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CASE HISTORIES FROM THE PĀLI CANON I:[1]

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

Case histories in contemporary psychology

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

What is a case history?

In Western psychology, case histories are defined as follows:

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

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[2] Wellek and Warren, 1966 : 35.

[3] Chaplin, 1975 : s.v. "case history".

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

The case history method is explained,

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

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

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

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

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[4] Drever, 1964 : s.v. "case history".

[5] Eysinck, 1975 : s.v. "case history method".

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[6] Chaplin, 1975 : s.v. "prognosis".

[7] Basic Trust v. Basic Mistrust; Autonomy v. Shame and Doubt; Initiative v. Guilt; Industry v. Inferiority; Identity v. Isolation; Generativity v. Stagnation; Ego Integrity v. Despair. Erikson, 1965

[8] Grof 1975 : 102-103; 1985 : 103-105.

[9] Wilbur, 1977; 1980.

Case histories in Buddhist psychology

Buddhist psychology presents itself as a psychology of Enlightenment.[10] Among the theoretical aspects of this psychology are those concerned with certain defined states of consciousness and stages of attainment, the methods that will lead to achieving them, and the obstacles that may stand in the way. Whenever soteriological methods are described, they are shown to result in psychological processes, viz., sequences of mental acts of understanding or sequences of affective states or a combination of these or the attainment of trance states (*jhāna*). Particular processes lead to defined states or stages of attainment. The texts have a large variety of ways of presenting these processes, states and stages. Several schemas of stages exist side by side. No convincing mapping of one schema to the other, however, nor any discussion of the relationships between schemas is provided. One problem with which we are faced, therefore, is that of the relationship between these various systems of stages and sequences of states and processes.

Three different types of Case histories occur in these texts: (1) case histories of Buddhas, (2) hypothetical case histories, (3) actual case histories of converts and disciples. Among the case histories of Buddhas are the standard case history for Buddhas, that of Vipassī (DN 14), and the historical Buddha's case history:[11] rather self-evidently the former is there to authenticate the latter. A hypothetical case history is a standard account of what the Buddha predicts will happen to somebody who follows his method. It describes the developmental process through which the serious practitioner who follows the method is likely to go. It describes how he is expected to develop in terms of cognitive and affective factors, particular experiences and insights, the acquisition of new abilities and the attainment of the Altered States of Consciousness[12] whose sequential attainment is predicted upon the practice of the Buddha's method. It presents the general case, and provides the theoretical basis for a diagnosis. Most case histories come within this category. Actual case histories of converts and disciples, which unfortunately occur rather rarely, tell what happened to supposedly historical individuals through their practice of the Buddha's method. They occur most frequently in Consultations.[13] In these situations the progress and attainments of a given individual are diagnosed and discussed, in personal interviews with the Buddha, or by the Buddha with other monks. These personal case histories contain brief information about the practitioner's background in the form of the religious or social group to which he belongs. They provide some sort of description of his present state and problems. They contain the counselling that was offered and the progress he made using it. These case histories provide an interesting and important contrast with the ideal or hypothetical model. They illustrate the human element, the individual problems encountered by individuals trying to follow the way.

The case histories face us with particular problems. Buddhist literature, as well as attempting to be an accurate record of the Buddha's Teaching, is propaganda. It is propaganda both for the purpose of attracting new converts and for the purpose of promulgating the Buddha's Teaching.[14] Case histories are both demonstrations of the Buddha's method in action and proof of its efficacy. Many questions have to be asked about them. These include what purpose the individual case histories (of whatever type) serve in their contexts, and whether the different types of case history serve different purposes. Hypothetical case histories especially face us with the problem concerning the extent to

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[10] Manné-Lewis, 1986 : 126.

[11] See Bareau, 1970 for an attempt to differentiate the mythical from the historical material.

[12] See Tart, 1969; 1975.

[13] See Manné, 1990 : 61, Consultations.

[14] Manné, 1990 : 72-81.

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

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

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

1 Introduction

The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (henceforth SPS), paragraphs 40-98, contains a hypothetical case history (henceforth HCH) a standard account of what the Buddha predicts will happen to someone who follows his

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

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[15] See, e.g. Meisig (1987), who has compared the various versions of it; Griffiths (1983), who has attempted a form-critical analysis; MacQueen (1988); etc.

[16] See Manné, 1992.

[17] *gahapati vā gahapati-putto vā aññatarasmiṃ vā kule paccājāto.*

[18] DN, suttas 2 - 23; MN, suttas 27, 38, 51, 76, 79, 101, 112, 125; AN II 208 - 211, V 204 - 209.

[19] Schmithausen, 1981 : 204, fn. 15.

[20] The equivalent of the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* takes a comparable position in the Chinese Dīrghāgama.

2 The textual situations of the Case History genre SPS-HCH

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

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

3 The developmental schema of the SPS-HCH

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

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

The DN texts tend to divide this HCH into three parts, while the MN version is briefer and there this schema is not divided into sections. Although the DN is not entirely consistent in its naming of divisions, I will respect the divisions it uses most frequently.[22] I will, however, divide these parts up further for ease of textual comparison, and to make the process of psychological development they describe easier to understand. Those portions that the MN basic sutta, MN 27, has in common with the basic DN sutta, DN 2, are marked with an * in the schema below. In section I.6.2 I present the MN schema itself. All references unless otherwise specified are to the paragraphs of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, DN 2. Terms not translated in the schema will be found translated in section 4 below.

STAGE I The Pre-requisites, called *SĪLA,* "code of morality"
§§ 40 - 63
* i   Hearing the Dhamma from a Tathāgata, acquiring faith, and going forth (§§ 40, 41)
* ii   Practising the code of morality, *sīla*s (§§ 43 - 63; * MN has only §§ 43 - 45)

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[21] *ākāsānañcāyatana, viññāṇañcāyatana, ākiñcaññāyatana, nevasaññānāsaññāyatana.*

[22] See Rhys Davids, 1899 : 57ff; Macqueen, 1988 : 279f and Meisig, 1987 for other possibilities.

STAGE II The cultivation of the mind, variously named *CARANA* (DN 3), *PAÑÑA*(DN 4), *CITTA* (DN 8), *SAMĀDHI*(DN 10)

　　§§ 64 - 74

　　* i 　　Guarding the door of the senses, *indriyas* (§ 64)[23]

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

　　* iii 　　Contentment - *santuṭṭha* (§ 66)

　　* iv 　　Appropriate nourishment; seeking isolation (§ 67)

　　* v 　　Abandoning the five hindrances - *nīvaranas*.
　　　　　　(§§ 68 - 74;[24]. * MN has only § 68.[25])

STAGE III Transcending the mind, variously included in *CARANA* (DN 3), *PAÑÑA* (DN 4), or *SAMĀDHI* (DN 10), or beginning a section called *SIKKHĀ* (DN I 182). §§ 75 - 82, * MN has §§ 75, 77, 79, 81[26]

　　The *jhānas*[27]

　　i 　　The first *jhāna* is "accompanied by thought and reflec-
　　　　　tion, born from separation, and consists of joy and
　　　　　bliss."[28]

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

reflection, consisting of joy and bliss born from concentration."[29]

iii 　　"The third *jhāna* is reached as a result of detachment from joy, (and through) remaining indifferent, attentive and mindful; it is the bliss experienced with the body which the noble ones describe [in these terms]: `indifferent, with attentiveness, residing in bliss'."[30]

iv 　　The fourth *jhāna* is reached "as a result of abandoning bliss, and abandoning pain, and as a result of the earlier disappearance of cheerfulness and dejection; it is free from pain and bliss, the complete purity of equanimity and attentiveness."[31]

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

　　§§ 83 - 96.

　　The development of the following sequence of extraordinary abilities:

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

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

iii 　　Various *iddhis* (§§ 87, 88).

iv 　　Clair-audience (§§ 89, 90).

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[23] DN 9, I 182, may mean that this was considered a stage in itself.

[24] This is the chief characteristic of the *opapātika* in the Four Stages HCH, (see following chapter).

[25] Here and in other places, indicated below, MN consistently omits the similes that so abundantly illuminate the DN version.

[26] Once again omitting the similes.

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

[28] *sāvitakkaṁ savicāraṁ vivekajaṁ pītisukhaṁ.*

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[29] *ajjhattaṁ sampasādanaṁ cetaso ekodhibhāvaṁ avitakkaṁ avicāraṁ samādhijaṁ pītisukhaṁ.*

[30] *pītiyā ca virāgā upekhako ca vīhasiṁ sato ca sampajāno, sukhañ ca kāyena paṭisaṁvedesiṁ yan taṁ ariyā ācikkhanti: upekhako satimā sukhavihārī 'ti.*

[31] *sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā pubbe 'va somanassadomanassānaṁ atthagamā adukkhaṁ asukhaṁ upekhāsatipārisuddhiṁ.*

v   The capacity to deeply understand the heart and mind of others in a defined way (§§ 91, 92).

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

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

STAGE V Liberation

§§ *97, 98.

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

* ii   Knowledge that the mind is released from the *āsava*s.

*iii   Knowing that, according to precisely defined criteria, he has succeeded, viz. *Khīnā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāya*.

4 The quality of the process in the developmental schema

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

He takes responsiblity for the contents of his mind by cultivating certain mental attitudes: modesty, compassion towards all beings, and positive thinking, in the form of cultivating confidence that he will get the supplies of robes and almsfood that he needs. He is watchful over the doors of his sense faculties (*indriya*s). Thus he prevents covetousness and dejection (*abhijjhā-domannassa*) and other evil and unprofitable (mental) states from overcoming him. He makes himself perfect in awareness over mind and body (*sati, sampajañña*). He attains a state of contentment (*santuṭṭha*). At this point he seeks isolation. He finds a solitary place, adopts the appropriate body posture (by sitting cross-legged with his body erect) and begins his mental practice. Taking mindfulness (*sati*) as his object he sets about purifying his mind by expelling certain tendencies and thought-patterns and replacing them with others. He purifies his mind of covetousness for the world (*abhijjha*

loke), ill-will (*vyāpāda*), inflexibility (*thīna*)[32] and torpor (*middha*), agitation (*uddhacca*) and regret (*kukkucca*),[33] and doubt (*vicikiccha*).[34]

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

His mind (*citta*) is now in a particular condition. It is composed, cleansed, pure, free from blemish and without defilement. It is malleable, workable, steadfast, and imperturbable. At this point he cultivates transcendant insights and powers. He applies his mind to knowing and seeing (*ñāṇadassana*) and thereby he recognises that his body is material (*rūpin*), is composed of the four great elements, comes about through

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[32] Frauwallner, 1953 : 166, "Starrheid".

[33] "Reue", Frauwallner, 1953 : 167.

[34] This is the accomplishment of the cultivation of the mind, or Stage II, DN 2, paras 64 - 74.

[35] The translations of the descriptions of the *jhāna*s are taken from Bronkhorst, 1986 : 16f but are somewhat freely adapted to fit in with this account of the case history. This is the accomplishment of the transcending of the mind, or Stage III, DN 2, paras 75 - 82.

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mother and father, grows/is maintained by boiled rice and sour milk, and that its nature, on account of erosion, abbrasion, dissolution and disintegration, is impermanent, and that his consciousness is dependent upon and bound to it. He applies his mind further, to producing a body made through the power of his mind (*manomayaṃ kāyam*). He applies his mind to the modes of psychic power (*iddhi*): he multiplies himself, and re-becomes one; he transplaces himself, physical objects being no obstacle; he passes through the earth, and over the water, he goes through the air; he touches the moon and the sun with his hand; he transports his body to the Brahma world. He applies his mind to clair-audience, hearing both the sounds of gods and of men. He applies his mind to the knowledge that understands the minds of other beings and of other men, so that he recognises in them the presence or absence of passion,[36] blemishes, delusion, attentive or distracted, greatness or littleness, inferiority or peerlessness; concentration or dissipation, and whether the mind is released or otherwise. He applies his mind to the detailed knowledge of his former existences including his pleasant and unpleasant experiences. He acquires clairvoyance, and applies his mind to the knowledge of the decease and rebirth of other beings, recognising in them as they transmigrate according to their deeds whether they are base or of good quality, well or ill-favoured, or in a good or unpleasant reincarnation. He recognises those beings who indulged in mispractices in body, speech and mind, who spoke against noble people, who held wrong views and attracted the karma and rebirth associated with this. He recognises those beings who practised correctly in body, speech and mind, who did not speak against the enlightened ones, who held right views and attracted the karma and rebirth associated with this.[37]

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[36] See Johannson 1969 and 1979 for some discussion of the terms used here.

[37] This is the accomplishment of the development of the transpersonal powers or Stage IV, DN 2, paras 40 - 62.

He applies his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the intoxicants (*āsavas*). He recognises correctly Suffering, the arising of Suffering, the cessation of Suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of Suffering. He recognises correctly, "these are the intoxicants, this is the arising of the intoxicants, this is the cessation of the intoxicants, this is the path to the cessation of the intoxicants". He attains the knowledge, that his mind is released from the intoxicant of desire (*kāmāsava*), from the intoxicant of becoming (*bhavāsava*), and from the intoxicant of ignorance (*avijjāsava*). He knows that he has attained liberation.[38]

It's inspirational, isn't it? The whole process is made to sound so easy and so simple. The mental states on offer are so highly desirable, and there is no mention of any problems on the way.

5 The function of the SPS-HCH in the texts

The hypothetical case history is the coup de grâce, the pièce de résistance, the final word which, somewhat adapted in one way or another to suit the exigencies of the situation, forms the core element in the Buddha's answer to the challenges made by his opponents in the DN dramatic debate suttas DN 2 - 13.[39] In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (DN 2) it describes the fruit of the life of a *samaṇa*. In the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (DN 5) it is used to describe the highest sacrifice of all (§ 27). In the *Mahāli Sutta* and the *Jāliya Sutta*s (DN 6 & 7) it is used to demonstrate that like the Buddha himself, a bhikkhu who had followed this path and achieved the attainments of Stages III - V would not be concerned with views regarding the relationship between soul (*jīva*) and body (*sarīra*). In the *Kevaddha Sutta* (DN 11) it is the marvel of instruction. In the *Lohicca Sutta* (DN 12) it is the teaching of the teacher who is beyond reproach.

The SPS-HCH is subdivided or subcategorised according to convenience in order to provide the answer to the challenges of these Debate Suttas. Discussing every instance would serve no purpose, so I will illustrate this exploitation of the SPS-HCH with just two DN examples, the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (3) and the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* (4). Further examples will occur in the ensuing discussion. In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* Stages I - III are taught as *caraṇa* and Stages IV and V as *vijjā* in order to explain to Ambaṭṭha a verse uttered by the Buddha. The origin of this verse is unknown but we may believe it to be brahmanical as the text attributes it to Brahmā Kumāra, the Buddha quotes it while debating with a brahman youth and one part of his line of attack in this debate is to prove that he knows more than either the brahmans or their teachers do about their own religion. This verse claims that it is conduct (*caraṇa*) and wisdom (*vijjā*) that make a man best among gods and men, which accounts for these divisions in this sutta. In the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta*, Stages I and II are taught as *sīla* and Stages III - V as *paññā*, in order to explain the practical meaning of these terms to the brahmans who do not understand their import but know only that these are the essential qualities that make a man a brahman.

Where in the DN the use of this HCH is strictly limited to the dramatic (live) debate situation, in the MN, although this HCH serves the same purpose, i.e. that of winning the debate, the texts are freer in the way they use it. In the *Cūḷahatthipadoma Sutta* (MN 27), where it is uttered to complete a simile that compares the four "footprints" of the Buddha to those of an elephant, and thus to bring to a conclusion a debate between the Buddha and Jāṇussoṇi, a brahman, it is the recital of this HCH that brings Jāṇussoṇi to concede defeat.[40] In the *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* (MN 38) this HCH is used in part (up to the five hindrances) when a foolish monk is drilled in the Teaching.[41] In the

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[38] Stage V.

[39] See Manné, 1990.

[40] See Manné, 1990.

[41] A different HCH, i.e. not the SPS-HCH, follows at this point.

Kandaraka Sutta (MN 51) it is used to designate a certain character type: the implied debate situation here is that the other types described follow other religious practices (or wrong professions), ascetical or brahman, i.e. they are hypothetical opponents.[42] In the *Sandaka Sutta* (MN 76), Ananda, having won a debate with a group of wanderers through different arguments, and having forced his opponent to question him,[43] uses it to describe what the Buddha teaches. In the *Cūḷa-Sakaludāyi Sutta* it is used to explain why the monks follow the Buddha Teaching. In the *Devadaha Sutta* (MN 101), where it occurs within a reported debate between the Buddha and some Jains, this HCH is the way the Buddha concludes his answer to the Jain position on pain. In *the Chabbisodhana Sutta* (MN 112) the Buddha proclaims that when a monk answers with this HCH, applying it to his own personal process, then his claim to profound knowledge (*aññā*) can be accepted; this may be an attempt by redactors to authenticate this HCH as a process of development. In the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* (MN 125) the Buddha informs a monk who had had no success in a debate with prince Jayasena that this HCH would have been the answer with which to defeat the prince.

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[42] See Manné, 1990.
[43] See Witzel, 1987.

6 The authenticity of the SPS-HCH as a case history[44]

6.1 The question of authenticity

Authenticity and buddhavacana

The first problem to be dealt with on the issue of authenticity is whether we may justifiably believe that the Buddha actually uttered the utterances attributed to him in the texts. What we may justifiably believe depends on evidence. It seems a good idea to say that there is no evidence that could prove that the Buddha ever spoke a word among all of those attributed to him by any text whatever.[45] What we can do is examine the texts on their individual merits and make judgements on the plausibility of their contexts. We can, I think, believe on the evidence that the Buddha engaged in debate with other religious leaders: the texts contain so much information on this subject that it is hard to believe that it is all pure invention, and moreover, there is great consistency of details between the Buddhist and the Vedic tradition.[46] We can, I think, also trust the reciters

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[44] The authenticity of various parts of this HCH have been discussed by both Schmithausen (1981) and Bronkhorst (1986, Chapter VII). Schmithausen has also paid attention to its plausibility as a psychological process, although I am not sure we know enough about psychological processes to make such a judgment. See, eg. Grof, Wilbur, Tart, etc. for evidence of some rather interesting psychological processes.

[45] ".. no text known can be considered contemporaneous with the Buddha. On the contrary, it is well known that all Buddhist texts, as they are read today, are not only heavily influenced by linguistic developments known to be much later than the early days of Buddhism, but also reformulated perhaps, and certainly recast from one language into another before they reached their present linguistic shape." Von Hinüber, 1991.

[46] See Manné, 1990 & 1992.

sufficiently in this case, because it is relatively free of anomalies,[47] and believe that if this passage was not the Buddha's way of winning a debate, then something like it which has suffered changes over time served this purpose.

Authenticity and Case Histories

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

6.2 The authenticity of the individual stages.

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

Stage I

The authenticity of the elements of Stage I, the *sīlas* poses no problem. In the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (S.1) of the DN the Buddha describes Stage I, the *sīlas*,[48] designating the virtues that they contain as those that any ordinary man (*puthujjana*) is capable of appreciating.[49] This indicates that even the least and most minor religious leader was be expected to adhere to this moral code, and that they were, therefore, common to all liberation-oriented religions or spiritual paths of the time.

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[47] Unlike the example of the concept of the "lion's roar". See Manné, 1992 : 121, fn.14 and forthcoming.

[48] Paras. 40 - 62 here, = paras. 8 - 27 of the *Brahmajāla Sutta.*

[49] *Idaṃ kho taṃ bhikkhave appamattakaṃ oramattakaṃ sīlamattakaṃ yena puthujjano Tathāgatassa vaṇṇaṃ vadamāno vadeyya*. DN I 12. "These, brethren, are the trifling matters, the minor details, of mere morality, of which the unconverted man, when praising the Tathāgata, might speak." Tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, DB i 28.

Stage II

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

Stages III and V

The authenticity and originality of the *jhāna*s, which fall into Stage III of the schema I have proposed for this HCH, and the destruction of the intoxicants (*āsava*s), Stage V, have been firmly established by Bronkhorst, as has the practice of mindfulness (*sati*), Stage II, ii here.[50] The authenticity of an individual element in this HCH, however, is not sufficient to prove the authenticity of the whole as a genuine process of development.

Stage IV

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

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

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[50] Bronkhorst, 1986 : 88f.

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3 The DN Version

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

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[51] Siegel, 1991 : 150f.

[52] *Tiṇṇaṃ kho māṇava khandhānaṃ so Bhagavā vaṇṇa-vādī ahosi, ettha ca imaṃ janataṃ samādapesi nivesesi patiṭṭhāpesi. .. Ariyassa sīlakkhandhassa, ariyassa samādhikkhandhassa, ariyassa paññākkhandhassa.* (§ 6).

Nikāya. It is evidence that at some stage the Dīgha *bhāṇakas* needed to put Ānanda's authority behind their version of this account.

In spite of this attempt, many factors point against any attribution of authenticity to this HCH as an genuine case history and path to Enlightenment. One of these is the flexibility with which it is divided and adapted. Some examples were given above (the *Ambaṭṭha* and the *Soṇadaṇḍa suttas*, DN 3 and 4). There are, however, cases in the DN where this HCH is adapted with rather more serious implications regarding the Buddha's Teaching. One of these occurs in the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* (DN 9): the Buddha is challenged to explain how the cessation of consciousness, *abhisaññā-nirodha*, comes about. He replies by means of the HCH Stages I and II. Then he teaches the stages (*āyatanas*) where "space is infinite" (*ākāsānañca*), "knowledge is infinite" (*viññāṇānañca*), "there is nothing" (*ākiñcañña*) and "there is neither ideation nor non-ideation" (*nevasaññānāsaññā*), known collectively as the four *arūpas*, which are an unusual interpolation in this context, and further he teaches that the process culminates in cessation (*so nirodham phusati*), which is also unusual. Bronkhorst has brought forward convincing evidence that points to a time when these stages were not accepted by at least some Buddhists[53] and considers that they do not form a part of original Buddhism.[54] Another instance where the HCH is adapted with rather serious implications occurs in the *Tevijja Sutta* (DN 13), where, rather suddenly, the qualities of mind *mettā, karuṇā, muditā* and *upekhā*, known collectively as the *brahmavihāras*, appear as elements in the HCH, and the bhikkhu pervades the world with these (paras. 76 - 79). These too Bronkhorst has shown to be neither uniquely nor originally Buddhist.[55] Moreover, the "*pe*'s", or shorthand signals in the text that

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

portions are to be repeated[56] in this sutta make it uncertain whether the HCH in its entirety is included in the Buddha's treatment of the path to companionship with Brahmā (*brahmānaṃ sahavyatāya magga*) and supplemented by the *brahmavihāras*, or whether Stages III is omitted and substituted by them.[57]

6.4 The MN Version

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

The MN Schema[58]

STAGE I The Pre-requisites

i	Hearing the Dhamma from a Tathāgata, acquiring faith, and going forth (§§ 40, 41)
ii	Practising the code of morality, *sīlas* (MN has only §§ 43 - 45)

STAGE II The cultivation of the mind

i	Guarding the door of the senses, *indriyas* (§ 64)
ii	Becoming endowed with *sati* and *sampajañña* (§ 65)
iii	Contentment - *santuṭṭha* (§ 66)
iv	Appropriate nourishment; seeking isolation (§ 67)
v	Abandoning the five hindrances - *nīvaraṇas* (§ 68)

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[56] PTSD, s.v. *peyyāla*, "On syllable *pe* Trenckner, *Notes 66*, says: 'The sign of abridgement, *pe* ..., means *peyyāla* which is not an imperative 'insert, fill up the gap,' but a substantive *peyyālo* or *peyyālaṃ*, signifying a phrase to be repeated over & over again."

[57] DN I 250, fn. 5.
[58] The paragraph numbers are those from the DN version.

STAGE III Transcending the mind

The *jhānas* (§§ 75, 77, 79, 81)

STAGE IV Developing the transpersonal Powers

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

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

STAGE V Liberation, § 97

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

ii   Knowledge that the mind is released from the *āsavas*

iii   Knowing that, according to precisely defined criteria, he has succeeded, viz. *Khīnā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāya*

The MN version lacks most of the paranormal or transpersonal powers that are so important in Stage IV of the DN version. Those that remain occur also among the Ten Powers of the Tathāgata[59] and within Sāriputta'a lion's roar.[60] With regard to (vi), knowing the details of one's past lives, past life work forms an increasing part of the modern therapeutical experience in the work of therapists of different theoretical allegiances:[61] knowing something about one's former lives seems to be useful for solving problems in the present life. This section of the MN is more plausible than the same section of the DN version.

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

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

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[59] Manné (forthcoming), quote (8), (viii) and (ix).

[60] Manné (forthcoming), quote (14), (xvi) and (xvii).

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[61] Moody, 1976; Netherton and Shiffrin, 1978; Woolger, 1988. Moody is a psychiatrist. Netherton is a psychologist. Woolger is a Jungian analyst. The literature on this subject is much wider than the three books cited. I have chosen these because they are among the classics on this subject.

persisting in cleaving to it, whatever was delight in those feelings is stopped. From the stopping of his delight is the stopping of grasping; from the stopping of grasping is the stopping of becoming; from the stopping of becoming is the stopping of birth; from the stoping of birth, old age and dying, grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation and despair are stopped. Such is the stopping of this entire mass of anguish.[62]

These examples could be taken to show that the *jhānas* were a stepping stone for entry into various other altered states of consciousness. The two DN suttas that make adaptations are debates. The *Mahātaṇhāsankhaya Sutta* (MN 38), however, is a consultation.[63] I have argued[64] that whereas debates are exercises in publicity and opportunities for propaganda, consultations show the problems that arose and how they were dealt with and resolved. Consultations, therefore, may be more reliable as historical documents and may show aspects of the Teaching developing spontaneously in response to particular problems. Bronkhorst, while showing that the four *arūpas* and the *brahmavihāras* did not form a part of original Buddhism, showed at the same time that

they came in to Buddhism rather early as influences from the Jains.[65] Under these circumstances it is possible that the attainment of the capacity to enter at will into the *jhānas* also gave access to various other altered states of consciousness, as one might indeed expect from the highly developed skill in meditation that this ability must imply.

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

6.5 Authenticity of Function

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

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[62] Tr. Horner, MLS I 323f. *So cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā piyarūpe rūpe na sārajjati, appiyarūpe rupe na byāpajjati, upaṭṭhitakāyasati ca viharati appamāṇacetaso, tañ-ca cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti yatth' assa te pāpakā akusalā dhammā aparisesā nirujjhanti. So evaṃ anurodhavirodhavippahīno yaṃ kañci vedanaṃ vedeti, sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā adukkhamasukhaṃ vā, so taṃ vedanaṃ nābhinandati nābhivadati nājjhosāya tiṭṭhati. Tassa taṃ vedanaṃ anabhinandato anabhivadato anajjhosāya tiṭṭhato yā vedanānāsu nandī sā nirujjhati, tassa nandīnirodhā upādānanirodho, upādānanirodhā bhavanirodho, bhavanirodhā jātinirodhā, jātinirodhā jarāmaraṇaṃ sokaparidevadukkhamanussupāyāsā nirujjhanti, evam - etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa nirodho hoti.* MN I 270.

[63] See Manné, 1990 : 3.

[64] Manné, 1990, 3.

[65] Bronkhorst, 1986 : 88.

[66] DN 10, see above.

[67] See also Macqueen, "The .. set of attainments [i.e. the HCH] is in the texts not merely listed but given in considerable detail with the use of striking similes. Great effort seems to have been spent in making even the most tortuous paths of spiritual training appear attractive to the common man having little experience of them, by appealing to the desire for self-control, peace and joy, purity and freedom, as well as to the longing to perceive and partake of realms of existence normally closed to people. One naturally assumes that the document is therefore

(Continues...)

Buddha's method and its results, and a means for final victory in debate. It contains everything: the existence of a fabulous being (the Tathāgata); morality (Stage I); mental discipline and spiritual progress (Stage II); trance states (Stage III); paranormal abilities and magical powers (Stage IV); transcendental attainment (Stage V). It contains everything, therefore it contains something for everybody, as witnessed in its efficacity to convert brahmans, wanderers, ascetics, kings, householders; in fact all the groups of people with whom the Buddha came into contact. Was the Buddha then cynical, offering magic and non-Buddhist states as part of his message just to convert followers? I think not. He knew his Teaching was hard to grasp and subtle.[68] Few were the people who would comprehend it: the debates themselves offer only two examples of people who were converted through this HCH and went on to attain Arahatship.[69] But many more were the people who could benefit at least a

little from practising his method. Once the Buddha had decided to teach, it was also his responsibility to reach as many people as possible, his challenge also in terms of the time he lived in and the debate tradition.

Perhaps this case history can be regarded in a different way. Griffiths says of it, "We may regard [it to be] a text on meditation not as an encapsulation of the experience to which it points, but as simultaneously a blue-print for such experience - a spiritual technology - and a reflection upon it. .. the meditation text is that by which experience both becomes possible for and relevant to the practitioner, and that which mediates the experience so that it may become efficacious for others. Meditation texts then appear as a kind of pictorial, symbolic, conceptual and imagistic representation by means of which men may approach varieties of transcendent experience,"[70] i.e., they are texts to inspire, but not to take literally.[71]

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

[68] *adhigato kho me ayaṃ dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇito atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍitavedanīyo*. MN i 167. "This *dhamma*, won to by me is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, beyond dialectic, subtle, intelligible to the learned." Horner, MLS i 211.

[69] Kassapa, the ascetic, in DN 8, and Citta Hatthisari-putto in DN 9. There are, however, some problematic expressions:
(1) In DN 3 [I 110] it is said of Pokkharasādi, "And then the brahman Pokkharasādi, as one who had seen the Truth, had mastered it, understood it, dived deep down into it, who had passed beyond doubt and put away perplexity and gained full confidence, who had become dependent on no other man for his knowledge of the teaching of the Master .. " (Tr. Rhys Davids, DB I 135.) *diṭṭha-dhammo patta-dhammo vidita-dhammo pariyogāḷha-dhammo tiṇṇa-vicikiccho vigata-kathaṃkatho vesārajjappatto aparapaccayo satthu sāsane...* The same expression is used about Kūṭadanta in DN 5 [I 148] This is a description of a state of attainment and certainly sounds rather impressive. But what level of attainment does it correspond to? I do not know.
(2) DN 5 precedes this expression with "And just as a clean cloth, with all stains in it washed away, will readily take the dye, just even so did Kūṭadanta the Brahman, even while seated there, obtain the pure and spotless Eye for the Truth,

and he knew: 'Whatsoever has a beginning, in that is inherent also the necessity of dissolution.'" (Tr. Rhys Davids, DB I 184.) *seyyathā pi nāma suddhaṃ vatthaṃ apagata-kālakaṃ samad eva rajanaṃ patigaṇheyya, evam eva Kūṭadantassa brāhmaṇassa tasmiṃ yeva āsane virajaṃ vīta-malaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi: yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabban taṃ nirodha-dhamman ti*. Of this experience of gaining the "Dhamma-Eye", Harvey says "This experience is technically known as stream-entry .. " (Harvey, 1990 : 23. See also Lamotte, 1984 :53. Lamotte later qualifies this as being scholastic terminology, p.54. Malasekera in the DPPN, s.v. Aññāta-Koṇḍañña, assumes this as well.) Harvey cites no evidence for this claim, and I know of no evidence for it in the DN, MN, SN or AN. I have not seen the two equated in any passage in the Pali texts. I think therefore that he is mistaken. The attainment of the "Dhamma-Eye" is the first recorded attainment after the Buddha preached his first sermon, and there is no mention at all of "stream-entry" in this sermon (SN V 420-424). The Sutta version of this event in the SN stops at Kodañña's attainment of the Dhamma-Eye. The Vinaya version is longer and concludes by saying that each of the five first disciples attained Liberation (*anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimucciṃsu*).

[70] Griffiths, 1983 : 7-8. Griffiths bases himself on Oberhammer's view of yogic meditation. (Oberhammer, 1977.)

[71] But see Sharf, forthcoming.

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

7 Further Textual Problems

7.1 Why the MN and the DN versions differ

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

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[72] Schmithausen, 1981 : 204, fn 15.
[73] Manné, 1990 : 4.3.

7.2 Why the SPS-HCH occurs primarily in dramatic debates

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

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

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[74] See Witzel, 1987 : 373.
[75] See Pande, 1974 : 85ff.
[76] Suttas no. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 23, 27.
[77] Suttas no.4, 7, 27, 30, 41, 42, 82, 85, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 107, 108, 135, 150, 152.

In Conclusion

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

La Conversion   Joy Manné

CASE HISTORIES FROM THE PĀLI CANON II:[1]

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

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

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

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

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

1. INTRODUCTION

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

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[4] An alternative name for this stage is *anāgāmin.*

[5] Manné, forthcoming.

statement that the religion required this sequence of stages is justified and the grounds are provided.[6]

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

The distinguishing feature of this hypothetical case history is that, unlike the stages of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* HCH[7] which take place over one life-time only, the developments it encompasses take place over more than one life-time. Two mutually connected Buddhist ideas require such a case history. One of these is the idea of transmigration, *saṃsāra*, the endless cycle of birth and death during which one is not necessarily always reborn as a human being but may be reborn as an animal, or in hell, or even in heaven, all of these types of rebirths being temporary by nature.[8] It is this long series of existences which involve beings in suffering.[9] The other, related idea is comprised in the term *karma*: "a causal relationship (that exists) between the present life and the next, or, more generally speaking, between one life and the following, the determining factor of which is held to be one's actions in the present

life."[10] These connected ideas required a case history extending over more than one lifetime not only logically, but also at the very least to give hope to the practitioner who despairs of making it "this time round".[11]

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

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[6] For a different approach to these four stages see Horner (1936), Chapter VI; Masefield (1986), Chapter I.

[7] See 'Case Histories from the Pāli Canon I.

[8] Takasaki, 1987 : 128. Cf. Lamotte, 1958 : 34ff.

[9] Lamotte, 1984 : 41.

[10] Takasaki, 1987 : 129. Cf. Lamotte, 1958 : 36ff. Cf. also Gombrich (1984 : 12), "The Buddha declared *karman* to be purely an ethical matter, of thought, word or deed; and the quality of a *karman*, good or bad, virtuous or evil, lay solely in the intention behind it. The quality of an act depended only on the motive, regardless of who did it." See also Gombrich (1984 : 11f) on the relationship between the Buddhist interpretation of the concept of *karman* and its meaning in the context of brāhman ideology.

[11] Horner, 1936 : 211f.

[12] In 8 DN Suttas: the *Mahāli Sutta* (DN 6), the *Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta* (DN 16), the *Jana-Vasabha Sutta* (18), the *Mahā-Govinda Sutta* (19), the *Sakka-Pañha Sutta* (21), the *Sampasādanīya Sutta* (28), the *Saṅgiti Sutta* (33) and the *Dasuttara Sutta* (34). Three are debates: the *Mahāli Sutta* (DN 6), the *Lohicca Sutta* (12), and the *Sampasādanīya Sutta* (DN 28); three are Fantasies (this category was not defined in Manné, 1990; it comprises those stories and accounts about various non-human beings which are not usually considered believable: they are fantastic; it includes all Stories, Legends, Myths, and accounts of previous lives of the Buddha): the *Jana-Vasabha Sutta* (18), the *Mahā-Govinda Sutta* (19), and the *Sakka-Pañha Sutta* (21); the remaining two, the *Saṅgiti Sutta* (33) and the *Dasuttara Sutta* (34), are Sermons, and can be further categorised as Abhidhammic.

[13] In full in 4 Majjhima suttas: the *Akaṅkheyya Sutta* (MN 6), the *Cūla Gopālaka Sutta* (MN 34), the *Naḷakapāna Sutta* (MN 68) and *the Ānāpānasati Sutta* (MN 118); in the form of the list of stages and fruits in the *Dakkhiṇavibhaṅga Sutta* (MN 142); in part in seven suttas: *the Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta* (MN 11 here by implication as none of the stages are named; the *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta* (MN 52, the stages *āsavānaṃ khayaṃ pāpuṇāti* and *opapātika*); the *MahāMāluṅkya Sutta* (MN 64, the *opapātika*); the *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta* (MN 70, *aññā* and *anāgāmitā*); the *MahāVacchagotta Sutta* (MN 73, stages (3) and (4) of the standard version); the *Brahmāyu Sutta*, (MN 91, *opapātika*); and the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta* (MN 142, *opapātika*). Seven of these suttas are Sermons (MN 6, 11, 34, 64, 68, 118, 140), two are

this study. The texts of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and the *Vinaya Piṭaka* show minimal interest in this sequence of four stages and have been excluded on this ground, while the *Puggalapaññatti* and the *Kathāvatthu* of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, which do occupy themselves extensively with it, have been excluded on the ground that they are late texts.

2. THE LISTS OF STAGES AND THEIR ELABORATIONS

2.1. The lists of stages

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

Version A. The standard version.

1.   *Idha .. bhikkhu tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā* **sotāpanno**[15] *hoti avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano.* "At this stage a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, becomes a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, having Enlightenment as his goal."

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

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

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

2.   *Puna ca paraṃ .. bhikkhu tiṇṇam saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā* **sakadāgāmī** *hoti, sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karoti.* "After that, a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, and through the reduction of passion, hatred and delusionment becomes a Once-Returner: having returned once only to this world, he makes an end of suffering."

3.   *Puna ca .. bhikkhu pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā* **opapātiko** *hoti tattha parinibbāyi anāvatti-dhammo tasmā lokā.* "And then, through the disappearance of the five fetters binding to the lower states, a bhikkhu becomes an Opapatika, and in that form he attains extinction; he is characterised by non-returning from that world."

4.   *Puna ca paraṃ .. bhikkhu āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ ceto-vimuttiṃ paññā-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati.* "And then, through the destruction of the intoxicants, he lives in the emancipation of mind and insight[16] that are free from intoxicants, having experienced it himself in this very lifetime through his own higher knowledge. (DN 6 I 156; cf. e.g. DN 18 II 200, 19 III 251f; MN 73 I 490, Stages 3 & 4 only; SN V 346, 356-360, etc; AN I 231f; II 88f; 238; IV 12; etc.).

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

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

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[16] See C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Dhs. tr. p.16f.

these are "personality belief" (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), "sceptical doubt" (*vicikicchā*), and "clinging to mere rule and ritual" (*sīlabbata-paramāsu*). Where five fetters (*saṃyojanas*) are mentioned in the texts, "sensuous craving" (*kāma-rāga*) and "ill-will" (*vyāpada*) are added. These five are called the "fetters binding to the lower states" (*orambhāgiya-saṃyojana*. DN III 234, vii; MN I 432; SN V 61; AN IV 459; etc.).

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

Variations in the MN.

MN has particular variations. Stage 4 may appear as:

4.i   *bhikkhū arahanto khīṇāsavā vusitavanto katakaraṇīyā ohitabhārā anuppattasadatthā parikkhīṇabhavasaṃyojanā samma-d-aññā vimuttā.* "Bhikkhus who are Arahats, in whom the intoxicants are destroyed, who have fulfilled their lives, done what they had to do, put down their burdens, who have attained their own well-being, in whom the fetters to existence are destroyed, who are possessed of the highest knowledge, liberated" (MN 34 I 226),[17] or

4.ii   *āsavānaṃ khayaṃ pāpuṇāti* - "One who reaches the extinction of the intoxicants" (MN 52 I 350, 64 I 436, stages 3 and 4.ii only), or

4.iii *aññāya saṇṭhahīti* - "One who is established in the highest knowledge." (MN 68 I 466)

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

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

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

Version B. The brief version

The standard version occurs occasionally in the brief form:

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

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[17] See Erghart, 1977.

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

Version C. The brief version with both stages and fruits

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

1   *sotāpanna*
1.i   *sotāpatti-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna* - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of stream-entry";
2   *sakadāgāmī*
2.i   *sakadāgāmi-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna* - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of the Once-Returner";
3   *anāgāmī*
3.i   *anāgāmi-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna* - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of the Non-Returner";
4   *arahā*
4.i.a   *arahattāya patipanna* - "the attainment of Arahatship",[19] or
4.1.b   *arahattaphalasacckhikiriyāya patipanna* - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of arahatship".
        (MN III 254)

Version D. The brief version with fruits only

This may occur in the form of a list expressed as in 1.i, 2.i, 3.i, 4.i.b above (AN I 44f) or in the form: 1.i *sotāpatti-phalam*, 2.i *sakadāgāmi-phalam*, 3.i *anāgāmi-phalam*, 4.i *arahatta-phalam*. (DN 33 III 227, §xv, 34 III 277, §x; SN V 25)

The stages may be listed with or without their fruits. They may be listed with the stages preceding the fruits as above, or in the opposite order: with the fruits preceding the stages.[20] The fruits may be listed independently of the stages.[21] The "fruits" may be presented as belonging to the person: *sakadāgāmi-phala, anāgāmi-phala*. "the fruit of the Once-Returner", "the fruit of the Non-Returner" (2.i and 3.i above), or as belonging to the attainment: *sotāpatti-phala, arahatta-phala*. "the fruit of the attainment of stream-entry" or "the fruit of arahatship" (1.i and 4.i above).

2.2 The Elaborations

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

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

[20] MN III 254f *cuddasa kho pan' im', Ānanda, pāṭipuggalikā dakkhiṇā*; AN IV 372 *nava .. puggalā* (this list includes the *puthujjana* in the ninth place, see below); AN IV 373 *nava .. puggalā āhuneyyā pāhuneyyā dakkhiṇeyyā* (this list includes the *gotrabhū* in the ninth place, see below). Cf. AN IV 292 where the stages and fruits appear in the opposite order.
[21] SN V 25. DN 33 III 227 §xv, 34 III 277 §x. The list of the fruits alone occurs in both of these suttas in their sections on Fours but neither section contains a list of the Four Stages. The section on Eights in DN 33 III 255, quoted above) contains a list of both stages and fruits.

2.2.1 Elaborations of the pre-stages

A variety of pre-stages are attached to the lists of the stages and fruits. A pre-stage may be simply the stage of *puthujjana* "ordinary man",[22] or there might be further divisions:

0.a   *bāhiraka kāmesu vītarāga* - "one who is beyond, and without attachment to sense-pleasures"

0.b   *puthujjana-sīlavat* - "an ordinary person of moral habit"

0.c   *puthujjana-dussīla* - "an ordinary person of poor moral habit"

0.d.   *tiracchānagata* - "an animal." (MN III 255)[23]

Pre-stages may comprise two types of followers, the *dhammānusārin* "one who lives in accordance with the dhamma" and the *saddhānusārin* "one who lives in accordance with faith" (SN V 200f, 12-15)[24] or simply the *gotrabhū* "a member of the religious community"[25] (AN IV 373), or the bhikkhu who is *sutavā*, "learned in religious knowledge" (SN III 167f).

2.2.2 Elaborations of the stage of Stream-Enterer, *sotāpanna*

The stage of *sotāpanna* is divided as follows:

1.a   *So tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā* **sattakkhattuparamo** *hoti sattakkhattuparamaṃ deve ca mānuse ca sandhāvitvā saṃsaritva dukkhassa antaṃ karoti.* 'Through the

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[22] SN V 202; AN IV 372.

[23] Tr. Horner, MLS III 303. The subject of this sutta is the relationship between the worth and merit of an offering and the worth and merit of its recipient.

[24] The first precedes the second in this list. These two stages occur in a different HCH in the *Tevijja Vacchagotta Sutta*, MN 70.

[25] BHSD, s.v. *gotrabhū.*

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disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one who will not be born more than seven more times; after transmigrating and being reborn seven more times among gods and men, he makes an end of suffering.'

1.b   *So tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā* **kolaṅkolo** *hoti dve vā tīṇi vā kulāni sandhāvitvā saṃsāritvā dukkhassa antaṃ karoti.* 'Through the disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one who will go from clan[26] to clan; after transmigrigrating and being reborn in two or three more clans, he makes an end of suffering.'

1.c   *So tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā* **ekabījī** *hoti ekaṃ yeva mānusakaṃ bhavaṃ nibbattetvā dukkhassa antaṃ karoti.* 'Through the disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one possessed of only one more seed (one more potential for rebirth) and once he has completed one rebirth among humankind, he makes an end of suffering.

1.d=2   *So tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā* **sakadāgāmī** *hoti, sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karoti.* "After that, a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, and through the reduction of passion, hatred and delusionment becomes a Once-Returner: having returned once only to this world, he makes an end of suffering." (AN I 233)

The last expression is the *sakadāgāmī* formula as in Version A (2). The list may appear in the abbreviated form: *sattakkhattoparama, kolaṃkola, ekabījī* (AN V 120).

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

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[26] BHSD, s.v. *kula,* "good family", "high social grade".

sequential development through these attainments. This passage, therefore, cannot be taken to describe three kinds of *sotāpanna* plus the *sakadāgāmin*, or three different transitional stages between *sotāpanna* and *sakadāgāmin*. Rather, it describes four different possibilities contingent upon the disappearance of the three fetters (*tinnam samyojanānam parikkhaya*) a phrase which we must take as a synonym for the term *sotāpanna*. As most usually the disappearance of the three fetters is presented as the characteristic of the *sotāpanna*, and this attainment coupled with the reduction of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* is presented as the characteristic of the *sakadāgāmin* (Version A), this passage points to a time when these two attainments were not yet clearly differentiated into separate and discrete stages of attainment. The question is, which of these two terms is the older? In §4.3,4 it is argued that the term *sotāpanna* is the older term.

2.2.3 Elaborations of the stage of Non-Returner, *opapātika/anāgāmin*[27]

There are no elaborations for the stage *opapātika*.

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

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

ii   *So kāmānam yeva nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya paṭipanno hoti* - "He has followed a method leading to aversion towards,

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

The five types of *anāgāmin* are defined thus:

3.e   *antarāparinibbāyin* - "one who has passed into Nibbana before the term, i.e. before having passed the first half of life".[28]

3.d   *upahacca-parinibbāyin* -"one who attains Nibbana more than half-way through his next existence".[29]

3.c   *asamkhāra-parinibbāyin* - "one who attains Nibbana devoid of the (*skandha*) *samkhārā*"[30]

3.b   *sasamkhāra-parinibbāyin* - "one who attains Nibbana with the (*skandha*) *sakhara*".

3.a   *uddhamsoto ākiniṭṭhagāmin* - "one whose stream of life tends upwards to the Akiniha heaven". (DN 33 III 237, xviii; SN V 201 §15, 16; 202 §17; 204 §24; AN I 233; IV 13f, 145f; 380) [31]

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

2.2.4 Elaborations of the stage Arahat

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

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[27] See Masefield, 1986 : 105 - 130 for an attempt to explain these terms, using both Canon and commentaries. This attempt is deemed magistral by Harrison (1987 : 262).

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[28] CPD, s.v. *antarāparinibbāyin*. The CPD for the most part follows the Kathavatthu.

[29] CPD, s.v. *upahacca-parinibbāyin*, following Ñaamoli, Pj I translation, p.199.

[30] CPD, s.v. *asamkhāra-parinibbāyin*.

[31] CPD, s.v. *uddhamsoto Akiniṭṭhagāmin*. In the DN there is no indication whether the list begins with the highest or the lowest of these stages. This may be taken to indicate that the DN has incorporated this list from another source.

Elaboration 1

    4++   the Tathāgata,

    4+   the Paccekabuddha. (MN *Dakkhiṇavibhaṅga Sutta*
          142 III 254)

Elaboration 2

    4.i   *diṭṭheva dhamme paṭihacca aññam ārādheti* - "in this
          lifetime, before death (*paṭihacca?*) he attains
          knowledge"[32]

    4.ii   *maraṇakāle aññam ārādheti* - "he attains knowledge
          at the time of his death". (SN V 237 §66)[33]

2.3 The different interests of the DN, MN, SN and AN[34]

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

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[32] See Katz, 1982 : 19-20 for a discussion of the meaning of this term.

[33] The context here is the Indriya HCH, see 2.3.1.i below.

[34] Gethin has interesting things to say about these texts in the context of the *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*.

2.3.1 The SN

i The Indriyas HCH[35]

The stages are defined in relationship to an independent implied HCH based upon the progressive development of the *indriyas* - "qualities" of faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*). When these qualities are completely developed the stage attained is that of Arahat. If the attainment is somewhat weaker various attainments in sequential order of weakening are offered. These may be the other three stages of *anāgāmin*, *sakadāgāmin* and *sotāpanna*, followed by certain pre-stages (*dhammānusārin* and *saddhānusārin* SN V 200f, §§12, 13, 14), or the stage of *anāgāmin* may be replaced by the list of the five varieties of *anāgāmin* (SN V 201f §§15, 16, 17), or the sequence may be comprised of the brief version with fruits (SN V 202, §18), or the stage of *sotāpanna* of Version A may be replaced by the three types of *sotāpanna* (SN V 204 §24).

Either the function of this connection in the texts is to make the progressive development of the *indriyas*, i.e. the Indriya HCH, of increased importance by connecting it with the Four Stages HCH, or the *indriyas* were already important and the Four Stages HCH gained importance by being imposed upon their progressive development. The latter is the more likely (see §4.2.ii below). The fact that the *puthujjana* occurs as a pre-stage in this section of the SN (V 202) seems important. He is defined as one in whom the *indriyas* are completely absent, while both of the other pre-stages mentioned above have some degree of attainment with regard to these. For this reason the *puthujjana* stands outside (*bahira*) all attainment. The development of the *indriyas* seems then to have been a possible criteria for deciding whether or not a person had entered upon the path or Stream.

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[35] See Gethin, 1992 : Chapter IV for a full study of the *indriyas*.

ii. The Seven Factors of Awakening HCH

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

iii. The Seven Fruits of Mindfulness regarding the Breathing HCH

Two stages of Arahat (elaboration 2 in §2.2.4 above) and the elaborations of the stage of *anāgāmin* occur also at SN V 314, §5, where these stages are described as "the seven fruits of (the practise of) mindfulness regarding in- and out-breathing" (*Evaṃ bhāvitāya kho bhikkhave ānāpānasatiyā evam bahulīkatāya ime satta phalā sattānisaṃsā paṭikaṅkhā ti*).

2.3.2. The AN

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

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

The sequence of stages here is not influenced by its context (the Book of the Threes), which is the Three Trainings (*tisso .. sikkhā*): viz., the higher morality (*adhisīla*), the higher thought (*adhicitta*), and the higher insight (*adhipaññā*):[37] the sutta is rather an attempt to relate the theory of stages to this context. The Three Trainings are presented as a HCH in their own right. Stage one is the full development of the higher morality (*adhisīla*), with the other forms of training developed to a certain

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[36] Norman, 1983 : 54.

[37] Tr. Hare, GS I 211.

measure. The four attainments which are possible at this stage are the elaborations of the stage of *sotāpanna* (§2.2.2 above). The condition for the second stage is that the higher thought (*adhicitta*) should be developed in full. The attainments which are possible at this stage are the elaborations of the stage of *anāgāmin*. The condition for the third stage is that the higher insight (*adhipaññā*) should be developed in full. What is attained at this stage is Arahatship as in Version A, 4.

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

The stages are here defined in terms of an HCH based on a sequence of three discrete categories of fetters: (1) the fetters (binding) to the lower states (*orambhāgiya*); (2) the fetters binding to the taking up of rebirth (*uppattipaṭilābhika*); and (3) the fetters binding to the taking up of existence (*bhavapaṭilābhika*). The stages of development offered are that of the *sakadāgamin* where none of these fetters are eliminated, and that of two types of *anāgāmin*: the *uddhaṃsota akaniṭṭhagāmin* (3a) where the fetter to the lower states (*orambhāgiya*) is eliminated, the *antāra-parinibbāyin* (3e) where both the fetter to the lower states (*orambhāgiya*) and the fetter to the taking up of rebirth (*uppattipaṭilābhika*) are eliminated, and that of the *Arahat* where all of these fetters are eliminated (Cf. AN II 160).

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

iii The HCH of the Three Trainings and the Three Categories of Fetters. (AN IV 13f, 145f)

This variation combines the Three Trainings and the Three Categories of Fetters HCHs. It's context is gift-worthiness, and it presents the stages as follows: the Arahat, as in 4 of the standard version, another variety of Arahat,[38] and the elaborations of the stage of *anāgāmin*.

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

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

> *sa-upādisesā kālaṃ kurumānā parimuttā nirayā parimuttā tiracchānayoniyā parimuttā pittivisayā parimuttā apāyaduggativinipātā.* "(they) when they die with some attached remainder, are altogether freed from hell, rebirth in the womb of an animal, the realm of ghosts, the untoward way ... lower existences."[39]

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

3. THE INDIVIDUAL STAGES

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

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

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

2   **Attainments.**

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

4   **The method for the attainment of the stage.**

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[38] *Tassa apubbaṃ acarimaṃ āsavapariyādānañ ca hoti jīvitapariyādānañ ca.* "For him the cankers' ending and life's ending are at the same time, not one before and one after." Tr. Hare, GS IV 9. The various types of Arahat are not studied in this work.

[39] Tr. Hare, GS IV 252f.

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[40] It is possible that the declatation of Arahatship was the equivalent of announcing that one has some "esoteric secret knowledge". Cf. Witzel, 1987 : 410 and Manné, 1990 : 2.1, iii.

5   *The relative frequency of the attainment of the stage.*
6   *The subdivisions of each stage.*

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

3.2. The stage of Stream-Enterer, *sotāpanna*[41]

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

3.2.1. Formulas that define the stage of *sotāpanna*

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

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

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[41] See Masefield, 1986 : 134f for a discussion of the etymology of this term.

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

A. The Behaviour Formula

> *Sappurisa-saṃsevo, saddhamma-savanaṃ, yoniso-manasikāro, dhammānudhamma-paṭipatti* - "He is one who associates with the good, hears the true Teaching, pays proper attention, and practices the Teaching in its completeness." (DN 33 III 227, §xiii. Cf. SN V 347, 404, etc.)[42]

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

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[42] Unless I have overlooked it, this expression does not occur in MN nor in the AN in this connection, although it does occur in the AN [II 245] in a different context.

B. The Belief and Practice Formula - a *Credo*

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

Cattāri sotāpannassa aṅgāni,

1   Idh'āvuso   ariya-sāvako   Buddhe   avecca-ppasādena samannāgato hoti – "Iti pi so Bhagavā arahaṃ Sammā-Sambuddho vijjā-caraṇa-sampanno sugato loka-vidū anuttaro purisa-damma-sārathi satthā devaā-manussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā ti"

2   Dhamme avecca-ppasādena samannāgato hoti – "Svākkhāto Bhagavatā Dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehi-passiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññuhīti."

3   Saṃghe avecca-ppasādena samannāgato hoti – "Supaṭipanno Bhagavato   sāvaka-Saṃgho,   uju-paṭipanno   Bhagavato savaka-Saṃgho, ñaya-paṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Saṃgho, sāmīci-paṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Saṃgho yadidaṃ cattāri purisa-yugāni,   aṭṭha   purisa-puggalā,   eso   Bhagavato sāvako-Saṃgho āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhineyyo añjali-kāraṇīyo anuttaraṃ puñña-kkhettaṃ lokassāti."

4   Ariya-kantehi sīlehi samannāgato hoti akhaṇḍehi acchiddehi asabaḷehi   akammāsehi   bhujissehi   viññuppasatthehi aparāmaṭṭhehi samādhisaṃvattanikehi.

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

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

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

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[43] Unless I have overlooked it, this expression is not found in MN in connection with the *sotāpanna*. These beliefs may appear under the name of "Four Dhammas" (SN V 342f, 346f, 351, 356, etc.), "Four Results of Merit: Four Skills" (*puññābhisandha kusalābhisanda*, SN V 391f), or "Four Deva-paths to the Devas". (Tr. Woodward, KS V 337. *devānaṃ devapadāni*. SN V 392ff.)

adaptations, however, are evidently purpose-serving in the worst possible sense of the term. These function in ways that help the institutionalised religion to control its lay-followers through a system of spiritual rewards. The adaptations all occur in the *Sotāpattisaṁyutta*, SN V 342-413.

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

4.i   *Yāni cimāni bhante Bhagavatā gihisāmīcikāni sikkhāpadāni desitāni nāhaṁ tesaṁ kiñci attani khaṇḍaṁ samanupassāmī ti* - ".. as to those obligations binding on a housefather, pointed out by the Exalted One, I see not a single one of them which is broken in me." (SN V 387)[44]

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

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

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[44] Tr. Woodward, KS V 333.

[45] Tr. Woodward, KS V 303, see especially explanatory footnote no.1.

4.ii   *vigatamalamaccherena cetasā agāraṁ ajjhāvasati / muttacāgo payatapāṇī vossaggarato yācayogo dānasaṁvibhāgarato.* "He lives at home with heart free from the taint of stinginess. He is open-handed, pure-handed, delighting in self-surrender, one to ask a favour of, delighting to share charitable gifts," (SN V 351. Cf. SN V 392, 397).[46]

and further on in the sutta:

4.iii   *Yaṁ kho pana kiñci kule deyyadhammaṁ sabban tam appaṭivibhattaṁ sīlavantehi kalyāṇadhammehi.* "In your family, whatever gifts of charity there be, are shared fully and impartially by the virtuous and the good." (SN V 352)[47]

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

[47] Tr. Woodward, KS V 306.

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

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

C. The *sotāpanna* attainment formula

I refer to this attainment formula as the "*sotāpanna* attainment formula", simply because the term *sotāpanna* occurs within it and with no implication that it is more or less important than the Beliefs and Practices attainment formula. The existence of an attainment formula relates the attainment of stages to the Debate tradition where the assertion of one's religious expertise designates what one is willing to be challenged upon and to defend in public.[49] Just as there are various attainment formulas that may be formally recited upon becoming an Arahat or which when formally recited indicate that the speaker is an

Arahat,[50] there are attainment formulas which, when recited, indicate that the speaker has attained *sotāpanna*. One of these is the Beliefs and Practices Formula, B above. The other is:

> *khīṇanirayo   'mhi   khīṇatiracchānayoni   khīṇapittivisayo khīṇāpāyaduggativinipāto,   sotāpanno   'ham   asmi avinipātadhammo niyato sambodhiparāyano.* "Gone, for me, is (a future existence in) hell, gone the realm of animals, gone the realm of spirits (*peta*), gone is suffering in the realms of misery; I am a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, heading for Enlightenment." (AN IV 405; DN 16 [II 93]; SN V 387, etc.)[51]

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

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

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[48] Or the answer has been lost, or was inconvenient and so intentionally left out.

[49] See Witzel, 1987 : 374, Manné, 1990.

[50] See e.g. Erghart, 1977 for those in the MN.

[51] There is an indication at SN V 361f that this Buddhist attainment of liberation from rebirth in a hell is linked to brahmin beliefs concerning the importance of attaining rebirth in heaven: in this sutta the Buddha ridicules brahmin practices which purportedly lead to being reborn in heaven.

3.2.2 The attainments of the stage of *sotāpanna*

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

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

The most obvious condition for pronouncing the Beliefs and Practices formula is that the disciple is possessed of the Beliefs and Practices in the formula (cf. also SN V 357). The conditions may also be defined under the poetic name of the Fivefold Guilty Dread *(pañca bhayāni verāni*, SN II 68f).[52] The Fivefold Guilty Dread comes about if the moral requirements *(sīla*, the fourth condition of the Beliefs and Practices Formula), are not fulfilled. This is a "behaviour" condition. According to some suttas this formula may be pronounced on the sole condition that the Fivefold Guilty Dread is removed (AN IV 405 and SN II 68ff, V 387ff).

The formal requirements that permit the utterance of the *sotāpanna* attainment formula overlap extensively with those for uttering

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[52] Tr. Woodward, KS II 47.

the Beliefs and Practices formula but are defined in a somewhat different way. The conditions are not always consistent.

The requirement of behaviour may here also be expressed as the removal of the Fivefold Guilty Dread. The requirement of belief and moral practice may be tautologically defined as the possession of the beliefs and moral practices of the *sotāpanna* (here called *sotāpattiyaṅgāni*). Further, a requirement of knowledge called "the noble rule, well-seen and well-penetrated by insight" *(ariya ñāya)*, may be added *(ariyo cassa ñāyo paññāya sudiṭṭho hoti supaṭividdho*. SN II 70; cf. SN V 387ff). The attainment *ariya ñāya* is a specific, rather than a general attainment and refers to a particular aspect of the Teaching. It means thoroughly and systematically giving the mind to "dependant origination" - *paṭiccasamuppāda*: "This being, that comes to be; this not being, that does not come to be. From the arising of this, that arises; from the ceasing of this, that ceases" *(Iti imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti / imasmiṃ asati idaṃ na hoti / imassuppādā idaṃ uppajjati / imassa nirodhā idaṃ nirujjhati)*. The processes that depend sequentially upon each other for their coming into existence are: "ignorance, activities, consciousness, name and form, the six sense-modalities, contact, feeling, craving, clinging, becoming, rebirth, and death" *(avijjā, saṅkhārā, viññāṇa, nāmarūpa, saḷāyatana, phassa, vedanā, taṇhā, upādāna, bhava, jāti, maraṇa)*.[53]

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

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[53] For a study of this process see Johansson, 1979.

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

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

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

A definition of the constituents of Stream-Entry (*sotāpattyaṅgāni*. SN V 347f) in terms of the Noble Eightfold Path - *aṭṭhangika magga* is attributed to Sariputta. In this sutta the Buddha and Sāriputta may be said to be in a game of definitions or riddles. Sariputta defines these constituents thus: *sota* is the Noble Eightfold Path which comprises right view, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration (*ariya aṭṭhangika magga: sammā-diṭṭhi, -sankappa, -vācā, -kammanta, -ājiva, -vāyāma, -sati, samādhi*), and the *sotāpanna* as someone who has achieved that path. This is a problem because a classical aspect of the attainments of the Arahat is that he has completely followed and fully achieved the path leading to the extinction of the *āsavās*, which is precisely this Noble Eightfold Path (MN I 55; etc.). Later in this chapter of the SN the Buddha praises Sāriputta for his ability to divide the *sotapattiyaṅgāni* in ten ways. It is not clear what is meant as Sāriputta

has enumerated aspects "1" - "4" of the beliefs of the *sotāpanna*, the factors of the Noble Eightfold Path (as above), right knowledge (*sammāñāna*) and right release (*sammāvimutī*). Perhaps on this occasion the Buddha did not count individually the elements of the *sotāpanna* beliefs, or did not count them at all.

A stipulation is made in SN III 203, 23 that when doubt regarding six[54] points has been abandoned and also when doubt about suffering, the arising of suffering, the ceasing of suffering and the path to the ceasing of suffering has been abandoned, then the person can be called a *sotāpanna*.[55] The six views, as the MN (I 135f) explains so much more clearly, are that whatever depends on (1) physical form (*rūpa*), (2) feeling (*vedanā*), (3) perception (*saññā*), (4) conditioned states (*saṁkhāras*), (5) consciousness (*viññāṇa*) or (6) a mental activity[56] is impermanent (*anicca*) and suffering (*dukkha*) and is liable to change (*vipariṇāmadhamma*). A person who is not clinging to what is impermanent, suffering and liable to change will not take up various defined wrong ideas. These wrong ideas - a truly marvellous compendium of them - are, in brief:

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

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[54] The Burmese text has *ca* here, so it is possible that the expression means doubt about the points made in the sermon. Woodward comments, "It is hard to know how six are made out". (KS III 165, fn.1)

[55] *sotāpanno avinipātadhammo niyato sambodhiparāyano ti.* SN III 203, and in each of the suttas in this chapter of the SN.

[56] *Yam pidam diṭṭhaṁ sutam mutaṁ viññātam pattam pariyesitam anuvicaritam manasā* "what is seen, heard, sensed, known, attained, sought after, thought out by the mind". See Gombrich, 1990 : 15f for the relationship between these views and Yājñavalkya's views in BāU.

vijāyanti na candimasūriyā udenti vā apenti vā esikaṭṭhāyiṭṭhitā ti.[57]

- "This is mine, this is me, this is my self" *Etam mama eso ham asmi eso me attā ti.*[58]
- "This is the self, this is the world, this I will be after death: permanent, lasting, eternal, not liable to change" *So attā so loko so pecca bhavissāmi nicco dhuvo sassato aviparināṇadhammoti.*
- "I would not be, and it would not be mine; I shall not be, and it shall not be mine" *No cassaṃ no ca me siyā na bhavissāmi na me bhavissatīti.*[59]
- The annihilationist doctrine that there is no fruit of good or evil deeds, not beings who have attained perfection, nor life after death.[60]
- The heresy that there is neither evil nor merit.[61]
- The accidentalist heresy that there are neither conditions nor causes.[62]
- Another wrong way of viewing the world including ideas of permanence, and ideas that there are no causes.[63]
- "The world is eternal" *sassato loko ti.*
- "The world is not eternal" *asassato loko ti.*
- "The world is limited" *antavā loko ti.*
- "The world is unlimited" *anantavā loko ti.*
- "The soul is the body" *Taṃ jīvam taṃ sariran ti.*
- "The soul is one thing, the body is another" *aññam jīvam aññam sariranti.*
- "The Tathāgata exists" *hoti tathāgato.*

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

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

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

> *Yato ... ariyasāvako imesam pañcannam indriyānaṃ samudayañca atthagamañca assādañca ādīnavañca nissaraṇañca yathābhūtam pajānāti / ayam vuccati bhikkhave ariyasāvako sotāpanno avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano ti.* "A noble disciple, brethren, is called "A noble disciple, a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, having

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[57] Tr. Woodward, KS III 164.

[58] Tr. Gombrich, 1990 : 15.

[59] Tr. Woodward, KS III 48.

[60] The doctrine of Ajitakesakambala, cf. DN I 55, § 23.

[61] The view of Pūraṇa Kassapa, cf. DN I 52, § 16.

[62] The heresy of Makkhali-Gosāla, cf. DN I 53, §19.

[63] That of Pakkudha Kaccāyana, cf. DN I 56, § 26, combined with that of Makkhali-Gosala, cf. DN I 53f, § 20.

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[64] This term may refer to qualities of conduct or to the six sense faculties.

Enlightenment as his goal,' when he understands as they really are, the rising, the disappearance, the satisfaction, the danger, and freedom from these Five Qualities."[65]

Here the five qualities (*indriyas*) are faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and insight (*paññā*).[66] Once again the stages of *sotāpanna* and Arahat are contrasted with each other. The stage of Arahat[67] is attained by "seeing" (*viditvā*) the five *indriyas* above, whereas the activity or attainment of the *sotāpanna* is "understanding" (*pajānāti*)them.

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

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

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

[66] Tr. Woodward, KS V 169.

[67] Here this stage is described by a different arahat formula from that which usually occurs in this context ((4) above), *arahaṃ khīnāsavo vusitavā katakaraṇīyo ohitabhāro anuppattasadattho parikhīnabhava saṃyojano sammadaññā vimutto*.

[68] Tr. Woodward, KS V 181.

[69] In both of these cases the subsequent sutta defines the arahat in terms of these *indriyas*, and uses the formula *Yato ... ariyasāvako ...* above.

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

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

Summary of §§3.2.1-4

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

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[70] See e.g. SN V 387. I have not searched for more examples.

to many different features of the Teaching. The essential attainment of the *sotāpanna* is the moral code, *sīlas*, more or less strictly adhered to. The inclusion of other attainments is unconvincing. One is left with the impression of attainments in search of a named stage, the stage being a definable measurement.

3.2.5 The method for attaining the stage of sotāpanna.

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

Some suttas specify that the method for development through the stages depends on more practice of the same thing. For example, in order to attain this stage and the three further stages one needs to develop progressively the practice of "mindfulness centred on the body" (*kāyagatā-sati* AN I 44). The correct contemplation of the five grasping groups (*pañcupādānakkhandā*), in order to be able to see them as "impermanent, suffering, a disease, an abcess, a sting (arrow), a pain, an affliction, alien, decaying, empty, and without self" *(anicato dukkhato rogato gaṇḍato sallato aghato ābādhato parato palokato suññato anattato yoniso manasi kattabbā.* SN III 167f, §122) will also lead to this attainment. Instead of the initial requirement that the monk be

well-taught (*sutavā*), the requirement that he have his moral practice in order (*sīlavā*) may be found (SN III 167f, §123).

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

Conditions that preclude the attainment of this stage and, obviously, of any of the others, are also described. This implies that training to avoid these specified conditions forms an aspect of the method for attaining the stage. Thus a bhikkhu who perceives permanence in the conditioned states (*saṅkhāras*) cannot achieve the appropriate intellectual receptivity[71] for attaining any of the four stages. So he must train himself in the direction of perceiving impermanence (AN III 441, XCVI).

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

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

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

3.2.7 Types of *sotāpanna*

i The Once-Returner (sakadāgamin) as sotāpanna

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

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[71] BHSD, s.v. *anulomikā khanti*.

rebirths; *kolankola*, 2 - 3 rebirths; *ekabījin*, one seed or potential; *sakadāgāmin*, 1 rebirth. The structure of this passage shows that it regarded the *sakadāgāmin* as a type of *sotāpanna*.[72]

ii The Non-Returner (anāgamin) as sotāpanna

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

iii The Arahat as a sotāpanna[73]

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

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[72] The arguments in favour of this position can be found in §§ 2.2.2 and 4.3.4.

[73] See Bareau, 1955 : 261.

3.3. The stage of Once-Returner, *sakadāgāmin*

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

3.3.1 Formulas that define the stage of *sakadāgāmin*

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

3.3.2 The Attainments of the stage of *sakadāgāmin*

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

3.3.3 The advantages of having attained the stage of *sakadāgāmin*.

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.6 Types of *sakadāgamin*

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

3.4 The stage of Non-Returner, *opapātika/ anāgāmin*

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

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

The Terminology

This stage is designated by two terms: *opapātika* and *anāgāmin*. The term *opapātika* is rather precise and comes from what we might call a biological context, but which in terms of ancient India is probably more accurately considered philosophical; it means "born by spontaneous generation". The word *anāgāmin* means simply "not coming back". These terms are not used interchangeably in the same expressions; rather, each one has its own territory. The term *opapātika* is standard where all four stages are expressed in the standard version of this case history, where the attainment of this stage is expressed separately from the other stages but in terms of the standard expression (MN ii 146), and in debate and mythical contexts. In formulas related to psychological aspects, including attainments, but with the exception of the standard version, the

term *anāgāmin* is used. Neither of these terms appear in the elaborations of this HCH.

i The term "opapātika".

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

The debate context concerns the wrong view: "There is no gift, no offering, no sacrifice; there is no fruit or ripening of deeds well done or ill done; this world is not, the world beyond is not; there is no mother, no father, no beings spontaneously reborn (*opapātika*); there are no recluses and brāhmins in the world who have gone right, who fare rightly, men who by their own comprehension have realised this world and the world beyond and thus declare."[74]

A similar expression occurs in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (DN 1 I 27). Here the "evasive arguer" (*amarā-vikkhepika*) will avoid giving an answer to a number of points including whether the *opapātika* exists, does not exist, both exists and does not exist, neither exists nor does not exist (*Atthi sattā opapātikā? N'atthi sattā opapātikā? Atthi ca n'atthi ca sattā opapātikā? N'ev' atthi na n'atthi sattā opapātikā*), whether deeds have results (*sukaṭadukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko*), whether a world beyond exists - *paraloka*, and whether the Tathāgata exists. Further there is Kassapa's argument in the *Pāyāsi Sutta* (DN 23): the

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[74] *natthi dinnaṃ natthi yiṭṭhaṃ natthi hutaṃ, natthi sukaṭadukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko, natthi ayaṃ loko natthi paro loko, natthi mātā natthi pitā natthi sattā opapātikā, natthi loke samaṇabrāmaṇā sammaggatā sammāpaṭipannā, ye imañ ca lokaṃ parañ ca lokaṃ sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedentī ti*. AN V 265 (tr. Woodward, GS V 178) and variously. This expression occurs in each of DN, MN, AN and SN. See CPD, s.v. *opapātika*. The relationship between *opapātika* and *anāgāmin* has been overlooked by the CPD.

whole of this sutta is a debate about this view. One of Kassapa's points in this argument is that the world beyond, *opapātikas*, and the results of deeds cannot be seen by the physical eye (*maṃsa-cakkhu*), but only by a sufficiently trained person who has developed the Divine Eye (*dibba cakkhu*).

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

The contexts in which the term *opapātikā* occurs suggests that this is an ancient term and indeed also an old issue. The debate contexts connect Buddhism with a more ancient Indian tradition.[75] If we accept them as evidence, then the issue of whether or not a being that comes into existence without the occurrence of a sexual act exists was debated. This would imply that different groups held different views about it and that the Buddhists were themselves required to take up a position. This notion

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[75] See Witzel, 1987; Manné, 1990.

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

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

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

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

3.4.1 Formulas, including attainment formulas

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

> *Yāni cimāni bhante Bhagavatā pañcorambhāgiyāni samyojanāni desitāni nāham tesam kiñci attani appahīnam samanupassāmi* "Moreover, as to those five fetters of the lower sort shown by the Exalted One, I do not see a single one of them in myself that is not abandoned." (SN V 177f)[76]

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

3.4.2 *anāgāmin* attainments

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

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[76] Tr. Woodward, KS V 156f.

Beyond the above there is very little further information about this stage. One sutta defines conditions for the attainment of the fruit of this stage. Unless one has given up six things: "disbelief, shamelessness, recklessness, indolence, forgetfulness in mindfulness and foolishness" (*assaddhiya, ahirika, anottappa, kosajja, muṭṭhasacca, duppaññatā*. AN III 421)[77] one cannot realize its fruit. Depending on whether or not one follows suttas that place the fruit before the stage (§2.1, Version C) the *anāgāmin* either has, or is developing these qualities.

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

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

3.4.3 The advantages of having attained the stage of *anāgāmin*

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

3.4.4 Methods for the attainment of the stage of *anāgāmin*

A method is given to attain this stage. This is the method to transcend the five fetters which belong to the lower world. This can be achieved by becoming clear about the teaching, "Were I not then, it would

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[77] Tr. Hare, GS III 297.

not now be mine. It shall not be, and mine it shall not *be (No cassa no ca me siyā na bhavissati na me bhavissatīti*. SN III 56).[78]

3.4.5 Relative frequency of attainment

This stage is rather frequently attained either in its own right (AN I 64, II 160, IV 63 etc.), or as one possibility among the first three stages of this HCH (AN V 86), or specifically in opposition to Arahantship.[79] It is more frequently attained than the stage *arahat*, but less frequently than the other two stages (See also §§ 3.2.6 and 3.3.5).

3.4.6 Types of *anāgamin*

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

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

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[78] Tr. from Woodward, KS III 48; see also fn* for reading of text. SN III 205, quoted under "*Sotāpanna* attainments", above has *no cassam*.

[79] *dvinnam phallānam aññataram phalam pāṭikaṅkham dittheva dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā*. DN II 315; MN I 63, etc; AN III 82, 143, etc.; SN V 129, 181, 285. "of two fruits one may be expected in this very life, to wit: realization, or, if there be any substrate left, the state of non-return." Tr. Woodward, KS V 159.

become; what is, what's become, that I abandon" *(no c'assa, no ca me siyā, na bhavissati, na me bhavissati, yad atthi yam bhūtam, tam pajahāmī ti* (AN IV 70);[80] the first part of which is the method for attaining this stage, he has obtained equanimity *(upekkhā)* and, "He is not attached to rebirth or to birth; he has seen through the highest insight the peace which is the path to the greatest advantage Nibbāna, but he has not seen this path completely, and he has not completely abandoned the tendencies to pride, to lust for rebirth, and to ignorance" *(So bhave na rajjati, sambhave na rajjati, atthuttarim padam santam sammapaññāya passati; tañ ca khvassa padam na sabbena sabbam sacchikatam hoti, tassa na sabbena sabbam mānānusayo pahīno hoti, na sabbena sabbam bhavarāgānusayo pahīno hoti, na sabbena sabbam avijjānusayo pahino hoti.* AN IV 70). Once the five fetters binding to the lower states disappear, he becomes one of the five types of *anāgāmin*. Here, these different types are distinguished by means of the simile of an iron slab which is heated and beaten, and gives off fragments which take different amounts of time to cool down, and whose cooling down has different effects on the environment. A fragment may simply cool down, or cool down having risen up into the air, or cool down without harming the ground: this is comparable with the substage *antarāparinibbāyin*. A fragment which cools down having harmed the ground, is comparable with the substage *upahaccaparinibbāyin*. A fragment which falls on and sets fire to a small heap of grass and sticks which, for want of fuel, becomes extinguished when this is used up is comparable with the substage *asankhāraparinibbāyin*. A fragment which falls on a large heap is comparable with the substage *sasankhāraparinibbāyin* and a fragment which sets fire to a large heap of fuel and whose fire spreads to the surrounding shrubland and woodland and so forth before cooling down, is comparable to the *uddhamsoto akiniṭṭhagāmin*. The final paragraph is devoted to explaining *anupādā parinibbāna* -"Nibbāna that does not take

up any more fuel". This is done by means of an arahant formula, but not that of the Four Stages HCH *(āsavānam khayā .. pe .. sacchikatvā upasampajja vihariti.* AN IV 74). This simile is based on the way the Buddhists understood the etymology of the word *nibbāna*,[81] which provides the metaphor of the going out of a fire. It's use here is beautiful and poetic, and enhances the idea of "extinguishing", which is used to explain Nibbāna, by providing an illustrative image, but it provides no real facts or standards for discriminating between the different types of *anāgāmin*.

3.5 The Arahat.

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

3.6 *anāgāmin* vs Arahat.

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

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[80] Tr. Hare, GS IV 40f.

[81] PTSD, s.v. *nibbāna.*

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

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

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[82] See Katz, 1982.

4 REVIEW AND DISCUSSION

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

4.1 The stages and their fruits

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

enjoy its fruit, i.e. the reward for one's efforts, afterwards, and that the fruit of some action cannot be obtained before the completion of the action, i.e. the attainment of the purpose or goal. Both the grammar of the formula and the inconsistency of the ordering of the stages and their fruit indicate that the division into stage and fruit is spurious.

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

4.2 The Elaborations

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

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

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

The stage *anāgāmin* is divided in different ways. One of these ways is in terms of the location and period of the rebirth that will be obtained: among various kinds of gods, for various lengths of time, and under various conditions.[83] Other criteria may seem to be highly technical as in *sasaṅkhāra-, asaṅkhāra-*, the state of the *saṅkhāras*, and *upahacca-* or *antarā-parinibbāyī hoti*, the exact moment of attaining Nibbāna. There is also the metaphor of the fragments of the iron slab which illustrates the very fine nuances between the divisions of this stage (§3.4.6).

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

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[83] See Horner, 1936 : 246 - 251.

4.2.2 The elaborations connected to other aspects of the Teaching

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

4.3 The individual stages

4.3.1 The Arahat

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

4.3.2 The stage of the Non-Returner, *opapātika/anāgāmin*

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

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

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

[85] Manné, 1990 : 2.1.ii.b, quote 16.

destiny of coming back. What could have been the issues that gave rise to the need for this notion? It is generally agreed that the Buddha taught that Enlightenment could be attained in this very lifetime (*ditth'eva dhamme*).[86] That leaves a rather problematic issue: what would happen if the practitioner nearly became an Arahat in this very lifetime - but not quite. If there was a possibility of losing all that one hoped to have gained in pursuing a goal whose attainment could not be guaranteed, what could persuade or encourage more than the minimum amount of ardent disciples - almost certainly not enough of them to sustain the religion - that the effort was worth it. The notion of rebirth was very likely available and elegantly solved the problem. It therefore seems likely that the notions and terms Once-Returner (*sakadagāmin*) and Non-Returner (*anāgamin*) were incorporated into Buddhism at a time when the Buddhists needed to emphasise the effectiveness of their practice, whether death intervened or not.[87] The important feature with regard to the promulgation the Teaching at that time was that it lead, not only to the high goal of Arahatship, but also, as the names show, to *not coming back*.

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

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[86] See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 93.

[87] I do not wish to give the impression that this was the only reason and means through which the notion of Liberation after death entered Buddhism. See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 94f for several interesting textual examples of the tendency in Buddhism to postpone liberation until after death. These examples show that this notion was coming into Buddhism in many different ways.

4.3.3 The stage of the Once-Returner, *sakadāgāmin*

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

4.3.4 The stage of the Stream-Enterer, *sotāpanna*

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

the SN. They may be evidence of an attempt to raise standards (at least among the followers of the SN tradition).

The multiplicity of the information regarding the *sotāpanna*, and its many contradictions, suggests that this notion is an early element in the development of Buddhism which has evolved and been intensely elaborated in the course of time. With regard to the designation of the stage of *sotāpanna*, at least in the view of AN, all of the other stages of this HCH are simply types of *sotāpanna*. (AN V 120) This passage provides an important key to our understanding of this stage. I argued above (§4.3.1) that the stage of Arahat may be taken to have existed from the beginning of Buddhism. I have argued too (§4.3.2) that the stage *anāgāmin* solves the problem of what would happen if the practitioner nearly became an Arahat - but not quite, by offering a sort of guarantee, a saving clause for the promise that enlightenment was attainable during this lifetime. The stage *anāgāmin* contradicts the basic[88] Buddhist teaching that Enlightenment is attainable in the present lifetime. This discrepancy shows that this stage was invented later, and most likely after the time of the Buddha. The same must be said about the stage of *sakadāgāmin* which is so minimally developed in the texts. The close comparison between the etymological structure of these two terms suggests that they came into being together to serve the same purpose. This brings us to the question of the stage of *sotāpanna*. What is the origin of the stage of *sotāpanna*? The answer is that it was originally the stage, or perhaps more accurately the *state* of **convert**.[89] The *sotāpanna* was originally no more and no less that someone who had converted to Buddhism. Converting means having faith, conforming to a certain belief

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[88] See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 93f.

[89] See Rhys Davids DB I 200, where he translates *sotāpanna* with "a converted man". Cf. Masefield, 1986 : 135 who equates the *sotāpanna* with the *sāvaka* and the *diṭṭhisampanna*. Masefield is more interested in showing homogeneity than in investigating differences and therefore follows the first methodological approach that Schmithausen (1990) has defined.

system and following a minimum number of rules of morality (*sīla*). The *sotāpanna* does all of these things. Originally, then, at the time of the Buddha, there were converts, and Arahats - practitioners who had attained Liberation. The invention of the stages of *anāgāmin*, and *sakadāgāmin*, however, necessitated the elaboration of the state of being a convert into the stage of *sotāpanna*. In this way the four stages HCH came about. This being the situation, there is no surprise in the fact that the texts present the *sakadāgāmin* as a type of *sotāpanna*, as they do the *anāgamin* and the Arahat (AN V 120). There is also no surprise either in the fact that *sotāpanna* is the most frequently attained stage (SN V 406).

In this way the four stages HCH came about.

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

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

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

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

different and unrelated information. With regard to the first point, the SN offers two pre-stages which are undoubtedly designed to accommodate two types of followers, those who live in accordance with the *dhamma-* (*dhammānusārins*) and those who live in accordance with faith (*saddhānusārins*), while the AN offers no pre-stages. This may be taken to indicate that the SN reciters were more in touch with their lay followers, and more required to please and to accommodate them, than their AN colleagues. This position is supported by the SN's generally greater interest in the stage of *sotāpanna* (see below). With regard to the second point, the substages of the stage *sotāpanna* occur only as a list of terms in the SN, while the AN explains the terms. This suggests that the AN may have originated these ideas or at least that the SN took them over from the AN. With regard to the third point, this gives the impression that the SN and the AN had a somewhat different view of the Teaching.

4.4.2 The individual stages

i The stage of Stream-Enterer, sotāpanna.

The Nikāyas show distinct and different interests in the individual stages. MN shows no interest in defining the *sotāpanna*, nor in attributing qualities to him. It contains only the standard version and the brief version with fruits. The DN contains both the Behaviour Formula and the Beliefs and Practices formula, but both of these occur only in the Sangīti Sutta (DN III 227). It contains the *sotāpanna* attainments, but these occur only in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (DN II 93), which is also a particular case.[90] The AN contains the Beliefs and Practices Formula (AN IV 406) and the condition for uttering it (the Fivefold Guilty Dread condition AN IV 405). It contains the *sotāpanna* attainments, and it alone contains a list of advantages on the attainment of

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[90] See Manné, 1990 : footnote 1.

the stage of *sotāpanna* (AN III 441). It contains certain recommendations regarding the method for attaining all of the stages (AN I 44; 231f). It incorporates all the other stages into that of *sotāpanna*, by dividing *sotāpannas* up into 10 types and subsuming the various types of *anāgāmin* into this stage, and by taking the view that all those with faith in the Buddha are *sotāpanna* (AN IV 120). It is the SN, however, that is really interested in the *sotāpanna*. It contains the Behaviour formula (SN V 347, 404, etc.), the Beliefs and Practices formula (SN V 343f, 345, etc.), and the conditions for uttering these formulas (SN II 68f; V 387f). It contains the variations on this formula that adapt it for laymen (SN V 387) or that adapt it in the direction of generosity towards the monks (SN V 352), as well as the doubts about these adaptations (SN V 371; 398). It adds qualifications beyond those of the Behaviour, and the Beliefs and Practices formulas, such as application to the causal law, *paticcasamuppāda* (SN V 387), the attainment of seven good practices and four desirable states (SN v 352-356), a condition based on views (SN III 202-224), and two five *indriya* conditions (SN V 193f; SN V 207), and a six *indriya* condition (SN V 205). it proposes methods, such as contemplating the five grasping groups, *pañcupādānakkhandhā*. It is concerned with the differences between the Stream-Enterer (*sotāpanna*) and the Arahat (§3.2.3).

ii The stage of Once-Returner, sakadāgāmin

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

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

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

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

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

5 THE USE - AND ABUSE - OF THE FOUR STAGES CASE HISTORY

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

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

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

3   The Four Stages HCH as conferring status and rewards.

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

i   the attempt to relate it to other sequences of development.

ii   the attempt to relate it to technical aspects of the Teaching.

5   The abuse of the Four Stages HCH.

6   Actual CH's.

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

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

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

In the *Mahāli Sutta* (DN 6), replying to a challenge, the Buddha says that the reason for following his Teaching is in order to attain the four stages (expressed as in Version A).[91] On two other occasions it is claimed that it is precisely the existence of these four stages that differentiates the Buddha's system from other systems, and that this is the

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[91] This sutta has been discussed in Manné, 1990 : 4.1.

basis for an assertion (a lion's roar)[92] in a debate. However determinedly the importance of the Four Stages HCH is proclaimed, it never *wins* a debate! Debates are won on the Sāmaññaphala Sutta hypothetical case history.[93] This fact rather detracts from the force of the assertions in the suttas cited above.

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

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

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

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

5.3 The Four Stages used to confer status and rewards

There is a certain innocence in the way the texts exploit this aspect of the utility of the Four Stages HCH. The Four Stages are mentioned in three fantasy suttas:[94] the *Jana-Vasabha Sutta* (DN 18),the *Mahā-Govinda Sutta* (DN 19), and the *Sakka-Pañha Sutta* (DN 21). In the *Jana-Vasabha Sutta* (DN 18), the Buddha's affirmation that there are large numbers of people in a certain region, Nādika, who have attained one or other of the first three stages after death is of central importance. Ānanda immediately realises that if such attainments are confirmed for the faithful of one area, politics and good public relations require that they had be confirmed for the faithful of another. The issue is corrected by means of a fantastical story. The sutta emphasises the importance of the possession of a named, defined stage of attainment.

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

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[92] Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta (MN 11); AN II 238; see Manné, forthcoming (a). Also in the AN the stages and their fruits are called the 8th *marvel (aṭṭha accariyā abbhutā dhammā*) of the Buddha's dhamma and discipline (*dhammavinaya*). AN IV 204.

[93] See Manné, forthcoming (a), 2.1.

[94] See fn.12.

suggests that this sutta has its origins at a time when the term *sotāpanna* meant simply "convert".

Only the stage *sotāpanna* is mentioned in the third of these fantasy suttas, the *Sakka-Pañha Sutta* (DN 21), and here it is the god Sakka who lays claim both to being a disciple of the Buddha and to having attained this stage. It forms part of his credentials[95] when he presents himself to the Buddha and in this way demonstrates the link between stage and status. This sutta demonstrates that a stage could convey status. A god must have some measurable attainment!

The innocence with which the texts exploit this HCH is somewhat betrayed, however, in the *Naḷakapāna Sutta* (MN 68). This sutta explains why the Buddha uses the 4 stages .. "the Tathāgata does not have the purpose of defrauding people nor the purpose of cajoling people not the purpose of gains, honour, fame and material advantages, nor the thought: 'Let people know me thus' when he explains the uprisings[96] in which are disciples who have deceased and passed away, saying: "Such a one has uprisen in one, such a one has uprisen in another."[97] But there are, .. young men of family who have faith and are of great enthusiasm, of great joyousness and who, having heard this, focus their minds on suchness. .. this will be for their weal and happiness for a long time" (MN I 465).[98] The text that follows shows clearly that the "uprisings" spoken about are the four stages. This explanation suggests that the four stages are an invention whose purpose was to inspire dedication to the practice and to endow it with a tangible result.

The *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta* (MN 70) is forthright in offering stages as rewards. It proclaims, "For a disciple who has faith in the Teacher's instruction and lives in unison with it, monks, one of two fruits is to be expected: profound knowledge here and now, or, if there is any basis (for rebirth remaining), the state of no-return" (MN I 481).[99] The second option can only be attested by the Buddha or another of like capacities, who can see the arising of beings as they transmigrate from life to life. When it comes to faith and practice, this categorisation ensures that there are no losers.

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

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

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

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

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[95] See Manné, 1990 : 2.1.ii.

[96] *upapatti* "rebirths". the translater is capturing the play on words in the Pali.

[97] `Qui s'excuse s'accuse.' Obviously this utterance has been made in defense against just such an accusation.

[98] Tr. Horner, MLS II 138.

[99] Tr. Horner, MLS II 156. *Saddhassa bhikkhave sāvakassa satthu sāsane pariyogāya vattato dvinnaṃ phalānaṃ aññataraṃ phalaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ: ditthe va dhamme aññā, sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā ti.* Note the term *anāgāmin* is used here.

while the SN and AN are imposing the Four Stages as a system of measurement upon other HCHs, or sequences of development.

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

i   "May I be agreeable to co-practitioners and pleasant to them, esteemed and respected" *(sabrahmacārīnaṃ piyo c'assaṃ manāpo garu bhāvanīyo cāti.* MN I 33).

ii   "May I be one who receives the requisites of robes, almsfood, lodgings, and medicines for the sick" (*lābhī assaṃ cīvara--piṇḍapāta-senāsana-gilāna-paccaya-bhesajja-parikkhārānan ti).* [100]

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

iv   `May the benefit be great for those of my kith and kin who are spirits who have passed on, and who are aware of it with peaceful minds" *(ye me ñātisālohitā petā kālakatā pasannacittā anussaranti tesaṃ taṃ mahapphalaṃ assa mahānisaṃsan-ti)*

v   "May I be one who overcomes aversion and liking, and may aversion not overcome me, may I fare along constantly conquering any aversion that has arisen" *(aratiratisaho assaṃ na ca maṃ arati saheyya, uppannaṃ aratiṃ abhibhuyya vihareyyan-ti)* [102]

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

na   ca   maṃ   bhayabheravaṃ   saheyya,   uppannaṃ bhayabheravaṃ abhibhuyya abhibhuyya vihareyyan-ti).* [103]

vii   "May I be one who at will, without trouble, and without difficulty is possessed of the four *jhānas*, which are dependent on the clearest state of consciousness and which are the abodes of happiness in this very life-time" (*cattunnaṃ jhānānaṃ ābhicetasikānaṃ diṭṭhadhammasukhavihārānaṃ nikāmalābhī assaṃ akicchalābhī akasiralābhī ti).*

viii   "Those incorporeal deliverances which are calmed, transcending forms, may I fare along having realised them while in the body" (*ye te santā vimokhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te kāyena phassitvā viharreyyan-ti).* [104]

ix   As *sotāpanna* description, Version A (1).

x   As *sakadāgāmī* description, Version A (2).

xi   As *opapātika* description, Version A (3).

xii   As SPS-HCH, Stage III, iii (*iddhis*). [105]

xiii   As SPS-HCH, Stage III, iv (clair-audience).

xiv   As SPS-HCH, Stage III, v (understanding the heart and mind of others).

xv   As SPS-HCH, Stage III, vi (knowing the details of one's former lives).

xvi   As SPS-HCH, Stage III, vii (*dhamma-cakkhu*).

xvii   As the formula for the fourth stage, §2.1, Version A, 4.

In the *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta* (MN 52) there is an attempt to relate Stages 3 and 4 to the *jhānas*, the *brahmavihāras* and three of the four

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

[103] Tr. ibid.
[104] Tr. ibid.
[105] See Manné (forthcoming b) §3, 6.

āyatanas (*ākāsānañcāyatana, viññāṇañcāyatana, ākiñcaññāyatana*).[106] A refrain occurs at each stage in the sequence: "Firm in this he attains the destruction of the intoxicants. If he does not attain the destruction of the intoxicants then by this attachment to *dhamma*, by this delight in *dhamma*, by the destruction of the five fetters binding to this lower (shore), he is of spontaneous uprising, one who attains nibbāna there, not liable to return from that world."[107] The refrain suggests that this attainment could happen at any time the *jhānas*, the *brahmavihāras* and the three *āyatanas* were being experienced. This close relationship between the attainment of the 3rd and the 4th stage occurs frequently in MN (52, 64, 70, 73), SN and AN.

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

i	Arahat
ii	*opapātika*
iii	*sakadāgāmin*
iv	*sotāpanna*
v	"the four applications of mindfulness" (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*)
vi	"the four right concentrations of mind" (*cattāro sammāppadhānā*)
vii	"the four bases of psychic power" (*cattāro iddhipādā*)
viii	"the five controlling faculties" (*pañca indriyāni*)
ix	"the five powers" (*pañca balāni*)
x	"the seven links in awakening" (*satta bojjhaṅgāni*)
xi	"the Noble Eightfold Path" (*ariya aṭṭhangika magga*)
xii	"friendliness" (*mettā*)
xiii	"compassion" (*karuṇā*)
xiv	"sympathetic joy" (*muditā*)
xv	"equanimity" (*upekhā*)
xvi	"on the unpleasant" (*asubha*)
xvii	"perception of impermanence" (*aniccasaññā*)
xviii	"mindfulness on in-breathing and out-breathing" (*ānāpānasati*).[108]

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

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

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

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[106] Cf. the *MahāMālunkya Sutta* (MN 64) which links Stages 3 an 4 with the *jhānas* as above and with two of the *āyatanas*.

[107] Tr. Horner, MLS II 15. Horner translates the term *āsava* by "canker". I have replaced this with the term "intoxicant" for the sake of consistency within this article. *So tattha ṭhito āsavānaṃ khayaṃ pāpuṇāti; no ce āsavānaṃ khayaṃ pāpuṇāti ten' eva dhammarāgena tāya dhammanandiyā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti tatthaparinibbāyī anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā.* MN I 350.

[108] This list is exhaustively studied in Gethin, 1992.

They introduce features that are not found in the other Nikāyas, they add further conditions for the attainment of certain of the stages and propose methods for the attainments of others. Examples occur in Section 3.

5.5 The abuse of the Four Stages HCH

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

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

The attribution of the attainment of the stage *opapātika* in the *Dhātuvibhaga Sutta* (MN 140) is the Buddha's way of getting out of a fix. The monk Pukkusāti has received lengthy instruction from the Buddha without guessing the identity of his teacher until the end of the discourse. Pukkusāti apologises for this transgression and asks for ordination, and the Buddha sends him away to fulfil the requirements with regard to bowl and robe. Unfortunately, while trying to obtain these, Pukkusati is killed by a cow. The monks who report this to the Buddha, refer to Pukkusati in their report as "(that) young man of family who the Lord (just) instructed by means of a brief instruction," and ask to be

informed of his future condition of rebirth. Obviously in this situation the Buddha has to say something. Pukkusati's earnest commitment to the Teaching, which forms the substance of this sutta, requires some recognition. Nevertheless, the Buddha's words in the situation seem to indicate that he finds the question tiresome. He prefaces his response with this description of Pakkusati, "Pakkusati, the young man of family, was wise; he entered the path of application to the *dhamma*; he did not plague me with disputatious questions about the *dhamma*," and goes on to confer the state of *opapātika* upon him (MN III 247).

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

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

There are rewards in terms of the Four Stages HCH simply for being a lay disciple. Dhammadinna, a lay disciple, tells the Buddha that he does not have time to learn the Buddha's discourses, because he lives a householder's life, has a family, and indulges in luxuries like perfumes and money, and asks the Buddha for a different way. The Buddha recommends that he train himself as in the Beliefs and Practices formula. Dhammadinna claims that he already fulfils these conditions. The Buddha acknowledges him, "It is an advantage for you, Dhammadinna, it is a

benefit for you, Dhammadinna, that the *sotāpattiphala* has been explained."[109] (SN V 407f)

The most flagrant example of the abuse of this system is at the same time not without its charm. This is the occasion where the Buddha proclaims that the monk, Sarakāni, who had died, had become a *sotāpanna* (SN V 375ff). This proclamation is seriously questioned and challenged by the other monks. "A strange thing indeed! A wonder indeed! Nowadays anyone may become a stream-winner. Sarakāni failed in the training and took to drink!" they say, evidently disgusted (SN V 375). The Buddha replies, "How could a lay disciple who had for a long time taken refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha go to hell?" The reason the Buddha takes up this position becomes clear in the following sutta (SN V 378): it is because the Teaching is correctly taught by a Sammāsambuddha that it always leads to results, just as well-sown seeds always grow into plants. Obviously in the case of failure, the credibility of the Buddha is in question and must be defended.

A further amusing example shows that the stages were treated as a means of promotion or demotion, in terms of the prestige which the acknowledged attainment of a stage automatically conferred. The disreputable bhikkhu Kokālika taunts the Brahmā Tudu who has come from his brāhma world out of compassion to pay him a visit, "Didn't the Buddha call you a Non-Returner? And now you have come back here! Look how far you have gone wrong!" *(Nanu tvam āvuso Bhagavatā anāgāmī byākato // atha *kiñcarahi idhāgato // passa yāvañca te idam aparaddhan-ti.* SN I 149 = AN V 171).[110]

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[110] The more usual form is *carasi*.

5.6 Purportedly Actual Case Histories

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

There are purportedly actual case histories in the SN. One of these is that of the disciple Dīghāvu, who is ailing. This case history contains three steps: two comprise the Buddha's directions regarding his practice; the third comprises his attainment after death. In step one, the Buddha advises Dīghāvu to train himself in such a way as to become a *sotāpanna*, as in the Beliefs and Practices formula (SN V 344ff). Dīghāvu claims that he already has this attainment. In step two, the Buddha advises him to, "to dwell contemplating impermanence in all the activities, conscious of Ill in impermanence, conscious of there being no self in what is Ill, conscious of abandoning, of dispassion, of cessation" (*sabbasankhāresu aniccānupassī viharāhi // anicce dukkhasaññī dukkhe anattasaññī pahānasaññī virāgasaññī nirodhasaññī t.* SN V 345).[111] Dīghāvu claims that he already possesses this attainment. At this point Dīghāvu admits that he is worried about the state his father will fall into should he die. This shows some remaining attachment on his part. His father promptly reassures him, and directs him to follow the Buddha's teaching. Dīghāvu dies shortly after this.[112] In step three, Dīghāvu, posthumously, attains the stage of *anāgamin*: when the Buddha is

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[111] Tr. Woodward, KS V 400.
[112] For contemporary cases of death after parental permission see Levine, 1986; Siegel, 1986.

informed of his demise, and asked about his destiny, he confers it upon him.

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

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

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

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

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

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[113] Manné, 1990 : 4.3.

TABLE I. Categories common to these Nikāyas.

1. The Use of the Four Stages HCH in Debates: the Four Stages HCH as the main reason for following the Buddha's Teaching.			
DN	*MN*		*AN*
2. The Four Stages HCH and the promotion of the efficacity of the Buddha's Teaching: *the need for measurable and definable attainments.*			
DN	*MN*	*SN*	*AN*
3. The Four Stages HCH as conferring status and rewards.			
DN	*MN*	*SN*	*AN*
4. Attempts to relate the Four Stages HCH to other aspects of the Teaching:			
i. Its relationship to other sequences of development.			
DN	*MN*		
ii. Its relationship to technical aspects of the Teaching.			
		SN	*AN*
5. The abuse of the Four Stages HCH.			
	MN	*SN*	*AN*
6. Purportedly actual CH's.			
	MN	*SN*	*AN*

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

TABLE II.

Stage	*(1)*	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*
	6	*6*	*6*	*6*
			52	*52*
			64	*64*
	68	*68*		
			73	*73*
			91	
	118	*118*	*118*	*118*
			140	
	142	*142*	*142*	*142*

They are never referred to on their own, but only occur in the context of the Four Stages HCH. Stage 3, besides occurring in the four above, occurs in three other suttas, MN 52, 64 and 73, where it is named with stage 4, and two suttas, MN 91 and 140, on its own. There is no great

regularity in the naming of the final of the four stages which occurs in the four first named suttas with all of the other stages, and in four other suttas, MN 52, 64, 73 and 68, where it occurs with stage 3. Usually when all four of the stages are named the last stage is expressed as in (4) of Version A, but once, under these conditions, stage 4 is named *aññā* (MN 68). This preoccupation with stages 3 and 4 shows MN's concern to guarantee results with regard to the purpose of the Teaching: the end of rebirth.

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

I have discussed the individual character of the DN and the MN (Manné, 1990) and none of the information here points to a need to change my position. This chapter does, however, permit us to modify the current view on the SN and the AN, especially with regard to their purpose, and the nature of their composers and reciters. Bronkhorst has said that these Nikāyas attained their peculiar shapes at "a time when efforts were made to distil from the tradition lists of items that could be considered to embody the essence of the teaching of the Buddha, being rearrangements of traditional utterances."[114] What kind of people were attempting to "distil from the tradition"? Who were these "distillers"? and were they really only "distilling"? We can infer from this study that the "distillers" were not ordinary practitioners, ordinary monks or followers, but a highly specialised kind of practitioner: scholar-practitioners or practitioner-researchers: monks dedicated both to their practice and to preserving as accurately as possible the method and technique of their practice and the knowledge surrounding it. The questions they address are: "What is it?" "How is it done?" "How does it fit together?" These are questions worthy of any scholar. The SN and the AN show a much smaller interest in telling stories than do the DN and the MN. The interest of their compilers was in finding out as comprehensively as possible on a practical level what exactly the Buddha taught and how it worked.

6 HOW THE FOUR STAGES HCH CAME ABOUT

I have argued (§4.3) that the stages *sotāpanna* and arahat can be regarded as pertaining to early Buddhism. In the beginning, therefore, there were just two stages: that of convert and that of (full) attainer. How then did the other two stages and the Four Stages HCH come about? As the Four Stages HCH cannot be taken to form part of Original Buddhism it must be either an entirely new and independent invention or an organising structure for some original elements. The first possibility can be rejected. As Bronkhorst has said, religious traditions tend to be conservative and do not as a rule invent complete novelties.[115] This leaves us to explore the notion that the Four Stages HCH is an organising structure for original elements.

It is certainly an organising structure.

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[114] Bronkhorst, 1985 : 316.

[115] Bronkhorst 1986 : xii.

6.1 The Four Stages HCH as a systematising and organising structure

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

TABLE III. Freedom from rebirth in terms of a diminishing number of rebirths.

sotāpanna	(7 rebirths)
sakadāgāmin	1 rebirth
anāgāmin/ opapātika	he is characterised by non-returning to this world
Arahat	no further rebirths.

Linked to the idea of escaping from rebirth in the Buddha's Teaching is the idea of the escape from suffering: The Buddha taught that his method led to the end of suffering. The standard version of this case history includes phrases that express this. See Table IV.

TABLE IV. Freedom from suffering.

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

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

TABLE V. Freedom from certain mental and emotional problems.

sotāpanna	the disappearance of 3 fetters *tiṇṇam samyojanānaṃ parikkhayā*
sakadāgāmin	the diminution of passion, hatred and delusion *rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā*
anāgāmin/ opapātika	the disappearance of the five fetters which belong to the lower world *pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānāṃ samyojānaṃ parikkhayā*
Arahat	having seen for himself in this very lifetime, through his own higher knowledge, the release of heart and mind that is free from *āsavas* *anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā*

Evidently the tradition had handed down an attainment, or a sequence of attainments related to being free of certain fetters or bonds. There are several problems here for the contemporary researcher. One is that the original researchers, or distillers, did not specify consistently what the relationship was between these bonds and this case history: the bonds also appear independently in the texts or linked to other hypothetical case histories (e.g. that of the *dhammacakkhu* at AN I 242). There is the further problem that the concept of fetters (*samyojana*) is in

itself an organising or systematising concept, linking various ideas. The AN, for example, defines 10 of these: the five fetters which bind to the lower states (*orambhāgiya*)[116] and five which bind to the higher states (*uddhambhāgiya*): craving for fine-material existence (*ūparāga,*) craving for immaterial existence (*arūparāga*), conceit (*māna,*) restlessness (*uddhacca*), and ignorance (*avijjā*, AN V 17; SN V 61f).[117] The AN also has the three substantially different categories of fetters: those binding to the lower states, those binding to the taking up of rebirth (*uppattipaṭilābhika*) and those binding to the taking up of existence (*bhavapaṭilābhika*) which it relates respectively to the stages *sakadāgāmin, uddhaṃsota akiniṭṭhagāmin, antarāparinibbāyin* and Arahat (AN II 134; IV 13f, 145f). Besides this attainment in terms of fetters, as Table V shows, the tradition inherited the notion that soteriological evolution included the diminution of certain emotions: those of passion and hatred (*rāga-dosa*), and also diminution of the state of delusionment (*moha*). The evidence that the tradition found these aspects important and relevant is that it included them within the Four Stages HCH organising structure.

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

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[116] See §2.1. The first five fetters may also be called *nīvarana,* (AN III 63) or *upakkilesa* (AN III 16).

[117] Tr. Nyāṇatiloka, 1980.

the Teaching "If it were not, it would not be mine; it shall not become, for me it shall not become" (*no cassa no ca me siyā na bhavissāmi na me bhavissati*).

In summary, then, the Four Stages HCH probably came about as follows. Two categories of practitioner existed from the time of the Buddha. These were the converts, and those who had attained the goal. During the development of Buddhism the issue of rebirth came to be increasingly important, and with it, probably developing in parallel, the issue of whether Liberation was attained during this lifetime or after death. As it was part of the advantages of having attained the goal that the monk would be free from suffering and rebirth, questions began to be asked about progress towards that goal. Two further stages were defined in terms of the number of rebirths to be expected before the final liberation, and their location. The interest in the stages grew. They were further subdivided. The four stages became attributed with desirable developmental attainments which had already been defined in other contexts where the Buddhists were also faced with a need to qualify and to quantify stages of development. Eventually they reached the stage of definition in which we find them today. The Four Stages HCH offers a very tidy structure to the doctrine of Liberation in terms of sequence and progress.

AND TODAY?

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

Sharf refers to the four levels of Enlightenment twice in his article (section V) - "the fourth and final stage of sainthood (arahat)" and "*sotāpanna* – the first of four levels of enlightenment" - without comment, thus it may be that he takes the existence of these stages for granted. Sharf shows us in §VI that the use - and abuse - of at least one element of this case history continues today. Contemporary Buddhist teachers of meditation are debating among each other - among other things - what *sotāpanna* is. They are debating indirectly, rather than publicly, each implying rather than saying too obviously, that the version of this state arrived at after practising their particular variation of Buddhist meditation is better than that of their rivals and leads to faster results. The impression conveyed is of people chasing after altered states of consciousness, as if they were material goods in the Harrods Xmas sale, each trying to get hold of the best one!

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

La Conversion   Joy Manné

ABBREVIATIONS

Texts as in Bechert, 1988.
DB = Dialogues of the Buddha (Rhys Davids, 1899)
GS = Gradual Sayings (Woodward & Hare, 1932-36).
KS = Kindred Sayings (C.A.F. Rhys Davids & Woodward).
MLS = Middle Length Sayings (Horner, 1954).
BHSD = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary.
CPD = Critical Pāli Dictionary.
PTSD = Pāli English Dictionary.
tr. = translation

TRANSLATIONS

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(1992), 'The Dīgha Nikāya Debates : Debating Practices at the time of the Buddha'. Buddhist Studies Review, Vol 9, 2, pp.117-136.

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

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The Nigamanas of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī

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

I. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī
(B^e *1968* III 250,1-251,6)

Nigamanakathā

ettāvatā ca
āyācito **Sumaṅgalapariveṇanivāsinā** thiraguṇena
Daṭhānāgasaṃghattherena theravaṃsanvayena | 1 |
Dīghāgamavarassa dasabalaguṇaparidīpanassa aṭṭhakathaṃ
yam ārabhiṃ **Sumaṅgalavilāsiniṃ** nāma nāmena | 2 |
sā hi mahāṭṭhakathāya sāram ādāya niṭṭhitā
esā ekāsītipamāṇāya pāḷiyā bhāṇavārehi | 3 |
ekūnasaṭṭhimatto **Visuddhimaggo** pi bhāṇavārehi
atthappakāsanatthāya āgamānaṃ kato yasmā | 4 |
tasmā tena sahā 'yaṃ aṭṭhakathā bhāṇavāragaṇanāya
suparimitaparicchinnaṃ cattālīsasataṃ hoti | 5 |
sabbaṃ cattālīsādhikasataparimāṇaṃ bhāṇavārehi evaṃ
samayaṃ pakāsayantiṃ Mahāvihāre nivāsinaṃ | 6 |
mūlakaṭṭhakathāsāram ādāya mayā imaṃ karontena
yam puññam upacitaṃ tena hotu sabbo sukhī loko ti | 7 |

paramavisuddhasaddhābuddhivīriyapaṭimaṇḍitena sīlācārajjavamaddav-
ādiguṇasamudayasamuditena sakasamayasamayantaragahanajjhogāhaṇa-
samatthena paññāveyyattiyasamannāgatena tipiṭakapariyattippabhede
sātthakathe satthusāsane appaṭihataññāṇappabhāvena mahāveyyākaraṇena
karaṇasampattijanitasukhaviniggatamadhurodāravacanalāvaṇṇayuttena
yuttamuttavādinā vādivarena mahākavinā pabhinnapaṭisambhidāparivāre
chaḷabhiññādippabhedaguṇapaṭimaṇḍitena uttarimanussadhamme suppa-
tiṭṭhitabuddhīnaṃ theravaṃsappadīpānaṃ therānaṃ Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ
vaṃsālaṃkārabhūtena vipulavisuddhabuddhinā **Buddhaghoso** ti garūhi
gahitanāmadheyyena therena katā ayaṃ **Sumaṅgalavilāsinī** nāma
Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā

tāva tiṭṭhatu lokasmiṃ lokanittharaṇesinaṃ
dassentī kulaputtānaṃ nayaṃ diṭṭhivisuddhiyā | 8 |
yāva Buddho ti nāmam pi suddhacittassa tādino
lokamhi lokajeṭṭhassa pavattati mahesino ti | 9 |

Sumaṅgalavilāsinī nāma Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā.

The *nigamana* is commented upon in the subcommentary: Sv-pṭ III 372,1-29.

The structure of the *nigamana* as a whole is common to all four Nikāya commentaries composed by or under the supervision of Buddha-ghosa. Moreover some verses and the prose part of the *nigamana* are identical in these commentaries.

The length of the respective texts as here of Sv is given always in combination with the Visuddhimagga. This shows that each individual commentary forms a unit with Vism. The 81 *bhāṇavāras* of Sv are added to the 59 *bhāṇavāras* of Vism to give 140 *bhāṇavāras* altogether.

A *bhāṇavāra* comprises 8000 syllables corresponding to 250 *ganthas*. Each *gantha* or *gāthā* contains 32 syllables, because it consists of 4 *pādas* of 8 syllables (*akkhara*) according to:

ettha ca bhāṇavāro ti:
    aṭṭhakkharo ekapadaṃ ekagāthā catuppadaṃ
    gāthā c'ekā mato gantho gantho ca bāttiṃsakkharo | 1 |
    bāttiṃsakkharagāthānaṃ paññāsadvisataṃ pana
    bhāṇavāro mato eko sv-aṭṭhakkharasahassako | 2 |

evaṃ aṭṭhakkharasahassaparimāṇo pāṭho vuccati. bhaṇitabbo vāro yassā ti hi bhāṇavāro. ekena sajjhāyanamaggena kathetabbavāro ti attho, Sv-nṭ Bᵉ *1961* I 81,8-15 (on Sv-pṭ I 23, 19 on Sv 2,12), cf. Sadd 1131 (5.3.3.1).

II. Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī
(Bᵉ *1968* 356,6-357,14*)

Nigamanakathā

ettāvatā ca
vaṇṇanaṃ Pātimokkhassa **Soṇattherena** yācito
vinaye jātakaṅkhānaṃ kaṅkhāvitaraṇatthiko | 1 |
ārabhiṃ yam ahaṃ sabbaṃ Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathānayaṃ
Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ vācanāmagganissitaṃ | 2 |
nissāya sā ayaṃ niṭṭhaṃ katā ādāya sabbaso
sabbam aṭṭhakathāsāraṃ pāḷiyatthañ ca kevalaṃ | 3 |
na h'ettha taṃ padaṃ atthi yaṃ virujjheyya pāḷiyā
Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ porāṇaṭṭhakathāhi vā | 3 |
yasmā tasmā akatvāna ettha kaṅkhaṃ hitesinā
sikkhitabbā va sakkaccaṃ **Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī** ayaṃ | 4 |
yathā ca niṭṭhaṃ sampattā Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī ayaṃ
dvāvīsati bhāṇavāraparimāṇāya pāḷiyā | 5 |

evaṃ anantarāyena nittham kalyāṇanissitā
aciraṃ sabbasattānaṃ yantu sabbe manorathā ti | 6 |

paramavisuddhasaddhābuddhivīriyappaṭimaṇḍitena ... **Buddhaghoso** ti
garūhi gahitanāmadheyyena therena katā ayaṃ **Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī** nāma
Pātimokkhavaṇṇanā

tāva tiṭṭhatu lokasmiṃ lokanittharaṇesinaṃ
dassentī kulaputtānaṃ nayaṃ sīlavisuddhiyā | 7 |
yāva Buddho ti nāmam pi suddhacittassa tādino
lokamhi lokajeṭṭhassa pavattati mahesino ti | 8 |

Kaṅkhāvitaraṇiaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā

The prose part of this *nigamana* is identical with the one used in
all commentaries ascribed traditionally to Buddhaghosa.

This *nigamana* is not commented upon in the older anonymous
Kaṅkhāvitaraṇipurāṇaṭīkā, but only in Vinayatthamañjūsā Kaṅkhā-
vitaraṇiabhinavaṭīkā (B° *1965* 486,18-487,18). Quotations from the
nigamana have been printed in italics, explained words in bold type:

Nigamanakathāvaṇṇanā

yaṃ Pātimokkhassa vaṇṇanaṃ ārabhiṃ ti sambandho. **Mahāvihāra-
vāsīnan** ti idaṃ purimapacchimapadehi saddhiṃ sambandhitabbaṃ,
Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ Porāṇaṭṭhakathāhi vā ti ca. **pāḷiyatthañ ca
kevalan** ti sakalaṃ pāḷiyatthañ ca. ubhatovibhaṅgañ cā ti vuttaṃ hoti.
etthā ti etissaṃ Kaṅkhāvitaraṇiyaṃ. *yasmā na hi atthī* ti sambandho.
yan ti yaṃ padaṃ. **Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathānayan** ti Sīhaḷa-
mātikaṭṭhakathānayaṃ. **Aṭṭhakathāsāran** ti Sīhaḷamātikaṭṭhakathāyaṃ
atthasāraṃ, atha vā Vinayaṭṭhakathāsu atthasāraṃ, ten' etaṃ dasseti:

Sīhaḷamātikaṭṭhakathāyaṃ atthasāraṃ ādāya imaṃ Kaṅkhāvitaraṇiṃ
karonto Vinayaṭṭhakathāsu pi idha vinicchaye yogakkhemaṃ atthasāraṃ
ādāy' eva akāsi.

idāni sadevakassa lokassa accantasukhādhigamāya attano puññaṃ
pariṇāmento *yathā ca nitthaṃ sampattā* ti ādigāthādvayam āha.
kalyāṇanissitā ti kusalanissitā. **sabbasattānan** ti kāmāvacarādi-
bhedānaṃ sabbesaṃ sattānaṃ.

Nigamanakathāvaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

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

Freiburg i. Brsg.   O. v. Hinüber

CATALOGUE OF THE PĀLI MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION IN BURMESE & SIAMESE CHARACTERS KEPT IN THE LIBRARY OF VIJAYASUNDARARAMAYA ASGIRIYA

A historical *bibliotheca sacra siamica* in
Kandy, Sri Lanka

Jacqueline Filliozat
Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient
November 1994

No date.

Asgiriya Burmese 1

[Pāḷinighaṇṭuva buruma akuru – Abhidhānappadīpikā]   CPD. 5.6.1

Olas 1 to 2a, bl.

Beg. ola 2b(ka) : namo tassa ... (1st words missing as the ola is slightly damaged, we supply : [tathāgato]) line 2 text is legible : yo karuṇākaro karo ǀ payātamossajja sukhappadaṃ ǀ akā paratthaṃ kalisambhave bhave ǀ namāmi taṃ kevala dukkara kara ǀ apūjayuṃ yaṃ munikuñjārā jarā...

ola 28a(gā) 2 ǀ arañādivaggo niṭṭhito ǀ dutiyo bhūkaṇḍo niṭṭhito ǀ

" 29b(gi) 2 ǀ pāto(!)lavaggo niṭṭhito ǀ

End. ola 33a(ge) 4 ǀ vyatatayo vipariyayo ǀ vipariyayo tikkamo ǀ tva tipāto upaccayo ti ǀ saṃkiṇṇavaggo niṭṭhito ǀ nibbānapacca hotu ǀ ola 33b, bl.

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

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

Asgiriya Siamese 1

1. Paritta

A. Sattaparitta / Dvādasaparitta

Beg. ola 1a(ka) : first top line half missing, wanting: [sarajjaṃ sasenam sabandhuṃ narindaṃ parittānubhāvo sadā rakkhatū ti...bhaṇantu], supplied by a transcript in Sinhalese characters : sagge kāme ca rūpe girisikharataṭe cantalikkhe ... then text in Kham characters starts: ... yantu devā jalathalavisama yakkhagandhabbhanāgā tiṭṭhantā santike yaṃ munivaravacānaṃ sādhavo me suṇantu ǀ dhammassavanakālo ayambhaddantā ǀ ...

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 1

B. Maṅgalasuttappakāsana

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

ola 2a(kā) : pamādarahitā hontu ārakkhāsu visesato ǀ sāsanassa ca lokassa vuḍhi bhavatu sabbadā ǀ sāsanampi ca lokañca ...

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 3

C. Ratanasuttappakāsana

End. ola 3b(ki) 2 : yassāṇampaṭigaṇhānti yañca vesāḷiyampure ǀ rogāmanussadubbhikkhasambhūtanti vidhambhayaṃ ǀ khippamantaradhāpeti parittaṃ tam bhaṇāma he ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 7

D. Maṅgalasutta & Ratanasutta

Beg. ola 3b(ki) 5 : evam me sutaṃ ... sāvatthīyaṃ ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... atha kho añatarā devatā ǀ abhikkantāya rattiyā abhikkantavaṇṇā ǀ kevaḷakappaṃ ... bahū devā manussā ca maṅgalāni acintayuṃ ǀ akaṅkhamānā sotthānaṃ brūhi maṅgalamuttamaṃ ǀ ola 10a(ko) 2 ǀ ratanasutaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 4-10

E. Karaṇīyamettasutta

Beg. ola 10a(ko) 2 ǀ yassānubhāvato yakkhā neva dassenti bhiṃsanaṃ ǀ yamhi cevā ...
End. ola 12a(kaḥ) 3 ǀ karaṇiyamettasuttaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 10-11

F. Khandhaparitta

Beg. ola 12a(kaḥ) 4 ǀ sabbāsivisajātīnaṃ dibbamantāgadaṃ viya ǀ yaṃ nāseti visaṃ ghoraṃ sesañcā pi parissayaṃ ǀ
End. ola 13b(kha) 2 ǀ khandhaparittaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 11-12

G. Moraparitta

Beg. ola 13b(kha) 2 : ǀ purentambodhisambhāre nibbattaṃ morayoniyaṃ ǀ yena saṃvihitārakkhaṃ mahāsattaṃ vane carā ǀ
End . ola 15a(khi) 1 ǀ moraparittaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 12-13

H. Dhajaggaparitta

Beg. ola 15a(khi) 1 : ǀ yassānussaraṇenā pi antalikkhe pi pāṇino ǀ patiṭṭhamadhigacchanti bhūmiyaṃ viya sabbadā ǀ
End. ola 21a(khai) 1 ǀ dhajaggaparittaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 14-17

I. Āṭānātiyaparitta

Beg. ola 21a(khai) 1 : ǀ appassannehi nāthassa sāsane sādhusammate ǀ amanussehi caṇḍehi sadā kibbissakāribhi ǀ
End. ola 23b(khaṃ) 3 ǀ āṭānātiyasuttaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 17-20

J. Aṅgulimālaparitta

Beg. ola 23b(khaṃ) 3 : ǀ parittaṃ yambhaṇantassa nisinnaṭṭhānadhovanaṃ ǀ udakampi vināseti sabbameva parissayaṃ ǀ
End. ola 24a(khaḥ) 4 ǀ aṅgulimālaparittaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 20-22

K. Bojjhaṅgaparitta

Beg. ola 24a(khaḥ) 5 ǀ bojjhaṅgo satisaṅkhāto dhammānaṃ vicayo tathā ǀ viriyampītipassaddhi bojjhaṅgā ca tathāpare ǀ

End. ola 26a(gā) 5 ǀ bojjhaṅgaparittaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 57-58

L. Jayaparitta

Beg. ola 26b(gā) 1 ǀ mahākāruṇiko nātho hitāya sabbapāṇinaṃ ... sambodhimuttamaṃ ǀ etena saccavajjena hotu te jayamaṅgalaṃ ǀ jayanto bodhiyā mūle ... ǀ evaṃ tvaṃ vijayo hohi ... ǀ aparājitapallaṅke ... ǀ abhiseke sabbabuddhānaṃ ... ǀ sanakkhataṃ sumaṅgalyaṃ ...ǀ sukhaṇo sumahutto ... ǀ padakkhiṇaṃ kāyakammaṃ ... ǀ padakkhiṇaṃ ... ǀ padakkhiṇaṃ ... ǀ so atthaladdho ... ǀ arogo sukhito ...ǀ sā atthaladdhā sukhitā ... ǀ arogā sukhitā hohi ǀ te attha laddhā sukhitā ... ǀ arogā sukhitā hotha ... ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 60-61

M.[Some stanzas from Abhayaparitta ?]

sakkatvā buddharatanaṃ ... ǀ hitaṃ deva ... ǀ nassantupaddavā sabbe ... ǀ sakkatvā dhammaratanaṃ ... ǀ nassantupaddavā sabbe ... ǀ sakkatvā saṃgharatanaṃ ... ǀ natthi me saraṇaṃ ... ǀ me saraṇaṃ varaṃ ǀ etena saccavajjena ... ǀ yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ ... ǀ ratanabuddhasmaṃ ǀ dhammasmaṃ ǀ saṃghasmaṃ ǀ natthi tasmā sotthi ... ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 24-25 ?

N. Āṭānāṭiyaparitta fragments ?

sabbītiyo ... ǀ mā te bhavatvantarāyo ǀ ǀ abhivādanasīlissa... ǀ cattāro dhammā ... ǀ

End. ola 29a(gī) 1 : ǀ āṭānāṭiyaparittaṃ ǀ

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 55

O. [Some stanzas from Maṅgalacakkavāla ?]

bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ rakkhantu sabbadevatā sabbabuddhā ǀ dhammā ǀ saṃghā ǀ nubhāvena sadā sotthi bhavantu te ǀ nakkhatayakkhabhūtānaṃ pāpaggahanivāra ǀ ǀ bra cettatāṃnnā cappaparipūṇṇa ǀ olas 30b(gu), 31, bl.

Cf. *Bhāṇa* 64-65 ?; *Mahāpiritpota* 316-317 ?.

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

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

Beg. ola 2a (ka) : ǀ sarajjaṃ sasenaṃ sabandhaṃ narindaṃ ... (*Bhāṇa* 1, Sattaparitta; *Bhāṇa* 31, beg. Dvādasaparitta. Pāli text is mixed with colophons and commentary in Siamese in minute script).

Ola 2b (ka) 3 : ǀ saddhiṃ hotu sukhī sabbe parivārehi attano ǀ (*Bhāṇa* 4, line 6, Maṅgalasuttappakāsana) ... line 4 : ǀ etādisāni katvāna sabbatthaparājitā (*Bhāṇa* 6, 37, 132 end. Maṅgalasutta) ǀ

Ola 3a (kā) ǀ panidhānato patthāya tathāgatassa ...(*Bhāṇa* 6, 37, beg. Ratanasuttappakāsana) ǀ line 3 ǀ khippamantaradhāpesi ... ǀ line 4 ǀ yānidha bhūtāni ...(*Bhāṇa* 7, 38, beg. Ratanasutta) ǀ line 5 ǀ yānī (*Bhāṇa* 10, 35, end.

Ratanasutta)   I yassā   (*Bhāṇa*   10,   40,   beg.
Karaṇīyamettasuttappakāsana)I ... I

Ola 4a (ki) 4 I yasānusarane ... I evame suttaṃ I ... I
(*Bhāṇa* 14, 46, beg. Dhajaggaparitta) ...bhayaṃ vā chambhitattaṃ
vā lomahaṃso (*Bhāṇa* 17, 49, end. Dhajaggaparitta; 147, end.
Dhajaggasuttapāṭha) ... vā mameva tasmi samaye
anussareyyātha I iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho
I vijācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū I anuttaro
purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho
bhagavāti (*Bhāṇa* 106, mid. Buddhajayamaṅgala; 267, mid. Vinaya)I
mamaṃ hi vo bhikkhave anusarataṃ I yam bhavissati
bhayaṃ vā ... svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo (Pali Chant 76,
79 ; Pou NIC 1989 p. 128) I

Ola 6b (ku) 1: I atha saṃghaṃ sareyyatha
puñakhettaṃ anuttaraṃ I evam buddhaṃ sarantānaṃ
dhammaṃ saṃghañca bhikkhavo I bhayaṃ vā chambhatattaṃ
vā lomahaṃso vā sona hessatiti (*Bhāṇa* 17, 49, end.
Dhajaggaparitta; 147, end. Dhajaggasuttapāṭha) apassanne (*Bhāṇa*
17, 50, beg. Āṭānāṭiyaparittappakāsana) ... I vipassi (*Bhāṇa* 18, 50,
beg. Āṭānāṭiyaparitta; 171, beg. stanzas Āṭānāṭiyaparittasuttapāṭha
(pubbabhāga); 184 beg. stanzas Āṭānāṭiyaparittasuttapāṭha
(pacchimabhāga) I ... I sabbadukkhā panudanaṃ I ... ye cā pi
nibbutā loke yathā bhūtaṃ vipassiṃsu I te janā apisuṇā
mahantā vitasārado I hita devamanussānaṃ yaṃ
manassamassanti gotamaṃ I (*Bhāṇa* 171) ... name
sabbabuddhānaṃ uppannānaṃ mahesinaṃ I taṇhaṅkaro
mahāviro medaṅkaro mahāyaso I saranaṅkaro lokahito ...

Ola 8a (ke) 1 ... kasapo sirisampanno gotamo
sākyapaṅkavo I ete paño I ... nibbuto caturaṃ bhava I tesaṃ
saccena silena khantimettabalena ca I te pi tumhe
anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca (gives the list of 28
Buddhas = Aṭavisi pirita v. *Sanna sahita mahapiritpotvahansē*, ed.

Devindara Vācissara, Colombo, 1959, p. 321, stanzas 1-8 only) I
puratthimasmi disā bhāge santi bhuttāmahiddhikā I te pi
tumhe ... dakkhiṇasmi disā te santi devā ... pacchimasmi
disā bhāge santi nāgā ... uttarasmi disā bhāge santi yakkhā
...parimadisaṃ dhaḍhavaraṭṭho dakkhiṇo viruḷhako I
pacchimena virupakkho kuvero uttaraṃ disaṃ I cattāro te
mahārājā lokapālāyassasino I te pi tumhe anurakkhantu ...
ākāsaṭṭhā ca bhūmāṭṭhā devā nāgā mahiddhikā I te pi tumhe
anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca (Sabbadisaparitta v. EFEO
PALI 75) I natthi me saraṇaṃ añaṃ (*Bhāṇa* 24, mid. Sattaparitta,
54, mid. Āṭānāṭiyaparitta ; 95, beg. Saccakiriyāgāthā I I yaṃ kiñci
ratanaṃ (*Bhāṇa* 25, Sattaparitta) I I sakatvā (*Bhāṇa* 24, mid.
Abhayaparitta)I I sabbitiyo (Silva 1981 p. 25 I ... I
paritañcambhaṇantassa nisinna (*Bhāṇa* 20, 56, beg.
Aṅgulimālaparittappakāsana) I ... yatohaṃ (*Bhāṇa* 20, 56, beg.
Aṅgulimālaparitta) I I saṃsāre saṃsarantānaṃ sabbadukkh-
āvanāsane I sattadhamme ca bojjhaṅge mārasena-
ppamaddhino I buñjitvā yepisame sattā tibhavā muttakuttamā I
ajātiṃ ajarābyādhi amataṃ nibbhayaṃ gatā
evamādiguṇūpetaṃ anekaguṇaṃ saṅgahaṃ I osadañca imam
mantaṃ bojjhaṅgan tam bhaṇāma he I bojjhaṅgo
satisaṃkhāto I ... I pahinā te ca ābādā tiṇānampi
mahesinnaṃ I magāhatakilesā va pattānupatti dhammataṃ I
etena saccavajena sotthi te hontu sabbadā I (*Bhāṇa* 56-57
Bojjhaṅgaparittappakāsana, Bojjhaṅgaparitta, stanzas of beginning and
end only) puñalābhaṃ mahātejaṃ vaṇṇakittimahāyasaṃ I
sabbasattaha taṃ jātaṃ taṃ sunantu asesato I attaparahitaṃ
jātaṃ paritan tam bhaṇāmahe I yandunimitaṃ (*Bhāṇa* 22, 58,
Abhayaparitta) I I dukkhapātā (Pāli Chant 26) I vā ... sabbe
buddhā bhalappatā (*Bhāṇa* 59, end Abhayaparitta)I I jayaṃ
devamanussānaṃ jayo ho parājito mārasenā abhīkantā
samantā dvādassayojanā (*Bhāṇa* 59, beg. Jayaparittappakāsana).

End. ola 10b (kai) 1 : । khantimettā adhiṭṭhānā vimaṃsetvāna cakkhumā । bhavābhave saṃsaranto dibbacakkhu visodhayi । pariyāpannādisotthānaṃ hitāya ca sukhāya ca । buddhakiccaṃ visodhetvā paritan tam bhaṇāmahe । sabbamaṅgalaṃ ।। nakkhatyakkhabhūtānaṃ (*Bhāṇa* 30, 65 Maṅgalacakkavāḷa)।।+ Siamese language…

ola 11a (no n°, damaged, beginning missing), table of contents giving only the first words of the parittas, I transliterate the text of the ms. in bold, giving the concordances to printed texts in brackets : … **sabbetiyo 4** (v. sabbītiyo *infra* Silva 1981 p. 25) । **parittaṃ yambha** (= parittaṃ yambhaṇantassa nisinnaṭṭhāna dhovanam udakam pi vināseti sabbameva parissayaṃ … cf. *Bhāṇa* 20, 56, Aṅgulimālaparittappakāsana)। **yatohaṃ** (= yatohaṃ bhagini ariyāya jātiyā jato nābhi jānāmi sañcicca … cf. *Bhāṇa* 20, 56, Aṅgulimālaparitta) । **bojjhaṅgo** (= bojjhaṅgo satisaṅkhāto dhammānaṃ vicayo tathā viriyam pīti passaddhi bojjhaṅgā ca tathāpare *Bhāṇa* 57, Bojjhaṅgaparitta) । **yandu** … (= yandunnimittaṃ avamaṅgalañca yo cāmanāpo sakuṇassa saddo pāpaggaho dussupinaṃ *Bhāṇa* 22, 58, Abhayaparitta, or: Yandunimittaṃ dukkhappattā ca niddukkhā *Bhāṇa* 22) । **dukkappatā** (= dukkhappatā ca niddukkhā bhayappattā ca nibbhayā sokappattā ca nissokā hontu sabbepi pāṇino … Pāli Chant 26, end of Aṭavisi pirita Mahāpirit pota 321, Liyanaratne 1983 p. 78) । **sabbe buddhā** (= sabbe buddhā balappattā paccekānañca yambalam arahantānañca tejena rakkhaṃ bandhāmi sabbaso *Bhāṇa* 59, Abhayaparitta) । **mahākaruṇiko** (= mahākaruṇiko nātho atthāya sabbapāṇinaṃ pūretvā pāramī sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ *Bhāṇa* 97, 2nd § Ariyadhanagāthā, or: mahākaruṇiko nātho sunakkhattaṃ so atthaladdho *Bhāṇa* 23, or: mahākaruṇiko nātho hitāya sabbapāṇinaṃ *Bhāṇa* 60, Jayaparitta, or: mahākaruṇiko buddho sāvakānaṃ hitesako *Bhāṇa* 343, Bhikkhu-apariyāniyadhammasuttappakāsana) । **jayanto** (=*Bhāṇa* 60 or ed.

Sattaparitta-Dvādasaparitta, Phnom Penh 1935 p. 67= 2nd stanza jayaparittagāthā; cf. Pou NIC 1989 p. 129; Jayaparitta Pāli Chant 23) । **so aṭṭhaladdho** (= *Bhāṇa* 60, end Jayaparitta) । **sakkatvā** (= sakkatvā buddharatanam osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ hitaṃ deva-manussānaṃ budhatejena sotthinā *Bhāṇa* 24, mid. Abhayaparitta) । **natthi me** (= natthi me saranaṃ aññaṃ buddho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ etena saccavajjena sotthi te hotu sabbadā *Bhāṇa* 95, beg. Saccakiriyāgāthā) । **yaṃ kiñci rattanaṃ** (= yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke vijjati vividhaṃ puthuratanam saṅghasamaṃ natthi tasmā sotthī bhavantu te *Bhāṇa* 25, Sattaparitta) । **sabbetiyo** (= sabbītiyo vivajjantu sabbarogo vinassatu mā te bhavatvantarāyo sukhi dighāyuko bhave : cf. Silva 1981 p. 25 " May all calamities cease. May all diseases be wiped out. May no danger beset you. May you enjoy long life."; Mahājayamaṅgalagāthā, *Mahāpirit pota* 316)। **bhavatu sabba** (= bhavatu sabbamaṅgalam nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ *Bhāṇa* 29, or: bhavatu sabbamaṅgalam rakkhantu sabbadevatā sabbabuddhānubhavena sadā sotthī bhavantu te *Bhāṇa* 29, 64, mid. Maṅgalacakkavāḷa, or: bhavatu sabbamaṅgalam rakkhantu sabbadevatā sabbasaṅghānubhāvena sadā sotthī bhavantu te *Bhāṇa* 109, Buddhajayamaṅgala; 111, Visesānumodanā-Maṅgalacakkavāḷa ?) । **nakkhattayakkha** (= Nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ *Bhāṇa* 65) । **parittassānubhāvena hantvā tesaṃ upaddave** (= parittassānubhāvena hantvā tesaṃ upaddave । nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ pāpaggahanivāraṇā parittasānubhāvena hantvā tesaṃ upaddave *Bhāṇa* 30, 65 Maṅgalacakkavāḷa) । ola 11b, engraved with Sinhalese script.

Some minute Sinhalese transcripts between the Kham script lines on a few olas.

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

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 2

Quotations from some Jātakas [Nandivisālajātaka ? & Tittirajātaka][1] fragments CPD.2.5.10,1

Starts ola 3b (no n°) line 2 … satam kañāsahassāni tātha kho āmuttamanīkundalā sakalajambūdiparājadhitaro cāti imasmā ettakā lābhā vihāram gacchantassa tasmim solasikalasankhāte padese lamghana sādhana vasena …

For: "satam kañāsahassāni āmuttamanīkundalā", see Liyanaratne 1983 pp. 33-34 a few words belonging to the introductory stanza of Ummaggajātaka in Sinhalese ?; see also Somadasa 1987 vol I p. 178 VI. Padavīthāra Jātakaya: satam hatthī… ?

Ola kē b line 3 : … brāhmanassa nandavisālo nāma balibaddho ahosi ı atha kho bhikkhave nandavisālo baddho tam brāhmanam etadavoca ı gaccha tvam brāhmana setthinā saddhi sahassena abbhuddham karohi mayaham balibaddho sakatthasatam atibaddham apavajjessatīti ı atha kho bhikkhave so brāhmano setthinā saddhim sahassena abbhudam akāsi …

Cf. ed. PTS *Jātakatthavannanā* , vol I p. 191, another recension, text different.

Ola ghā a line 1 : ı … attano upaniyamānam dakkhinodakam ı atha kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesīti tehi bhikkhūhi attano attano rucivasena aggāsanādirahānam kathitakāle na bhikkave mayham sāsane aggāsānādīni patvā khattiyakulā pabbajjito pamānam na brāhmanakulā na gahapatikulā pabbajito na vinayadharo na suttantiko na ābhidhammiko na pathamajjhānādilābhino na sotapannadayo pamanam atha kho bhikkhave imasmim sāsane yathāvudham abhivādanapaccapatthānam añjalikammam sāmicikammam kattabbam aggāsanam aggodakam aggapindo laddabbo idam ettha pamānam tasmā vudhataro bhikku etesam anucchaviko idāni kho pana bhikkhave sāriputto mayham aggasavako anudhammmacakkappavattako mamānantara senāsanam laddham arahati so imam rattim …

Cf. ed. PTS *Jātakatthavannanā* , vol I pp. 217 line 32 to 218 line 9, text different.

7 olas, 540 x 58mm, 2 cord holes, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 5 lines—Kham script—Numb. Kham letters—badly damaged on borders and around cord holes.

No date.

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[1] Identified by Prof. Oskar v. Hinüber.

Asgiriya Siamese 3

Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā abridged recension

A. [Atthasālinī]—Dhammasaṅgaṇī-aṭṭhakathā

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

Beg. ola 4a(ka) : ı tvā ı karuṇā viya sattesu paññā yassa mahesi ı ñeyyadhammesu sabbesu pavattittha yathāruciṃ dayāya tāya sattesu …

End. ola 39b(gaḥ) 4 : bra saṅgiṇī ı athakathā tām prasaṅgaparipūraṇā niṭṭhitā ı nibbānapaccayo hotu ı olas 40 to 42, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS , Atthasālinī

B. [Sammohavinodanī]—Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā

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

Beg. ola 47b(gha) : catusaccadasso nātho catudhā dhammasaṅgiṇi pakāsayitvā sambuddho …

End. ola 67b(ṅē) 5 : dhammānupassanānideso niṭṭhito ı olas 68 to 70, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, Sammohavinodanī

C. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā I]—Dhātukathā-aṭṭhakathā

Ola 71a, in the middle : bra dhātukathā lee aṭṭhakathā tām pranisaṅgaparipūraṇa phūk 3 ı ola 71b, bl. ola 72a,

transcript in ink in Sinhalese : dhātukathāṭṭhakathā ; ola 72b, bl.

Beg. ola 73a(ṅo) : ı nitāṃ aṭṭha ı aṭṭhārasahi bhedehi vibhaṅga mārabhuñjano desayitvā mahāviro …

End. ola 86b(caṃ) 5 ı evameva kho mahārāja yānimāni pañcāyatanāni ca nānā kammehi nibbattā ı natthi ekena kammenā ti ı ola 87, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā I] Dhātu-Kathā Pakaraṇa and its commentary, p. 114

D. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā II] —Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā

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

Beg. ola 92a(cha) : ı tāṃ atthaṃ ı nipuṇatthaṃ pakaraṇa dhātubhedappakāsano satthā dhātukatha nāma …

End. ola 113a[jo] 1 : ı ekakaṃ niddeso niṭṭhito … ekapuggala ı la ı … dasapuggala ı puggelapañati natthito ı cap puggalapañatti ı nibbānapaccayo hotu ı in the margins, additions engraved in minute Kham script. Olas 113b to 115, bl.

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

E. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā III] — Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā

Ola 116a, in the middle : ı bra kathāvatthu lee aṭṭhakathā cap paripūṇṇ… phūk 5 ı

transcript in ink in Sinhalese : kathāvatthu aṭṭhakathā; olas 116b to 117, bl.

Beg. ola 118a(jee) : ı attha ı nisinno devalokasmiṃ devasaṃgharakkhato sadevakassa lokassa satthā appaṭipuggalo ı ...

End. ola 134b(ña) 5 : ı āṇañjakathā niṭṭhitā ı kathāvatthupakaraṇa niṭṭhitā ı ola 135, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā III] Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā, 1979 p. 1-196.

F. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā IV] - Yamakaṭṭhakathā

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

Beg. ola 137a(ña) : ı namatthu ı attha ı saṅkhepeneva devānaṃ devadevo surālaye kathāvatthupakaraṇaṃ desayitvā ...

End. ola 154b(ṭe) 2 : ı dukkhasaccaṃ ca cutimitipaṭisandhi supicavatte pi labbhati tatridanayamakaṃ ı sabbesaṃ uppapajjantānanti anantamaso suddhāvāsānaṃ pi ı olas 155 to 156, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā IV] Yamakappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā , JPTS 1910-12 p. 52

G. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā V] — Mahāpaṭṭhānaṭṭhakathā

Ola 157a, in the middle : ı bra mahāpaṭṭhāna lee atthakathā tām prasaṅgaparipuṇṇa ... phūk 7 ı transcript in ink in Sinhalese : mahāpaṭṭhānaya aṭṭhakathā ; olas 157b to 161a, bl.

Beg. ola 161b(ṭe (!) bis?) : ı attha ı devātidevo devānaṃ devatānarapūjito desayitvā pakaraṇaṃ yamakaṃ suddhasañamo ...

End. ola 172a(ṭṭhū) 4 : ı sokadukkhadomanassāti dukkhavedanā eva ı parideva pi doso upāyāso somanassa doso vāti ı olas 172b to 176, bl.

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

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

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 4

1. Paññāsajātaka fragment

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

Beg. ola 4a(kya) : tam atthaṃ pakāsento satthā āha ı puñasāro pañātaro puñakammena sijjhati muñce puñaṃ katvā na sabbasukhaṃ rammati so katapuño sadā loke puñakhettesu tādisu ...

ola 7b(kyu) 4 ı siddhisārajātakaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ı

"18a(khyī) 1 ı narajivakathinajāṭakaṃ "

End. ola 26a(khyaṃ) 5 ı atidevarājajāṭakaṃ kathinadānaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ı tetiṃsajātakasamataṃ ı olas 26b to 28, bl.

This ms. is very similar to EFEO PALI 54 (same foliation for same chapters) :

ôle 423b(kyu) 4 ı siddhisārajāṭakaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ı (éd. PTS n° 48)

"434a(khyī) 1 ı narajivakathinajāṭakaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ı (éd. PTS n° 12 ?)

"441a(khyaṃ) 4 ı atidevo lokanātho eva dharetha jāṭakanti atidevarājajāṭakathinadānaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ı

tetiṃsajāṭakaṃ samattaṃ ı ; cf. Paññāsajātaka EFEO PALI 123 :

37. Siddhisāra p. 283 (éd. PTS n° 48)

38. Narajīva (éd. PTS n° 12 ?)

39. Atidevarāja p. 301 (éd. none)" . No concordance with the Camb. ed. *Paññāsajātaka* ; cf. for some other fragments, BL. OR. 12524; BN PALI 324- 325-628; EFEO PALI 54- 60- 123; FEMC PALI A 48; B 14; D 70; ME PALI 7- 8-30

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

No date.

2. [Jātakatthavaṇṇanā—Mahānipāta]—Vidhurajātaka fragment

Ola 1a, in the middle : bra vidhurajāṭakka phūk 1; olas 1b to 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(ṅū) : paṇḍu kisiyāsi dubbhalā ti ida satthā jetavane viharanto paññāpāramī ārabbha kathesi ı

Stop. ola 36b(jī) 5: … kathaṃ samānāsano bhaveyya yathā siṅgālo sihassa samānāsano na hoti tatheva mayhaṃ tumhākan ta(!) ı imam panassa kathaṃ sutvā puttadhittaro ca ñātisuhajadā (in ink : tuṇhi ahesuṃ ı) olas 37 to 40, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 255-292 line 2, another recension.

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

No date.

3. [Jātakatthavaṇṇanā—Mahānipāta]—Vidhurajātaka fragment

Ola 1a, in the middle : bra vidhūrajātakaṃ paripūṇṇaṃ navamaṃ ı phūk ı 2 ı olas 1b to 2a, bl.

Start. ola 2b(ṇo) : atha me paṇḍito puttadhitaro ca ñātiyo pāna upagantvā tuṇhibhūte disvā …

End. ola 36b(dē) 5 : ı vidhūrajātakkaṃ niṭṭhītaṃ navamaṃ ı + Siamese; olas 37 to 40, bl.

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

40 olas, 540 x 50mm, gilded edges, 2 cord-holes, 5 lines, 62 char. —Kham script—Num. Kham letters—many additions, corrections and notes in ink. Perfect state of conservation.

No date.

4. [Jātakatthavaṇṇanā—Mahānipāta] fragments

A. Temiyajātaka / Mūgapakkhajātaka

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

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

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

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

B. Mahājanakajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : bra mahājanaka paripuṇṇa ׀ phū 1 +Siamese; in ink, in Sinhalese script: mahājanaparipuṇṇa; olas 1b to 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(ka) : koyaṃ majjhe samuddhasmin ti idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto…   *Stop.* ola 51b(ṅa) 1: ׀ svākhāto bhagatā dhammo sadiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opaneyyiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viñūhī ti suppatipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṃgho khujjapatipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṃgho ñāya patipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṃgho sāmiti patipanno bhagavato sāvaka
olas 52 to 54, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 30-68 + formula: svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo dhammaṃ namassāmi (Pāli Chant 79 = Pou NIC 1989 p. 128; Silva 1981, worship of the Saṃgha)

C. Suvaṇṇasāmajātaka

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

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

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

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

D. Nimijātaka

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

Beg. ola 3b(ka) : accheraṃ vata lokasmin ti idaṃ satthā mithilaṃ upanissāya …

End. ola 43b(yu) 5 : ׀ nimirājajātakaṃ catutthaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ׀ olas 44 to 46, bl.

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

E. Mahosathajātaka / Mahāummaggajātaka

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

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

Stop. ola 32a(ge) 5 :׀ sādhu bhadde imam varaṃ gaṇhāhī ti ׀ sirikālakaṇṇī paṇho niṭṭhito ׀

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 329-349, another recension.

ola 36b, in the middle : ı bra mahosathajāṭakka ı phūk 2 ı in Sinhalese script : mahosadhajātaka; in ink, in small bent kham script , one sentence also repeated on ola 36b : dasame kathinudāve(re?) dhammikanti vassānassa pacchime māse atthate kathine sabbāsam bhikkhunīnam akāsa(la?) civaram dātukāmena upāsakkena yatthako kathinatthāra-mūllako anisamso ta(i?)ko anikam vā samakam vā dabbā yā pitakkena bhikkhunisamghena samaggena yam kathinam uddhariyati tassa uddhāro dhammiko ti vuccati ı

Ola 37a(di): bodhisatto tam āha bhadde mayham phalam dehī ti sā imam paṇḍitam vā apaṇitam vā na jānāmi visamsissāmi nanti cintetvā evamāha sāmi unhaphalam khādissali atha vālītaphalanti ı ola 40, bl.

Resumes, ola 41a(tha) : aparasmim divase rājā katapātarāsabhattakicco pāsādassa dighantare caṅkamanto ...

Ola 71b(dhē) 3 ı devatā paṇho niṭṭhito ı

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

F. Mahosathajātaka / Mahāummaggajātaka

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

Beg. ola 4a(jo) : ı atheka divasam ka(!)vaṭṭo [for: kevaṭṭo] ādāsena mukham olokento lalāte vaṇam disvā ...

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

Stop. ola 43b(ṭṭha) 4 : ı ṇhātvā nānattarasa bhojanam bhuñjitvā sayanavaragato manoratho me matthakam pattoti āvajjento nippajji ı olas 44, 45, bl.

Ola 46a, in the middle : braḥ mahosathajāṭakka nitthitam phūk smā ı in ink, in Sinhalese script: mahosadhajātakam niṭṭhitam ; olas 46b to 49a, bl.

Beg. ola 49b(not numb.) : ı puna te cattāro paṇḍitā gahapati putto idāni mahantaro jāto ... ola 50(ṭṭha), ola 51(ṭṭhā), ola 52(ṭṭhi) ...

Stop. ola 85a[ḍhaḥ] 4 :ı braḥ mahosatha phūk smā ı olas 85b to 88, bl.

G. Mahosathajātaka / Mahāummaggajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : braḥ mahosathajāṭaka phūk hā cap paripūṇṇā ı 5 ı + Siamese in small script; in ink, in Sinhalese script : mahosadhajātakam paripuṇṇam; olas 1b to 3, bl.

Beg. ola 4a(yi) : ı athassā rattiyā accayena culanīrājāsenāṅgam vicāriyamāno tam nagaram upāgami ı tamattham pakāsento satthā āha ı ...

End. ola 39a(vā) 4 : ı mahosathajāṭakañca pañcamam niṭṭhitam ı nibbānapaccayo hotu ı phūk 5 ı olas 40 to 43, bl.

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

H. Bhūridattajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : braḥ bhuridatta phūk 1 ı + Siamese; in ink, in Sinhalese script : bhuridattatthakathā(!); olas 1b to 2, bl. Ola 3, in ink 3 lines in Siamese language.

Ola 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(la) : yam kiñci ratanam atthī ti idam satthā sāvatthiyam upanissāya jetavane viharanto...

Stop. ola 33a[sū] 4 : ı rājaṅgalo mañcā ti mañce bandisum ı ālambāyanakaṇḍam niṭṭhītam ı olas 33 to 36, bl.

Ola 37a, in the middle : brah bhūridatta phūk 2 ı in ink, in Sinhalese script : bhuridattatthakathā(!); olas 37b to 38, bl.

Resumes, ola 39a(cai) : ı ālambāyanena bodhisattassa gahitadivase ...

End. ola 71b(jhī) 5 :ı bhūridattajātakam chatthamam nitthitam ı olas 72 to 73, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, p. 157-219, another recension.

I. Candakumārajātaka / Khandahālajātaka

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

Beg. ola 4b(ka) : ı rājāsi luddakammoti idam satthā gijjhakūte pabbate...

End. ola 39b(gah) 4 : ı candakumārajātakam sattamam nitthitam ı buddhapūjā dhammapūjā samghapū
olas 40 to 43, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, p. 129-157, another recension.

J. Mahānāradajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : bra mahānāraddhajātakam atthamam paripunnam ı + Siamese in ink, in Sinhalese script: mahānāradajātakam atthamam paripunnam ; olas 1b to 3a, bl.

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

End. ola 44b(ghū) 5 :ı mahānāradajātakam nitthitam ı olas 45 to 46, bl.

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

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

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 5

Sārasaṅgaha fragment CPD. 2.9.3

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

Start. ola 4a(ṅa) : ı etāni pana mahāparinibbānasuttavannanāyam vuttāni ı tattha gumbamattanti ālhakamattam ı ekacco hi paṅhasamutthāpetum yeva sakkoti nanicchetum ... olas 28 to 30, bl. Ola 31a, margins : contents in Siamese; in the middle : cha ja bra sārasaṅgaha phūk 4 ı in ink, Sinhalese script : sārasaṅgaha. Olas 31b to 33, 58 to 60, bl. Ola 61a, in the middle : ja ña sārasaṅgaha phūk 5; olas 61b to 63, 88 to 90, bl.

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

Ola 311a, idem ... phūk 13; olas 311 to 313, 337b to 339, bl.
Ola 340a, idem ... phūk 14; olas 340b to 342, bl.

End. ola 366b(laḥ): ı sārasaṅgahānandhācariyena saranacittā samattā niṭṭhitā ı olas 367 to 369, bl.

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

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

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 6

1. Pātha Buddhavaṃsa
CPD. 2. 5. 14

Ola 1a, in the middle : pāthabuddhavaṅsa phūk 1; in ink in Sinhalese script : pāthabuddhavaṃsaya; olas 1b to 7a, bl.*Beg.* ola 7b(ka) : namo tassa ... brahmā ca lokādhipati sahampati katañjalī anadhivaraṃ ayācatha santīdha sattā

apparajakkhajātikā   desehi dhammaṃ anukampī maṃ pajjanti ı bhagavā lokādhipati ... olas 31 to 36, bl. Ola 37a, in the middle : pāthabuddhavaṅsa phūk 2; olas 37b to 42, 67 to 72, bl. Ola 73a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 3; olas 73b to 78, 103 to 108, bl.Ola 109a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 4; olas 109b to 118, bl.

End. : ola 133b(ji) 3 : ı dhātubhājaniyakathā niṭṭhitā ı varakutanigammarupenisanno   dhanadhañasampannakulo ahosi mahājane thapitvā setāmayuttabhayaṃ vihārasimañca kahañca akāsi ramme tassa netto mahāpañe nāmena paduttaro so thero likkhati catuvisati pāliyaṃ catthuvisati buddhavaṃso niṭṭhito ı olas 134 to 143, bl.

Cf. BN PALI 123- 131- 132-615-781; ICP 32- 65- 68- 90; ed. PTS pp. 1-69 for the verses only.

2.   Madhuratthavilāsinī—Buddhavaṃs-aṭṭhakathā
CPD. 2.5.14,1

Ola 1a, in the middle : ı aṭṭhakathā buddhavaṅsa ı phūk   1   ı   parilapūṇṇa; in ink, Sinhalese   script: buddhavaṃsa... ; olas 1b to 7a, bl.

Beg. ola 7b(ka) ı namatthu ı anantañāṇaṃ karuṇālayaṃ layaṃ malassa buddhaṃ susamāhitaṃ hitaṃ namāmi dhammaṃ bhavasaṃvaraṃ varaṃ guṇākarañceva niraṅganaṃ ganaṃ ı pañāya seṭṭho jinassāvakānaṃ ... olas 31 to 36, bl. Ola 37a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 2 ı olas 37b to 42, 68 to 73, bl. Ola 74a, in the middle : ı ki ı idem ... phūk 3 ṅa ca; olas 74b to 79, 104 to 109, bl. Ola 110a, in the middle : ı kī ı idem ... phūk 4 ı cha ja ı ola 110b to 115, 140 to 145, bl. Ola 146a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 5 jha ña; olas 146b to 151, 176 to 181, bl. Ola 182a, in the middle:

idem ... phūk 6 ı olas 182b to 187, 211 to 216, bl. Ola 217a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 7 ı sarapālla ḍa ḍha paripuṇṇa ı olas 217b to 222, 248 to 253, bl. Ola 254a, in the middle: idem ... phūk 8 sarapālla ṇa ta; olas 254b to 259, bl.

ola 275b(tī) 1 ı padumabuddhavaṃsavaṇṇanā samattā ı olas 284 to 289, bl. Ola 290a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 9 ı ola 290b to 295, 320 to 325, bl. Ola 326a, in the middle: idem ... phūk 10 ... dha na paripūṇṇa ı olas 326b to 331, 356 to 361, bl.

Ola 362a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 11 ı olas 362b to 367, bl.

ola 373b(pū) 5 ı vipassibuddhavaṃso niṭṭhito ı olas 392 to 397, bl. Ola 398a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 12 ı olas 398b to 403, 428 to 433, bl. Ola 434a, in the middle : idem ... phūk 13; olas 434b to 439, bl.

End., ola 463b(yaḥ) 1 ı iti madhuratthavilāsini na nāma budhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā ı garuhi ta nāmena buddhadatto ti vissuto verena katvā aṭṭhakathaṃ madhuratthavilāsinī āropayitvā ... ı antarāyaṃ vinā eso yathā niṭṭhaṃ upāgato tatheva sijjhantu saṅkappā sattānaṃ dhammānissatāti ı buddhavaṅso so pañcavisati buddhavaṅsapiṭakaṃ sapiji ı olas 464 to 471, bl.

Cf. BN PALI 131-615; ICP 65; ed. PTS pp. 1-299

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

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 7

Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā fragments CPD.2.5.2,1

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

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

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

Start. ola 5a(jyī) : ı abhitthatheratha kalyāṇe ti imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto culekasāṭakabrāhmaṇaṃ ārabbha kathesi ı vipassidasabalassa kālasmiṃ hi mahāekasāṭakabrāhmaṇo nāma ahosi ı ayaṃ pana etarahi sāvatthiyaṃ culekasāṭako nāma ı ...

Ola 9a(jyē) 1 ı cuḷekasāṭakavatthu ı
"9b   " 5 ı seyyasakattheravatthu ı
"13a(jyaḥ) 2 ı lājadevadhītāvatthu ı
"17b(jhyī) 1 ı anāthapiṇḍikavatthu ı
"18b(jhyu) 1 ı aseyyakavatthu ı
"21a(jhyē) 1 ı vilārapadikaseṭṭhīvatthu ı
"23a(jhyo) 1 ı mahādhanabāṇijjavatthu ı

Olas 26, 27, engraved uninked text, reused olas as covers, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 1-24

2. [Wanting phūk 2] 3 isolated olas numbered kya, gyā, gyi that could not find place in any bundle. Ola gyi a line 3 : ı kukkuṭamitavatthu ı

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

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

   Ola 5b(ṅa) 3 : ı mahāmoggallānattheravatthu ı
   "10a (ṅe) 1 ı bahūbhaṇḍakabhikkhuvatthu ı
   "13b(ṅo) 4 ı santatimahāmattavatthu ı
   "16a(ca) 1 ı pilotikattheravatthu ı
   "25b(co)   1   ı   sukhasāmaṇeravatthu   ı
daṇḍavaggavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā ı dasamo vaggo ı
ola 28a, in ink, list of chapters from another book (it seems from Paṭhamasambodhi ! : maṅgalavivāha 1 tusita 2 … rājābhiseka 5 mahābhinikkhamana 6 dukkarakiriyā 7 buddhapūjā 8 māravijeyya 9 abhisambodhi 10, etc.
Ola 28b, bl. Olas 29, 30, bl. sewn.

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

4.   Ola 1a, in the middle : ı bra dhammapada mat plāyy phūk 22 ı Margins, table of stories and in ink : phūk 4; olas 1b 2a, bl. Ola 2b , 1 line in Siamese language.

   Ola 3a(cha) 3 ı surāpivavatthu samattaṃ ı
   "6b(chī) 5 ı sirimāyavatthu ı
   "7b(chu) 3 ı uttaratherī°
   "8b(chū) 2 ı adhimānakabhikkhu°
   "12a(cho) 5 ı panandhāthera°
   "15a(jā) 1 ı mallikāya°
   "17b(jī) 2 ı loḷudāyi°
   "18b(ju) 3 ı pathamabodhi°
   "25a(jaḥ) 2 ı bodhirāja°
   Olas 26, 27, bl. reused as covers, sewn.

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

5.   [Wanting phūk 5] Ola 1a, in the middle : ı bra dhammapada phūk 26 mat play ı Margins, table of stories and in ink : phūk 6; olas 1b, 2,bl. sewn, reused as covers. Olas 3, 4, bl.

   Ola 5a(ḷi) 5 ı pesakāradhītāvatthu ı
   "6b(ḷī) 1 ı tiṃsabhikkhuvaṇṇanā samatā ı
   "10a(ḷē) 1 ı cincamānavikāvatthu ı
   "14a(ḷaḥ) 3 ı asadisadāna°
   "21a(dhye ?) 1 ı māgaṇḍibrāhmaṇa° ı
   Ola 27, reused as cover, olas 28, 29 bl.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 170-199

6. Ola 1a, in the middle : ı bra dhammapada mat plāy phūk 27 ı Margins, table of stories and in ink : phūk 7; olas1b, 2, bl. except 1 line in ink, sewn.

Start. ola 3a(nya) : ṇo gotamo gaṇḍāmbarukkhamūle pāṭihiriyaṃ kariyaṃ karissatīti tumhehi yojanabbhantare tadahu jātā ambapotakā uppātāpitā gaṇḍāmbo nāma ayanti vatvā ...

Ola 23a(pyai) 1 ı te pi tāpasā jivitapariyosāne brahmalokaparāyanā ahesuṃ ı jāṭakaṃ samodhānesi ı tadā jeṭṭhante vāsiko sāriputto hoti ı mahābrahmā pana ahamevā idaṃ jāṭakaṃ viṭṭhārena kathesī ti ı devorohanavatthuṃ ı kiccho manussapatilābho ti imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ satthā bārāṇasiṃ upanissāya sattasirisarukkhamūle viharanto ...

Stop. , ola 26b(pyaḥ) 4 ı satthā tassa kathaṃ sutvā mahārāja manussattaṃ nāma dullabham eva tathā saddhammasavanaṃ tathā buddhuppādo idaṃ hi kiccena kasirena labhatī ti vatvā dhammaṃ desento imaṃ gāthaṃ āha ı kiccho manussapati

Olas 27, 28, bl. sewn.

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

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

Ola 4b(phya) 1 ı erakapattanāgarājā vatthu samattaṃ ı
"6a(phyi) 3 ı ānandapaṇhaṃ vatthuṃ ı
"8a(phyu) 2 ı anabhirata° ı
"13a(phyo) 1 ı aggidatta° ı
"13b   "   4 ı ānandavisajjanapaṇha° ı
"14b(phyaṃ) 4 ı pathamabhāṇāvāraṃ nitthitaṃ ı

"16b(bya) 5 ı sākyavivādavatthu ı
"17b(byā) 3 ı kumārikāyo°
"18b(byi) 1 ı kosala°
"19a(byī) 5 ı kumārika°
"21a(byū) 3 ı upāsaka°
"23a(byē) 3 ı kosala°
"24a(phyai) [wanting byai !] 4 ı tissatthera°
"26a(byaṃ) 5 ı sakkānupaṭṭhāka°
Olas 28, 29, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 236-272

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

Ola 4a(bhya) 4 ı tayojanavatthuṃ ı
"8b(bhyu) 3 ı katumbiyaputtamatta°
"9b(bhyū) 1 ı visākhāyanattāmaraṇa°
"10a(bhye) 3 ı lacchavi°
"12b(bhyai) 3 ı anitthigandhakumāra°
"14b(bhyaḥ) 3 ı dārakapuvadāna°
"15b(mya) 3 ı anāgāmithera°
"22a(myē) 4 ı rohiṇīkañña°
"23b(myai) 5 ı rukkhachedabhikkhu°
Ola 27, bl. olas 28, 29, reused as covers, sewn.

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

9. Ola 1a, in the middle : ı bra dhammapada mat plāy phūk 30 ı Margins, table of stories half in ink, half engraved , small Kham script and in ink : phūk 10 ; olas1b, 2, reused, sewn. Ola 3a, one line in small script in ink, ola 3b, bl.

Ola 8b(yyu) 1 । uttarāvatthuṃ ।
"10b(yye) 1 । moggallanapaṇhaṃ vatthuṃ ।
"13a(yyo) 2 । brāhmaṇabuddhapitāvatthu ।
"17b(ryā) 1 । puṇṇadāsi° ।
"20a(ryu) 1 । atulyaupāsaka°
"20b "   5 । chabbattiya°
"24b(ryai) 5 । goghāṭaka°
"26b(ryaṃ) 1 । brāhmaṇasāla°
"28b(nra ?) 3 । tissatthera°
Olas 34 to 36, reused as covers, 35, 36, sewn.

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

10. Ola 1a, in the middle : । bra dhammapada mat plāy
phūk 31 । Margins, table of stories in ink : phūk 11; olas1,
2, reused, sewn.
Ola 4a(pā) 4 । culasārībhikkhuvatthu ।
"10(pē) 1 । pañcaupāsaka°
"19a(phu) 3 । meṇḍakaseṭṭhī°
"19b "   4 । ujjhāyanasaññithera°
"22a(phē) 3 । vinicchayamahāmatta°
"24a(pho) 4 । ekudānatthera°
Olas 26, 27 reused as covers, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III 351-384

11. Ola 1a, in the middle : । bra dhammapada mat plāy
phūk 32 । Margins, table of stories in ink : phūk 12; olas1b,
2,bl., sewn.
Ola 4a(bā) 2 । [h]atthatatheravatthuṃ
"5a(bi) 1 । aññatarabrāhmaṇavatthu°
"6b(bī) 3 । titthiya°

"8b(bū) 5 । sambahulabhikkhu°
"10b(bē) 4 । pañcasatabhikkhu°
"12a(bo) 2 ।   "
"14a(baḥ) 1 । padānakammikatissatthera°
"21a(bhe) 2 । poṭṭhilathera°
"23a(bhai) 3 । mahalakathera°
"26a(bhaḥ) 3 । saddhiṃ vihārika°
Olas 27, 28, bl. , sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 390-429

12. Ola 1a, in the middle : । bra dhammapada mat plāy
phūk 33 । Margins, table of stories in ink : phūk 13; ola1b,
Siamese language in ink, 2, reused, olas 1, 2, sewn.Ola 3,
bl.
Ola 4a(mā) 1 । mahābāṇijjavatthu । cf. ed. PTS vol III p.
429
"5a(mi) 1 । kisāgotami°
"6a(mī) 1 । paṭācārā°।
"7a(mu) 1 । bhaddiyabhikkhu°।
"16b(yi) 2 । kukkuṭa aṇḍakhādika° । cf. ed. PTS vol III
p. 451
Olas 27, 28, reused, sewn.

13. Ola 1a, in the middle : । bra dhammapada mat plāy
phūk 34 । Margins, table of stories in ink : phūk 14; olas1b,
2a, bl. Ola 2b, one line in small script in Siamese language.
Ola 3a(ra) 4 । cittagahapativatthu ।
"8a(rū) 4 । pakiṇṇakavaggavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā ।
ekavīsatimo vaggo ।
"12b(ro) 1 । dukkapiḷitasattavatthu ।

"16a(lā) 1 ı añataradubbaccabhikkhu°
"16b " 5 ı issāpakataṃ itthi°
"19b(lu) 3 ı nigaṇṭha°
Olas 27, 28, bl.

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

14.   Ola 1a, in the middle : ı bra dhammapada mat plāy phūk 35   ı Margins, table of stories engraved and in ink : phūk 15; olas 1b, 2,bl., sewn. Ola 3, shorter, round edges, text in Siamese.

Ola 6a(vi) 2 ı parijiṇṇabrāhmaṇassa puttavatthu ı
"11a(vē) 5 ı sānusāsāmaṇerassa vatthu ı
"12a(vai) 3 ı pāverakahatthi° (ed. = bhadderaka° K.= pāveyyaka)
"14b(vaṃ) 3 ı sambahulabhikkhu°
"26a(saṃ) 1 ı sukarapota°
"27a(saḥ) 4 ı vibhantakabhikkhu°
Olas 29, 30, reused, sewn.

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

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

Ola 3a, smaller, round edges , 2 lines in ink in Siamese language. Ola 3b, bl.
"6a(hi) 2 ı khemāyavatthu ı
"14b(haṃ) 4 ı māra°
"18b(ḷi) 4 ı sakkapañha°
"21a(ḷū) 2 ı aputtakaseṭṭhi°

"22a(ḷe) 3 ı aṅkuradevaputta°ı taṇhāvaggavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā ı catuvīsatimo vaggo ı
Ola 24b(ḷai) 1 ı pañcabhikkhuvatthuṃ ı
Olas 28, 29, reused as covers.

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

16. Ola 1a, in the middle : ı   bra dhammapada mat pāy(!) phūk 37   ı Margins, table of stories in ink : phūk 17; olas 1b, 2, bl., sewn.

Ola 16a(krā) 1 ı sambahulābhikkhūvatthu ı
"16b   "   2 ı pañcasatābhikkhū°
"17b(kri) 1 ı santakāyatthera°
"20b(krū) 1 ı vakkalitthera°
Olas 27, 28, reused as covers, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol IV pp. 101-119

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

Ola 8b(khru) 1 ı   sumanasāmaṇeravatthu   ı bhikkhuvaggavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā ı pañcavīsatimo vaggo ı
Ola 9a(khrū) 5 ı pasādabahulabrāhmaṇavatthu ı
"9b   "   5 ı sambahulabhikkhu°
"10a(khre) 4 ı māra°
"10b   "   4 ı aññatarabrāhmaṇa°
"11b(khrē) 5 ı ānandatthera°
"12a(khrai) 5 ı aññatarapabbajjita°
"14b(khraṃ) 1 ı sāriputtatthera°
"15a(khraḥ) 3 ı mahāpajāpatigotamī°
"15b   "   5 ı sāriputtatthera°

"16a(gra) 4 ı jaṭilabrāhmaṇa°
"19a(grī) 1 ı kisāgottamī°
Olas 29, 30 reused,sewn.

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

18. Ola 1a, in the middle : ı bra dhammapada mat plāy phūk 39 ı syarapālla gya ghya ı Margins, table of stories in ink : phūk19; Olas1b, 2, reused, sewn. One line in Pāli in ink on 2b, 3a; in ink 3b, table of stories.

Ola 4b(ggha) 4 ı aññatarabhikkhuvatthu ı
"7a(gghī) 4 ı sāmaṇera°
"8a(gghu) 2 ı mahāpanṭhaka°
"9a(gghū) 1 ı pilindavacchatthera°
"10a(gghe) 2 ı aññatarabhikkhu°
"11a(gghē) 1 ı sāriputtatthera°
"   "   5 ı moggallānatthera°
"12a(gghai) 2 ı revattatthera°
"15b(gghaḥ) 5 ı candābhattthera°
"17a(ghghā) 5 ı simbalī°
"21a(ghghū) 4 ı sandarasamuddhathera°
Olas 27, 28, reused, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol IV pp. 167-199.

19. Ola 1a, in the middle : ı bra dhammapada mat plāyy phūk 11 (3?), in ink : phūk 20 ; margins, in minute kham script bent, table of contents (names of the stories and letter of the folio.) Olas 1 to 2b, sewn together = covers engraved with a former text, not inked(reused); in ink, Siamese language.

Start. ola 3a(ṅya) : brāhmaṇo satthu kira pādamūle mahaggham maṇiratanam nikkhatam harissāmi nanti ı vihāram gantvā satthāram vanditvā miva mahājanassa antare pāvisi ı kuṭumbiko tassa pavisanākāreneva ı maṇim gaṇhitukāmo ...

ola 15a(cya) 1 ı jaṭilatheravaravatthu ı
"16b(cyā) 1 ı jotikattheravatthu ı
"17a(cyi) 2 ı naṭapubbakavatthu ı
"   "   5 ı dutiya naṭapubbakavatthu ı
"19b(cyu) 1 ı vaṅgisatheravatthu ı
"20b(cye) 1 ı aṅgalimālatheravatthu ı
"21b(cyē) 2 ı devahitabrāhmaṇapañhavatthum ı
brāhmaṇavaggavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā ı chabbīsatimo vaggoı

Colophon (?) *stop.* , ola 26b(cyaḥ) 4 : caṅkamamānā pi andhakaranvāne merukkhevā thambhevākatthapivālīsam patihañeyāti   rukkham   hahe(?)tthana   gahetvā   tam avijjhiyamānā va samalā dhammam karoti ı satthā vāde litadhammameva tarissāmiti dhammam āvajetvā dhammam anussaramānā   vasamalā   dhammam   karoti   ı   satthā gandakuṭiyam nisinno va obhāsam pharitvā sammakhe nisinno viyatāya saddhim kathento bahū

olas 26, 27 sewn, bl. (engraved with another text, not inked, reused as covers).

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

19 bundles, 27+3+30+27+29+29+29+36+27+28+28+28+28 +30+29+28+30+28+27 olas, 2 thick wooden covers, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 540 x 50mm, black lacquered then gilded

edges, 2 cord holes, covers of each bundle protected with mica roundels around the left cordhole, 5 lines, 7 char.—Kham script—Numb. Kham letters—Punctuation of stanzas & chapters magnified in red and black paint; olas especially thin, flexible and smooth, very fine calligraphy, many additions, notes, corrections in ink and yellow paste. Each bundle, transcript of the title in Sinhalese script in ink: "dhammapadaṭṭhakathā". Wrapped in 2 different printed cotton fabrics with floral motifs in red, brown, blue and white, doubled with a floral motif of garlands, brown on white.

No date (possibly middle 18th century).

Asgiriya Siamese 8

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

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

Beg. ola 3b(ka) : ı tena samayena buddho bhagavā vesāliyaṃ viharati gotamake cetiye ı tena kho pana samayena bhagavatā bhikkhūnaṃ ticīvaraṃ anuññataṃ hoti ı

Olas 27, 28, bl.

Ola 29a, idem previous bundle but phūk ı 2 ı akspālla gaḥ ghaḥ; olas 29b to 30, bl.

Ola 31b(ga) 5 ı sāvatthinidānaṃ ı

Olas 55 to 56, bl.

Ola 57a, idem previous bundles but phūk   ı 3 ı aksarapāla ṅaḥ caḥ ı olas 57b to 58, bl.

Ola 59b(ṅa) 5 ı tena samayena buddho bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassārāme ı tena kho pana samayena añatarassa bhikkhuno kosalesu janapadesu sāvatthiṃ gacchantassa antarāmagge eḷakalomāni upajjiṃsu ı ...

Ola 71b(ca) 3 ı kosiyavaggo dutiyo ı

Olas 83 to 84, bl.

Ola 85a, idem previous bundles but phūk ı 4 ı cha ja ı olas 85b to 86, bl.

Ola 107b(jai) 3 ı nissaggiyānaṃ tatiyo vaggo ı ... line 5 : ı nissaggiyakaṇḍo ı tatiyo vaggo samato ı

Olas 111 to 115, bl.

Ola 116a, idem previous bundles but phūk ı 5 ı jha ña ı some notes in Siamese; olas 116b to 117, 142 to 143, bl.

Ola 144a, idem previous bundles but phūk   ı 6 ı aksarapāla ṭaḥ ṭṭhaḥ ı olas 144b to 145, 170 to 171, bl.

Ola 172a, idem previous bundles but phūk   ı 7 ı aksarapāla ḍa ḍha ı olas172b to 176, bl.

Ola 180b(ḍī) 3 ı musāvādavaggo pathamo ı "200a(ḍhaḥ) 1 ı bhūtagāmavaggo dutiyo ı

Olas 201 to 205, bl.

Ola 206a, idem previous bundles but phūk   ı 8 ı aksaraplnā ṇa ta ı olas 206b to 210, 235 to 239, bl.

Ola 240a, idem previous bundles but phūk ı 9 ı tha da ı olas 240b to 241, 266 to bl.

Ola 267a, idem previous bundles but phūk ı 10 ı dha na ı olas 267b to 271, 296 to 300, bl.

Ola 301a, idem previous bundles but phūk   ı 11 ı pa pha ı olas 301b to 304, 329 to 333, bl.

Ola 334a, idem previous bundles but phūk ı 12 ı ba bha ı olas 334b to 338, 363 to 367, bl.

Ola 368a, idem previous bundles but phūk ı 13 ı ma
ya ı olas 368b to 372, 397 to 401, bl.

Ola 402a, idem previous bundles but phūk ı 14 ı raḥ
laṃ ı olas 402b to 406b, bl.

End. ola 429b(laṃ) 3 ı mahāvibhaṅgañca samataṃ
paripuṇṇaṃ nitthitaṃ ı cattāro pasatāpatthā catupatthā ca
nāḷikā nāḷikā ca cattāro catu aḷhā ca doṇikā doṇikā cattāro pete
ambhananti pavuccati ı dhanupañcasataṃ kosaṃ catukosaṃ
catāvutaṃ gāvutāni ca cattāri yojananti vuccanti ı bra
pācittiyaparipuṇṇaṃ ı

Olas 430 to 434, bl.

Cf. ed. Oldenberg vol III, pp. 195-266 & vol IV, pp. 1-207

14 bundles, 434 olas, gilded edges,550 x 50mm, 2 thin
wooden covers, edges lightly gilded, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 74 char. —
Kham script, large for Pāli and minute, bent, for Siamese—Num.
Kham letters—Each bundle has a transcript of the title in Sinhalese
script in ink : "pācittiyā" and is numbered with Sinhalese letters ka, kā,
etc. Most probably a Singhalese reader has read this text, adding a
typically Sinhalese punctuation to show the different chapters. The
usual marks of the *daṇḍas* ıı are now looking like double *kuṇḍaliya* —
— ! Some additions and corrections in ink and yellow paste. Fine
calligraphy, very good state of conservation.

Dated BS. 2379 = 1835 AD.

Asgiriya Siamese 9

[Vinayapiṭaka]—Pāṭimokkha CPD 1.1

Ola 1a, in the middle : ı braḥ pāṭimokkhaṃ
nitthitaṃ ı phūk 1 ı ... ı in ink   Sinhalese transcript:
bhikkhupātimokkhaṃ ; olas 1b to 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(ka) : ı namatthu ratanattayassa ı namo
tassa ... ı suṇātu me bhante saṃgho   yadi saṃghassa
pattakallaṃ ahaṃ   āyasmantaṃ   itthannāmaṃ   vinayaṃ
puccheyyaṃ ı namo tassa ... ı suṇātu me bhante saṃgho ı
yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ itthannāmena vinayaṃ
puttho visajjeyyaṃ ı sammajjanī padīpo ca udakaṃ āsanena
ca uposathassa etāni pubbakaraṇanti vuccati ...

Ola 8a(ku) 1 ı nidānuddeso nitthito ı
"9a(kū) 2 ı pārājikuddeso   "
"13a(ko) 5 ı saṃghādisesuddeso "
"14a(kaṃ) 4 ı aniyatuddeso   "
"16b(kha) 5 ı cīvaravaggo pathamo ı
"21a(khū) 1 ı bhūtagāmavaggo dutiyo ı
"21b "   3 ı bhikkhunovādavaggo tatiyo ı
"22b(khe) 4 ı bhojanavaggo catuttho ı
"23b(khē) 3 ı acelakavaggo pañcamo ı
"24b(khai) 1 ı surāpāṇavaggo chaṭṭho ı
"26a(khaṃ) 1 ı sappāṇavaggo sattamo ı
"27a(khaḥ) 5 ı sahadhammikavaggo aṭṭhamo ı
"28b(ga) 1 ı ratanavaggo navamo ı
"   "   3 ı pācittiyā nitthitā ı
"29b(gā) 4 ı pāṭidesaniyā   "
"32a(gu) 5 ı na surusuruvaggo chaṭṭho ı
"33a(gū) 1 ı na pādukavaggosattamo ı
"   "   5 ı sekhiyānitthitā ı

"33b "   4 ı sattadhikaraṇasamathā niṭṭhitā ı

End. 34a(ge) 1: ...uddiṭṭhā sattādhikaraṇasamathā dhammā ettakan tassa bhagavato suttāgataṃ suttapariyāpannaṃ anvadhḍhamāsaṃ uddesaṃ āgacchati tatthā sabbeh eva samaggehi sammodamānehi avivadamānehi sikkhitabbanti ı bhikkhupātimokkhaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ı Olas 34b to 38, bl.

Cf. Dickson 1876 p. 70-96

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

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 10

Mūlakaccāyananāma fragment Pāli-Siamese nissaya

Ola 1a, in the middle : ı mūlakaccāyyaṇanāma phūk 1 ı olas 1b to 6, bl.

Beg. ola 7a(kha) :   ı   jinavacanayuttaṃhi   ı jinavacanayuttaṃhi iccetaṃ adhikāratthaṃ veditabbaṃ ı liṅgañ ca nipaccate ı yathāyathā jinavacanayuttaṃ tathātathā idha liṅgañca ni paccate ı ...

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

Cf. Senart 1871 pp. 33-83

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

Numb. Kham letters—Fine calligraphy, very good state of conservation.

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 11

1. Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha
CPD.3.8.1

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

Beg. ola 2b(ka) : ı sammāsambuddham atulaṃ sasaddhammagaṇuttamaṃ   abhivādiya   bhāsissaṃ abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṃ ı ...

Ola 7b(kū) 2 ı iti abhidhammatthasaṅgahe cittasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma pathamo pariccchedo ı

Ola 13a(kaḥ) 2 ı iti abhidhammatthasaṅgahe cetasikasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma dutiyo pariccchedo ı

Ola 17b(khī) 4 ı iti abhidhammatthasaṅgahe pakiṇṇakasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma tatiyo pariccchedo ı

Ola 22b(kai) 1 ı iti abhidhammatthasaṅgahe vithisaṅgahavibhāgo nāma catuttho pariccchedo ı Ola 26, bl.

Ola 27a, in the middle : ı bra abhidhammatthasaṅgaha phūk 2 ı in pencil and also engraved, transcripts in Sinhalese script; ola 27b, bl.

Ola 31a(gī) 2 ı iti abhidhammatthasaṅgahe vithimuttasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma pañcamo pariccchedo ı

Ola 36a(gai) 3 ı iti abhidhammatthasaṅgahe rūpasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma chaṭṭho pariccchedo ı

Ola 40b(gha) 2 ı iti abhidhammatthasaṅgahe samuccayasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma sattamo pariccchedo ı

Ola 45b(ghū) 2 ı iti abhidhammatthasaṅgahe paccayasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma aṭṭhamo pariccchedo ı

End. ola 52b(ṅa) 5 ı abhidhammatthasaṅgaho niṭṭhito ı ola 53, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS 1989 pp. 1-51

2. Abhidhammatthavibhāvinīṭīkāsaṅgaha fragment
CPD 3.8.1, 1

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

Start. ola 2b(ga) : [vaḍḍe]tī ti vā pīti ı sā sampiyāyanalakkhaṇā ı ārammaṇaṃ kallato gahaṇalakkhaṇā ti vuttaṃ hoti ı sampayuttadhamme sukhayatī ti sukhaṃ ı taṃ iṭṭhānubhavanalakkhaṇaṃ subhojanarasassādako rājā viya ı tattha ārammaṇapaṭilābhe ...

Ola 26, bl.

Ola 27a, in the middle: ı bra abhidhammatthavibhāvinīyāṭīkāsaṅgaha phūk 3 ı engraved, transcript in Sinhalese script : abhidhammatthavibhāvaṇīṭīkā; olas 27b, 52, bl.

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

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

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

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

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

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

End. ola 211b(thi) 1 ı iti abhidhammatthavibhāviniyā nāma abhidhammatthasaṅgahavaṇṇanāya navamapariccheda-vaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā ı ...

ola 212a(thī) 2 ı jotayantaṃ tadā tassa sāsanaṃ suddhamānasa passeyyaṃ sakkareyyañ ca guruṃ me sārisambhavaṃ ı dinehi catuvīsehi ṭīkāyaṃ niṭṭhitā yathā tathā kalyāṇasaṃkappā siṃghaṃ ijjhantu pāṇinan ti ı abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭīkā niṭṭhitā ı

Cf. ed. PTS 1989 p. 70 line 31 to p. 212; ed. Bangkok 1923 *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahapāli—Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī* Vidyodaya-ṭīkā Publications, Sumaṅgala Thera's *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī or Abhidhammatthasaṅgahaṭīkā* Colombo 1933 ; v. similar mss. BN PALI 379, 796, 845; EFEO PALI 57, 89; FEMC PALI D 39, D 124

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

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 12

Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā abridged

A. Atthasālinī—Dhammasaṅgaṇīaṭṭhakathā

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

Beg. ola 4b(ka) : ꠧ tva ꠧ karuṇā viya sattesu pañā yassa mahesino ñeyyadhammesu sabbesu pavattittha yathārucim dayāya tāya sattesu …

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

Cf. ed. PTS , Atthasālinī

B. Sammohavinodanī —Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā

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

Beg. ola 45b(gha) : catusaccadasso nātho catudhā dhammasaṅgiṇi pakāsayitvā sambuddho …

End. ola 70a(cā) 4 : dhammānupassanāniddeso niṭṭhito ꠧ vibhaṅgapakaraṇam niṭṭhitam ꠧ olas 70b to 73, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, Sammohavinodanī

C. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā I] — Dhātukathā-aṭṭhakathā

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

Beg. ola 79a(ca) : ꠧ nītām attha ꠧ aṭṭhārasahi bhedehi vibhaṅgam mārabhañjano desayitvā mahāviro …

End. ola 92b(chā) 5 ꠧ evameva kho mahārāja yānimāni pañcāya tanāni nānā kammehi nibbattāni ꠧ natthi ekena kammenā ti ꠧ dhātukathā niṭṭhitā ꠧ olas 93 to 96, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā I] Dhātu-Kathā Pakaraṇa and its commentary, p. 114

D. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā II] —Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā

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

Beg. ola 102a(cha) : ꠧ tām attha ꠧ nipuṇattham pakaraṇam dhātubhedappakāsano satthā dhātukatham nāma …

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

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

E. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā III] —Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā

Ola 127a, in the middle : bra kathāvatthu lee aṭṭhakathā tām prasaṅga paripūraṇa phūk 5 ı transcript in ink and numbering in Sinhalese : 3 (!) kathāvatthu aṭṭhakathā jha ña; olas 127b to 131, bl.

Beg. ola 132a(jha) : ı attha ı nisinno devalokasmiṃ devasaṃghapurakkhito sadevakassa lokassa satthā appaṭipuggalo …

End. ola 150a(ñū) 1 : ı ayaṃ pana paṇho pañcavokārabhavavasena uddhaṭo tasmā no vatare vattabbe ti āha ı sesam ettha uttānattham evā ti ı āṇañjakathā niṭṭhitā ı kathāvatthupakaraṇaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ı olas 150b to 155, bl.

Cf.   ed.   PTS,   [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā   III] Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā, pp. 1-196

F. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā IV] —Yamakaṭṭhakathā

Ola 156a, in the middle : bra yamaka lee aṭṭhakathā tām prasaṅgaparipūraṇa phūk 6 ı transcript in ink and numbering in Sinhalese : 6 yamakaṭṭhakathā ṭa ṭṭhu; in ink large script illegible to me; olas 157b to 162, bl.

Beg. ola 163a(ṭa) : ı namatthu ı attha ı saṅkhepeneva devānaṃ devadevo surālaye kathāvatthupakaraṇaṃ desayitvā …

End. ola 180b(ṭṭhū) 3 : ı indriyayamakavaṇṇanā samattā ı yamakapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā niṭṭhitā ı olas 181 to 187, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā IV]   Yamakappakaraṇ-aṭṭhakathā , JPTS 1910-12 p. 52-107

G. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā V] —Mahāpaṭṭhānaṭṭhakathā

Ola 188a, in the middle : bra mahāpaṭṭhāna lee aṭṭhakathā tām prasaṅgaparipuṇṇa phūk 7 ı transcript in ink and numbering in Sinhalese : 7 paṭṭhāṇaṭṭhakathā ḍa ḍha; olas 188b to 195a, bl.

Beg. ola 195b(ḍa) : ı attha ı devātidevo devānaṃ devadānavapūjito desayitvā pakaraṇaṃ yamakaṃ suddhasañamo …

End. ola 206a(ḍaḥ) 3 : ı sokadukkhadomanassā ti dukkhavedanā eva ı paridevo pi doso upāyāsomanassa doso vāti ı mahāpaṭṭhānapakaraṇaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ı olas 206b to 212, bl.

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

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

No date.

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

Abbreviations & Bibliography

Bhāṇa *Bhāṇavārapāli,* Institut bouddhique, Phnom-Penh 1936

BL British Library , London

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

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

Camb. ed. Cambodian edition

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

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

DPLT H. Saddhatissa, "The Dawn of Pali Literature in Thailand", in *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume,* Colombo 1976, chapter 3, p. 315–24

Dvādasaparitta v. Sattaparitta

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

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

Godakumbura 1980 C. E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* , Royal Library, Copenhagen 1980

Godakumbura 1983 C. E. Godakumbura assisted by U Tin Lwin with contributions by Heinz Bechert and Heinz Braun, *Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pāli Manuscripts* , The Royal Library, Copenhagen , 1983.

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

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Nimijātaka **Siamese 4**
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THE MONK IN THE PĀLI VINAYA: PRIEST OR WEDDING GUEST?

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

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

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

the social obligation to attend. To blur this distinction where it is relevant casts darkness where there was light.

In a recent number of this journal Gregory Schopen, who is recognised as a leading historian of early Buddhism, published an article entitled "The Ritual Obligations and Donor Roles of Monks in the Pāli Vinaya".[1] The donor roles are fine; but I dispute the ritual obligations. Moreover, I think maybe it falls to me to reply, because his article begins with the sentence: "More than once recently it has again been suggested that Buddhist monks had little or no role in life-cycle ceremonies in early India"; and to this is keyed a footnote with two references to words published by me. Let me here reproduce those words.

> "Monks preserve Buddhism; but it is not their function to provide religious services to the laity. The life crises of Buddhists (birth, puberty, marriage) are mostly either treated as secular events or solemnized by specialists in the religious systems which co-exist locally with Buddhism. There are however quite a few exceptions to this general principle. The major one is death: Buddhist monks everywhere officiate at funerals."[2]

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

> "The Theravāda Buddhist monk hardly ever acts as what we would call a priest. He officiates at no life-cycle crisis rituals except funerals – and even then he can claim to be present as preacher and consoler, not as officiant. We do not know

[1] *JPTS* XVI, 1992, pp.87-107.
[2] H. Bechert and R. Gombrich (edd.), *The World of Buddhism*, (London, 1984), p.14.

whether the monk assumed this funerary role for Buddhists in ancient India, but it is quite logical for him to do so."[3]

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

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

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

[3] R. Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, (London, 1988), p.124.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Oxford   Richard Gombrich

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[4] I am indebted for this picture to my wife, Dr. Sanjukta Gupta Gombrich.

The Oldest Known Pali Texts, 5th-6th century;
Results of the Cambridge Symposium on the Pyu Golden Pali Text from Śrī Kṣetra, 18-19 April 1995

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

Though this preliminary note may be amended by our further research, it is intended to alert Pali scholars to the main results of work carried out so far (both earlier and current), and to provide a note on the context in which the texts were found at the last and greatest of the Pyu capitals of Burma, Śrī Kṣetra. Śrī Kṣetra was established before or during the fourth century AD and sacked by the Nanzhao of Yunnan in 832 AD. The Golden Pali Text was found during excavations in the cool season 1926-7 inside the ancient urban area of Śrī Kṣetra, in a mound on

the land of a farmer named U Khin Ba. (The text is therefore sometimes referred to as the Khin Ba mound text). The mound contained the only undisturbed reliquary chamber in the whole of Śrī Kṣetra (an area of more than 20 sq. km). In the light of what follows about the palaeography of the Golden Pali Text, I note here that the influence of the Andhra school of Buddhist architecture is especially strong in Śrī Kṣetra and in the still older Buddhist monuments of Beikthano. The Khin Ba relic chamber was a square, brick-lined pit of c. 1 x 1 x 1 m, under a ruined brick stupa, at the centre of which stood the Great Silver Reliquary (whose newly deciphered Pali inscription is discussed below). Around it were carefully assembled a treasury of sacred objects, mainly in silver and gold, the Golden Pali Text being in the South-East corner of the chamber. Although many other relic chambers were discovered at Śrī Kṣetra, this was the only one to survive intact, and its contents exceeded - in number, quality of workmanship and concentration of precious metals and stones - even the relic chamber of the Bhaṭṭiproḷu stupa in Andhra.

Pali Sources

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

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

identified the contents of both plates as versions of the well-known "Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā...".

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

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

3. The **Khin Ba Mound Golden Pali Text** (20 leaves, 3 ll. on each except leaf 19 with 4 ll. and leaf 20 with 2 ll.). Found in 1926-7 during archaeological excavations, it was one item in the relic chamber (inventory of treasure in Duroiselle, *ASI, AR 1926-7*, 1928). The Golden Pali Text was not transcribed, translated and annotated until twelve years later by U Lu Pe Win (Superintendant, Archaeological Survey of Burma), who considered the script of South Indian type of the

fifth century (*RS. ASB 1938-9*, 12-22, 1940). The text is now kept in the strong-room of the Archaeological Department, Rangoon.

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

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

Current Reappraisal

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

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

Current Research Results

The Golden Pali Text consists of twenty leaves of gold put together like a small palm-leaf Pali manuscript inside thick end-boards of gold. It is held together with thick gold wires. The leaves measure 16.5 x 3.1 cm; each contains three ll. of very clear, perfectly preserved script except for the last two leaves which have four and two lines, respectively. The leaves contain a total of eight excerpts of canonical Buddhist texts in a pure form of Pali. Below, I shall summarize the main opinions of U Lu Pe Win, (LPW 1940), who originally read and published the Golden Pali Text, and Professor Harry Falk (HF) in correspondence to me (in 1994-5), and in his papers at the Cambridge

Symposium (1995). I do not propose to present here HF's detailed arguments on which his opinions are based as they will appear in full in his own study of the Golden Pali Text and the Great Silver Reliquary, which is now in preparation for publication (see Bibliography, Falk forthcoming). I shall also draw upon the numerous and valuable observations of Professor Oskar von Hinüber and Professor Richard Gombrich during the Cambridge Symposium (OvH, RG).

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

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

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

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

As for the insights into the mode of composition and monastic organization that the Golden Pali Text provides, the very use of leaves of gold for the creation of this text suggests to me that the monastery concerned stood under royal patronage and was reputed for its Pali learning. Royal patronage is also indicated by the extraordinary concentration of gold and silver votive objects in the relic chamber. Finally, there is a dedicatory inscription in Pyu ending with two Sanskrit

royal titles (Śrī Prabhuvarma[n] and Śrī Prabhudevī), inscribed around the lower rim of the Great Silver Reliquary at the centre of this relic chamber.

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

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

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

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

This fact provides extraordinary insights into the creation of the whole ritual assemblage contained in the relic chamber at the Khin Ba Mound, in which the Great Silver Reliquary and the Golden Pali Text were undoubtedly the most outstanding elements. Before the Golden Pali Text was closed and bound up in its golden wires, it must have been noticed that excerpt 5 was incomplete in two respects and therefore ritually imperfect. Those defects were made good by the representation on the upper rim of the Great Silver Reliquary, even if in abbreviated

form, of both the qualities of a Buddha's wisdom missing in the Golden Pali Text. The ritual completeness of the deposit was thus assured, and we have an extremely rare example of two canonical texts, one of which was composed in direct relation to, and after, the other. This is also born out by the character of the writing on the upper rim of the Great Silver Reliquary. Though closely related to that of the Golden Pali Text, it is not identical.

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

At Śrī Kṣetra there survived four early texts in pure canonical Pali inscribed on precious metals - gold and silver - and one on stone. The total of twenty-three leaves of precious metal that have survived in legible form are only a tiny fraction of what once existed at Śrī Kṣetra. Numerous passing references in the annual *Reports of the Superintendant, Archaeological Survey, Burma Circle*, mention chance finds of crumpled fragments of "silver and gold scrolls" with inscriptions. If the dates mentioned above are sustained by further research, then the Buddhist Pali texts from Śrī Kṣetra are far earlier than the previously known earliest palm leaf Ms. of Kathmandu - an isolated find dating to c. 850 AD - and they advance the written record of true Pali by some four hundred years. Unlike the Devnimori and Ratnagiri fragments of similar date (von Hinüber, 1985), the Śrī Kṣetra texts preserve a selection of "mainstream" Pali canonical literature in a

language and in recensions that do not differ significantly from those recorded in the Pali Text Society editions, themselves based on written sources of much later date. These facts are of the greatest significance in proving how scrupulously such texts were transmitted throughout the Buddhist world of the first and second millenia AD, whether by oral or written means.

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

Cambridge   Janice Stargardt

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

Dhammapada ed. O. von Hinüber and K.R. Norman [£10.95]

Geiger's *Pāli Grammar* revised by K.R. Norman [hardback £12.95; paperback £6.75]

Pāli Aṭṭhakathā Correspondence Table by Sodo Mori, Y. Karunadasa, Toshiichi Endo [£12.50]

The Udāna trans. Peter Masefield [£17.95]

The Udāna Commentary trans. Peter Masefield, vol. I [£24.95]

Mahāsūtras. vol. I: Texts ed. Peter Skilling [£34.25]

A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories by Leslie Grey second edition, revised and enlarged [£31.25]

Jinakālamāli Index by Hans Penth (co-publication with Silkworm Books, Chiang Mai) [£12.50]

Collected Papers vol. V by K.R. Norman [£18.95]

Selected Papers on Pāli Studies by O. von Hinüber, trans. Kate Crosby [£18.95]

Journal of the Pali Text Society vols XIX and XX [£17.25 each]

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

Dīgha Nikāya II	*Yamaka I* and *II*
Majjhima Nikāya III	*Theragāthā Commentary I*
Samyutta Nikāya V	*Mohavicchedanī*
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Teaching of Vimalakīrti

Introduction to Pāli
English-Pāli Dictionary

The Society continued financial support for research in Pali, leading to publications, by the following: Dr. Margaret Cone (the Society's lexicographer); Mr. Peter Skilling; Dr. Peter Masefield; Dr. Jinadasa Liyanaratne; Dr. E. Nolot; Dr. S. Mellick Cutler. It also began to support research by Dr. Primoz Pecenko and Dr. Ariya Diwullewe (who has since changed his name to Dr. G. A. Somaratne).

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During the year the Society received donations totalling £615, the bulk of which again came from the generosity of Dr. M. O'C Walshe. We are very grateful for all such support. Donors may specify a particular use for their donation, or leave it for the general purposes of the Society.

FINANCE

There was an encouraging increase of more than 20% in our income from the sale of publications. Despite our active publishing programme, profits from sales increased accordingly. Income from dividends and interest again showed a decrease, as was perhaps to be expected from the unfavourable economic climate, but this was balanced by an increased profit from the sale of investments. The overall result was an increase in our net income, though this was not large enough to outweigh the increase in commitments which we have undertaken by supporting research.

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

COUNCIL

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

August 1995   R.F. Gombrich

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

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

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

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

Papers should be sent to the President, at the above address.

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