; 296, 15; 3, 12; 16, 13.

Keit pana labhādhi ti vanuhi, ten attai na ṭhūnānaṃ na cītāsi (Op a 278,
4-5).


compiled by H. Kopt), 1977.

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Early post-canonical texts

has been doubt expressed about the commentary upon the Nettipakkāraṇa, despite
the fact that it too is said to have been composed by Dhammapāla, resident in the Badaricāthavāra. Nevertheless it has been pointed out that
from the point of view of style and language the commentary is very similar to
Dhammapāla's other works. Like Dhammapāla, the author of the commentary
upon the Nettipakkāraṇa refers to Buddhaghoṣa's works without naming
him.

Nothing is known about the date of Dhammapāla, except that he must be
later than Buddhaghoṣa. There has not, as yet, been found any trace of inter-
dependence between Dhammapāla and Upasena or Mahānāma, which probably
means that all three were writing at about the same time. We shall perhaps not
be far out if we assume that Dhammapāla composed his works about the middle
of the sixth century A.D.

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See H.C. RAY, University of Ceylon History of Ceylon, Vol. I, Colombo 1949,
p. 301.

The PTS ed. of Nett includes extracts from Nett a (= Nett 194-249).

See Nett, p. xvi.

Aṭṭhakathāyanas (Nett 216, 17; 240, 50).
CHAPTER IV
LATER POST-CANONICAL TEXTS

1. THE LATER CHRONICLES

The Buddhisthavasappati states\(^1\) that the commentaries brought by Mahinda and the additions which had been made thereto were burned in a great bonfire when Buddhaghosa had finished his commentaries. It has long been recognized that this is merely an exaggerated way of accounting for the fact that the Sihāla aṭṭhakathās fell into disuse after Buddhaghosa’s time. That they did not disappear immediately can be seen from the fact that they were available to the author of the Mahāvamsa, who probably wrote after Buddhaghosa’s time,\(^2\) and to the authors of other chronicles, and also to later commentators.

They were certainly still in existence when an unnamed\(^3\) author wrote a commentary upon the Mahāvamsa.\(^4\) It is classified as a pīkā in Burman, where manuscripts of the text were first discovered, but the author’s own name for it is the Vamanathappakṣaṇī,\(^5\) and the work is stated to be the Pādyā- (or Pajja-) pādenaparāvagāna.\(^6\) The name Pādyāparāvagāna for the Mahāvamsa has already been noted.\(^7\)

The pīkā adds little to the accounts of the councils, the rise of the sects, and the sending out of the missions. This perhaps indicates that the author of the Mahāvamsa had already extracted all the information which was available on these subjects from the Sihāla aṭṭhakathās. The author of the pīkā names a number of sources\(^8\) for the information he gives, of which the aṭṭhakathā, presumably the Sihāla aṭṭhakathā, is the one most frequently mentioned. He also refers to a Vamanathappakṣaṇī, a Dīpavamṣaṭṭhakathā, and a Ceylōvamṣaṭṭhakathā, and quotes the pīkā a number of times. It is noteworthy that he never quotes the Dipavamsa by name,\(^9\) and when he quotes verses which

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\(^{1}\) Bhiśaya 66, 24-26.
\(^{2}\) See p. 118 above.
\(^{3}\) There is a tradition in Ceylon that he was called Mahānāma. See Malalasekera, Mīv-4, p. civ.
\(^{5}\) Mīv-7, 697, 12.
\(^{6}\) Mīv-1, 686, 3.
\(^{7}\) See p. 117 above.
\(^{8}\) See Malalasekera, Mīv-4, pp. 174-175.
\(^{9}\) To conclude from this that the Dipavamsa was written by him seems rather farfetched. See Malalasekera, PLC, pp. 135-37.
There exists a Cambodian version of the Mahāvamsa, which is almost twice its length. The redactor has enlarged the text by making a number of additions. At the beginning he has inserted a poem of 677 verses about the earlier Buddha, and a history of Gotama which has been added seems to be a versified version of the Mahāvamsa of the Viśva-piṭaka. Other insertions are passages from the Varmatapprakāśa turned into verse. One insertion concerns Asoka's queen Asandhimati. The story is not known from other Sinhalese sources, and seems to be dependent upon a fund of stories about Asoka which were current in South-East Asia.

The author calls himself Mogallāna, and since there are signs that the text was copied from an earlier Sinhalese original, he may have been the Mogallāna mentioned in the Mahāvamsa as living in Ceylon in the twelfth century.

As already noted, the Mahāvamsa, in its original form, seems to come to an end halfway through a chapter. Its continuation is traditionally called Oṣaṇavaṃsa. The first two verses of the continuation are identical with the last two verses of the Oṣaṇavaṃsa, which presumably represents a conscious effort to link the newer part to the old. The first addition covers the period from the death of Mahāsena to Parakramabāhu I (A.D. 1150–89), and is traditionally ascribed to a king named Dhammahārithi. To the portion attributed to him is added a summarizing verse and then a verse in an ornate metre, signifying the end of the chapter. The second section covers the period between Vijaya-bāhu II, the successor to Parakramabāhu I, and Parakramabāhu IV (c. A.D. 1300). This too ends with a summarizing verse and a verse in an ornate metre.

The third portion continues to the reign of Ksitigarbhaśa (A.D. 1746–81). It is stated that this king obtained copies of the Mahāvamsa from Sinh in order to check the deficient version available in Ceylon, and the section is probably

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ab the work of Mahānāma Tikkaṭṭuṭa, who was entrusted with the task of comparing the two versions. The style of this portion differs considerably from that of earlier sections, with verses in ornate metres found within the chapters, and not just at the ends. The very last portion of the text as found in the European edition does not seem to occur in the manuscripts, and is taken from a Sinhalese printed edition. The final chapter is a supplement added by the editors of the Sinhalese edition. It carries the story down to the arrival of the English (Isigiriya) in A.D. 1815.

The Mahābodhiyaṃsa or Bodhiyaṃsa is written mainly in prose, with verses at the end of each chapter, taken from the Mahāvamsa, and also at the end of the work. It begins with the Buddha-Dipāka, and tells the story of Gotama and his enlightenment at the foot of the bodhi tree. It then relates the story of the three councils, Mahinda's mission and the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, and the introduction of rules there and of a branch of the bodhi tree, followed by a description of the planting of the tree and the institution of the bodhiyaṃsa ceremonies.

It is said in the introduction to be a translation from Sinhalese into Pāli. The style of the Pāli is rather artificial and affected, with long compounds and use of Sanskrit, or Sanskrit-derived, words or words in a Sanskritized sense. The work has been described as signifying the beginning of Sanskritized Pāli, although it has been pointed out that some of these features can be found in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages before they were adopted into Sanskrit.

The Mahābodhiyaṃsa is greatly dependent upon the Samantapādikā, Mahāvamsa, and the Jātaka-māla (or the Jātakas, upon which this is based) for its material. The Gandhāvamsa and the Sāasanavamsa do not name the author, but tradition ascribes it to Uparāsa, who wrote at the request of Dāthānāga. If this is the same person as the Dāthānāga named in the Mahāvamsa, then the text can be dated to the last quarter of the tenth century A.D.

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his śākta from Ajitaśatru’s underground śākta, is presumably taken from ujjvalakālaś śākta not utilized by other chronic writers, and perhaps preserved only in South-East Asia.

Other rāṣṭra (chronicle) texts deal with the history of a relic or a place of veneration. The Hattinagamalaya-vikrama rāṣṭra tells the history of the temple of Attanagala, which marked the spot where Siruvanagabahodhi, after abdicating the kingship, gave his head (on which there was a prize) to a poor man so that he could gain the money. It tells the history of the śākta down to the time of Parakkammabahu II (A.D. 1254-69), but is quoted in the Pāvannakalya, which was written in A.D. 1256, so its date of composition must lie between the two.

The author is not named, but he states that he wrote this work at the request of Anomadamsa. The text is in eleven chapters and is written in a very ornate style of prose. The text is a śākta, a śākta in mixed prose and verse. The metres employed in the verses include śākta, Pāvannakalya, and Trīṣṭhū.

The continuing popularity of this type of chronicle text is shown by the existence of the Cha-kesa-dhiat-rāṣṭra, a modern Burmese work, which tells the history of the six hair-relic shrines (śūlakā). It is in prose, with a few verses interspersed in it. The name and date of the author are unknown.

Although the Jinaśākṣamā is not called a rāṣṭra, it is written in a very much in the śākta tradition. It was written in Thanlau by a rāṣṭra called Ratanasena, and the author states that he wrote it in a year corresponding to A.D. 1516, although it seems clear that events occurring up to A.D. 1527 are included.

The text is a study of the epoch of Buddhism, as it originated in India, spread to Ceylon, and thence to South-East Asia.

It falls into six parts: events up to the time of the pārisākāṇḍa of Gotama Buddha; the three councils; the history of Buddhism in Ceylon; the history of Haripujaya (Lamba) until A.D. 1292; an account of the Līmākā kingdom, and the introduction of the Sinhalese form of Buddhism into Thailand; the spread and influence of this, an account of recent events known to the author, and a eulogy of King Tilok and his great-grandson. It has been pointed out

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41 Dīgha 80.
42 GA 72. 5.
43 Dīgha VI 6.
44 Dīgha VII 6.
45 Min XXX 41-59.
47 Tinpi 305, 19-29.
48 Tinpi 1, 31-39.
49 Min XXXI 18. See Geiger, DII, p. 84.
50 See Geiger, DII, p. 85.
that the later chapters which are devoted to the exaltation of the royal family are more a pseudo- than a genuine text. The sources of this work include Pāli canonical and non-canonical texts, some of which may be compiled. The text is important for the history of Buddhism and its transmission in the Theravāda tradition. The text contains significant events and teachings of the Buddha, and is considered a valuable source for understanding the development of Buddhist thought and practice.

The language in which the text is written is Pāli, a register of the Sri Lanka and South India languages. The text is written in the Pāli language, which is the language of the Tipitaka, the canon of the Theravāda school of Buddhism. The text is written in a combination of Pāli and Sanskrit, and is written in a style that is characteristic of the period in which it was written.

Another text dealing with the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka is the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, which is a part of the Mahāvamsa. The Mahāvamsa is a historical and genealogical text that is written in Pāli and is one of the most important works of the Theravāda school of Buddhism. The text is written in a combination of Pāli and Sanskrit, and is written in a style that is characteristic of the period in which it was written.

2. THE LATER COMMENTARIES

2.1. Aphaṭadātā

The task of writing commentaries upon the canonical texts for which none has as yet been made continued in the centuries after Dhammapāla. The fact that Dhammapāla wrote a commentary upon the Cariṣṇipāṭha but not the Buddhavamsa suggests that there was already a commentary upon the latter text in existence, but it is strange that he never refers to it. As has been noted, the Buddhavamsa attributes such a commentary to Buddhadatta. A commentary ascribed to Buddhadatta exists, but although it states that it was written at the request of Buddhadhana, it was as the Vinaya-vinodhaka.

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14 Ed. and tr. J. GRAY, London 1892.
15 See GREGER, P.L. 40. 3. GRAY (Bu-up tr., pp. 32–33) suggests that the author is to be identified with the tutor of the Vedeha who wrote the Radhakī, in which case he lived in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.
16 Pādagahanaṃ suśūlo vāhogirāt (Bu-up 67, 2–3).
17 Sāv. 59, 17–21; points out that, in Vina (711), it is stated that the text was composed at the request of Suguhara, whereas in Bu-up (55, 4–9) the text is called Suguhara, and it is dated XXXVII 243.
18 Dharmasoka viṣṇum dīpabhūkṣato parisuddita Mitra-prabhāsya dino samane niñchō (Bu-up 59, 16–17).
19 See p. 130 above.
23 Saranāsambuddhāṃ piribhūkṣato paraśaṇ̄ṇaśāstraṃ kāñcaratvam (Sarane 28, 29–31).
Kāvikapūtana,39 which is where the Abhidhammaṁavatā was written,40 there are doubts about this attribution.

First, unlike the other commentaries attributed to Buddhaddāta, the Madhuravatti-vālsiṇī includes a reference to one of Buddhaghosa’s works,41 without naming the author. More important is the fact that it states42 that the story about Kanaka’s rebirth as a devapāda is to be taken from the commentary upon the Vīmānavatthu named Vimalatathavālsiṇī. The story is to be found in Dhammapāla’s commentary upon the Vīmānavatthu43 but, as already noted,44 this is entitled Paramatthadipanī. The Gandhārapāna, however, calls the same commentary Vimalatathavālsiṇī,45 and it seems very likely that the reference is indeed to Dhammapāla’s commentary. If this is so, then it is clear that the Madhuravatti-vālsiṇī is not by the Buddhaddāta who was a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. An alternative explanation is that there was an early commentary upon the Vīmānavatthu, entitled Vimalatathavālsiṇī, from which both Buddhaddāta and Dhammapāla drew their material. This would have become redundant after Dhammapāla wrote his Paramatthadipanī, and then disappeared.

Although this second suggestion is quite possible, the style of the four summaries attributed to Buddhaddāta is so different from that of the commentary upon the Buddhavamsa that, although this may be due in part to the difference in character of the works, it seems quite reasonable to suppose that there were, in fact, two Buddhaddātas.

The last canonical text to gain a commentary was the Apadāna.46 Although the Gandhārapāna ascribes a commentary upon this text to Buddhaghosa,47 the fact that its stories are sometimes borrowed from the commentary upon the Theragāthā, and reference is specifically made to this on one occasion,48 shows that the work is later than Dhammapāla. No author’s name is given either at the beginning or at the end. Besides the commentary upon the Theragāthā, material is also taken from the Dhammapāda-āgathakāthā. The Nandānakāthā at the beginning is based upon the Jatakakārini and the corresponding portions of the Buddhavamsa-āgathakāthā. The stories in the commentary upon the Buddhavamsa are taken from the Dhammapāda-āgathakāthā, the Jatakatthavānsa, and the Culla-

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40 Bv-a 24.36, 16
41 Abhidh. av 128, 4.
43 Bv-a 284, 27.
44 Bv-a 314.
45 See p. 134 above.
46 Bv-a 60, 5.
48 See p. 123 above.

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vagga of the Vinaya-piṭaka. The greater part of the commentary upon the Paccekabhuddhavānsa is taken from the commentary upon the Khaggavisāpautta of the Suttaṅgīpta found in the Paramatthaphalasūtra.103 Although the text comments upon the Buddhavānsa, the Paccekabhuddhavānsa, and the Theragāthā passages, there is no commentary upon the Theragāthā passages, and no commentary seems to exist upon that section of the canon.104

When a full commentary is given to an Apadāna, there is an introductory story, and the verses are then commented upon separately. The usual method of commenting105 is to explain a word with a (lāker) synonym, e.g. absolute forms in sūtras are explained by sūtra forms. Some of these explanations are repeated over and over again, but as the commentary continues, only words which seem obscure are explained. After the commentary upon Apadāna No. 181, the stories are not repeated, but the author merely states that they are the same as those already given, with some differences of merit done, the hearer, names etc. Theragāthā stories are only related in the case of well-known theragāthās, or when there is some special significance.

The suggestion that the commentary is late106 is confirmed by the fact that the author shows some knowledge of Sanskrit and Sanskrit grammatical and grammatical terms, e.g. vajjhāraṇa ti caudha-pitā-pāla kādi-peddhiphānaṇa ca.107 He mentions the Kaccāyana-paṇḍita108 and quotes a sūtra from the Kaccāyana-paṇḍita.109 He also includes a Pāli version of a Sanskrit stanza setting out five rules of nirvāṇa.110

There is a commentary upon the mālaṇī of the seven texts of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka entitled Mahāvihāranavānsa.111 Despite the fact that it is called a mahāvihāranavānsa, it is not usually regarded as an aṭṭhakathā, but as an Abhidhamma work.112 It was written by the Therava Kassapa who lived in the Ceylon country in South India between A.D. 1100 and 1200.113 He states that he is considering the tradition of the Mahāvihāra,114 but this probably does not mean that he studied there, but only that he was following the teachings of Buddhaghosa and others.115

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103 See Godakumbura, Ap-a, p. xv. There are also references to the Athāvadānī.
104 Ap-a 194.17 and 201, 10 – 11.
106 See ibid., pp. xvii – xviii.
109 Ap-a 131, 10.
110 Ap-a 102, 18 – 18.
112 See Metteyyabhaṭṭa, Mbh, p. vii.
113 See ibid., p. xii.
114 Mbh 1, 21.
115 See Warder, Mbh, p. xvii.
He does not restrict himself to explaining the *mālikās,*115 which in the case of the Kathāvatthu means a list of the topics treated in that text, but uses the commentary upon the *mālikās* as a framework upon which to expound the whole of the Akṣaraśāstra system as current in his day. He succeeds in doing this in a very scholarly and comprehensive way.

2.2. *Tiīṭhā*

A *tiīṭha* is a secondary commentary, i.e. a commentary upon a commentary.117 The word is, however, also used occasionally of a commentary upon a non-canonical text.118 The Siddhāmānasāṃgha tells119 how the *tiīṭha* came to be written after a conference held under the presidency of the *Thera* Maḥā-Kassapa, with Pārākrama-bhadra i.e. (A.D. 1153–86) as patron, but there is evidence for the existence of *tiīṭhas* at a much earlier date than this. In his commentary upon the *Dhammapāla* reference is made to a *tiīṭha* upon the Kathāvatthu,120 and since the Sāsanavāma states that Ānanda was the first to write *tiīṭhas,*121 this has been understood122 as a reference to Ānanda’s Mālaṭīkī123 upon the Abhiṣamaṇa-sūtra. The fact that certain portions of the same text are very similar to passages in other *tiīṭhas* may mean that they existed in the Dhammapāla’s time and he was borrowing material from them,124 but the possibility of later writers of *tiīṭhas* borrowing from Dhammapāla, or the sources he was following, cannot be ruled out.

The Gandhavaṃsa states125 that Dhammapāla was the author of the *tiīṭha* upon the Viśuddhimagga, the *attakākāra* upon the Dīgha-nikāya and three other *tiīṭhas,* the *attakākāra* upon the Jātaka, the Nettipakaraṇā and the Buddhāvamsa. The Sāsanavāma states126 that he was responsible for the *tiīṭhas* upon the Viśuddhimagga and the four *nīkāyas* are by the same person. An examination of the *tiīṭha* upon the Dīgha-nikāya-attakākāra127 shows that the author was acquainted with Sanskrit and the Sanskrit grammarians, and knew something of Indian philosophy. He quotes Bhairavi’s Vākyapāda and the Amarakosā, and seems especially interested in grammar and syntax.128 It is particularly interesting to note that the author of this *tiīṭha* identifies the holders of views attributed to “some” (kai) by Buddhaghosa in the Samantabhadra. These are occasionally said to be the Uttaravārānas or the Abhayavīrānas,129 although the difference between the two is not entirely clear,130 since the terms are elsewhere regarded as synonymous. This would seem to indicate that intercourse between the two schools, which has

upon the Viśuddhimagga, and on the *attakākāra* upon the Dīgha, Majjīma, and Sānīyuttika-nīkāya, and ascribes the other *tiīṭhas* to other thera.131 Scholars have long recognised that there are difficulties in assuming that this Dhammapāla who wrote the *tiīṭha* was the same as the author of the *attakākāra,* particularly, as, in the case of the *Netī,* this would involve him in writing a *tiīṭha* upon his own *attakākāra.*132 The colophon to the *tiīṭha* upon the Viśuddhimagga states that it was written at the request of the *Thera* Diṭṭhāṅka, who was residing at the Sānīyuttikāna pariṇāma. Since the Mahārāmasa states133 that this pariṇāma was built by Sena IV, who ruled A.D. 973–90, and refers134 to a there called Diṭṭhāṅka preaching the Abhidhamma during the reign of Sena’s successor Mahinda IV, it would seem very likely that this *tiīṭha* was written towards the end of the tenth century A.D. Since the Gandhavaṃsa lists four authors with the same Dhammapāla,135 it seems very probable that the *attakākāra* and this *tiīṭha* are by different Dhammapālas. There seems to be no good reason for identifying the *tiīṭha* author with the Dhammapāla who lived at Nālandā in the seventh century A.D., and is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim.136

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it seems reasonable to assume that the Gandhavaṃsa is correct in stating that the *tiīṭha* to the Viśuddhimagga and the four *nīkāyas* are by the same person. An examination of the *tiīṭha* upon the Dīgha-nikāya-attakākāra137 shows that the author was acquainted with Sanskrit and the Sanskrit grammarians, and knew something of Indian philosophy. He quotes Bhairavi’s Vākyapāda and the Amarakosā, and seems especially interested in grammar and syntax.138 It is particularly interesting to note that the author of this *tiīṭha* identifies the holders of views attributed to “some” (kai) by Buddhaghosa in the Samantabhadra. These are occasionally said to be the Uttaravārānas or the Abhayavīrānas,139 although the difference between the two is not entirely clear,140 since the terms are elsewhere regarded as synonymous. This would seem to indicate that intercourse between the two schools, which has

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115 It attributes the *tiīṭha* on the Abhidatta-attakākāra to Śriputta.
116 See HARRY, Note, p. ix n. 6.
118 Mv. LIV 6.
119 Mv. LIV 26.
120 Gv. 66–67.
121 The suggestion was rejected by E. HARDY ("Ein Beitrag zur Frage, ob Dhammapāla im Nālandābhūkārāna seine Kommentare geschrieben", in ZDMG 51, 357, 1895, pp. 165–279), but has recently been revived by D. T. L. I. P. 1970, 1970.
123 See de SILVA, DAT., pp. 1–18.
124 See ibid., pp. lxxx–lxxx.
125 It has been suggested that Abhayavīrāna means all non-Mahāvīrānas, whereas Uttaravārāna means only the headquarters of the Abhayavīrānas at the Uttaravāra. See de SILVA, DAT., p. xlix.
already been noted in the discussion about the sources of the Mahāvamsa-tīkā,\(^{162}\) was still going on.

A tīkā upon the Jātakamālayavāpana exists, and has been utilised by the editors of the Critical Pāli Dictionary\(^{163}\) and by the editor of the European edition of the Kusāla-jātaka. It seems never to have been published, even in Burma, and it is consequently not possible to state whether or not it is the tīkā attributed to Dihamapāla in the Gandhārī\(^{164}\). The Gandhārī mentions a Milindapañhāvāpana,\(^{165}\) but gives no author’s name. An edition of a text entitled Milinda-tīkā,\(^{166}\) also called Mahāmaratthapā-kāna, has been published. It is based upon a single manuscript in Cambodian characters. According to the colophon it was written by Mahātipāka-Çokhi-bha-yathière,\(^{167}\) and is probably to be dated to A.D. 1474.\(^{168}\)

The text starts with a detailed description of the six-fold way of commenting upon the meaning of a word, and then proceeds to comment upon difficult words and phrases, drawing upon information in the Aśaktasappadaṭṭhā and a number of, as yet unpublished, tīkās.\(^{169}\) Amīd its information it gives is the complete list of the Buddha’s 80 suñāṭha-kathas (minor characteristics).\(^{170}\) It deals, however, with only a small number of the problems which occur in the Milinda-pañha, and much of the text is devoted to tracing the sources of the Jātaka stories mentioned therein. One portion of the tīkā is devoted to a collection of all the verses which occur in the Milindapañha, but since the list does not agree with the contents of the edition as we know it, this raises questions about the date and form of our modern editions.\(^{171}\) In this connection it is to be noted that the author of the tīkā states that the five introductory verses of the Milindapañha, and other sentences in the prologue and epilogue, were composed by Buddhaghosa.\(^{172}\) This presumably shows the existence of a tradition that the Milindapañha was revised or readapted by Buddhaghosa, or during the time of Buddhaghosa, and this may account for some of the interpolations which have already been noted in this work.\(^{173}\) The last part of the tīkā is called Samkhya-sarīra. Like the Saṅgītuttha of the Dīgha-nikāya (33), it collects together a number of miscellaneous items and presents them in a numerical way.

3. LATER ABBHIDHAMMA TEXTS

The study of the Abhidhamma, based at first upon abhidhatkās and summaries written in India and Ceylon, was continued in a number of manuals attributed to Sīhāra and Ceylonese authors. One of the most famous of these is the Abhidhammattha-sīkha,\(^{174}\) which is attributed to Anuruddha, who is said to have been a native of Ceylon.\(^{175}\) The fact that a paraphrase of this work was compiled by Siriputta, who lived during the reign of Parakkhamabahu I (A.D. 1113–80),\(^{176}\) gives a lower limit for its date, and we shall probably not be far wrong if we assume that Anuruddha lived at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The text does not aim to give a summary of the seven books of the Abhidhamma-pañha, and in fact mentions only one book by name,\(^{177}\) but covers the whole field of Abhidhamma in a very condensed way, with many summaries inserted after each section. It begins with an analysis of mind and consciousness and the objects of consciousness in the world of phenomena, and continues with a discussion of the planes of existence and a classification of kamma. It deals with dependent origination (pāṭicca-samuppāda) and causal relations (paffa-samutthāna), and finishes with a statement about subjects for mental culture (kamma-bhānā), the path of purity, and the attainment of release. The same author wrote the Nāmarupapārapoṭhika,\(^{178}\) containing 1845 verses in thirteen sections. He states that he is following the tradition of the Mahāvīra,\(^{179}\) and he mentions Ceylonese\(^{180}\) in the colophon. The work does not aim to be as comprehensive as the Abhidhammattha-sīkha, and as its name suggests, it deals with general subjects such as nāma and rūpa, senses, mindlessness

\(^{162}\) See p. 129 above.


\(^{164}\) See GBE, C. R. p. xxi, where it is accepted that it is Dhammapāla’s tīkā.

\(^{165}\) GBE 66, 29.


\(^{167}\) Mil. 71, 23–24.

\(^{168}\) See Jaini, Mil. 5, p. xiv.

\(^{169}\) See ibid., p. xii.

\(^{170}\) Mil. 17, 12–18, 11.

\(^{171}\) See Jaini, Mil. 5, p. xii.

\(^{172}\) Rihadao Buddhaghosacariyavano laho ti parikrama, na kevalam parina pārā yu. Ttara-bhāsya-prasūtānāh samadhikavarmanāh pi tamo sutana (Mil. 3, 16–18).

\(^{173}\) See p. 111 above.


\(^{175}\) GBE 87, 2.


\(^{177}\) Paccaya rūpa. Vipphe cattucciyā satthāna (Abhidh. 39, 11).

\(^{178}\) Ed. A. B. HEMDLADO, JPTS 1915–14, pp. 5–112.

\(^{179}\) Nāmarup 2.

\(^{180}\) Nāmarup 1834.
(amasa), and insight (vipassana). The work is composed for the most part in the Skt meter, with verses in other metres at the end of each section. Some of these verses show an elegance and feeling for style which shows that Anuruddha was quite an accomplished poet.

The Paramatthavimechavatthu consists of 1142 verses arranged in 26 sections, and in the colophon states that it was written in accordance with the views of the Mahāvīharī by someone born in the town called Kārī in the state of Kāleipura, while dwelling in the town of Tānā in the Tamā kingdom. Since Kāleipura is in South India, this has led to the suggestion that the author of the Paramatthavimechavatthu was not the same Anuruddha who wrote the Abhidhammasaṅgha and the Nāmarūpa paricchedha. The subjects treated include mind, consciousness, form, and nibbāna.

The Saṅgāmapaṇḍita consists of 357 verses arranged in five chapters. The colophon states that it was written by Dhammapāla while dwelling at the Mahāvihāra at Rākatītthu, which doubtless accounts for the Sāsanaṃsaka ascribing it to the Skt Dhammapāla, but the Gaudhipāya attributes it to a Cullādhammapāla. The Sadhanamsaṅgha states that the author was Anāña, but this is probably a mistake, arising from the fact that Dhammapāla was Anāña’s pupil. It is this Anāña who wrote the Mūla-ākṣara which is referred to by Dhammapāla in the attakkāla-loka, then Cullādhammapāla would, in any case, be approximately contemporary with the commentator Dhammapāla. The five chapters deal with āsava, rūpe, sensations (vedana), mind, miscellaneous subjects, e.g. pride and sloth, and nibbāna.

The Nāmarūpa paricchedha, also known as the Khemappakaraṇa, is a short prose work, with a few verses also interpolated in it, and a final section of 28 mnemonic verses. The Gaudhipāya attributes it to the Skt Khema of Ceylon. There is a commentary upon it by Vīrāmanī, written in the twelfth century, which suggests that the work is to be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. It consists of short descriptions of mind, āsava and āsava āsava soṇaṅka. The mnemonic verses include lists of the four elements, etc.

4. COLLECTIONS OF EDIFYING TALES

It is not surprising that in a situation where the well-being of the Saṅgha depended upon the generosity of laymen, a literature evolved which stressed the value of giving (dāna).

The Dasaśīti-vāpsakaraṇa belongs to this type of literature. The name is shortened from Dasaśīti-vāpsakaraṇa, by which title it is sometimes known. The longer title better describes its nature, for it consists of 37 stories in mixed prose and verse, each relating the advantages of making offerings to the Saṅgha, Buddha, Vessabhūkarmas and dāpas. To the collection are prefixed 16 Trigūla verses setting out the ten dīnasattas, the ten objects suitable as gifts. The stories are arranged in ten groups, each extolling one of the dīnasattas.

All the stories except one can be traced to accounts of dāna found in attakkāla-loka to the canon, or in the Mahāvāpaṇḍita. The one exception is a story referring to Asoka’s queen Anandaamittā, which probably indicates an origin in South-East Asia, where a collection of stories about Asoka is known to have been current in medieval times. Nothing is known about the date of the compilation of the work, except that, as it is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1442 found at Pagan, it must be earlier than that date.

118 E.g., Nāma, p. 220, 228, and 478.
119 There is yet no Eo of this, but the typescript of an ed from A. P. BODHADATTAMA in the possession of the PTS London, awaiting publication.
121 Sacc. 20, 25–49.
122 Sīla, 34, 2–3.
124 Sādhanar in.-IX, 16.
125 Ānandaamittāvīyavāsavāsavāsavāsavadhammapāla (Gv 60, 30).
126 See p. 148 above.
128 Gv 61, 26–29; 67, 2–3.
129 See ĀTHU, Abhidhamma, p. ix n. 1.
The stories are written in a simple narrative style of Pali, in some cases word for word the same as the sources from which they are borrowed. The Thilakavathuppakaranas is another set of edifying stories, aimed at glorifying the act of giving by recounting the benefits gained by donors in the past. The majority of the 78 stories it contains are set in Ceylon, which probably accounts for its title. The first 45 stories (the colophons to the various sections show that a further five are missing) are in mixed prose and verse. The last 32 are very short, almost entirely in prose, and seem to be intended as notes for reciters to use as the basis of further stories.

Some of the stories are not recorded elsewhere, but those which are have parallels with stories found in the Dhammapada, the Mahavamsa and "phakāhākha" upon the canes. The resemblances are not close enough to be able to say whether they are direct borrowings from these texts, or whether they are all based upon some third source, e.g. the Thilakavathuppakara. The presence of hitherto unknown material in the Thilakavathuppakara probably means that the compiler or compilers had access to materials current in South-East Asia.

The Burmese Pītakataṃsā states that the work was composed in Ceylon, but does not name the author. In the colophons he is called Dhammapandita or Dhammamadita. His colophon and the name of the town are variously spelled, and have been doubtfully identified with a place in Andhra. No information is available about the date of composition, but the fact that the work is mentioned at Pagan in the inscription of A.D. 1445 gives a lower limit. Some of the characters mentioned in the stories can be dated to early times, but this seems to have no bearing on the date of compilation, and the dates of second century B.C. and fourth century A.D. which have been suggested for the first and second parts respectively seem quite unjustified.

Despite its name, the Sahassavattupakkara contains 94 stories, and it has been very plausibly suggested that the title means not "1000 stories," but "delightful stories." There is little system in its arrangement of material, and stories about Indus and about Ceylon are mixed up together. The language

shows signs that the work is a translation from Sinhalese, since it abounds in direct translations of Sinhalese idioms and usages. Nothing is known certainly about the date of compilation, although it must be earlier than A.D. 1445, since the Pagan inscription of that year mentions the Sahassavattu. If the text is identical with the Sahassavattthayakhakhā mentioned three times in the Mahāvamsa (thākāhākha) then we should be able to date it earlier than the ninth century, but it seems unlikely that it can, at least in its present form. The Mahāvamsa-thākāhākha states that the story about Prince Śālihū is to be found in the Sahassavattthayakhakhā, but at this point in its narrative the Sahassavattupakkara gives only a single line, referring readers to the Mahāvamsa for the story. It seems more likely that the text referred to in the Mahāvamsa-thākāhākha was a Thilakavathuppakara, which is now lost, but upon which the Sahassavattupakkara was itself based.

The Rasavāhini is the fourth of this collection of edifying tales. It is divided into two parts: the first (Jambudvipapattavatva) contains 45 stories originating in India, and the second (Śiladvipapattavatva) consists of 53 stories originating in Ceylon. Each part is divided into oṣṇas, with four in the first part and six in the second. Each oṣṇa contains ten stories, and the tenth oṣṇa is followed by three extra stories and the colophon. Each story concerns some aspect of the layman's ethics, and the moral of each tale is clearly expressed in the concluding verse, giving (kāna) being the one which is most frequently cited.

The colophon names the author as the same Vedha who wrote the Samatā-kāvya, and the work can be dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It is stated in the introduction that it is a revision of an earlier text, composed by the later Raythapa. It was found to be corrupt throughout with repetitions and other defects. There is some doubt about this earlier text. The Gandhavāsana states that Raythapa's work was entitled Madhuravavāhini, but no authority is known for this statement. Surprisingly, the Gandhavāsana does not mention Vedha or the Rasavāhini. Some verses in the Rasavāhini agree almost exactly with those in the Sahassavattupakkara,

114 See Yves Ecker, Sth, pp. 1-iv-vii.
115 See ibid., p. ix.
116 See p. 160 above.
117 See Bode, PLB, p. 194 n. 9.
118 The editor is called Pattaḷkkā, Handalonde or Sandalloff. The town is called Kantalesapasthāna or Kondalesapasthāna.
119 See Yves Ecker, Sth, p. ii.
120 See Bode, PLB, p. 105.
123 By Malalasekera, quoted by Bantu, HBC, p. xxiv.
124 See Bode, PLB, p. 105.
125 At Mviv. 431, 19, 452, 28; and 607, 8-9.
126 Mviv. 397, 8-9.
127 Śrilakonamahāvāhinī Mahāvāvanavatthayaṃ kāṭhakāhā Mahāvaṃsa (Sah 108, 5-9).
128 It is surprising that although F. Bollmeier edited and translated selected stories in 1845 (Kastanakihini one buddhistische Legendensammlung, 1-4), Anwolto Pāḷisā i, Leipzig 1843, no complete book has yet appeared. See also M. and W. Danarjedi, "Die zweite Dekada der Rasavāhini, Munich 1918. The sections (oṣṇas) and stories (sūkṣmas) are analysed with the corresponding pages of a Ce (ed. Sāriśaṭṭha Therā, Colombo 1928) by Ganiyarakawila, Colombo, pp. 36-39.
129 See Malalasekera, PSC, p. 112.
130 See Malalasekera, PSC, p. 225.
131 Gov 63, 8.
which has led to the suggestion that Rathapala’s work was the latter, but it seems more likely that Rathapala was the author of the Sasasvatattathākā-kathā mentioned in the Mahāvamsa-tīkā. If both the Rasavāhini and the Sasasvatattathākā-kathā were based upon this sūtra-kathā, it would account for the similarities between them.

Among the other sources named by the Rasavāhini are the Mahāvamsa and the prakrit. It is noteworthy that the story of Prince Sāli, which does not appear in the Sasasvatattathākā-kathā, does occur in the Rasavāhini.

5. KĀVYA WORKS

As has already been noted, the Mahāvamsa can in many ways be regarded as a kāya work, but the beginning of the medieval period of kāya literature, showing the influence of Sanskrit literature upon Ceylon, can be seen in the Mahābhārata and the Telakattalāpāthī. The former, as has been seen, is assigned to the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. The latter is of unknown date and authorship, but must be earlier than the Rasavāhini, where it is apparently referred to. The poem is an expansion of an incident referred to in the Mahāvamsa, where there was killed and thrown into the sea for intriguing with the king’s wife. In the Rasavāhini the details are somewhat changed, and the hero is punished by being thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil. He becomes an aviha and recites 100 verses. The Telakattalāpāthī purports to be the verses he uttered, although it contains only 88 stanzas, divided into nine sections, each dealing with a fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, beginning with the three refuges and ending with dependent causation (paticca-samuppāda). The cause of suffering and death can be traced back to ignorance (avijjā). Escape from worldly misery can be obtained by following the noble path of the dhamma.

381 See Rāhula, HSC, p. xxix.
382 See id., p. xxx.
383 See p. 113 above.
384 See p. 113 above.
387 Gooneratne, JPTS 1884, p. 49.
388 The word sīma is often not to be taken literally, but in the sense of “a large number” (see XIII, 4, t. av. āsena). It is perhaps being used in Ras as merely as a “round number” (see Mahākāvya, PTC, p. 103). The fact that Tel has only 98 verses would seem to prove that it is earlier than Ras, otherwise the author would certainly have composed 100 verses.

The Gandhāravamsa states that the Jīmśhatikāra was written by Buddhaddatta at the request of the Jīmśha Stakarṣi. The same text states that the Jīmśhatikāra was written by Jīmśha Stakarṣi, with the same name, was written by Buddhaddatta, and also mentions a source for the Jīmśhatikāra, written by an unnamed Sinhalen scholar. The Buddhaddatta-rasagāthī names the Jīmśhatikāra by the name Buddhaddatta. In the colophon to the text, omitted in the European edition, it attributes the text to Buddhaddatta and states that it was composed 1700 years after the time of the Buddha. The editor, however, has misunderstood the compound sātārassita, and by giving it the meaning “1717” instead of “1700” has dated it through the year A.D. 1156. The statement in the colophon is quoted in the Jīmśhatikāra, where it is said to occur in the Jīmśhatikāra, and this suggests a solution to the problem. It is likely that Buddhaddatta, whether the author of the summaries of the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, or the author of the Madhurāvatsikā, or another Buddhaddatta, wrote a work entitled Jīmśhatikāra. The work in which is an embellishment (vajra-ādi) of this, written by Buddhaddatta in the twelfth century.

Even if the colophon had not included a date, it would have been possible to deduce that the Jīmśhatikāra is a late work, for it is written in a very developed kāya style. Some verses are palindromes, while others show rhyme. One verse has four identical pādas, each to be interpreted in a different way; other verses consist entirely of vārī sounds, or the consonant s. Such tricks are reminiscent of Dāndin’s achievement of omitting all initial sounds in

384 Jv. 69.15.
386 Jv. 72.9.
387 Jv. 65, 19. Gray states (Jivāla, p. 15) that he made use of a pādas and a text entitled Dāndin’s kāya literature when making his translation.
388 Jivāla 33, 9.
389 Sātārassita vajra-gate.
390 See Gray, Jivāla, p. 7.
391 See Gooneratne, PTL, 34.3.
393 Gooneratne, however, quotes (Samarakoon, p. 81) a passage from a Jīmśhatikāra which, since it is in prose, must be a different text of the same name, perhaps a commentary upon the Jīmśhatikāra. See also Gooneratne, Cat., pp. 59–62.
394 Some of the sections have headings which signify the particular feature to be exemplified in it, e.g. XIII, “Distributed rhymes in two pādas” (Dūpikādāvās-
yanimāsagāthākā).
395 Jivāla 99–100.
396 Jv. 173, where each successive pair of words rhyme.
397 Jivāla 79, where each pāda is aksharaśūdiyanimāsagāthā.
398 Jivāla 98.
399 Jivāla 101.
400 Jivāla 106.
the seventh chapter of the Dīsakumāracarita because the narrator, having been bitten on the lip, was unable to pronounce them. 278

The poem, without the colophon, consists of 220 verses in a number of metres, some of them highly ornate. 279 Divided into 30 sections, it tells the story of the Buddha from his first aspiration at the time of the Buddha Dipankara to his parinibbāna. It ends with an exhortation to worship the Buddha’s relics as a means of attaining sādāna, and a hope that the author will become a Buddha at some future time.

The Jānavacara is also a poem on the life of the Buddha. The colophon to the text ascribes it to the therī Medhākāra, 280 and this is confirmed by the Gandhāravamsa 281 and the Saddhammasamgaha. 282 It is said to have been written in the parinirvāna founded by Vajayudhā 283 (probably Viśagha 284 III, who reigned A.D. 1233–36), and Medhākāra is believed to have flourished under Bhuvanēkākhā’s father, who reigned A.D. 1273–84. He was also the author of a grammatical work entitled Pāvavagisiddhi. 285

The poem consists of 472 verses, and begins with the aspiration made by Gotama in his birth as Sāmessā at the time of Dipankara. It omits the rebirths under the subsequent Buddhas, and referring only briefly to the attainments of the perfects, it proceeds to the birth as Gotama. The description of the contest with Mara and the enlightenment is full of poetic exaggeration, and the poem ends with a recitation of the phrases which the Buddha frequently during his 45 years as a wandering teacher. Like Buddha and Akṣara, Medhākāra concludes with a wish to be reborn as a Buddha.

Estimations of the value of the work vary. Although it has been disapproved as a very mediocre poem, with clumsy versification, others have put Medhākāra in the foremost rank among poets when he writes from the depths of his own inspiration 286 instead of slavishly imitating other works, especially the Nīlakāthā of the Jātskata, which seems to have been the main source followed. The Pāvavagisiddhi 287 consists of 104 arīṣṭa stanzas in what is described as a partly Sanskritised Pāli. 288 The first 60 verses describe the beauties of the Buddha’s person, and the remainder are in praise of his wisdom, concluding with a eulogy of the Sāṃskīra and Nīlakātha. The style is laboured and artificial, and some of the verses are intricate puzzles.

279 See Gray, JPS, p. 69–72.
281 Jina 471.
283 Suddhamśa s. 53, 11–12.
284 Jan 468–70.
285 See Malalasekera, PHL, p. 230, and p. 165 below.
286 See WINTERSTEIN, HBL, p. 234.
287 See WINTERSTEIN, HBL, p. 614, quoting DROZHELE.

Later post-canonical texts

The author names himself as Buddhappīya, and states that he is a pupil of Ānanda. 290 If this is the same Ānanda who was the teacher of Vehhdasri, then Buddhappīya and Vehhdasri were contemporaries and probably lived in the fourteenth century. Buddhappīya was also the author of the grammar entitled Rājapīthī. 291

Vehhdasri was the author of a poem entitled Samantakṣayyanānakā, 292 as well as the Rasavāmi. 293 He lived in Ceylon in the late fourteenth or early fourteenth century, and belonged to the Arahantaya community of forest-dwelling monks. 294 The work is a life-story of the Bodhisattva Jātuttaha up to the enlightenment, and thereafter the life of the Buddha up to the place which is the climax of the poem. The imprinting of his footprint on the Kamadha rock. It is possible that Vehhdasri and Rājapīthī, at whose request he wrote the work, could actually see the mountain from their cells, if they resided at Putabhiscesha in the vicinity of Samantakā, as tradition records. 295

The story of the Buddha’s three visits to Ceylon and the imprinting of his footprint on Samantakā is found in the Mahāvamsa, 296 and this is followed closely for the account of the visits to Ceylon. Other material is based upon the Nīlakātha of the Jātutta, with some borrowings from the Nīlamutt and Mahāvamsa, with occasional verses being borrowed verbatim. 297 With a few exceptions the language is correct and easy-flowing. In the narrative portions, which are mainly in Sīkha metre, the style follows that of the epic and ballads. In the more ornate passages there are lengthy compounds, and other rare features, e.g. puns, repetitions, alliteration, and assonance. Over half of the text’s 802 verses are Sukha, and nearly a quarter are Triṣṭihīta. Jātuttaka and Mālāthi are in order of frequency, with a handful of other ornate metres. 298

There are a number of examples of passages where the grammar is faulty by the normal standards of Pāli, and here the influence of the author’s own Sinhalese language is clearly to be seen. The work also introduces several new words coined from Sanskrit, which indicates the prevalence of Sanskrit learning in Ceylon at this time. 299

The Saddhammapāliyanāya deals in 621 verses, and eight closing verses, with the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism in general and the ethical doctrines in particular. It has 19 chapters and begins with a description of the eight okkha

290 Peij 103.
291 See Leo MALALASEKERA, PHL, p. 230 and p. 164 below.
292 Ed. C. E. GODAKUMBURA, JPTS 1938.
293 See p. 165 above.
294 See GODAKUMBURA, Samantakā, p. ix.
295 See ibid., p. 31.
296 See GODAKUMBURA, Samantakā, pp. xxv–xxviii.
297 See ibid., p. xxvii.
298 See ibid., pp. xxv–xxviii.
was, the miseries of the ten castes, and the sufferings of the pests and animals, and the terrible evils (dhevakāya), and then deals with the results of meritorious deeds and the benefits of generosity and virtuous conduct, etc., ending with appamāda. In one of the concluding verses, the author expresses the wish that he may himself, one day, become a Buddha.

The text itself says nothing about the author, but states that it is to be sent to a friend called Buddhaandam. A commentary upon it, entitled Saṅhamaṇḍapā-sūtra, describes the author as Caturdhvyāra, a Kavirajavāraṇa Mahāttra. On the strength of this, the text has been identified as a work written by the Abhayagraha. But there seems to be no evidence for this other than the author's name. There is nothing in the context which seems to departs in any way from standard Theravāda doctrine.

The language is simple and straightforward, and with very few exceptions the metre is Sūtra throughout. The work probably dates from the eleventh century.

The Putakagārādipana is a poem in 114 verses, which describes the five conditions in which beings may be born: gods, men, pests, animals and hell-dwellers. It describes the actions which may lead to rebirth in these various categories, and goes into details about the various hells and the tortures to be suffered there. Nothing is known about the author or the date of its composition, but it has been regarded as a product of the fourteenth century. The greater part of the text is based upon descriptions such as are found in the Pāvattakāla, and little can be considered as new or original. What literary merit it has has been attributed to its simple style of diction.

6. PROPHETIC TEXTS

In a prophecy about the future made by the Buddha in the Cakkavattittha-nādaśastra of the Dīgha-nikāya, there is mention of increased length of life, greater prosperity, a cakravartin called Saṅkha and a future Buddha called Metyyya. This is the only future Buddha mentioned in the Pāli canon. He is also mentioned at the end of the Buddhavaṃsa, as the fifth Buddha of this Ilppa. Metyyya and Metteyya are also dealt with in a poem of 124 verses entitled Aṅkāvatāra, which the Buddhavaṃsa ascribes to the Kassapa who was the author of the Mahāvichara. The poem begins with an account of how Sīyāputta approached the Buddha and asked about the future Buddha, whereupon Govinda told him when and where Metteyya would be born. The European editor of this poem is accompanied by information about other recensions of the poem, some of which have prose interludes inserted. One of these gives a picture of the gradual decline of Buddhism, with the scriptures disappearing piecemeal, beginning with the Paññāna, the last book of the Abhidhamma-paññā. This version ends with a list of ten persons who will be future Buddhas, beginning with Metteyya. It is interesting to note that in the Mahāvīravijaya Kassapa includes a short statement about the disappearance of the canon, beginning with the Paññāna. The Dāsabodhisaturnappattikāhāra tells of the arising of ten future Buddhas, although the details do not agree entirely with the list just mentioned at the end of the Aṅkāvatāra. The story of Metteyya is told in detail, and the stories of the other nine are then presented in a shorter form. A number of the stories have incidents involving bodily sacrifices, self-cremation, self-mutilation, and the offering of children. Although such deeds are very rarely recorded in Theravāda literature, they seem to be more common in Mahāyāna works. This has led to the suggestion that the Dāsabodhisaturnappattikāhāra, for which no author or date of composition is known, is probably a product of the early fourteenth century, when Hindu and Mahāyāna influence was greater than usual, and the Pāli Canon was in general use. With the number of future Buddhas probably represents a result of the same influence, although except for Metteyya the ten Simhalese Buddhas have nothing in common with their Mahāyāna counterparts.

See Law, P.C., p. 629.

See infra, p. 41 above.
Another text of the same type is the Daśabhūtisattvadāsa. The author and the date of composition are unknown. There is a commentary upon the Anāgātavānas called Samantabhūtadīkā, of which some extracts have been published. If this is the sūtra mention, it was written by Upatissa of Ceylon, possibly the author of the Mahābhūdhamānas. A short text, or portion of a longer text, called Daśabhūtisattvadīkā has also been published. Some of the names given in this differ from those found in the Daśabhūtisattvadīkā, but it is clear that it belongs to the same category of text.

7. MEDICAL TEXTS

The beginnings of Pāli texts dealing with medicine can be seen in the Bhasajyakhandas of the Vinaya-piṭaka, where various rules promulgated by the Buddha about proper diet, hygiene, and medical treatment including the use of herbs and surgical instruments are collected together. Although the Buddha forbade śākāka to practice medicine as a livelihood, it is clear from the respect shown to physicians such as Jiiva-Komārakhaṭṭha that medical knowledge was highly thought of, and medicine for the sick was one of a śākāka’s four necessities.

The chronicles give a certain amount of information about kings providing supplies of medicines to both śākākas and lay people, and the account of Anokha doing so is confirmed by his own inscriptions. The Mahāvamsa reports that Buddhaghoṣa (late fourth century A.D.) made a summary of all the medical texts, although it is doubtful whether this is the work mentioned in the Pagan inscription of A.D. 1442. The Mahāvamsa also gives

S. GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL WORKS

The grammatical terminology used by Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapala indicates that there was already before their time a fixed grammatical system, although there is not enough evidence to decide whether they were referring to an actual grammar, now lost. There are indications, as has already been seen, that Buddhaghoṣa was acquainted with parts, at least, of Pāṇini’s grammar.

The earliest Pāli grammar known to us is that of Kaśyapa, who must be later than Buddhaghoṣa, since the latter does not refer to him. Kaśyapa may have used the Kāśika, in which case he is later than the seventh century, but the evidence for this is disputed. Nothing is known about his name, and he seems to be unconnected with any other Kaśyapa known to us from Sanskrit or Pāli. His work is known as Kaśyapa-vyakaranas or Kaśyapa-nagandha, and has been shown to owe much to Pāṇini and to the Kāśika.
The earliest commentary extant upon Kacāyanā is Vimalabuddhiś Nyāsa, or Māhāmaitrāṅgī. This is probably a work of the eleventh century, for it was not commented upon by Čapanā at the end of the twelfth century in a work entitled Upaniṣadaka or Nyāsa-pradipa. Čapanā or Sādhana-pradipa has been mentioned in the name of the Nāma-pradipa. There has already been mentioned as the author of the Nāma-pradipa. There is a different, slightly more concise form. The work is attributed to the same author, perhaps in a different, slightly longer form, although Mahāmaitrāṅgī composed the Nāma-pradipa towards the end of the fourteenth century. However, the Nāma-pradipa, which is the second main work of the fourteenth century, is not as extensively cited in the Vajirasā. It is possible that the Nāma-pradipa was also responsible for composing the Mahāmaitrāṅgī upon the Nāma-pradipa. If Vajirasā is the author, then the Nāma-pradipa is the second main work of the fourteenth century.

The greatest of all extant Pāli grammarians is the Saddharatna, written by Aggavaṇṇa from Arjagātāṇa in B.C. 1146. 34 A copy of it was taken to Ceylon soon after. 35 On the whole it follows Kacāyanā, but Aggavaṇṇa also made use of Pāliā. It is said to be based upon the Aggavaṇṇa, also on canonical materials. The work consists of 28 chapters, 19 being called Mahāmaitrāṅgī, and the last nine Mahāmaitrāṅgī. It is in three sections: the Padadvāra (1-14), which gives a complete morphology of Pāli, interspersed with passages from the Buddhakosa, and criticisms of the precepts of Kacāyanā and var-

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Later postcanonical texts

ious Sanskrits found in Pāli from the works of Buddhakashāya down to the Mahāvīraśāya; the Dāhimagga is a Dāhimagga in eight parts, chapters 1-19, a commentary made up of canonical citations and lexicographic under the traditional form of a šāntādikā, adding an important chapter on upapāda and nīlās.

The manuscript of Moggaliraka or Moggaliraka was the founder of a new school of grammar. He wrote the Moggaliraka-yaśasvāka, which is also known as the Saddharatna, together with the sūti upon it, and his own commentary upon it, entitled Moggaliraka-pradipa. He is reported to have lived in the Thipārāma nikāya at Anurādhapura, and the sūti to the work states that it was written during the reign of Parākramabahu, after the king had purged the Sāṅgīa of all heretical Mahākāśa, an event datable to A.D. 1146. Moggaliraka deals with the linguistic material more exhaustively and with greater understanding of the essence and character of Pāli, which the inducts of both Sanskrit and Sinhalaese influences had changed somewhat since the earlier grammarians had written their works. As a result, there are considerable differences in the arrangement and grouping of the rules, as well as in the terminology, and he draws attention to such overlooked matters as the existence of short a and e. Despite his innovations, he draws heavily upon earlier Pāli grammars, and also the Kārtāntaka, Patipani, and especially Cādāragama.

Moggaliraka too had his followers, and one of them was the Mahabhadra, who wrote the Mahābhaktaka. His Parapadasīlī bears the same relationship to the Moggaliraka-yaśasvāka as does Buddhakosa's Parapadasīlī to Kacāyanā's Vajirasā, and he makes good some of the deficiencies in Moggaliraka's work to which his opponents had drawn attention. The writings of the grammarians at this period had a profound effect upon Pāli, and, as has already been noted, it has been suggested that the Pāli of the texts which we now possess has been greatly influenced by their theories. It is not overstating the case to say that a knowledge of the Buddhist and Sinhalese philology of the period is essential if we wish to go back past the recensions of Buddhakashāya and Dāhimagga and return to a Pāli of real linguistic interest. It seems very likely that the manuscripts consulted by European editors go back to originals which have been revised in the spirit of Aggavaṇṇa and his contemporaries. Although the grammarians were well acquainted with Sanskrit,
they did not teach that Pali was simply a derivation of Sanskrit, as the Prakrit grammarians did. Nevertheless we are probably to see their influence in the occasional Sanskritized form found in Pali texts.

The two schools of Kacayana and Moggalaika both had lists of roots, to which Aghavananda's Dhātuvimāna, which is also called Kacayana-mañjūśī, belongs to the Kacayana school. It is the principal of that school, and was compiled by Silavatam about the fourteenth century. The arrangement of root classes follows Kacayana, and the author makes use of the Panjimāna Dhātupātha. It is also possible that he made use of the Dhātupātha, which belongs to the Moggalaika school. Although its author and date are unknown, it seems probable that it is older than the Dhātuvimāna. It follows the Moggalaika order of root classes, and is shorter than the other list. It differs from it in being in prose, not verse.

The beginnings of Pali lexicography probably lie in the system of explanation, by means of synonyms which we find in the Dighaṇkaṇīya section of the Old Commentary upon the Pitāmokkha in the Vinaya-pitaka, and in the Niddesa. This tradition was carried on in the lists of words and glosses known as pāṭñā, which existed early enough to be used by the author of the Mahāvamsa. The system was also developed in the Vessanā-kāra sections of the Petakapada and the Nettipakāra.

The earliest Pali dictionary we possess is the Abhidhammapaddhati, which seems to have been conceived upon the same lines as the Sanskrit Amarakosa. It is a dictionary of synonyms, and does not follow an alphabetical order. It is ascribed to Moggalaika, but since the Gāndhāravāpa calls the author Navamoggalaika it is assumed that this Moggalaika was not the grammarian. The Abhidhammapaddhati refers to Parakkamabahu, which dates it to the late twelfth century, and therefore makes two Moggalaikas roughly contemporary.

The work consists of 1303 verses, and is in three sections: celestial (nāgas), terrestrial (bhūvas), and miscellaneous (āsāvatādanī) each section is divided into subsections, and there are frequent overlaps between one division and another. The greater part of the work is devoted to synonyms, but the last two divisions deal with homonyms and indeclinables.

9. Poetics and Prosody

In the latter half of the twelfth century the tena Sāfgharalbhitha, writing in Ceylon, composed a number of works on grammar, prosody, and rhetoric. He speaks of himself as a pupil of Moggalaika, whom he calls Ślathama. The Abhidhammakāra is a work on poetics, and deals with the art of poetry under five heads: faults in composition; their avoidance; verbal ornamentation; rhetorical figures; elegance of sound (rassu) and the art of making verse sound pleasant. It consists of 375 verses, and the author states that his reason for writing is that the earlier works by Rāmaśāma and others are not

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321 See XCH 8, p. 105.
322 See XCH 8, p. 105.
323 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
324 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
325 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
326 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
327 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
328 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
329 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
330 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
331 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
332 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
333 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
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335 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
336 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
337 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
338 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
339 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
340 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
341 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
342 See MALLABEKE, P. L. L. I. 31, 188.
suitable for Magadhī, i.e. Pāli. Saṅgharakkhaśīita seems to be dependent upon Sanskrit models, from which the technical terms are borrowed and adapted.

There is a āṭā in the Subodhikāśā, ascribed to Vaiśāsīra. 844

Saṅgharakkhaśīita also wrote a book upon Pāli metre, entitled Vuttodāya. 845 He states specifically 846 that the books by Prāgala and others were not suitable for those studying pure Magadhī, i.e. Pāli, and he accordingly gives rules for writing Pāli verses. The Vuttodāya seems to be the only original work on Pāli metre extant. 847 In 186 stanzas, or portions of stanzas, arranged in six chapters, it deals first with general definitions and symbols, and then with all the metres known to Saṅgharakkhaśīita, including matāliśkaṇḍa, patigadhaṇa, and the all the varieties of aṭāśaṭṭhaśaṭṭha, although he seems not to have been aware of the old ąśaṭṭha metre.

His work is based entirely upon Sanskrit prosody, from which terms are borrowed and adapted. There are occasionally sentences taken over from Prāgala with only the minimum changes made to adapt Sanskrit into Pāli. 848 There were several commentaries written upon the Vuttodāya, including a āṭā by Vagīsadhiśa, 849 who lived at Pagan. 850

Saṅgharakkhaśīita also wrote a work on the Pāli verb and its use in syntax, entitled Sambandhasthirā, 851 and a āṭā upon the Khudakas ṇākha. 852

10. BOOKS ON DISCIPLINE

The need for mañjāsa to master the great mass of disciplinary rules contained in the Vinaya-piṭaka led at an early date in the history of Buddhism to the production of summaries designed to make learning easier. The existence of the Pārabhiṣakha in the Vinaya-piṭaka itself, and of the summaries made by Buddhājīta, has already been noted. 853 The same need led to the production of two other texts of the same type.

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846 Vutt 2-3.
847 See Malalasekera, PLC, p. 188.
848 See ibid., p. 188.
849 Gv 64, 28.
850 Gv 64, 27.
851 See Fryer, Vutt, p. 4. The date given there for Vagīsa (c. A.D. 1212) must be too early.
852 See Gv 61, 17-18.
853 See p. 169 below.
854 See pp. 27 and 121 above.
855 See pp. 167 above.
856 Gv 61, 18.
857 See Mullen, JPTS 1883, pp. 31-32.
858 See ibid., p. 87.
859 See Rice Davies, JPTS 1883, p. xiv.
860 See Mullen, JPTS 1885, p. 86.
Although it is reported that there are more than 40 Jain śrīśrī texts dealing with the proper conduct of a layman,\textsuperscript{197} it appears that there is only one systematic Pāli text dealing with this subject. This is the Upakṣaśākhānāṁ-
kapara,\textsuperscript{198} also known as Upakṣaśākhānāṁ-kapara or Upakṣaśākhānāṁ-kapara.\textsuperscript{199} The author is
stated in the colophon to be Ananda, who was a Śrīśrī, and it is probable
that the work was written during the reign of Parukkāśākhānā in (A.D.
1153–86).\textsuperscript{200} This suggestion is supported by the fact that the Pāli
employed by the author shows certain Sanskrit features, e.g., some words have been
used in a Sanskrit sense and Sanskrit words have been used in their Pāli
forms. There are sometimes log compound words in the Sanskrit style, and the
author shows himself to be a skilled poet in the verses he includes.\textsuperscript{201}
The author has based his work on both the canon and the commentaries, and
has also made use of later works.\textsuperscript{202} He has surveyed all these works, collected
together all the specific and general instructions to laymen which they contain,
and then combined them into a single work. The first of his nine chapters deals
with the three refuges, and Ananda ends the section with illustrations from the
canon of the benefits which the ti sūtras brings.

Subsequent chapters deal with the rules of morality (śīla), ascetic practices
(ikṣaṭānapa, of which only two of the usual list of thirteen are prescribed for a
householder), the proper way of gaining one’s livelihood, ten types of merito-
orious deeds and various harmful actions, and happiness in this world and other
worlds, leading ultimately to enlightenment. The final chapter deals with
the question of the person or individual who performs meritorious deeds, and the
Buddha’s teachings about self (ātman) and individual (paccaya) are reiterated.
Some of the statements made in this chapter seem to indicate a knowledge of
Mahāyāna doctrines, and it seems likely that at the time when the text was
written Mahāyāna texts were being studied in Ceylon.\textsuperscript{203}

The author states in the colophon that he wrote his book in accordance with
the Mahāvihāra tradition, free from the views of other sects.\textsuperscript{204} One text which he frequently quotes is the Śadhanamūlaśāstra which, as has been noted
above,\textsuperscript{205} is sometimes thought to have been an Abhayagiri text. The fact that
Ananda could quote from this text and at the same time state that he is following
the Mahāvihāra tradition shows that there must have been very little
fundamental difference between the views of the two schools.\textsuperscript{206}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{197} See P. E. JAIN, The Jaina path of purification, Berkeley 1978, p. 160 n. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{198} El. H. SADDHATTERSA, PTE London, 1965.
\item \textsuperscript{199} See SADDHATTERSA, Upās, p. 1 n. 1, and Upās 123, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{200} See SADDHATTERSA, Upās, p. 46.
\item \textsuperscript{201} See ibid., p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{202} For a list of quotations and allusions, see SADDHATTERSA, Upās, pp. 115–22.
\item \textsuperscript{203} See SADDHATTERSA, Upās, pp. 106–41.
\item \textsuperscript{204} Upās 305, 3–4.
\item \textsuperscript{205} See p. 160 above.
\item \textsuperscript{206} See SADDHATTERSA, Upās, pp. 63–64.
\end{itemize}
question of similes, would be rejected by all those who desired the well-being of the saṅgha.  

The Simānlakhaṇḍa (13) is ascribed to Śri Rāhula, who wrote in the fifteenth century, while the fact that the Simāvīvādavinayakahākāra (14) is like the Sandesakathā (15) includes a date equivalent to the very beginning of the nineteenth century (16). It shows that it is a modern work, although it quotes extensively from canonical texts, attākathās, and from later texts such as the Vināvīvādavīdvīnaya (17) which is ascribed to the thera Kassapa. The continuing importance of the subject is indicated by the production of a work entitled Simālakhaṇḍa-dīpāna, by the thera Vimalakara in Geyon in the second half of the nineteenth century. (18)

12. ANTHOLOGIES

In an edict addressed to the Saṅkha (19), Asoka recommended to them for frequent study a list of seven sūtras (20), which doubtless represented his own selection of favourite sermons. Others too, no doubt, made up the sūtras which seemed to them to be the most important teachings of Buddhism, and certain manuals of this type exist. The earliest is probably the Suttaṅgāla (21), which is regarded as canonical and forming part of the Khuddaka-nikāya in Burma. Nothing is known about its date or author, although the Burman tradition states that it was compiled by a thera who lived in Geyon at Anurādhapura. It is that it is post-canonical, at least in its present form, is shown by the fact that it includes certain passages from the attākathās, including the attākathā upon the Buddha's marriage, and in one case a fūka upon an attākathā. (22)

The sūtras are arranged under six headings. The first three consist of sūtras concerned with accounts of giving (dāna), moral conduct (niṣa), and heaven.

(13) See Dhammaśāstra, op. cit. (in n. 388), pp. 74–75.
(14) See Mahā Mahādharma, PLC, p. 31.
(16) See p. 144 above.
(17) Simābhedasambuddhāsāya parinibbānānegace nacemaravipassitakathāsantati (Simāvīvādaviniyāsakāra) = A.D. 1800.
(18) At Saṅkha 23, 24–25 this is ascribed to Dhammaśāstra in Kasapa's hearth. It is not clear whether this is the same Kasapa who wrote the Mahāvīvādavīdvīnaya, or another Kasapa. If the latter, the work is probably an interpolation in the text of the sūtras.
(19) See Mahā Mahādharma, PLC, p. 311.
(21) See WATTS, MSL, pp. 506–509.
(22) See H. P. CHAUDHURY and D. R. GUHA, Calcutta 1957. See GAG, PLL, 19.
(23) See BOUS, PLB, p. 5 in CPD Vol. I, Epiglottomen p. 461, describes it to Arjuna.

For the list of contents see CPD Vol. I, Epiglottomen p. 95a, 96a.
Islamic Cosmology

As already noted, the last section of the Sarasvati deals with cosmology (lokasastra). The oldest extant Pali text with which we have to deal exclusively with the subject of cosmology is the Lokapānīṭhī. A lower limit to its date of compilation is provided by the fact that it was one of the sources employed by the author of the Taṭhakkuttika, which was composed in Siamese c. A.D. 1432. It seems probable that the Lokapānīṭhī is the work of an unknown author, writing in Burma, probably at Thaton, in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.

Although the Northern Buddhists, writing in Sanskrit, produced descriptions of the world, the Theravādins seem to have been too busy escaping from the world to describe it. When they began to do so in medieval times, they were content to borrow from earlier writers on the subject. It is somewhat misleading to call the Lokapānīṭhī a treatise on cosmology, since it is not a systematic study of the subject, but a collection of information about the nature of the world, collected from many sources, and put together in a haphazard way. Into the descriptions of the various parts of the world are inserted narrative stories, e.g. the section on the deserts includes a long story about Aśoka and robbers (bhāta-nikāsas-paya) from the kingdom of Roman, which is doubtless drawn from the stock of stories about Aśoka current in South-East Asia, but presumably of North Indian origin.

The greater part of the Lokapānīṭhī is based upon the Lokapānīṭhī, of which the Sanskrit original has been lost but a Chinese translation dating from A.D. 389 is available. Presumably the Sanskrit original was still available in Burma in the twelfth century. It is also possible to deduce that a slightly different version of the Mahāvastu was available at the time when the Lokapānīṭhī was being compiled, for the text of the latter enables certain inferences the former to be inferred from the description of the hells, from which borrowings have been made.

A passage on the origin of the world has also been taken from the Mahāvastu, while the Dīvānīpāsāda is the source for some of the other stories, especially details about Aśoka. There are also many borrowings from the Pāli canon, the most important being from the description of the beginning of the world in the Aṅguttara-nikāya (27), the judgment of wrong-doers and their condemnation to hell by Yaśo in the Dīvānīpāsāda, the Aṅguttara-nikāya, and the dialogue between the yaksas Hemavatī and Śatthigā and the Buddha in the Hemavatavatā of the Sutta-nipāta. In A.D. 1630 a Thai manuscript named Sirimangala, who lived in Chiang Mai, wrote a cosmological work entitled Cakkavālahopānīṭhī, in six chapters. Like the Lokapānīṭhī, it is based upon material extracted from earlier texts.

Wisdom Texts

The learning of worldly wisdom (sūta) by means of collections of aphorisms is of great antiquity in India, and spread from there to all countries which were influenced by Indian culture. Although there is evidence that collections of sūtas found their way to Ceylon they seem not to have beenimitated by...
Pali authors, whereas collections introduced into Burma, probably from North East India,411 were widely imitated there. There is no mention of any Pali anii text in the Pagan inscription of A.D. 1442,412 which suggests that the genre had either not been introduced by the fifteenth century, or, if it had, it had not yet gained wide acclaim. The longest and probably the earliest of the Pali anii texts found in Burma is the Dhammaniti,413 which probably dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. It contains 414 verses, while the later Lokaniti414 and Mahabharaniti415 contain 187 and 254 verses respectively. These three texts are closely related. The Rajaniti416 follows a separate tradition, and could be as late as the eighteenth century.

The anii texts of Burma are not independent works, in the sense of being made up of verses composed in Pali by Burmese authors. They are simply compilations, i.e., collections and arrangements of verses which were already in existence in other Pali texts, or were adaptations of verses available in Sanskrit, especially in the large corpus of Sanskrit verses attributed to Cakravaha.417 While Pali parallels to many of the verses in the Dhammaniti and its related texts can be identified,418 all the verses in the Rajaniti are direct translations from Sanskrit.419 The largest Pali source is the Jataka collection, while other verses can be traced to the Dhammapada.

The Surevadhapaniti or Pañjihawadghaniti420 was composed in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Its sources are mainly Buddhist canonical texts, with some borrowings from Sanskrit sources. The Pali Cakravayanti421 seems to be an exact translation into Pali of the Sanskrit Cakravayantisatra. It seems to have been made in the late nineteenth century to provide a Pali translation for Burmese readers. Another modern compilation is the Gihvinayangabhati,422 composed in A.D. 1830.

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411 See L. Steinbach, Subhakara, gramatic and didactic literature, A history of Pali literature, IV, 1, Winchade, 1974, pp. 41-42. All verses are, however, found in the Lokesanaya-pakarna, which probably originates in North Thailand. See Padmapani S. Jain, “Some Pali verses of the Lokesanaya-pakarna”, in Bhikkhu Buddhadasa, Festschrift Wienmon, Volume II (forthcoming).

412 The Kama-sudaka which is mentioned at Pagan (see Heggel, PBL, pp. 107) is the Sunabedi Kalaisundakarniti. See Beccenti, PNTB, pp. lxxii.


415 Ed. Beccenti, PNTB, pp. 90-121.


417 See Beccenti, PNTB, p. 113xii.

418 See ibid., p. lxxii-xxxiv.

419 See Beccenti, PNTB, p. lxxiv.


421 See Beccenti, PNTB, pp. lvii-lxvi.

422 See ibid., pp. lxvi-lxix.

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15. JATAKA COLLECTIONS

It has already been noted that the Pali Jataka collection is by no means complete, and stories not included in that collection can be found elsewhere in the Pali canon and also in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. There is also a collection of 60 Jataka stories current in South-East Asia, generally referred to as “apocryphal” because they are not canonical.

The Pali Jatakas exist in three recensions from Thailand, Cambodia and Burma,423 although the last-named differs quite considerably in the selection and order of stories from the first two, which are very similar to each other.424 Although these Jatakas stories are regarded as non-canonical, some of them are based closely upon incidents and motifs found in the Pali collection. Several of them include an episode where, illustrating generosity (dāna), the chief character gives away some valuable possession, including even his wife. Such episodes are clearly based upon the Pali Vessantarakajata, from which almost verbatim quotations are given in several stories.425 A number of stories include an episode of a shipwreck, where help is given by the water-sprite Māmokeha, just as in the Pali Mahādāna-jataka.426 Other stories have no Pali equivalent, but can be compared with various Buddhist Sanskrit texts, showing that the latter were known in South-East

411 See ibid., p. lxiv.

412 See ibid., p. lxvi.


414 See Jain, PJ I, p. iv.

415 Cf. PJ I, 48, 7-30 with Ja VI 494, 14-495, 19.

416 Cf. PJ I 76 with Ja VI 33.
Asia in medieval times, when these non-canonical stories may be supposed to have been composed. The Sakhamukhājātaka has been shown to have a close relationship with stories related in the Mahāvastu and Dīvyāvadāna, but the many differences of detail between the three versions show that the Pāli Jātaka is in no way a translation of the other two, which in many ways provide little more than a theme for the Pāli redactor to elaborate. Some stories in the apocryphal collection seem to have no parallel in the extant Pāli or Sanskrit literature, and their origins are presumably to be sought in the mass of folk literature which is known from other sources to have been in existence in the area at the relevant time. Even when a story can be shown to have an external origin, a number of minor details are frequently innovations.

The Burmese recension of the apocryphal Jātaka is known as the Zimmé-Pampha, where the word "Zimmé" is a corruption of the place-name Chitam-Mai, known in North Thailand. This suggests that the Burmese believed that the collection came from Thailand, and in view of this belief the difference between the Burmese and the other recensions which has been mentioned above needs to be investigated carefully, for an examination of the parallel editions of the Samudragośa-Jātaka shows quite extensive differences of detail, and it is probable that other Jātakas show variations no less extensive.

The language of these Jātakas shows the same kind of uninflected gnomina of consorts and the converse as has already been noted in the Jirakabakkhali, which helps to confirm the suggestion that these features are not merely verbal errors. There are also peculiarities of grammar and syntax, e.g. strange case usages and confusion of gender, which probably shows the influence of the local vernaculars.

An original feature of Buddhist literature in South-East Asia is the type of text illustrating advantage (duṣṭa kāma) which belongs to the Jātaka genre. The Rāmapuraḷaṁkāraṇaṭakam tells this story of the meritorious bhikkhu who is reborn as a pig, and shows clearly that in medieval times in Thailand it was believed that the mysterious sīvaramadivala which lifted one to the Buddhists was indeed pork, for in this version of the story the Buddha's death was due to the fact that in an earlier existence he had killed a pig, who in the course of time was reborn as a pig which, in the form

450 See JACTON, P. J., p. c.
452 See ibid., pp. 316-38.
453 See p. 144 above.

16. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

It has already been noted that the chronicles give a certain amount of information about the composition of literary works, e.g. the recitation of the Kathavata at the time of the third council, and Buddhaghosa's translation of the Sinhala srīvedika. Other chronicles give much more information about books and authors, and it is not unreasonable to describe such books as bibliographical reference works.

According to the colophon, the Sakhamukanāṭakam was written by Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, who came from India to Ceylon, was a pupil of Dhammakitti Mahāsām
The teacher Dhammakkhiṭṭī is probably one of the Saṅghadāsas who lived towards the end of the fourteenth century. The book contains an account of the history of Buddhism in eleven chapters.

The first three chapters give an account of the three councils, and include verses from the Samantapāsālā and Mahāvamsa. The narrative then continues with an account of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, and an assembly at which the elder Mahā-āriyāthā preached the tripiṭaka specifically called the fourth council, and verses are quoted to this effect, on the authority of the pārīśākṣa. Subsequent chapters deal with the accession of Duttathāgato, the writing down of the tipitaka, Buddhaghoṣa's work, and the compilation of the Pāli under the presidency of Mahākāsapa during the reign of Parakkasumahānu (A.D. 1153–80).

The ninth chapter gives an account of the principal works known to the author, of which the latest is datable to the thirteenth century. They are not listed in chronological order, and there are a number of errors and differences from other sources, but on the whole the information which the Saddhamma-saṅgaha gives is very helpful in establishing the history of the Buddhist religion and Pāli literature.

The last two chapters give an account of the merit to be gained from writing down the tipitaka and listening to and reciting the doctrine. In the tenth chapter there is a reference to the statement about the merit to be gained from making statues, which is attributed to the Buddha in the Kosakīśikavāsakamāna. The last chapter contains a number of illustrative stories on the theme of merit to be gained (vīśāhātā), some concerning Ceylon. It has been described as a sort of anthology of odd and ends of old verses, of rare excellence and beauty.

The Gandhāvana is written by Nandapāñha, who describes himself in the colophon as a forest-dwelling elder (pariṇāsāsī). It was composed in Burmese, probably in the seventeenth century. It consists of five sections, each of which contains the words Cullaghāvānaya, which suggests that at one time there was a longer Mahāgandhāvana. It aims to give a brief history of the canon and post-canonical books in Ceylon and India (which includes Burmese).

The first section deals with the canon and its divisions, and the various ways of classifying it, e.g., as five pitakas or nine adhyāyas. This seems to follow the classifications given by Buddhaghoṣa in the Samantapāsālā. The second section deals with the teachers and the gāndhāvanaya and the abhidhamma-pāramitā. The third section is the Mahāvīśākha-saṅgaha, and the last group are the same, and are those who held the three councils. None of them is mentioned by name except for Mahākāsapa, who is also included in the third category because he was the grammarian and other works including the Netti and the Petakopadesa are attributed to him. The list of authors then follows, in approximate chronological order, beginning with the authors of the Kūrundi and Mahāpācaṇḍa commentaries, Buddhaghoṣa, Buddhodatta, Ananda, and Mahākāsapa. It is not known what sources of information the author of the Gandhāvana used. In many cases he was merely taking information which was available in the colophons of manuscripts, but he often gives names even where the relevant text does not include the author's name. Even when two works are attributed to the same author, he sometimes differentiates between the two writers of the same name, e.g., he ascribes the Sārasamkhaṇa to Cullaghāvanaya, and the Abhidhānappadippa to Upanussadīnaya.

The third section ranges the authors according to whether they wrote in Ceylon (including further India) or Ceylon, and information is occasionally given about the country in which they lived, its king, and the position they held before becoming Buddhists. The fourth chapter then states whether the authors wrote their works by request, or of their own volition (āsīna maṇḍap). Once again, much of this information is doubtless taken from the introductions and colophons of the texts themselves. The fifth section tells of the advantages (anisamāsā) which come from writing books.

The Sāsana-vadana was written in Burmese in A.D. 1801 by Paṇḍita, tutor of King Min-daw-min who held the fifth council a few years later. It consists for the most part of a translation from an earlier work written in Burmese in 1831 with some details removed, and additions made to cover the period A.D.
1831–60. After a brief survey of the first three councils based on the accounts found in earlier chronicles, it deals with the history of the doctrine in the nine places where it was taken by Asoka's missionaries. Most of the nine are dismissed in a page or two, but the history of the Dhamma in Sihala, Savannabhumi, and especially Aparanta, which the author interprets not as the Western part of India but as part of Burma, are dealt with at greater length.

The author includes in his account of the history of the doctrine in these places a list of authors and the works they wrote. He frequently states the texts from which he has gained the information he is giving, and on occasion he discusses differences between them, e.g. the accounts about Buddhaghosa found in the Ceyavanassa and the Buddhaghosapatti, and his own statements in the Visuddhimagga.

The style of Paññāsāmi's language is very similar to that of Buddhaghosa for the earlier periods of his history, and this doubtless reflects the fact that these portions of his book are largely based upon Pāli originals. It seems likely, however, that in the portions of his book which are based upon a Burmese source, some influence of the Burmese language remains. In particular, the handling of Burmese personal and place names has been treated inconsistently. Some have been transliterated; some have been transcribed (with errors introduced by non-Burmese scribes); and some have been replaced by Pāli designations.

A comparable work, but devoted to the authors and books of Ceylon, was produced in 1880 by Ācārya Vimalāsa, who also wrote the Similakāharapi. This was the Sīsanavangaippam, written in Pāli verse, and covering the history of Buddhism in Ceylon down to the time of the introduction of the Burmese nāmaippam in A.D. 1802.

Although these bibliographical texts sometimes disagree among themselves, and often give no information, or inadequate information, when we must rely on them, their importance lies in the fact that they are usually dependent upon traditional material which is no longer available to us. Their accounts frequently enable us to put authors and their works into a historical background in a way which would otherwise be difficult, if not impossible. Without these texts, any description of Pāli literature, and especially the later post-canonical literature, would be little more than a list of works and authors, as culled from manuscripts and printed editions, with a summary of their contents. This is, unfortunately, still the situation with regard to much of the Pāli literature written in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. Although valuable work has been done in this field, much remains to be done before we know as much about Pāli writers in these countries as we do about authors who worked in India, Ceylon, and Burma.

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444 See ibid., p. 10.
445 See LIEBERMANN, op. cit. (n. 480), pp. 146–49.
446 See p. 172 above.
447 See MALLABECKA, PLC, p. 311.
448 See p. 12 above.
449 See p. 180 above.
450 See GEMER, PLL, 44.6.
### ABBREVIATIONS

**I. Texts (original sources)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Anguttara-nikāya</td>
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<tr>
<td>As</td>
<td>Hathavaranagulavāhanavagga</td>
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<td>Dīgha-vagga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAla</td>
<td>Dulkapattana</td>
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<td>DAla-s</td>
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<td>Dbīc</td>
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</table>

II. Abbreviated titles of books mentioned in the footnotes

Bapat, VV        | V.V. Bapat, Vinmattisaga and Visuddhisthanaga: a comparative study, Poona 1987 |
Bechert, BCSR     | H. Bechert (ed.), Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries, Göttingen 1978 |
Bechert, BESL     | H. Bechert (ed.), The Language of the Earlier Buddhist Tradition, Göttingen 1980 |
Bede, ERS       | M. H. Bede, Pali Literature of Burma, London 1909 |
Buddhistadatta, CBT | A. P. Buddhadaatta, Corrections of Gehe's Mahāvamsa, etc., Ambalangoda 1937 |
Franke, G.        | R. Otto Franke, Geschichte und Kritik der einheimischen Pali-Grammatik und Lexigraphie, Strassburg 1902 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frauwallner, EV</td>
<td>E. Frauwallner, <em>The earliest Vaiyana and the beginnings of Buddhist literature, Rome</em> 1896</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geiger, DM</td>
<td>W. Geiger, <em>Der Devarupa and Mahakayas and their historical development in Ceylon, Colombo</em> 1908</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geiger, PLL</td>
<td>W. Geiger, <em>Pali Literature and Language, Calcutta</em> 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godskrupnabe, Cat.</td>
<td>C. E. Godskrupnabe, <em>Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts, The Royal Library, Copenhagen</em> 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray, Pov</td>
<td>J. Gray, <em>Ancient proverbs and maxims from Burmese sources, the Ninn literature of Burma, London</em> 1886</td>
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<td>Heesterman, Pratik</td>
<td>J. C. Heesterman et al. (ed.), <em>Pratikdham, den Haag</em> 1969</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malalasekera, PLC</td>
<td>G. P. Malalasekera, <em>Dictionary of Pali literature, Ceylon</em> 1928</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nanin, SPB</td>
<td>A. K. Nain, <em>Studies in Pali and Buddhism, Delhi</em> 1976</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabina, HIC</td>
<td>W. Rabina, <em>History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo</em> 1968</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roth, EV</td>
<td>C. Roth, <em>Bhikshu-Vinaya: manual of discipline for Buddhist monks, Peshawar</em> 1790</td>
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<tr>
<td>de Silva, DAT</td>
<td>L. de Silva, <em>Dharmakavya and Gathapatha I</em>, London 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wada, HHT</td>
<td>E. J. Wada, <em>History of Buddhist Thought, London</em> 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waldschmidt, CAF</td>
<td>E. Waldschmidt, <em>Central Asian Buda Fragments, in Bechert</em>, LEBT, pp. 126–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warder, IB</td>
<td>A. K. Warder, <em>Indian Buddhism, Delhi</em> 1970</td>
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<td>Warder, PM</td>
<td>A. K. Warder, <em>Pali Texts, PTS London</em> 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuyama, VT</td>
<td>A. Yuyama, <em>Vinaya-Texte, Wiesbaden</em> 1979</td>
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**III. Periodicals, etc.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AADW</td>
<td>Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGAW</td>
<td>Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>Archiv Orientalia, Copenhad</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEFE</td>
<td>Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême Orient, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPD</td>
<td>Central Pali Dictionary, Copenhad</td>
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</table>

Abbriviations: 159

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IC</td>
<td>Indian Culture, Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHQ</td>
<td>Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIJ</td>
<td>Indo-Iranian Journal, Dehli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal of Asian Studies, Cambridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JABB</td>
<td>Journal of the Atanic Society of Bengal, Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JABS</td>
<td>Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JABS</td>
<td>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Madison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOK</td>
<td>Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPT</td>
<td>Journal of the Pali Text Society, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV</td>
<td>Khmer Sanskrit-Texts, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGA</td>
<td>Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PBK</td>
<td>Pali Buddhist Review, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>PED</td>
<td>Pali Tipitaka Concordance, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTC</td>
<td>Pali-English Dictionary, London</td>
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<td>PTS</td>
<td>Pali Text Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the Buddha, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHB</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East, Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STP</td>
<td>Stuufen zur Indologie und Islamistik, Reinbek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERS</td>
<td>Verzichung durch das Tuuren</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZGM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens, Vienna</td>
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**IV. General**

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Ba</td>
<td>Edition in Pali characters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>Edition in Sanskrit characters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cost</td>
<td>couter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disp</td>
<td>dntation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ed</td>
<td>editor, edited by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es</td>
<td>Edition in Roman letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jbd</td>
<td>in sans book/articles as quoted in previous note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIA</td>
<td>Middle Indo-Aryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nc</td>
<td>Edition in Nagari characters</td>
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<tr>
<td>note(s)</td>
<td>the work quoted (in the specified note)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ph</td>
<td>Prakrit</td>
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<tr>
<td>pg</td>
<td>pag(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repr</td>
<td>reprinted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rev</td>
<td>reviewer, reviewed by</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sf</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>under the heading(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>trn</td>
<td>translated, translated by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vers</td>
<td>vers(i)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY OF PĀLI, PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT TERMS

abhāsana
unwholesome, not moral, evil

abhāsana
inopportune time

ahāra
syllable

akīra
section, especially of nine-fold Canon

acchāria
moral, noble

acchārya
teacher

acchā
eight

acchā
commentary

acchā
section of eight

acchā
super-god

acchā
a tale of the past

acchā
self, individuality

acchā
commentary

acchā
= abhās

madhyāntama dhammā
legal questions

madhyānta
resolution

madhyānta
super-god

madhyānta
predominance (condition); overlord

madhyānta
non-self

madhyānta
not being in

madhyānta
undetermined

madhyānta
kindness

madhyānta
supplement to a field

madhyānta
secondary rule

madhyānta
traits

madhyānta
mindfulness

madhyānta
noble deed

madhyānta
field of consciousness

madhyānta
miraculous phenomena

madhyānta
regarding the dhamma

madhyānta
regarding the ānasā

madhyānta
aspiration for Buddhahood

madhyānta
regarding the ānasā

madhyānta
forest dweller

madhyānta
perfected one, one who has gained nibbāna

madhyānta
immortal being

madhyānta
= arahant

mahāyo
doctrine, truth

mahāyo
divine

mahāyo
noble deed

mahāyo
sitting in

mahāyo
ignorance

mahāyo
beginning in not remote past

mahāyo
eight

mahāyo
uncompound

mahāyo
unclassified

mahāyo
opponent of the gods

mahāyo
narrative poem

mahāyo
one who has mastered the dhammas

mahāyo
teacher

mahāyo
one who

mahāyo
breathe in and out

mahāyo
merit, advantage

mahāyo
excellence

mahāyo
one versed in the Dhammasa

mahāyo
base

mahāyo
condition

mahāyo
monastery

mahāyo
influx

mahāyo
one of the nine aṅgas

mahāyo
superiority

mahāyo
supernatural

mahāyo
power

mahāyo
base

mahāyo
sense-faculty

mahāyo
utterance

mahāyo
summary verse

mahāyo
statement, explanation

mahāyo
one of the Saṁhitā verses

mahāyo
instruction, teaching

mahāyo
material possessions; desire for material possessions

mahāyo
ordination

mahāyo
precept, preposition

mahāyo
aggregates of grasping

mahāyo
dependent form, quality

mahāyo
lay-follower

mahāyo
equanimity

mahāyo
story telling the origin (of a sutta)

mahāyo
some (authorities)

mahāyo
section of one

mahāyo
section of elevens

mahāyo
lust

mahāyo
chain

mahāyo
one of the Saṁhitā verses

mahāyo
cotton cloth (for robe)

mahāyo
doubt

mahāyo
discourse, topic

mahāyo
mental faculty

mahāyo
action

mahāyo
subject for meditation

mahāyo
official act of the saṅgha

mahāyo
pity, compassion

mahāyo
meditation, compassion

mahāyo
= kumāra-nīlo
### Glossary of Pāli, Prakrit and Sanskrit Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kānca</td>
<td>dusk</td>
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<tr>
<td>kariśa</td>
<td>concise statement, especially in grammatical texts</td>
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<tr>
<td>kārura</td>
<td>verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khāta</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusāsa</td>
<td>wholesome, moral, good</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaśāya</td>
<td>member of second (warrior) caste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasya</td>
<td>aggregate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣatriya</td>
<td>section, chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td>kṣeṣapta</td>
<td>group, section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣeṣappiya</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣatākāra</td>
<td>basic writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣatākāśa</td>
<td>heavenly musician, demi-god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣaya</td>
<td>stanza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣetra</td>
<td>householder’s discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣeṣa</td>
<td>teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣeṣaṇa</td>
<td>= kṣeṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣeṣaṇa</td>
<td>recitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṣera</td>
<td>cowherd</td>
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<tr>
<td>cakravartin</td>
<td>universal monarch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍaka-vijñāta</td>
<td>section of four</td>
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<td>caṇḍaka</td>
<td>fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>a style of verse poetry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>(story relating) conduct, action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>mental concomitant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>barrenness of mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>section of staves</td>
</tr>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>sixth</td>
</tr>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>old age</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>birth-story</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>birth</td>
</tr>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>conqueror</td>
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<td>meditation</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>meditator</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>sub-commentary</td>
</tr>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>craving</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>epitaph of a saint</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>canon</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>ascetic practices</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>trial, group of three</td>
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<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>triplet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>section of three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caṇḍika</td>
<td>three books (of the Canon)</td>
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</table>

### Glossary of Pāli, Prakrit and Sanskrit Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiṇṇhāva</td>
<td>three refuges</td>
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<tr>
<td>topasūka</td>
<td>revered in the three baskets (of the Canon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toṣaṇa</td>
<td>possessor of the three vases or toṣaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thāra</td>
<td>shrine, topa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaniṇīda</td>
<td>elder (m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaniṇīda</td>
<td>tradition of the elders (thevā) belonging to the tradition of the elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaniṇīda</td>
<td>elder (f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāna</td>
<td>self-conscious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapana</td>
<td>vision, insight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>giving, generosity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>object suitable as a gift (wrong) view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>pervasion of the directions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>beginning in the remote past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>god</td>
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<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>member of the divine race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>world of the gods</td>
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<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>two pātimaṇḍana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>(eg.) doctrine; (pl.) states; (fem.) subject to ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>natural law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>spiritual sacrifices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>carrier of = expert in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>= dharma</td>
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<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>dharma</td>
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<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>element</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>list of roots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>ascetic practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>guide line; style, method; maxim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>new, modern, later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>modern pāṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>a North Indian script</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>immaterial factor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>one of the five sections of the sūtra-pāṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>concluding stanzas, envois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>finished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>inception, origin; one of the Sanskrit āsya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>link in causal chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>exposition, expansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>section (often numerical in nature); particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>extinction, quenching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>Owen (especially the one seen by the Buddha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>hell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dama</td>
<td>etymological explanation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glossary of Pāli, Prakrit and Sanskrit Terms

raja
king
form, material quality

rūpa
characteristic property

sādhana
cosmology

saṃsāra
supra-mundane

sattva
chronicle
chapter of text

sūtra
speech, voice

sūtra
embellishment, commentary

sūtra
subject matter; story; section

sūtra
introductory stanzas (of a sutta)

sūtra
portion, section

sūtra
double
knowledge

sūtra
discipline

sūtra
insight

sūtra
oeconomy, classification

sūtra
heavenly abode

sūtra
release

sūtra
purity

sūtra
answering

sūtra
monastery

sūtra
section of twenties

sūtra
commentary

sūtra
knowledge; brahmanical text

sūtra
defining, sensation

sūtra
analysis

sūtra
exposition, commentary; grammatical

sūtra
avoidance, abstinence

sūtra
member of the third caste

disease

sūtra
conduct of a layman

sādānā
self-control

sādānā
connected collection

sādānā
commentary

sādānā
sharing together

sādānā
journeying on; transmigration

sādānā
heaven

sādānā
constituent element

sādānā
in brief

sādānā
enumeration

sādānā
collection; classification

sādānā
classified

council

sādānā
council

sādānā
one who holds a council

sādānā
Order of Buddhists

sādānā
formal meeting of the Order

sādānā
rules

sādānā
attainment of extinction of sensation

sādānā
definition of perception

sādānā
basis of mindfulness

sādānā
seven

sādānā
beginning in the present

sādānā
active

sādānā
finished

sādānā
assembled

sādānā
monks

sādānā
identification

sādānā
refuge

sādānā
miscellaneous section

sādānā
teaching

sādānā
rules of training

sādānā
jelled

sādānā
boundary

sādānā
morality, moral conduct

sādānā
lion’s roar, shout of exultation

sādānā
language of Ceylon

sādānā
Sinhalese tradition of teaching

sādānā
happiness

sādānā
emptiness; emptiness

sādānā
thread; discourse

sādānā
discourse

sādānā
member of the fourth caste

sādānā
winged creature, the enemy of apsara

sādānā
elegant saying

sādānā	tender pig’s flesh

sādānā
text in aphorism form

sādānā	training

sādānā
text in entry into the stream

sādānā
euphthia

sādānā
euphthia, insertion of euphthestic vowel

sādānā
verbs in the āyanas

sādānā
mode

sādānā
root (condition)
General Index

Yamoṣṭha 457
Yaṣāyana 9, 51, 73
Yavantatākāla 115, 145–48, 159
Vatīphūṣigaṇa 10–11, 87
negla 81
Yajnavarṇa 48
Vasistha 34
Vessantara 83, 95
Vidhiścru 83
Vijayabhāsa 12, 140, 158

Vijayavāsa 36, 41, 79
Vidnāṇa 103
Vīttotokanj 175
yukčcana 83
Yama 175
Yadavitora 90
Vidhiṣṭhita 83
Zimmor 178