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Editorial
Buddhism and violence

Alexander Wynne

Non-violence is a foundational principle of early Buddhist teaching. The first moral vow is not to kill: in the Pali formulation, "I undertake the rule of training to abstain from taking life" (*pāṇātipātā veramaṇī-sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi*). There is also no lack of sensible advice on how to quell trouble when it arises, such as the famous adage of the Dhammapada (I.5): "For hatreds are never pacified through hatred. Only through non-hatred are they pacified: this is the eternal law." Early Buddhist texts tell us that the principle of non-violence is not to be violated, even in the most extreme circumstances. In the simile of the saw (*kakacūpama*, MN 21) the Buddha tells his *bhikkhu*s that even if villains were to cut them up limb by limb with a saw, they should think "our minds will not be spoiled, nor will we utter evil words, instead we will abide in sympathy for the welfare (of others), with kind thoughts, undefiled within." Within Mahāyāna Buddhism, a similar sentiment is found in Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (III.12): "I hand myself over to all embodied beings, to do with as they wish; may they strike and abuse (me), and cover (me) in dirt."[1]

Not everybody agrees that non-violence is a defining feature of early Buddhist teaching. It has been claimed that the principle of reciprocity – "an eye for an eye" – can be discerned in some Jātakas. But this is incorrect.[2] The Jātakas instead extend ascetic ideals such as renunciation and pacifism into the domain of lay life. A good example is the story of prince Temiya, who pretends to be a dumb cripple in order to

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[1] *yathāsukhīkṛtaś cātmā mayāyaṃ sarvadehinām, ghnantu nindantu vā nityam ākirantu ca pāṃsubhiḥ.*

[2] See the review of Steven Collins' *Wisdom as a Way of Life. Theravāda Buddhism Reimagined* (2020) in *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, vol. 20 (2021), pp.166*ff*.

avoid the violence of kingship (Ja 538). Despite the fantastic nature of this story, it seems that some Indian Buddhists really did expect kings to avoid violence at all costs. The *Ratnāvalī*, authored either by Nāgārjuna or a member of the early Madhyamaka tradition, probably in the late second century AD,[3] advises a king to renounce if he cannot rule righteously (RĀ IV.100): "If because of the unrighteousness of the world, the kingdom is difficult to rule with righteousness, then it is right for you to become a renouncer for the sake of righteousness and honor."[4]

These fragments do not tell the whole story, of course. The *Upāya-kauśalya Sūtra* strikes a rather different tone, in claiming that a Bodhisattva can kill if the circumstance warrants it.[5] Whence the source of this idea? We can at least note that the pacifist sentiment of self-abandonment, found in mainstream Indian Buddhist teaching, is somewhat at odds with the Bodhisattva ideal. Why let the highest spiritual aspiration be compromised by needless acts of self-sacrifice? Surely it is better for Bodhisattvas to remain in *saṃsāra*, and apply their elevated wisdom and means as they deem fit, rather than give themselves up for no good reason.

Non-believers could thus be forgiven for finding the Bodhisattva ideal rather sinister and dangerous. If self-styled Bodhisattvas are not actually wise – a possibility which even believers must admit – who can stop them inflicting unwarranted violence on others? Exactly this problem is addressed in Brian Daizen Victoria's current article, which shows how Zen Buddhists in late imperial Japan, inspired by a curious mix of Bodhisattva ethics, meditation and nationalism, committed deadly acts of terrorism.

Brian Victoria's recent publications in JOCBS (vols. 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, and 19) have dealt with other aspects of Buddhism and violence, and make it clear that Zen and Mahāyāna are not solely at fault. Theravāda Buddhism is particularly prone to Buddhist nationalism, a problem attested as far back as the second century BC, when in the war against the Tamil king Eḷāra, a sacred relic was apparently placed in king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's standard. The *Mahāvaṃsa* even states that violence against Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's Tamil enemies is no worse than the killing of animals.[6]

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[3] Joseph Walser, 'Nāgārjuna and the Ratnāvalī: New Ways to Date an Old Philosopher'. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 25.1-2 (2002), pp.209-62.

[4] Karen Lang, *Four Illusions. Candrakīrti's Advice for Travelers on the Bodhisattva Path* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p.108.

[5] See Brian Daizen Victoria, 'Violence-enabling Mechanisms in Buddhism', *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, vol.5 (2013), pp.186-87.

[6] See Alexander Wynne, *Buddhism: An Introduction* (I. B. Tauris, 2015), p.215; Brian Victoria, ibid., p.173.

Religiously sanctioned violence, whether inspired by Bodhisattva exceptionalism, nationalism, or systems of hierarchy and patriarchy, is found throughout Buddhist history. If so, and given the increasing fragmentation of our age, one wonders how long it will be until Buddhist terrorism appears in the West. If Zen terrorism was inspired by Mahāyāna ethics, Zen meditation and Buddhist nationalism, it is quite conceivable that the Bodhisattva ideal, mindfulness meditation and radical politics will eventually inspire Buddhist terrorism in the West.

Some might object that even if Buddhist terrorism is a distortion of ancient principles, the extreme pacifism of the early Buddhist tradition is unrealistic. But the example of Gandhi, far closer in spirit to the Buddha than recent Zen terrorists, is a reminder that non-violence can be effective even in the most difficult political conflicts. Western Buddhist commentators who approve of Bodhisattva violence should perhaps bear this in mind. Those who believe that "surgical violence", i.e. "killing the one to save the many", is a valid part of the Bodhisattva way,[7] should understand that not everyone might be able to apply religious violence wisely. This is especially true in of our world of value conflicts and war, in which human beings frequently lack certainty over what is right and wrong.

Whatever position one may hold regarding the question of Buddhism's relationship to violence, it is undeniable this is an important, if controversial, issue deserving serious consideration. If anything, in the face of an increasingly violent world, whether due to ethnic or national conflicts, the ongoing possibility of nuclear war, or the effects of climate change, this is a topic that cannot but concern all those who understand Buddhism to be a religion devoted to the well-being of both self and others. This journal looks forward to a continuing examination of this topic as it does to all topics regarding Buddhism's past, present and future.

[7] Roberth Thurman, 'Rising to the Challenge: Cool Heroism', *Tricycle, The Buddhist Review*, Spring 2003. https://tricycle.org/magazine/rising-challenge-cool-heroism/?utm_source=Tricycle&utm_campaign=1b690eb695-Daily_Dharma_11_05_2021_NS&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_1641abe55e-1b690eb695-308002325

A comparison of the Pāli and Chinese versions of *Jhāna Saṃyutta*, *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta*, and *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta*: early Buddhist discourses on concentrative meditation, the uncompounded, and realisation

Choong Mun-Keat

Abstract

This article first examines the textual structure of the *Jhāna Saṃyutta* (no. 34), *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* (no. 43) and *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta* (no. 13) of the Pāli *Saṃyutta-nikāya* in conjunction with their Chinese counterparts in the *Saṃyuktāgama* (Taishō vol. 2, no. 99). Then it compares the main teachings contained in the two versions. Also, this article for the first time provides a full translation of the relevant Chinese Buddhist texts along with the Pāli parallels. It reveals similarities but also differences in both structure and content.*

Introduction

The Pāli *Jhāna Saṃyutta* ("connected with concentrative meditation"), *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* ("connected with the uncompounded") and *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta* ("connected with realisation"), nos. 34, 43, and 13 in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (henceforth abbreviated SN) correspond to discourses nos. 883, 890

* *I am very grateful to Roderick S. Bucknell for his constructive comments and corrections on this article.*

and 891 respectively in the Chinese *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (*Saṃyuktāgama*, henceforth abbreviated SA, Taishō vol. 2, no. 99). All of these texts contain a style specific to the closely connected early Buddhist teachings on contemplative practice and attainment (i.e. *jhāna* "concentrative meditation", *asaṅkhata* "the uncompounded", and *abhisamaya* "realisation"); thus, these discourses in particular have been chosen for comparison. The purpose of this study is mainly to identify the differences and similarities of the two versions.

Textual structure

The title *Jhāna Saṃyutta* refers to two different texts: no. 34, which consists of fifty-five discourses/*sutta*s, in SN section (3) *Khandha Vagga*, and no. 53 (fifty-four discourses) in SN (5) *Mahā Vagga*.[1] SN no. 34 will be studied here, because only it has a Chinese SA counterpart, namely SA no. 883, which is a single discourse. The *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* is no. 43 (forty-four discourses) located in SN section (4), *Saḷāyatana Vagga*. Its Chinese SA equivalent is no. 890, a single discourse. The *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta* is no. 13 (eleven discourses) located in SN section (2), *Nidāna Vagga*. Its Chinese SA parallel is no. 891, which also is just one discourse.

Thus, the Pāli SN 34 *Jhāna Saṃyutta*, SN 43 *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* and SN 13 *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta* correspond to the Chinese SA 883, SA 890 and SA 891 respectively. Each of them has as its Chinese parallel just one single discourse, not a *saṃyukta*, a collection of discourses. There is also the general problem of counting how many separate discourses are in the collection of SN/SA.[2]

These three Chinese SA discourses (i.e. SA 883, 890, and 891) corresponding to three Pāli *saṃyutta*s (i.e. SN 34, 43, and 13) were translated from now lost Indic-language originals (cf. Chung 2008, 153 on SA 883). They do not have titles. In the *Combined Edition of Sūtra and Śāstra of the Saṃyuktāgama* version, they are treated as part of a grouping whose title, *Xiuzheng Xiangying*/*Saṃyukta* 修證相應 ("Connected with Practice and Attainment"), was supplied by the editor, Yinshun.[3] This Chinese *saṃyukta* comprises nineteen discourses (SA

[1] SN 34 *Jhāna Saṃyutta* is concerned with the types of skills in *samādhi*, whereas SN 53 *Jhāna Saṃyutta* is concerned with the states of *Jhāna*.

[2] For example, according to CSA edition, the number of SA discourses is 13412; and according to *Kokuyaku Issaikyō*, it is 13444 (Choong 2000, 17, n. 2). According to Taishō and Foguang editions, it is 1362 and 1359 respectively. On the issue of counting the *suttas* of SN, see Gethin 2007; Choong 2000, 18, n. 8.

[3] See CSA i, 47, 50-51 (in "Za ahan jing bulei zhi zhengbian 雜阿含經部類之整編 [Re-edition of the Grouped Structure of SA]"), and iii, 537-551; Choong 2000, 21, 245.

873-891) located in the *Zayin song* ("Causal Condition Section"), SA section (3), which corresponds to the Pāli *Nidāna Vagga*, SN section (2). According to Yinshun, this Chinese *Xiuzheng Saṃyukta* pertains to *Fo/Rulai suoshuo song* 佛/如來所說誦 ("Section Spoken by the Buddha" Skt. *Buddha-bhāṣita*),[4] of the *vyākaraṇa-aṅga* (P. *veyyākaraṇa-aṅga*) portion of SA/SN.[5]

There is also no clear evidence to support the claim that SN 34 *Jhāna Saṃyutta* should be located in section (3) *Khandha Vagga*, the SN 43 *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* should be located in section (4) *Saḷāyatana Vagga*, and the SN 13 *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta* should be located in section (2) *Nidāna Vagga*. The same issue also applies to the Chinese SA version of the three discourses located in section (3) *Zayin song*.

The disagreements on teachings contained in the Pāli SN 34 *Jhāna Saṃyutta* and its Chinese counterpart SA 883

The Pāli *Jhāna Saṃyutta* (SN 34, fifty-five discourses)[6] has been translated into English by Woodward (1925) and by Bodhi (2000).[7] Its Chinese counterpart SA 883, a very short discourse, has not previously been translated. The following is a full translation of it, which I now provide for comparison:[8]

SA 883: The four kinds of *dhyāna* 四種禪

> Thus have I heard.
>
> Once the Buddha was staying in Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍada (P. Anāthapiṇḍika)'s park at Śrāvastī.
>
> At that time, the World-Honoured One said to the monks: "There are four kinds of *dhyāna* (cf. P. *jhāna* "concentrative meditation"

[4] Hosoda 1989, 542; Choong 2000, 17, n. 5; Chung 2008, 190. Cf. Mukai 1985, 13, nn. 29, 30.

[5] Choong 2020, 883-932; 2000, 7-11 (cf. Mizuno 1988, 23, 45; Nagasaki 2004, 51-2, 60; Choong 2019, 4-5; 2010, 53-64). *Vyākaraṇa* is one of the three *aṅgas* represented in the structure of SA/SN: *sūtra* (P. sutta) "discourse" (short, simple prose), *geya* (geyya) "stanza" (verse mixed with prose), and *vyākaraṇa* (veyyākaraṇa) "exposition". In response to Yinshun's three *aṅga*s structure of early Buddhist texts, see also Travagnin and Anālayo 2020, 983-997, and Choong 2020, note 24, 903-911, in response to Anālayo's articles on *aṅga*s and Āgamas.

[6] SN III 1890, 263-279.

[7] Woodward 1925, 205-210; Bodhi 2000, 1034-1041.

[8] T2, 222c-223b; CSA iii, 545-546; FSA 2, 972-975.

or "meditation"):

"*Dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is skilled in concentration (*samādhi*), but not skilled in the attainment (*samāpatti*).
Dhyāna [for which the practitioner] is skilled in the attainment, but not skilled in concentration.
Dhyāna [for which the practitioner] is both skilled in concentration and skilled in the attainment.
Dhyāna [for which the practitioner] is neither skilled in concentration nor skilled in the attainment.[9]

"Again, there are four kinds of *dhyāna*.
Dhyāna [for which the practitioner] is skilled in stabilizing concentration, but not skilled in stabilizing the attainment.
A *dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is skilled in stabilizing the attainment, but not skilled in stabilizing concentration.
A *dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is both skilled in stabilizing concentration and skilled in stabilizing the attainment.
A *dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is neither skilled in stabilizing concentration nor skilled in the stabilizing the attainment.[10]

"Again, there are four kinds of *dhyāna*.
Dhyāna [for which the practitioner] is skilled in emerging from concentration, but not skilled in emerging from the attainment.
Dhyāna [for which the practitioner] is skilled in emerging from the attainment, but not skilled in emerging from concentration.
A *dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is both skilled in emerging from concentration and skilled in emerging from the attainment.
A *dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is neither skilled in emerging from concentration nor skilled in emerging from the attainment.[11]

---

[9] 爾時。世尊告諸比丘。有四種禪。有禪三昧善。非正受善。有禪正受善。非三昧善。有禪三昧善。亦正受善。有禪非三昧善。非正受善。

[10] 復次。四種禪。有禪住三昧善。非住正受善。有禪住正受善。非住三昧善。有禪住三昧善。亦住正受善。有禪非住三昧善。亦非住正受善。

[11] 復次。四種禪。有禪三昧起善。非正受起善。有禪正受起善。非三昧起善。有禪三昧起善。亦正受起善。有禪非三昧起善。亦非正受起善。

> "Again, there are four kinds of *dhyāna*.
> *Dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is skilled in the time of concentration, but not skilled in the time of the attainment.
> A *dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is skilled in the time of the attainment, but not skilled in the time of concentration.
> A *dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is both skilled in the time of concentration and skilled in the time of the attainment.
> A *dhyāna* [for which the practitioner] is neither skilled in the time of concentration nor skilled in the time of the attainment.[12]
>
> "Again, … (The same but substituting "the realm of")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "welcoming")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "mindfulness of")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "mindfulness or unmindfulness of")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "bringing")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "regard to evil")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "making effort for")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "calming")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "arousing")
> Again, … (The same but substituting "relinquishing")"[13]
>
> When the Buddha had taught this discourse, all the monks, having heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and put it into practice.

Thus, the Chinese discourse is about skill in *dhyāna*: skill in concentration itself (*samādhi*) and skill in the attainment of it (*samāpatti*). Skill in these two aspects may be present or absent in a meditator. It follows that meditators are of four types according as they possess one of the two skills (the first type of meditator) or the other skill (the second type), or both skills (the third type), or neither of them (the fourth type). Superimposed on this structure is a recognition of fourteen specific categories of skill, each of which may be present or absent in a meditator: skill in the concentration/attainment; skill in stabilizing it; skill in emerging from it; and other specific categories.

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[12] 復次。四種禪。有禪三昧時善。非正受時善。有禪正受時善。非三昧時善。有禪三昧時善。亦正受時善。有禪非三昧時善。亦非正受時善。

[13] 復次。四種禪。… 處 … 迎 … 念 … 念不念 … 來 … 惡 … 方便 … 止 … 舉 … 捨 …。

The Pāli Saṃyutta, "Connected with *Jhāna* (*dhyāna*)" also speaks of four types of meditator according to whether they possess or lack in two skills. However, it differs substantially from the Chinese discourse in the following ways:[14]

SN 34 *Jhāna Saṃyutta* (in fifty-five discourses):

1. Attainment in concentration (s*amādhi-samāpatti*)

   At Sāvatthī.

   "Monks (*bhikkhave*), there are these four meditators (*jhāyī*). What four?
   One meditator is skilled (*kusala*) in concentration (*samādhi*) regarding concentration but not skilled in attainment (*samāpatti*) regarding concentration.
   One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but not skilled in concentration regarding concentration.
   One meditator is skilled neither in concentration regarding concentration nor in attainment regarding concentration.
   One meditator is skilled both in concentration regarding concentration and in attainment regarding concentration.

   Of these, monks, the meditator skilled both in concentration regarding concentration and in attainment regarding concentration is the foremost, best, chief, highest, and finest of the four.

   Just as, monks, from a cow comes milk, from milk comes curds, from curds come butter, from butter comes ghee, and from ghee comes cream of ghee. And the cream of ghee is said to be the best of these. In the same way, monks, the meditator skilled both in concentration regarding concentration and in attainment regarding concentration is the foremost, best, leading, highest, and finest of the four."

[14] SN III 1890, 263-279. Woodward 1925, 205-210; Bodhi 2000, 1034-1041.

2. Stabilizing (*ṭhiti*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but not skilled in stabilizing regarding concentration.
One meditator is skilled in stabilizing regarding concentration but not skilled in concentration regarding concentration.
One meditator is skilled neither in concentration regarding concentration nor in stabilizing regarding concentration.
One meditator is skilled both in concentration regarding concentration and in stabilizing regarding concentration.

Of these, monks, the meditator skilled both in concentration regarding concentration and in stabilizing regarding concentration is the foremost, best, leading, highest, and finest of the four. …"

3. Emerging (*vuṭṭhāna*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but not in emerging from it. …"

4. Pliancy (*kalla*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but not in pliancy of it. …"

5. Object (*ārammaṇa*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but not in the object of it. …"

6. Range (*gocara*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four? One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but not in the range of it. …"

7. Resolve (*abhinīhāra*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four? One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but not in resolve for it. …"

8. Thoroughness (*sakkacca*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?

One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but is not a thorough worker regarding concentration. …"

9. Perseverance/Persistence (*sātaccakārī*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four? One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but not in perseverance for it. …"

10. Suitability (*sappāyam*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four? One meditator is skilled in concentration regarding concentration but does not do what is suitable with regard to concentration. …"

11. Stabilizing/attainment (*samāpatti-ṭhiti*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but not in stabilizing in it. …"

12. Emerging/attainment (*samāpatti-vuṭṭhāna*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but not in emerging from it. …"

13. Pliancy/attainment (*samāpatti-kallita*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but not in pliancy regarding concentration. …"

14. The object/attainment (*samāpatti-ārammaṇa*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but not in the object of it. …"

15. The range/attainment (*samāpatti-gocara*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but not in the range of it. …"

16. Resolve/attainment (*samāpatti-abhinīhāra*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but not in resolve for it. …"

17. Thoroughness/attainment (*samāpatti-sakkacca*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but is not a thorough worker regarding concentration. …"

18. Perseverance/attainment (*samāpatti-sātaccakārī*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but is not a persistent worker regarding concentration. …"

19. Suitability/attainment (*samāpatti-sappāyakārī*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in attainment regarding concentration but is not one who does what is suitable regarding concentration. …"

20. Emerging/stabilizing (*ṭhiti-vuṭṭhāna*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in stabilizing (*ṭhiti*) regarding concentration but not skilled in emerging (*vuṭṭhāna*) regarding concentration.
One meditator is skilled in emerging regarding concentration but not skilled in stabilizing regarding concentration.

One meditator is skilled neither in stabilizing regarding concentration nor in emerging regarding concentration.
One meditator is skilled both in stabilizing regarding concentration and in emerging regarding concentration.

Of these, the meditator skilled both in stabilizing regarding concentration and in emerging regarding concentration is the foremost, best, leading, highest, and finest of the four. …"

21–27. The object of stabilizing- (*ṭhiti-ārammaṇa-*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in stabilizing (*ṭhiti*) regarding concentration but not skilled in pliancy (*kallita*) regarding concentration. … "
(*These seven discourses should be expanded in line with the previous set and be replaced by the following seven terms in sequence*: *kallita-kusalo, ārammaṇa-kusalo, gocara-kusalo, abhinīhāra-kusalo, sakkaccakārī, sātaccakārī, sappāyakārī*)

28. Emerging /pliancy (*vuṭṭhāna-kallita*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in emerging (*vuṭṭhāna*) regarding concentration but not skilled in pliancy (*kallita*) regarding concentration. …"

29-34. Emerging- (*vuṭṭhāna-*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in emerging regarding concentration but not skilled in the object (*ārammaṇa*) regarding concentration. …"
(*These six discourses should be expanded in line with the previous set and be replaced by the following six terms in*

sequence: ārammaṇa-kusalo, gocara-kusalo, abhinīhāra-kusalo, sakkaccakārī, sātaccakārī, sappāyakārī)

35. Pliancy-object (*kallita-ārammaṇa*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in pliancy regarding concentration but not skilled in the object regarding concentration. …"

36–40. Pliancy- (*kallita-*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in pliancy regarding concentration but not skilled in the range (*gocara*) regarding concentration. …"
(*These five discourses should be expanded in line with the previous set and be replaced by the following five terms in sequence: gocara-kusalo, abhinīhāra-kusalo, sakkaccakārī, sātaccakārī, sappāyakārī.*)

41-45. Object- (*ārammaṇa-*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in the object regarding concentration but not skilled in the range regarding concentration. …"
(*These five discourses should be expanded in line with the previous set and be replaced by the following five terms in sequence: gocara-kusalo, abhinīhāra-kusalo, sakkaccakārī, sātaccakārī, sappāyakārī.*)

46. Range-Resolve (*gocara-abhinīhāra*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in the range regarding concentration but not skilled in the resolve regarding concentration."

47–49. Range- (*gocara-*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in the range regarding concentration but is not a thorough worker (*sakkaccakārī*) regarding concentration."
(These three discourses should be expanded in line with the previous set and be replaced by the following three terms in sequence: sakkaccakārī, sātaccakārī, sappāyakārī.)

50. Resolve (*abhinīhāra*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in resolve regarding concentration but is not a resolute worker regarding concentration. …"

51–52. Perseverance/Suitability (*sātaccakārī-sappāyakārī*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is skilled in resolve regarding concentration but is not a thorough worker regarding concentration. …"
(*These two discourses should be expanded in line with the previous set and be replaced by the following two terms in sequence: sātaccakārī, sappāyakārī.*)

53. Thoroughness/Perseverance (*sakkaccakārī-sātaccakārī*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is a thorough worker regarding concentration but is not a persistent worker regarding concentration. …"

54. Thoroughness/Suitability (*sakkaccakārī-sappāyakārī*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?

One meditator is skilled in thoroughness in concentration but not in suitability regarding concentration. …"

55. Perseverance/Suitability (*sātaccakārī-sappāyakārī*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are these four meditators. What four?
One meditator is a persistent worker regarding concentration but is not one who does what is suitable regarding concentration.
One meditator is one who does what is suitable regarding concentration but is not a persistent worker regarding concentration.
One meditator is neither a persistent worker regarding concentration nor one who does what is suitable regarding concentration.
One meditator is both a persistent worker regarding concentration and one who does what is suitable regarding concentration.

Of these, monks, the meditator who is both a persistent worker regarding concentration and one who does what is suitable regarding concentration is the foremost, best, leading, highest, and finest of the four.

Just as, monks, from a cow comes milk, from milk comes curds, from curds come butter, from butter comes ghee, and from ghee comes cream of ghee. And the cream of ghee is said to be the best of these. In the same way, monks, the meditator who is both a persistent worker regarding concentration and one who does what is suitable regarding concentration is the foremost, best, leading, highest, and finest of the four."

That is what the Buddha said. The monks were satisfied, happy with what the Buddha said.

Accordingly, the Pāli discourse is about skill in *jhāna*, in concentration itself (*samādhi*). [15] Meditators are of four types according as they possess one of the

[15] *Kusala* "skilled" (SN 34.1-52), *sakkaccakārī* "thoroughness" (SN 34.53-54), or *sātaccakārī* "perseverance" (SN 34.55) in *jhāna*, in concentration (*samādhi*) itself.

two skills (the first type of meditator) or the other skill (the second type), or neither of them (the third type), or both skills (the fourth type). Superimposed on this classification is a recognition of fifty-five categories, arranged into fifty-five discourses/*sutta*s. Each of the specific categories of skill may be present or absent in a meditator: skill in concentration itself but not in the attainment of it (*samāpatti*), or skill in the attainment of concentration but not in concentration itself, or skill in neither of them, or skill in both (SN 34.1); skill in concentration itself but not in stabilizing it (*ṭhiti*), or skill in the stabilizing of concentration but not in concentration itself, or skill in neither of them, or skill in both (SN 34.2); skill in concentration itself but not in emerging from it (*vuṭṭhāna*), or skill in emerging from concentration, but not in concentration itself, or skill in neither of them, or skill in both (SN 34.3); and other categories (i.e. SN 34.4-55). Also, in the Pāli version the fourth type is clearly stated to be the best of the four types.

Accordingly, the Pāli version centres mainly on concentration itself (one aspect) in the four types of skill (named as the four kinds of *jhāna* in the texts) classified into fifty-five categories as fifty-five discourses, whereas the Chinese version focuses mainly on both concentration itself and the attainment of it (two aspects) in the four types of skills (named also the four kinds of *dhyāna*) classified into fourteen categories in just one discourse.

Thus, the SN version is doctrinally far larger in both style and content than its SA counterpart regarding the types of skill in *dhyāna/jhāna*. The SN 34 collection is possibly derived from a single discourse. The division into fifty-five discourses (SN 34. 1-55) likely was for the purpose of making it look like a *saṃyutta*.

The disagreements on teachings contained in SN 43 (*Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta*) and its Chinese counterpart (SA 890)

SA 890 is a very short discourse. For the Pāli SN 43 *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* (forty-four discourses)[16] there already exist translations in English by Woodward (1927) and by Bodhi (2000).[17] For the purpose of comparison I now provide the following full translation of the Chinese text:[18]

[16] SN IV 1894, 359-373.
[17] Woodward 1927, 256-264; Bodhi 2000, 1372-1379.
[18] T2, 224a-b; CSA iii, 550; FSA 2, 982-983.

SA 890: The uncompounded dharma 無為法

Thus have I heard.

Once the Buddha was staying in Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍada's park at Śrāvastī.

At that time, the World-Honoured One said to the monks: "I will teach you the uncompounded dharma, and the path leading to the uncompounded; listen attentively, consider well.

"What is the uncompounded dharma? It is: the permanent destruction of desire, the permanent destruction of hatred, the permanent destruction of delusion, [and] the permanent destruction of all afflictions. This is the uncompounded dharma.

"What is the path leading to the uncompounded? It is the Noble Eightfold Path; that is: right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration. This is called the path leading to the uncompounded."[19]

When the Buddha had taught this discourse, all the monks, having heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and put it into practice.

As with the uncompounded, so also the following are to be taught:

That which is hard to see, the immovable, the unbending, the deathless, cessation of the influxes, the shelter, the island, overcoming, relying, the refuge, non-turning, separation from fire, separation from burning, liberation, coolness, subtlety, peace, non-sickness, nothingness, [and] *nirvāṇa*.[20]

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[19] 爾時。世尊告諸比丘。當為汝說無為法。及無為道跡。諦聽。善思。云何無為法。謂貪欲永盡。瞋恚・愚癡永盡。一切煩惱永盡。是無為法。云何為無為道跡。謂八聖道分。正見・正志・正語・正業・正命・正方便・正念・正定。是名無為道跡。

[20] 如無為。如是 難見・不動・不屈・不死・無漏・覆蔭・洲渚・濟渡・依止・擁護・不流轉・離熾焰・離燒然・流通・清涼・微妙・安隱・無病・無所有・涅槃。亦如是說。

Thus, the Chinese SA version is about the uncompounded, the path leading to the uncompounded, and the other "twenty items" listed (from "That which is hard to see" to *nirvāṇa*). The uncompounded is the "permanent destruction of desire, the permanent destruction of hatred, the permanent destruction of delusion, and the permanent destruction of all afflictions." The same meaning of the uncompounded also refers to the listed twenty items. The path leading to it is the noble eightfold path.

By contrast, although the Pāli SN version is also about the uncompounded (*asaṅkhata*) and the path (*magga*) leading to it, the textual structure and content are not entirely the same as the Chinese SA version:[21]

SN 43 *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* (in forty-four discourses)

1. Body (*kāyo*)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, I will teach you the uncompounded and the path that leads to the uncompounded. Listen …

And what is the uncompounded?

The destruction of desire, hatred, and delusion (*rāgakkhayo dosakkhayo mohakkhayo*).

This is called the uncompounded.

And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

Mindfulness relating to body (*kāyagatā sati*). This is called the path that leads to the uncompounded.

So, monks, I have taught you the uncompounded and the path that leads to the uncompounded. Out of compassion, I have done for you what a teacher should do for the welfare of his disciples. Here are the roots of trees (*rukkhamūlāni*), and here are empty huts (*suññāgārāni*). Practice meditation (*jhāna*), monks! Do not be negligent! Do not regret it later! This is my instruction to you."

[21] SN IV 1894, 359-373. Woodward 1927, 256-264; Bodhi 2000, 1372-1379.

2. Calm (*samatho*) and Insight (*vipassanā*)

"Monks, I will teach you the uncompounded and the path that leads to the uncompounded. Listen …

And what is the uncompounded?

The destruction of desire, hatred, and delusion. This is called the uncompounded.

And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

Calm and insight (*samatho vipassanā ca*). This is called the path that leads to the uncompounded. …"

3. Thought (*vitakko*)

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

Concentration with thought and investigation (*savitakko savicāro samādhi*), concentration without thought but with investigation (*avitakkavicāramatto samādhi*), concentration without thought and investigation (*avitakkho avicāro samādhi*). …"

4. Emptiness

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

Emptiness-concentration (*suññato samādhi*), signless concentration (*animitto samādhi*), undirected concentration (*appaṇihito samādhi*). …"

5. Mindfulness Meditation

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

The four stations of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*). …"

6. Right Efforts

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

The four right efforts (*catāro sammappadhānā*). …"

7. Bases of Psychic Power

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

The four bases of supernormal power (*cattāro iddhipādā*). …"

8. Faculties

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

The five faculties (*pañcindriyāni*). …"

9. Powers

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

The five powers (*pañcabalāni*). …"

10. Awakening Factors

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

The seven factors of enlightenment (*sattabojjhaṅgā*). …"

11. The Path (*Magga*)

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

The noble eightfold path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*). This is called the path that leads to the uncompounded. …"

12. The Uncompounded

I. Calm (*Samatho*)

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

Calm. This is called the path that leads to the uncompounded. …"

II. Insight (*Vippassanā*)

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

Insight …"

III. … Concentration with thought and investigation …

IV. … Concentration without thought, but with investigation …

V. … Concentration without thought and investigation …

VI. … Emptiness-concentration …

VII. … Signless concentration …

VIII. … Undirected concentration …"

IX. The four stations of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*) (i.e. IX-XII)

XIII. The four right efforts (*catāro sammappadhānā*) (i.e. XIII-XVI)

XVII. The four bases of supernormal power (*cattāro iddhipādā*) (i.e. XVII-XX)

XXI. The five faculties (*pañcindriyāni*) (i.e. XXI-XXV)

XXVI. The five powers (*pañcabalāni*) (i.e. XXVI-XXX)

XXXI. The seven factors of enlightenment factors (*sattabojjhaṅgā*) (i.e. XXXI-XXXVII)

XXXVIII. The eightfold path (*aṭṭhaṅgikamaggo*) (i.e. XXXVIII-XLV)

"And what is the path that leads to the uncompounded?

A monk develops right view … right concentration, which is based on seclusion, fading away of desire, and cessation, and leading to letting go. … This is called the path that leads to the uncompounded. …

So, monks, I have taught you the uncompounded and the path that leads to the uncompounded. Out of compassion, I have done for you what a teacher should do for the welfare of his disciples. Here are these roots of trees, and here are empty huts. Practice meditation, monks! Do not be negligent! Do not regret it later! This is my instruction to you."

13. Uninclined (*anatam*)

"Monks, I will teach you the uninclined and the path that leads to the uninclined …"

(This should be expanded in detail as in the previous discourses 1-12 with the uncompounded)

14. Without influxes (*anāsavam*)

"Monks, I will teach you the not-influxes and the path that leads to the not-influxes …"

15. The truth (*saccam*) …

16. The far shore (*pāram*) …

17. The subtle (*nipuṇam*) …

18. The very hard to see (*sududdasam*) …

19. The unageing (*ajajjaram*) …

20. The stable (*dhuvam*) …

21. The undecaying (*apalokitam*) …

22. The invisible (*anidassanam*) …

23. The unproliferated (*nippapañcam*) …

24. The peaceful (*santam*) …

25. The deathless (*amatam*) …

26. The sublime (*paṇītam*) …

27. The blissful (*sivam*) …

28. The secure (*khemaṃ*) …

29. The destruction of craving (*taṇhakkhayo*) …

30. The wonderful (*acchariya*) …

31. The amazing (*abbhutam*) …

32. The secure (*anītika*) …

33. The secure state (*anītikadhamma*) …

34. *Nibbāna* …

35. The unafflicted (*avyāpajjho*) …

36. Dispassion (*virāgo*) …

37. Purity (*suddhi*) …

38. Freedom (*mutti*) …

39. Non-attachment (*anālayo*) …

40. The island (*dīpa*) …

41. Shelter (*lena*) …

42. Protection (*tāṇaṃ*) …

43. Refuge (*saraṇam*) …

44. The goal (*parāyaṇam*)

> "Monks, I will teach you the goal and the path that leads to the goal. Listen …
>
> And what is the goal? The destruction of desire, hatred, and delusion. This is called the goal. And what is the path that leads to the goal? Mindfulness of the body. This is called the path that leads to the goal.
>
> So, monks, I have taught you the goal and the path that leads to the goal. Out of compassion, I have done for you what a teacher should do for the welfare of his disciples. Here are the roots of trees, and here are empty huts. Practice meditation,

monks! Do not be negligent! Do not regret it later! This is my instruction to you." (This should be expanded as with the uncompounded discourses 1-12)

Thus, having presented the two versions of the text, the following are the major differences:

The SN version mentions the other "thirty-three items" (from 13. "the uninclined" *anatam* to 44. "the goal" *parāyaṇam*;[22] note: "twenty items" shown in the SA version). The definition of the uncompounded is similar to the SA version, but without mentioning the expressions "permanent" and "permanent destruction of all afflictions" (i.e. only "destruction of desire, of hatred, of delusion").[23] The same meaning of the uncompounded refers also to the above mentioned thirty-three items; however, the path leading to it is not just only the noble eightfold path (as shown in the SA version), but also includes the following paths: [24]

- *kāyagatā sati* "mindfulness relating to body"
- *samatho vipassanā* "calm and insight"
- *savitakko savicāro samādhi* "concentration with thought and investigation", *avitakkavicāramatto samādhi* "concentration without thought, but with investigation", *avitakkho avicāro samādhi* "concentration without thought and investigation"
- *suññato samādhi* "emptiness-concentration", *animitto samādhi* "signless concentration", *appaṇihito samādhi* "undirected concentration"
- *cattāro satipaṭṭhānā* "the four stations of mindfulness"
- *cattāro sammappadhānā* "the four right efforts"
- *cattāro iddhipādā* "the four bases of supernormal power"
- *pañcindriyāni* "the five faculties"
- *pañcabalāni* "the five powers"
- *sattabojjhaṅgā* "the seven factors of enlightenment"

[22] SN IV 1894, 368-373.
[23] SN IV 1894, 359: "rāgakkhayo dosakkhayo mohakkhayo".
[24] SN IV 1894, 359-361: "… ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo".

Accordingly, the SN version is doctrinally far more elaborate than its SA counterpart in both style and content regarding the notion of both the uncompounded and the path leading to it. The SN 43 collection is likely to be derived from a single discourse. The division of the collection into forty-four parts (SN 43. 1-44) was possibly for the purpose of making it look like a *saṃyutta*.

However, it should be noted that in SA 890 the standard closing formula *huanxi fengxing* 歡喜奉行 ("were delighted and put it into practice") is followed by a statement that the twenty listed topics are also to be taught in the same way. This could be seen as stating that a further twenty discourses are meant to follow, thus indicating that SA 890 is actually a *saṃyukta*.

The disagreements on teachings contained in SN 13 (*Abhisamaya Saṃyutta*) and its Chinese counterpart (SA 891)

The Pāli SN 13 *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta* (eleven discourses)[25] has been translated into English by Rhys Davids (1922) and by Bodhi (2000).[26] Its Chinese equivalent SA 891, a very short discourse, has not been translated before. In the following I will give a full translation of the Chinese version for comparison:[27]

SA 891: A pond 湖池

> Thus have I heard.
>
> Once the Buddha was staying in Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍada's park at Śrāvastī.
>
> At that time, the World-Honoured One said to the monks: "Suppose there was a pond fifty *yojana*s wide-long, and fifty *yojana*s deep. If a man were to draw water from it on the tip of a hair, what do you think, monks: is the water in the pond more, or is the water drawn out on the tip of a hair more?"[28]

[25] SN II 1888, 133-139.

[26] Rhys Davids 1922, 95-100; Bodhi 2000, 621-626.

[27] T2, 224b-c; CSA iii, 550-551; FSA 2, 983-984.

[28] 爾時。世尊告諸比丘。譬如湖池。廣長五十由旬。深亦如是。若有士夫以一毛端渧彼湖水。云何。比丘。彼湖水為多。為士夫毛端一渧水多。

> The monks said to the Buddha: "World-Honoured One, the water drawn out on the tip of a hair is little. It does not equal the measure of the water in the pond which is countless thousands of millions of times greater."[29]
>
> The Buddha said to the monks: "Being endowed with a vision of the truth, one is endowed with right view. As a result of a vision of the truth, a disciple of the World-Honoured One has right realisation. He at that time has known that he has cut off [at the root of suffering], like the cut off stump of a palm tree, never to arise again. The suffering that has been cut off is immeasurably numerous, like the water in the big pond, while the suffering that remains is [little], like the water drawn out on the tip of a hair."[30]
>
> When the Buddha had taught this discourse, all the monks, having heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and put it into practice.
>
> Like the water drawn out on the tip of a hair, the tip of a grass-blade is also the same teaching.[31]
>
> Like the water in the pond, the following are also the same teaching:
>
> The water in the Saluoduozhajia, the Gangā, the Yamunā, the Sarabhū, the Aciravati, the Mahī, [and] the great ocean.[32]
>
> When the Buddha had taught this discourse, all the monks, having heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and put it into practice.

As recorded in the Chinese SA version, the teaching pattern of the Buddha to the monks is as follows: First he contrasts two obviously incommensurate quantities using similes, and then he compares that difference to the difference between the amount of suffering that a disciple of the Buddha has eliminated by

[29] 比丘白佛。世尊。士夫毛端尠少耳。湖水無量千萬億倍。不得為比。

[30] 佛告比丘。具足見真諦。正見具足。世尊弟子見真諦果。正無間等。彼於爾時已斷．已知。斷其根本。如截多羅樹頭。更不復生。所斷諸苦甚多無量。如大湖水。所餘之苦如毛端渧水。

[31] 如毛端渧水。如是草籌之端渧水亦如是。

[32] 如湖池水如是。薩羅多吒伽．恒水．耶扶那．薩羅[泳-永+臾]．伊羅跋提．摩醯．大海亦如是說。

attaining realisation (無間等 cf. P. *abhisamaya*) of reality/the truth (真諦cf. P. *dhamma*) and the amount of suffering that remains.

The Pāli SN version, which consists of eleven discourses, is not entirely the same as the Chinese SA version as the following indicates:[33]

SN 13 *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta* (in eleven discourses)

1. A Fingernail

Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying near Sāvatthī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's monastery. Then the Buddha, picking up a tiny bit of soil under his fingernail, addressed the monks: "What do you think, monks? Which is more: the tiny bit of soil under my fingernail, or this great earth?"

"Sir, the great earth is far more. The tiny bit of soil under your fingernail is little. Compared with the great earth, it does not amount to a hundredth, a thousandth, or a hundred thousandth part."

"In the same way, monks, for a noble disciple accomplished in view (*diṭṭhisampannassa*), for a person with realisation (*abhisametāvino*), the suffering that has been destroyed and eliminated is more, while the suffering that remains is little; (it) does not amount to a hundredth, a thousandth, or a hundred thousandth part, compared to the mass of suffering in the past that has been destroyed and eliminated, that is to say, a maximum span of seven rebirths (*sattakkhattuṃ paramatā*). Of such great benefit, monks, is the realisation of the *Dhamma* (*dhammābhisamaya*); of such great benefit is it to have gained the vision of the *Dhamma* (*dhammacakkhupaṭilābha*)."[34]

2. A pond

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, suppose there was a pond that was fifty *yojana*s long, fifty *yojana*s wide, and fifty *yojana*s deep, full of water,

[33] SN II 1888, 133-139. Rhys Davids 1922, 95-100; Bodhi 2000, 621-626.
[34] This is about the attainment of stream-entry (Bodhi 2000, 787, n. 219).

overflowing, so a crow could drink from it. Then a person would pick up some water on the tip of a blade of *kusa* grass. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the water on the tip of the blade of *kusa* grass, or the water in the pond?"

"Sir, the water in the pond is certainly more. The water on the tip of a blade of *kusa* grass is little. Compared to the water in the pond, it does not amount to a hundredth, a thousandth, or a hundred thousandth part."

"In the same way, … is the realisation of the *Dhamma*; … is it to have gained the vision of the *Dhamma*."

3. Water in the Confluence

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are places where the great rivers, the Ganges, Yamuna, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, and Mahī, come together and converge. Suppose a person was to draw out two or three drops of water from such a place. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the two or three drops drawn out or the water in the confluence?"

"Sir, the water in the confluence is certainly more. The two or three drops drawn out are little. Compared to the water in the confluence, it does not amount to a hundredth, a thousandth, or a hundred thousandth part."

"In the same way, …"

4. Water in the Confluence (2nd)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, there are places where the great rivers, the Ganges, Yamuna, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, and Mahī, come together and converge. Suppose that water dried up and vanished except for two or three drops. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the water in the confluence that has dried up and vanished, or the two or three drops left?"

"Sir, the water in the confluence that has dried up and vanished is certainly more. The two or three drops left are little. Compared with the water in the confluence that has dried up and vanished, it does not amount to a hundredth, a thousandth, or a hundred thousandth part."

"In the same way, …"

5. The Earth

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, suppose a person was to place seven little jujube kernel-sized clay balls on the great earth. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the seven little jujube kernel-sized clay balls, or the great earth?"

"Sir, … In the same way, …"

6. The Earth (2nd)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, suppose the great earth was destroyed and vanished except for the seven little jujube kernel-sized clay balls. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the great earth that has been worn away and eroded, or the seven little jujube kernel-sized clay balls that are left?"

"Sir, … In the same way, …"

7. The Ocean

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, suppose a man was to draw up two or three drops of water from the ocean. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the two or three drops drawn out or the water in the ocean?"

"Sir, … In the same way, …"

8. The Ocean (2nd)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, suppose the water in the ocean dried up and vanished except for two or three drops. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the water in the ocean that has dried up and vanished, or the two or three drops left?"

"Sir, … In the same way, …"

9. A Mountain

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, suppose a person was to place seven grains of gravel as large as mustard seeds on the Himalayas, the king of mountains. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the seven grains of gravel as large as mustard seeds, or the Himalayas, the king of mountains?"

"Sir, … In the same way, …"

10. A Mountain (2nd)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, suppose the Himalayas, the king of mountains, was destroyed and vanished except for seven grains of gravel as large as mustard seeds. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the portion of the Himalayas, the king of mountains, that has been worn away and eroded, or the seven grains of gravel as large as mustard seeds that are left?"

"Sir, … In the same way, …"

11. A Mountain (3rd)

At Sāvatthī.

"Monks, suppose a person was to place down on Sineru, the king of mountains, seven grains of gravel as large as beans. What do you think, monks? Which is more: the seven grains of gravel as large as beans, or Sineru, the king of mountains?"

> "Sir, Sineru, the king of mountains, is certainly more. The seven grains of gravel as large as beans are little. Compared to Sineru, it does not amount to a hundredth, a thousandth, or a hundred thousandth part."
>
> "In the same way, monks, when compared with the achievement (*adhigama*) of a noble disciple accomplished in view (*diṭṭhisampanna*), of a person with realisation, the achievements of the recluses (*samaṇa*), brahmins and wanderers who follow other paths/sects (*-paribbājakānaṃ*) do not amount to a hundredth, a thousandth, or a hundred thousandth part. So great in achievement, monks, is the person accomplished in view, so great in higher knowledge (*mahābhiñña*)."

To summarise, the major differences are the following:

a. In the first ten discourses of the SN version (SN 13.1-10) the Buddha, as in the above-mentioned SA version, contrasts two obviously incommensurate quantities using similes, and then compares the disparity to that between the amount of suffering that a noble disciple/person has eliminated by attaining realisation (*abhisamaya*) of the *Dhamma* and the amount of suffering that remains in the maximum span of seven rebirths (*sattakkhattuṃ paramatā*). The span of seven rebirths is not mentioned in the SA parallel.

b. The last discourse of the SN version (SN 13.11) differs slightly from the above-mentioned first ten SN discourses. The disparity (including a simile) is between the achievement of the recluses, brahmins and wanderers of other sects and the achievement of the noble disciple/a person who has attained realisation. The latter is immeasurably greater than the former in terms of the vision accomplished (*diṭṭhisampanna*) and the higher knowledge (*mahābhiñña*). This content is entirely absent from the SA counterpart.

c. The SN version contains more similes than the SA version. The similes of the SN version are as follows:

- A little bit of soil on the tip of the fingernail and the soil of the great earth (SN 13.1)
- Water on the tip of a blade of grass and in the pond (SN 13.2)
- Two or three drops of water and the water that has flowed together from the five rivers: the Ganges, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū, and Mahī (SN 13.3-4).
- The seven little jujube kernel-sized clay balls and the earth (SN 13.5-6)
- Two or three drops of water and the water in the ocean (SN 13.7-8)
- The seven grains of gravel as large as mustard-seeds and the Himalaya mountains (SN 13.9-10)
- The seven grains of gravel as large as beans laid together and Mount Sineru (SN 13.11).

Thus, the SN version is doctrinally more elaborate than its SA parallel in both style and contents regarding the similes for the essential view of realisation. The division of the SN collection into eleven parts (SN 13.1-11) was possibly for the purpose of making it look like a *saṃyutta*. The SN 13 version is likely to be derived from a single discourse.

However, here again it should be noted that in SA 891 the standard closing formula *huanxi fengxing* 歡喜奉行 is followed by a statement that the listed topics are also to be taught in the same way. This seems like the end of the discourse, while what follows seems intended to be a sequence of further discourses based on the same pattern; that is, SA 891 could be regarded as a *saṃyukta* (cf. Choong 2018, 34).

Conclusion

Structurally, SN 34 *Jhāna Saṃyutta* is located in section (3) *Khandha Vagga*, SN 43 *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* is in section (4) *Saḷāyatana Vagga*, and SN 13 *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta* is in section (2) *Nidāna Vagga*. However, each of their Chinese SA counterparts is a short discourse and is located in section (3) *Zayin song* (= section (2) *Nidāna Vagga* of the SN).

Nevertheless, as pointed out above, it is not at all obvious whether each

of their Chinese SA counterparts is a discourse or a *saṃyukta*. In two cases (SA 890, SA 891) the SA discourse looks very much like a *saṃyukta*. The distinction between the two categories, discourse and *samyukta*, is rather vague; but it is clear that after the end of the discourse a sequence of further discourses based on the same arrangement and design is meant to be included in the collection.

Also, no clear evidence is found in the texts that might establish a reason why the SN versions are edited as different *saṃyutta*s located in three different *vagga*s, whereas each of the Chinese SA versions is located in one section and treated as a single discourse, not as a *saṃyukta* collection.

It could be that both the Pāli and the Chinese collections are artificial and/or late compilations. It is possible that the discourses were at first attached to, or subordinated to, the relevant sections (*vaggas*/*song*s), and that the gathering of them into *saṃyuttas*/*saṃyukta*s grouped in a single section was a later development. The observed structural divergences would then simply reflect differences in how the two schools (Vibhajyavāda/Vibhajjavāda and Sarvāstivāda/Sabbatthivāda) developed after their separation from their common ancestor (i.e. the Sthavira tradition).

As for the contents, this comparative study of the different versions has revealed that the three SN versions are far larger and more elaborate in both style and content than their SA counterparts regarding the types of skills in *jhāna/dhyāna*, the notion of both the uncompounded and the path leading to it, and the similes for the essential view of realisation.

It is possible that each of the Pāli SN collections examined is not completely derived from a single discourse. Although the division of the collections into fifty-five parts (SN 34.1-55), forty-four parts (SN 43.1-44) and eleven parts (SN 13.1-11) was possibly for the purpose of making it appear like a *saṃyutta*, the Chinese SA parallels (SA 883, SA 890, SA 891) contain very similar summarised versions of the same design: one full-scale discourse followed by numerous abbreviated ones, which have the same structure and closely related content. Thus, the Chinese SA versions likely do not completely preserve the original form as a single discourse. The matter rests on the old problem of calculating how many distinct discourses are in the collection of SA/SN.

Overall, this study has revealed some variations and interesting disagreements in both structure and content between the Pāli and Chinese versions. At the least, the observed structural discrepancies must somehow

reflect transformations in how the Buddhist traditions developed after the separation from their common origin.

Abbreviations

CSA	*Za ahan jinglun huibian* 雜阿含經論會編 [*Combined Edition of Sūtra and Śāstra of the Saṃyuktāgama*]. 3 vols Ed. Yinshun 印順. Taipei: Zhengwen Chubanshe, 1983.
FSA	*Foguang dazangjing ahan zang: Za ahan jing* 佛光大藏經 阿含藏：雜阿含経 [*Foguang Tripiṭaka Saṃyuktāgama*]. 4 vols. Ed. Foguang Dazangjing Bianxiu Weiyuanhui 佛光大藏經編修委員會. Dashu, Gaoxiong: Foguangshan Zongwu Weiyuanhui, 1983.
PTS	Pali Text Society
SA	*Saṃyuktāgama* 雜阿含經 (T 2, no. 99)
SN	*Saṃyutta-nikāya* (PTS edition)
T	Taishō Chinese *Tripiṭaka* (The standard edition for most scholarly purposes) *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. 100 vols. Ed. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai. 1924–34.

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A new reading of the 1756 A.D. *Syāmasandesa* preserved in the Malvatte vihāraya monastery at Kandy, Sri Lanka[1]

Jacqueline Filliozat

Abstract

Here is given for the first time an accurate transliteration of the original *syāmasandesa*, a Pāli letter in *Khom* script dating to 1756 A.D., sent from the Siamese court of Ayudhya to the royal court of Sirivaḍḍhanapura (Kandy). The letter gives an account of the mission and sojourn in Siam of the Sinhalese envoys of King Kīrti Śri Rājasiṃha, accompanying the Siamese monks who were returning to Siam after restoring the ordination of monks in Laṅkā. It contains a list of texts brought from Siam to Laṅkā, and is also accompanied by a *kammavācā* text, not yet published, which shows that the original mission to Laṅkā had been arranged, at least in part, to ensure the correct pronunciation of the stanzas dealing with the taking

[1] First published with the collaboration of the Venerable T. Dhammaratana in *Dharmadūta, Mélanges offerts au Vénérable Thich Huyên-Vi à l'occasion de son 70è anniversaire*, dirigés par Bhikkhu Tampalawela Dhammaratana, Bhikkhu Pāsādika, Éditions You Feng, Paris 1997: 95-113 under the title "Une nouvelle lecture du Syāmasandesa de 1756 A.D. conservé au Malvatte vihāraya de Kandy, Sri Lanka". The present version has been here translated from the French with new notes and an updated bibliography added by the author. The list of texts brought from Siam to Sri Lanka has been published again by A. M. Blackburn 2001: 217, according to a list given in Vijayavardhana and Mīgaskumbura 1993: 100-102 (none of them having seen the original); P. Skilling & S. Pakdeekham with their own variants readings and comments in Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam (PLTCS) 2002: lxxxvii-xc. I am very grateful to Dr Peter Skilling and Michael Smithies who have kindly revised this new version.

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of refuge (by which the validity or not of ordination is determined). An appendix contains a select bibliography of primary and secondary works pertaining to the embassies between Siam and Laṅkā in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The interesting comments made by Professor Oskar von Hinüber[2] published together with Dr. Supaphan na Bangchang's edition[3] of the famous "letter of Siam" kept at Kandy since 1756, awakened my curiosity about the origin of the numerous collections of manuscripts in Southeast Asian Pāli kept today in the monastic libraries of Sri Lanka. In the quest for new and original documents to shed light on the history of religious relations between Sri Lanka and Peninsular Southeast Asia, I was entrusted by the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) with the systematic cataloguing of rare collections of Pāli manuscripts. These collections, public as well as private, had never been itemised or inventoried. With the kind encouragement of Mr. K.D. Somadasa, honorary curator of the Sinhalese Collection of the British Library, who informed me of the existence and location of many precious manuscripts, and under the guidance of my colleague, Dr. Jinadasa Liyanaratne, who introduced me to the Sinhalese authorities, I had the unique opportunity to analyse, *in situ,* several Southeast Asian monastic collections of great historical value which we are beginning to study in EFEO publications.[4]

Transcribed from the original Pāli (*Khom* script) into Sinhalese characters, then once again into Roman characters, edited, translated, studied, mentioned many times by renowned scholars[5] and then cited as such by all the historians,[6]

[2] v. Hinüber 1988: 175-184.

[3] First romanized edition published in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (JPTS), v. Supaphan 1988: 185-212.

[4] Bizot 1993 photo 4; Filliozat 1995: 135-191.

[5] Damrong 1916, reprint 1960: 211-295; Paranavitana 1935.

[6] For instance: Dewaraja 1988: 131, note 59: "Some of these books which contain Pāli Buddhist texts written in Cambodian characters are still preserved in the Library of the Malwatta vihāra, Kandy […] It was seen that from the early days of the reign of Narendrasimha, the Buddhist Saṅgha had become extinct and that attempts were made to restore it. The culmination of these attempts was the arrival in May 1753 of Upāli Thera with a retinue of monks and five Siamese ambassadors, sent by King Borom[o]kot (1732-1758) of Siam. In July of the same year in the presence of Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha and at his request six *sāmaṇeras* were admitted to the Upasampadā [ordination] with Upāli as their teacher"; Bechert & Gombrich 1984: 144: "The oldest *nikāya* in Sri Lanka now is the Siyam Nikāya, which traces its lineage back to the eldest of the monks who came from Thailand in 1753 to renew the higher ordination tradition. The last Kandyan kings decreed in effect that all monks must be of this *nikāya*, by commanding that all monks must be ordained in Kandy by the monks of that line"; *Syāmavaṅś nai Laṅkā* 1992.

the authentic *Syāmasandesa,* preserved in the treasure of the Malvatte vihāraya monastery, has surprisingly never been the object of critical analysis from the original text. Up to now, the authority of all studies has rested on unreliable manuscript copies, barely legible photographs, phoney transcriptions or new editions introducing "corrections". The detailed examination of a complete photocopy of the original, provided by the National Archives of Sri Lanka,[7] permits us today to cast new light on this document of great historic, religious, social and philological value concerning the relations between the kingdoms of Siam and Kandy at the end of the eighteenth century.

Description

The original was kindly shown to me in November 1994 by the Venerable Sumaṅgalathera, *anunāyaka* and curator of the treasure of the Malvatte vihāraya monastery. It consists of a long roll of sheets of yellowed *khoi* paper, glued end to end, measuring approximately 12.50 metres by 27 centimetres, protected by an ivory case itself enclosed in a silver cylindrical casket engraved all around with inscriptions.[8] The roll is comprised of two distinct parts:

1. **The Letter proper:** 34 folios measuring approximately 35 cm to 37 cm in height, glued end to end on which the Pāli text is written in black pencil in a careful hand on 22 lines of roughly 24 large Siamese *Khom* characters per line (0.5 cm). Several folios are rolled on the edges, slightly torn, or badly glued causing folds which hide characters. Other folios are even shorter. It is possible that there are several losses of text where the paper was glued or at the edges.

[7] Deposited in October of 1995 in the library of École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), 22 avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris France, under the shelf mark Manuscrits EFEO PALI 144. Gift of Dr. D. G. Wimalaratne, Director, National Archives, Colombo 7, Sri Lanka (under the care of the Venerable T. Dhammaratana). Another copy is available in Thailand in the library of Manuscript House in Nonthaburi (Bangkok), for inquiries contact the curator P. Skilling <vararuci@mac.com> or Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation P.O. Box 2036 Chulalongkorn Post Office Bangkok 10332 Thailand.

[8] I regret that I was not authorised to note these; like the letter they are in Siamese *Khom* writing. The photographs taken by Venerable Dhammaratana unfortunately are illegible. I was also unable to note down the exact dimensions of the original letter. Those that I give are of the photocopy.

2. **Pabbajjā / Upasampadakammavācā:** three folios of varying heights: 30 cm, 27 cm and 19 cm, glued in order, but upside down (no doubt by a Sinhalese who was unable to read the *Khom* of Siam) containing fragments of *Kammavācā* texts in another hand: the characters are taller, thinner, more rounded, and the lines are tighter. To the left of the text in the margin and on the reverse there exists a small foliation in European numerals. This foliation begins on the second folio indicating a sequence (1, 2, 3 etc.), but is often poorly legible or absent.

The photocopy is slightly blurred on the sides, and unfortunately illegible at points. I have supplemented the missing text from Dr. Supaphan na Bangchang's romanised edition of Prince Damrong's Siamese script text[9] indicating the borrowing with brackets. The photocopy is presented in 34 folios, plus four double folios (31 to 34bis in order to offer a better legibility or a dark portion of the document), plus three single and three double folios (35 to 37bis) in A3 format (42 cm x 29.5 cm), on photographic paper with my own foliation in European numerals.

The form, the content, and the orthography of the text of the letter published by the Prince Damrong are not very different from the original preserved in Kandy. It is not a simple transcription, since errors have been carefully corrected, the spelling standardised, and paragraph numbers and regular punctuation, non-existant in the original, have been inserted.

We should note in the list of texts sent to Laṅkā the small changes made in the spelling of the titles which proves only that the orthography of Pāli was not fixed at this era in the milieu of scribes of the court of Ayudhya. One currently finds *atthakathā* for *aṭṭhakathā, saddhasāra*° for *saddasāra*°, *saddhabindhu*° for *saddabindu*°, *samohavinodanī* for *sammohavinodanī*, and *vinayya*° *for vinaya*°. For that which Prince Damrong read (or interpreted) in *paramatthadīpanīsaṅkhepa*, the original is muddled. I read, *[para?] matthapakāsini* [one letter illegible] *khema* (!) as most likely rendered for *paramatthapakāsinīsaṅkhepa*. In any event, I am certain of *pakāsini* and I do not see how one could render the reading as *dīpanī*! Is this the error of the scribe in making a copy? There is the possibility that the two copies (the original at Kandy and the duplicate preserved in Thailand) are different: the scribe in recopying the letter could have confused one text with another. One also finds: *cūlanidesa*,

[9] v. Damrong 1960.

pāḷībuddhavaṅsa, pāḷī anāgatavaṅsa, etc. which exhibits the lack of concern on the part of the scribe for a sense of rigour or a simple orthographic habit. If one can suppose that a royal scribe was a man of letters and had a certain savoir-faire in order to be considered able to occupy a post of such responsibility, it must then be that liberties with spelling were admissible in his field during this era. For convincing support, one merely needs to skim through the lists of titles and the final headings of the Pāli catalogues from Thailand and Cambodia: they all exhibit the same anomalies.[10]

Of the 75 titles of works cited in the letter which I attempted to locate in Sri Lanka, only a single title (v. Hinüber 1988, No. 30, p. 176) could be found in the current collection of the monastery Vijayasundaramaya of Asgiriya in Kandy. However, it is not at all certain that it truly represents the fragments of manuscripts sent during this period. This is a matter of two extracts from palm leaves (the same ones!) preserved under the marks: Asgiriya Siamese 3 B and Asgiriya Siamese 12 B *[Sammohavinodanī] — Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā*, unfortunately undated. A dozen other manuscripts in Siamese characters in Sri Lanka are indicated by M. K. D. Somadasa,[11] but we have not yet had the opportunity to peruse them and compare them with the present list. We have recently discovered that there are many more to investigate.[12] Many missions have been exchanged with Siam[13] and in the absence of clear dating of the manuscripts one cannot determine at which occasion they were brought to Laṅkā. However, they could have easily been copied in Laṅkā during the period where Siamese monks lived there, keeping their proper traditions and continuing to copy texts in the writing which was familiar to them. Only a chemical analysis of the fibres of the palm

[10] For instance EFEO DATA Filliozat (available in EFEO library 22 avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris, or on CD-ROM, for request write to <jacqueline.filliozat@orange.fr>). Go to 1. catalogues data, browse the files 101-104, 108-109, searching for words *kham* or *Khom* or *mūl*, the special Southeast Asian spellings can be checked in the notices selected by these scripts; for studies on Southeast Asian Pāli v. Martini 1937: 369-385 grammatical notes and Southeast Asian use of noting Pāli; Cœdès 1966; Cœdès 1914; Hundius 1990: 1-173 and particularly p. 24; Skilling & Pakdeekham 2002; Skilling & Pakdeekham 2004; Bernon 2004.

[11] Somadasa 1959-1964, vol. I, p. 107: *-siyam akurupota* 59, 61(4), 342, 374, 407, 437, 688, 756 and vol. II, pp. 70-80: *-siyam akurupota* 424 *-siyamvinayapota* 522.

[12] An attempt of classifying all the Siamese *Khom* manuscripts in the Sri Lankan monasteries is prepared by Bhikkku Nyanatusita, Forest Hermitage, Udawattakele PO Box 61 Kandy Sri Lanka. Contact <nyanatusita@gmail.com>.

[13] One should think back to Frankfurter 1907; Geiger 1953: 253-302; Abeywardane 1972.

leaves[14] could lead to locating the exact geographical origin of the species of the palm tree used, and give an answer to the question: are these palm leaves originating from Siam or Laṅkā and at what date?

The second part of the *syāmasandesa* is incomplete, but is, however, of considerable interest. Ignoring the original letter at Kandy, neither Damrong 1960, nor Supaphan 1988 mention it and Paravitana 1935 neglects it.[15] Most likely, the addition of this fragment of the precious formula to the end of the letter dated 1756 was probably executed in Laṅkā later (it is glued upside down, something a Siamese would not have done) in order not to distract from what remained in the letter: in effect, at the moment of the gluing, the beginning and the end of the formula were already missing. The duplicate of the letter preserved in Siam (lost today it seems)[16] and edited by Prince Damrong do not perhaps take the formula at the end of the letter into consideration. Or perhaps he has neglected it in his publication since the subject of his work was the establishment of the Siamese lineage in Laṅkā. The publication of the letter would have been of great interest, yet the text of the *Kammavācā,* well-known by all Siamese Buddhists, did not need to be re-edited in this context.

This fragment represents, without a doubt, a part of the original text adressed by the King of Siam to the King of Kandy in order to assure the continuance of the religion. The historical writings, whether in Pāli, Sinhalese or Siamese,[17] speak of Siamese religious missions dispatched to Laṅkā at the request of King Kīrti Śri Rājasiṃha. On these missions canonical scriptures were taken among which there was a copy of the *Kammavācā*.

This fragment of the letter pertains to the formulas in Pāli of the *Kammavācā*, used by the Siamese community for the ordination of monks.[18] This fragment of the formula which in its current state comprises several words of the *Pabbajjā* and several more key phrases of the *Upasampadā*,[19] represents without a doubt

[14] Sirichai Wangchareontrakul and Kulpanthada Janposri 1992: 34-43.

[15] Paranavitana 1935 mentions this part of the document (from photographic negatives) on p. 58, Appendix IX: "As the Kammavaca is well known to students of Buddhism, no further details may be necessary about this part of the document."

[16] Supaphan 1988:185-86.

[17] Lorgeou 1906: 533-548; Frankfurter 1907: note 11.

[18] Bizot 1993: 31-61 in retracing the sources of the evolution according to the inscriptions and chronicles; facing p. 37 photo 4, Upāli represented on murals at Asgiriya Vihāra, Kandy.

[19] Bizot 1993: 18: on *pabbajjā* and *upasampadā* transmitting the orthodoxy of the founding religious group.

the response of the Siamese clergy to the Sinhalese clergy. The preserved passage concerns the precise point for which the mission of 1753 was arranged: to know the correct pronunciation of the stanzas dealing with the taking of refuge by which validity or non-validity of the ordination was determined.[20] The pronunciation of these stanzas is clearly demonstrated by the same notation of the writing of the *makaranta* endings, distinct from those of the *niggahītanta* endings. This historic dated document, notifying clearly this double utterance, confirms if there were any need, the preoccupation of the Buddhist community of this troubled period to conform to rules.

Transcriptions

In making use of these official documents I have been very careful not to correct or to interpret the text which I present to researchers as it is (as far as this is possible), retaining the stylistic, orthographic and punctuation[21] particularities customary with Siamese court scribes during the period in question. For example, in a few cases the Thai vowel "è", which does not exist in Pāli, appears in place of "e". The original text is inscribed in a single passage without sections, paragraphs, or spaces between words and with infrequent punctuation. To alleviate the effect of the density in transcription and to facilitate reading, I have inserted spaces to cut very long compounds.

[20] Bizot 1993: 49-50: About the double utterance of ordination. Thanks to Mahādhammatrailok, we know the special method of the School of Sumana — the King of Satchanalai reports specifically — taught the taking of refuge in two utterances: first, *makaranta*, second, *niggahītanta*. The words were separated (momentary nasalisation) in the first, and linked (continuous nasalisation) in the second. In 1750 A.D., at the request of the Sinhalese king who sent a mission to Ayuthya, a group composed by monks of the Siṅhalapakkha branch was sent to Ceylon under the direction of Mahāthera Upāli. The Siamese monks founded a new *nikāya* at Kandy which exists since then on the island named Syāmanikāya. For more details concerning the pronunciation of the refuge (*makaranta* and *niggahītanta*) see Bizot 1988: 49-59.

[21] I have kept the original daṇḍa (stick) like this | or this || indicating as well a pause in the phrase, sentence, clause or a new paragraph, or just a full stop, but with a lack of consistency to my eyes. It is clear that punctuation is not fixed at the time of the writing and it is the reason why I have not replaced these symbols with a romanized punctuation having no clear equivalent.

The symbols ᩞᩞ ◎ ᩞᩞ or ᩞᩞ ᩞᩞ are decorative marks for initial or final punctuation in *Khom* writing. It indicates the beginning or the end of a paragraph, section or text.

1. The Letter proper

<193>[22] **<fol 1>** | * tibhavalokamakuṭa uttama parama mahissara vara vaṅsa suriyendra narendrādipatindra varottama khattiyajātirāja varātula vipulaguṇa gambhiravira ananta mahantamahācakkavattissara vararājādhirājanāthanāyakatil aka lokacudhānarāmarani karabhivanda anantapūjitamahiddhi nārāyanuppatti sadisātireka anekacaturaṅgabala bahala acalasuriyodita amitatejā ekādasaruddha issaravara paramanātha parama pavittasaṭṭhita devamahānagara pavaradvārāvati siri ayuddhayā mahātilakabhabbanabba ratana rājadhānīpurīramaya uttamasāmī sirisuvaṇṇapāsāda ratanavararājanidhi kāñcana kuñjara supatitanāgendra gajendra paduma dantasetavāraṇanāgindra karindra ekadanta sanimbaṅsadhara aṭṭhadisa nārāyana **<fol 2>** dasabidha rājadhamma dharottamamahārājassa amaccesu aggamahāsenādhipatinā mayā pavara siri laṅkādipe rajjasirisampatassa sirivaḍḍhanapurādhivāsī mahārājuttamassa amaccesu aggamahāsenādhipatissa pesitaṃ subhakkhara pavara vacanaṃ nāma | sirivaḍḍhanapurirājā siri ayuddhayā mahānagaraṃ nivatanapavesanatthāya siridantadhātuvalañjanaṃ maṇībuddharūpañ ca pavarabhikkhusaṃghañ ca nimantetvā maṅgalarājapaṇṇākārehi saddhiṃ rājasandesaṃ dūtāmacce ca pesetvā ekādasaruddha issara paramanātha paramapavittanārāyana dasabidha rāja dhammadharamahoḷārassa ca parama orassadhirājassa ca datvā saccabandhanapabbate patiṭṭhitasiri buddhapādavelañjanassa pūjanabhaṇḍāni pūjāpetvā varamuni sirisaṃgharājissara pavaravisuddhuttama brahmacariya mahantavidayāva sudhātilaka tipiṭakadharavara dhammamahaṇṇava paññānāya katissara paramācariyapavittasaṭṭhita siri ratanamahādhātu ārāmābhiramaya sam aṇasamosaravararasaṃghādhipatissa civarādiparikkhārehi saddhiṃ samaṇasandhesa aggamahāsenādhipatissa vikappabhaṇḍehi saddhiṃ subha akkharañ ca adāsi | <194> dūtānudūtesu rājanadīmukhaṃ sampattesu ekuṇa satasaṃvaccharadvisatādhikāni dvesaṃvaccharasahassāni atikkantāni ahesuṃ imasmiṃ musikasaṃvacchara somavāra āsaḷhamāsa kāḷa **<fol 3>** pakkhapāṭipadadivase | tadāha samuddhapākāranagarā vuṭṭhena senāpatinā naga raparamparāropitapaccakkhasandhesa pavuttiṃ sutvā ekādasa ruddha issaraparamanāthaparamapavitta nārāyana dasadhammadharamahoḷā[23]rassa sādaramahatā gāravenuttamāṅgasirottamenañjuliṃ katvā tamatthaṃ ārocesiṃ | ekādasaruddha issara paramanātha paramapavittanārāyana dasabidha rāja dhammadhara mahārājā laṅkādipāgatasāsana pavuttiṃ sutvā

[22] The page numbers of the *JPTS* 1988 edition are enclosed within < >.
[23] Read: *ddhā* in the place of *ḷā*?

surasīhanādavacanena rattakambalasannaddharatta parikammachadanamaṇḍapa patimaṇḍitaṃ nānārājīvicittanāvaṃ sajāpetvā maṇibuddharūpañ ca siridantadhātuvalañjanañ ca pavarabhikkhusaṃghañ ca rājasandhesañ ca maṅgalarājapaṇṇākāre ca yāva rājanadīmukhaṃ paccugamana kātuṃ vivaḍḍhakosānu senāpatiṃ āṇāpetvā nānāvidhena khādaniya bhojaniyena agelaññe bhikkhusaṃghadūtānudūte posituñ ca yoggabandhaniyamāna parivāranāvāya siridantadhātu valañjana maṇībuddharūpañ ca bhikkhusaṃghañ ca paramparānukammena paccugamanaṃ kātuñ ca yāva sattamocanārāmaṃ culanagara mahānagarādhipati kammakāre āṇāpetvā heṭṭhimanānāpadesa mahārañña dūtānudūtarājapaṇṇākāra pesitapavarathānaṃ sattamocanārāmaṃ sampattakāle yathā vussitāvāse bhikkhusaṃghaṃ vassāpetvā **<fol 4>** musika saṃvacchara sāvaṇamāsa sasivāra sunakkhatta pavaruttama sattamītithiyaṃ patasso[24] ratanakanakamaya nānākāñcanalatārājī vicittapavarasākhanāvāyogesu yuttasuvaṇṇudakabhaṇḍañ ca sajāpetvā ekekasākhanāvāya siridantadhātuvalañjanaṃ maṇibuddharūpaṃ rājasandhesaṃ mahādakkhiṇa saṃkhañ ca dvekajeyyanāvāya samaṇasandhesaṃ subhakkharañ ca gāhāpetvā catūhi rājasiharūpādisattarūpanāvāhi rājapaṇṇākāraṃ gāhāpetvā pacchā ca purato pādamulikāmaccāna anekasatasabbaparivāranāvāya dhajapaṭākādīhi bhaṇḍapūjehi ca aññehi nānābhaṇḍapūjanīyehi parivārāpetvā samaṇabrāhmaṇā pi sabbe janā pi siri dantadhātu maṇibuddharūpesu <195> pitisomanassajātā mahānadiyā ubhosu tiresu pañcamalājādīhi nānāpupphehi aññehi sakkārasammānehi ca kamena yāva mahaṅgaṇatitthā nānāmahāpadesato rājasandesanimantanathānātāni pūjesuṃ | nānāvicitta sabbaratana kanakamayamaṇḍapaṃ kāretvā suvaṇṇarajaṭa patimaṇḍita chattadhajjapaṭākādīhi abhiramayabhaṇḍehi susajjitagamanamaggaṃ yāva rājantepurā sampādetvā siridantadhātu valañjanañ ca maṇibuddharupañ ca rājasandesaṃ gāhāpetvā chattadhajjapaṭākādi pavarabhaṇḍadhāraṇa mahājanehi bherisaṃkhapaṇḍavādīhi ca parivāretvā rājantepurasamipe paramabuddhārāme siri dantadhātu valañjanamaṇibuddharūpaṃ nimantetvā **<fol5>** rājapaveṇiyā rājasandesapariyāya maṇḍape rājasandesañ ca maṅgalarā[ja]paṇṇākāre ca samaṇasandesañ ca subhakkharañ ca thapāpetvā anurūpathāne dūtāmacce vassāpesi | tadanantaram sāvanamāsa suriyavāra sunakkhatta pavaruttamasukkapakkhe terasamītitthīyaṃ sampatte suvaṇṇaratanamahāpāsādatale nikkhamantassa amaccagaṇaparivutassa ākāse tārakagaṇehi parivuttacandassa viya paññatapavara rājāsane nisinnassa ekādasaruddha issara paramanātha paramapabiddhanārāyana dasabiddha

[24] Or *catasso*?

rājadhammadharuttama mahārājassa santikaṃ sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipati mahārājuttamena pesitadūtāmacce netvā taṃ mahatā gāravena sirasā vandāpetvā tasseva sarājapaṇṇākāraṃ rājasandesaṃ dassesiṃ | taṃ suvaṇṇapaṭe pākaṭasundhararājavacanaṃ sutvā parama dhammikamahārājā sirivaḍḍhanapūrādhipati mahārājuttame uḷārapītisomanasso hutvā sirivaḍḍhanapūrādhipati mahārājuttamassa laṅkādipa senāpatissa kiccānukiccaṃ paṭi ārocetuṃ surasiṃhanādena maṃ āṇāpesi | atha tayā pesitasubhakkharaṃ nāma amhākaṃ pākataṃ eva parama dhammikamahārājena maṅgalarājapaṇṇākārehi saddhiṃ navaratanacumbita nāgaratta suvaṇṇa jalitabuddharupañ ca suvaṇṇa potthakadhammañ ca bhikkhusaṃghañ ca rājasandhesañ ca nimantetvā pesitamahānāvā dvisahassa dvisatachanavuttisaṃvacchara <196> **<fol 6>** vesākhamāsa sukkapakkha cātuddasiyaṃ sasivāre sirivaḍḍhana laṃkādipe tikoṇamālatitthaṃ sampāpuṇi | so ca sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipatinā cakkaratanapaṭilābhena cakkavattirañña viya pitisomanassena mahatussavena suvaṇṇabuddharupañ ca suvaṇṇapotthakañ ca nagarapadakkhiṇaṃ kāretvā taṃ buddharupaṃ dantadhātumaṇḍirasamipe vaḍḍhetvā rājamaṇḍirāsanne susajjitamaṇḍape dhammapoṭṭhakaṃ ṭhapetvā pupphārāmavihāre bhikkhusaṃghaṃ vassāpetvā kulaputte ovadetvā saṃghakammāni kātuṃ visatiyā thānesu baddhasimaṃ bandhāpetvā bhikkhubhāve chasatasāmaṇerakulaputte upasampādetvā sāmaṇerabhāve tisahassakulaputte pabbājetvā paramadhammikarājatejena sirilaṅkādipe yāva pañcavassasahassaṃ sāsanassa paripuṇṇa katabbabhāvañ ca bhikkhūnaṃ sirilaṅkādipa sampattakāle sirilaṅkādhipati mahārājuttamena pupphārāmavihāre bhikkhusaṃghaṃ vassāpetvā tasseva samaṇasārūpe catupaccaye datvā karuṇāvegasamussāhitamānasena sābādhaṃ bhikkhusaṃghaṃ anuviloketvā pūjāsakārena siridantadhātu soḷassacetiyathāna pūjanādinānākusalāni katvā parama dhammikarājādhirājassa rājakusalaṃ dinnabhāvañ ca sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipati mahārājuttamassa maṇimaya buddharūpaṃ kāretvā sugandhajāte cuṇṇacandanaṭhāne **<fol 7>** siridantadhātu valañjanaṃ karetvā taṃ suvaṇṇarajaṭamaya nānāratanakhacitte maṇḍape thapetvā dūtānudūtena niyamānaṃ taṃ tasseva dinnabhāvañ ca | tasmiṃ rājasandese pākaṭapiyavacanaṃ sutvā pavara paramadhammikarājādhirāja uḷārapitisomanasso hutvā antepurasamipe pavaraparamabhuddhārame siridantadhātuvalañjanañ ca maṇibuddharupañ ca thapetvā pūjāsakkārena kuḍaṇḍamaṇikāñcana yuttamamahānavaratana cumbitarājāvatiya khacittādike nānāratanacumbite satarājike suvaṇṇabhājane bahūbhaṇḍapūjāni thapetvā dakkhiṇavāma pavaramuni sirisaṃgharājañ ca gāmavāsi araññ[vā]sīrājāgaṇañ ca nimantetvā

iti pi so bhagavādi buddhamantaṃ[25] sajjhāpetvā tesaṃ sasuppabyañjana nānāpaṇitakhādaniya bhojaniyaṃ parivisitvā dūtāmacce netvā puññakoṭṭhāsatthāya bhikkhusaṃghānaṃ vattapaṭivattaṃ kāretvā tesameva ticivarādidānaṃ <197> datvā ādāsayuttajalita madhusiṭṭhadipena padakkhiṇaṃ kāretvā mahāsaṃkha dakkhiṇādipañcāṅgaturiyehi siridantadhātu valañjanamaṇi buddharūpānaṃ sakkārasamānanaṃ datvā sakkārasamānapariyosāne tidivārattiṃ nānāmahatussavena ca nānāpupphagyāhi ca dantadhātubuddharūpaṃ pūjetvā tidivasaṃ suvaṇṇarajaṭa paṭimaṇḍita kapparukkhena dānaṃ datvā aggamahāsenāpati anusenāpatīhi **<fol 8>** saha mahussavadassanatthaṃ laṃkādīpadūtāmacce ānayāpetvā yathā tehi upalikkhitaṃ viya tesaṃ nānā rasasampanna khādaniyabhojaniyaṃ datvā sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipatinā laṅkādipe kataṃ viya dantadhātubuddharūpānaṃ pūjāsakkārakusalakoṭṭhāsañ ca tadaññaṃ mayā pubbe nāropitadātabbayuttakaṃ nānākusalañ ca anumodāpetuṃ sumanasākusalaṃ adāsi | athassa sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipati mahārājuttamassa saddhāsampannassa siri ayuddhayā mahāpuracetiyaṭhāne saccabandhanapabbate patiṭṭhita siri buddhapādavalañjanassa pūjāsakkārabhaṇḍāni pūjetvā dinnabhāvañ ca sutvā ekādassaraṭṭha issaraparama nātha paramadhammikamahārājā laṅkādipa mahārājuttamassa rājakusalaṃ thometvā buddhapādavalañjanassa pūjetukāmehi laṅkādipadūtāmaccehi saha rājamacce laṅkādipa mahārājuttamena saddhāsampannena pesitapūjābhaṇḍāni gāhāpetvā yathāmanorathena kulam anumodatū ti rājakusalakoṭṭhāsam adāsi atha siriratanamahādhatvārāma nāyakassa saṃgharājuttamassa pūjetuṃ tayā tecivarādi sumaṇa paṇṇākārehi saddhiṃ samaṇasandesa pesitabhāvañ ca ñatvāhaṃ saṃghakammakārake mahāmacce teyyalokamaṇḍire sathitavara saṃgharājassa vandituṃ dūtānudūte ānayāpetvā sabbaṃ paṇṇākāraṃ dāpesiṃ | **<fol 9>** athassa parama orassādhirājassa maṅgalarājapaṇṇākāre laṅkādīpato pesitadadāpanabhāvaṃ ñatvā te tasseva sādarena datvā parama orasādhiraññā sirivaḍḍhanapurādhipatimahārājuttamo laṅkādipe sammāsambuddhasāsanaṃ thāvara kattukāmo idāni laṅkādipe ativiyavirocitaṃ pubbakālasamaṃ buddhasāsanaṃ siri laṅkādhipatissa manorathānurūpaṃ ahosī ti ativiya somanassena vuccamāno sirisāhaṃ sampaticchāmi | <198> atha tayā pesitasubhakkhare laṅkādipe dhammavinayādi pakaraṇassa natthi bhāvaṃ tasmiṃ thapanatthāya samaṇalekkhapākaṭe

[25] Here the well-known *Iti pi so* litany is mentioned. For a detailed study, see Bizot and v. Hinüber 1994; in preparation: Filliozat J. and Antelme M., "À propos de la litanie *Iti pi so* aperçu des documents conservés en Europe" (in waiting for publication v. EFEO DATA Filliozat under 516. Ratanamala).

tadaññadhammavinaya pakaraṇe yācitabhāvaṃ ca sutvā sirasādarenañjuliṃ paggahetvā abhivādetvā parama dhammikarājādhirājuttamassa ārocesi | tadā parama dhammikamahārājā sumaṅgalavilāsinī catu atthakathā sutapiṭakañ ca paṭhamasamantapāsādikādi pañcavinayyaṭṭhakathāpiṭakañ ca moggallāna pakaraṇañ ca atthakathā vinayya saṭikā ca vimattivinodaniñ ca rūpasiddhiñ ca bālapabodhi sahaṭikā ca bālavatāra saṭikā ca saddhasāra saṭikā ca saddhabindhu pakaraṇañ ca kaccāyanāttha pakaraṇañ ca sampiṇḍamahānidāna pakaraṇañ ca dvi vimānavatthu pakaraṇañ ca dvi petavatthu pakaraṇañ ca cakkavāḷadipani pakaraṇañ ca sotabbamālinī pakaraṇañ ca soḷasakīmahānidānañ ca lokadipakañ ca lokavināssañ ca **<fol 10>** jambūpatisutañ ca theragāthā therīgāthā pakaraṇañ ca anuṭīkā saṅgaha dvi pakaraṇañ ca mahāvaṅsa pakaraṇañ ca maṅgaladīpanī pakaraṇañ ca majjhimanikāya dvi pakaraṇañ ca papañcasūdanī atthakathā majjhimanikāya dvi pakaraṇañ ca aṅguttaranikāya manorasa(!)puraṇī dvi pakaraṇañ ca samohavinodanī atthakathā vibhaṅga dvi pakaraṇañ ca vajirabuddha(!) ṭikā pakaraṇañ ca nettipakaraṇañ ca culavaggañ ca mahāvaggañ ca parivāraṇ ca atthakathā mātikā pakaraṇañ ca vinayyavinicchayañ ca ṭikā saṅgahañ ca anuṭikā saṅgahañ ca vibhaṅga pakaraṇañ ca dhutaṅgañ ca kaṅkhāvitaraṇī dvi pakaraṇañ ca pañcapakaraṇa atthakathā paramatthadipanī ca sumaṅgalavilāsanī atthakathā dighanikāyañ ca silakhandhavaggañ ca mahāvaggañ ca paṭikaṭikā[26] ca paramatthavinicchayañ ca saccasaṅkhepañ ca [para] **<fol 11>** matthapakāsinī[saṅ]khepañ ca ṭikā saccasaṅkhepañ ca paramatthamañjusā ṭikā visuddhimaggañ ca ṭīkā paramatthavinicchayañ ca paramatthadipanī ca ṭīkā khuddakasikkhā ca atthakathā theragāthā sāratthasā(!) linī [27]ca ṭīkā petavatthuñ ca ṭīkā sutanipātañ ca ṭīkā cariyāpiṭakañ ca ṭīkā nettipakaraṇañ ca ṭīkā atthakathā paṭisambhidāmaggañ ca ṭīkā itivuttakañ ca atthakathā udānañ ca atthakathā cūla<199>niddesañ ca pālī buddhavaṅsa ṭīkā buddhavaṅsañ ca pālī anāgatavaṅsañ ca atthakathā anāgatavaṅsañ ca ṭīkā anāgatavaṅsañ ca ṭīkā milindapaṇhañ ca ṭīkā madhurasavāhiniñ ca ṭīkā vinayavinicchayañ ca yamaka pakaraṇa dvi pakaraṇañ ca buddhasihiṅganidānañ cā ti sattanavuttipakaraṇāni laṅkādīpe thapanatthāya pitisonassena adāsi | **<fol 12>** api ca subhakkhare añño attho bhavissati | so sirivaḍḍhanapurimahārājā nagaramajjhe maṇḍapaṃ patiyādetvā saṃghaṃ nimantayamāno dhammacakkap

[26] The authors of PLTCS propose: mistake for *Pāṭikavagga* (?)

[27] The authors of PLTCS give *Sāratthajālinī*. I remark that *sā* cannot be confused with *jā* in *Khom* script but could be pronounced the same by Siamese native speakers, hence the mistake? Anyway the *Sāratthajālinī* is not the *Theragāthā aṭṭhakathā* and a character *ca* should be supplied between *theragāthā* and *sārattha°*?

pavattanasuttādidhammaṃ desāpito tiyāmarattiṃ mahantapujāsakārehi anusaṃvacchare rājakusalaṃ vaḍheti | ekādasaruddha issara paramanāthamahārājā purāganā devamahānagare rājakulupakaṃ bhikkhuṃ dhammaṃ desāpeyya rājamaṇḍire kamāsassa catuvāruposathe kāḷajuṇhapakkhe cātuddasīpaṇṇarasī aṭṭhamiyamhi|imināekādasaruddhaissaraparamanāthamahādhipatidhammadhammikena dhammadānapaseṭṭhena dhammo antepure pañcamī aṭṭhamī ekādasī paṇṇarasīsaṃkhāte juṇhakāḷapakkhe ekamāsassa aṭṭhavāre aṭṭhuposathe desāpiyamāno avakhaṇḍaparamparāya antovasse temāsaparipuṇṇe tena dhammo rājakullapakaṃ desiyamāno nibaddhaṃ acchindeyya kasmā dhammadānānisaṃsassa sabbadānato mahaphalattā yo dhammaṃ sutvā dānaṃ datvā silaṃ rakkhati so magga phalañāṇaṃ abhisambujjhī ti | tenāha maṅgalasuttavaṇṇanāyaṃ sacce pi hi cakkavāḷagabbhe yāva brahmalokā nirantaraṃ katvā sannisinnānaṃ buddha paccekabuddhakhīṇāsavānaṃ kadalīgabbhasadisāni cīvarāni dadeyya tasmiṃ samāgame catuppadikagāthāya katānumodanā se[ṭṭhā | taṇhi dānaṃ tassā gāthāya] **<fol 13>** soḷasikalaṃ nāgghati

yo dhammacārī kāyena vācāya uda cetasā
idheva naṃ pasaṃsanti peccasagge pamodatī ti ||

api ca dhammadānānisaṃsaṃ buddhaseṭṭhena pakāsitaṃ ye janā sakham icchanti te dhammaṃ sakkaccaṃ suṇantu desanāpariyosāne sātthikā dhammadesanā ti | aggamahāsenādhi <200> pati laṅkāyaṃ taṃ pavuttiṃ nayituṃ nāroceyya tassa pākaṭaṃ | so laṅkindo rājā rājakulupakaṃ dhammaṃ desāpento rājanivesane pañcamī aṭṭha ekādasī paṇṇarasīsaṃkhāte ekamāsassa aṭṭhavāraposathe vassūpanāyike upakaṭṭhe rājakulupakaṃ bhikkhuṃ dhammaṃ desiyamāno niccaṃ nibaddhaṃ temāsaparipuṇṇaṃ devanagarasadisaṃ hotu | taṃ kusalaṃ sirivaḍhanapurīrājuttamassa rañño saṃvaḍheyya anāgate | atha sirivaḍḍhanapure buddhasāsanaṃ pabbajjuppasampadadānavattānuvattānusiṭṭhā saṃghikaṃ saññaṃ na pākaṭaṃ bhaveyya | sirivaḍḍhanamahārājā rājaporīsaṃ saṃghavaraṃ cātupārisuddha sīlavisuddhiṃ āyācanatthāya devamahānagare bhikkhusaṃgho pabbajjuppādaparamo[28] laṅkādipe kulaputte ovadati laṅkādipe buddhasāsanaṃ thāvaraṃ khemaṃ abhivaḍhayī ti apesayi | idāni tassa rañño manorathaṃ abhipūrayi | api ca sabbe bhikkhū upālittherādayo pamādaṃ pāvacanenānanucchavikaṃ disvā pamocanatthāya saṃsāradukkhato anusā **<fol 14>** siyamānā sugatibhūmiṃ paṭṭhanānucchavikena sampāpuṇiṃsu | tenāha porāṇācariyo saddhāpubbaṅgamaṃ puññaṃ api kiñci punappunaṃ pasannā tisu

[28] *pabbajjuppādarahe*?

kālesu labbhanti tividhaṃ sukhanti | api ca mahāvisuddhametrī anuvicitavādī anubibiddha sanehānāmikehi tihi rājapurisehi bhikkhusaṃghehi saddhiṃ āriyamunī pamukhehi nikkhamitvā nivattamānehi sabbe laṅkāvāsino senāpatimahāmaccādayo saṃghasannipāte vihāre buddha patimākaravisaye pavīsitvā naccasila uposathasile samādayitvā dhammaṃ suṇantā kañcukuṇhisāni paṭimukkaṃsa tadā therā cattāro bhikkhū upālīttherādayo paṭipadaṃ ananucchavikaṃ disvā sāsetvā vā kathetvā vā te kañcukaṃ mikkarū muñcāpeyyuṃ ekaṃsaṃ karitvā upagañchituṃ senāpatimahāmaccā ovādasāsanaṃ nānukariṃsūti evaṃ vuttaṃ | <201> trīnisakkrasaṃvacchare rājasaṇḍesaṃ niyamānamahāmaccā ca idāni pavesitamahāmaccā ca dveme dūtā yasmiṃ yasmiṃ padese buddharūpaṃ paṇāmituṃ niyamānā buddhapādavalañjanaṃ paṇāmituñ ca rājapurisehi ayuttaṃ disvā vāciyamānā kañcukuṇhisañ ca muñciyamānekaṃsaṃ karitvā nuppasakamituṃ anurūpaṃ passamānānukareyyuṃ tāni te omuñciyamānā cattāro therā upālīdayo laṅkādipe vasamānā ovadeyyuṃ senāpatimahājanānaṃ punapunam eva ekaccā **<fol 15>** nukari ekaccā nānukari ekaccānukaritvā yaṃ kiñci puggaladutiyaṃ anukariyamānaṃ adisvā lajamanānānukariṃsu | sakala sirivaḍhanapurivijitavāsī brāhmaṇo hi mamāyitvā taṃ uṇhisapaṭimukkaṃ sasirasadisaṃ uṇhisūkkujayamānāsisasadisaṃ kañcukapāruppanaṃ uccākulapugglaṃ va kañcukumuñcanam pi hinajātipuggalasarikkhakan ti katheyyuṃ | api ca brāhmaṇā senāpatimahāmaccādayo buddhasāsane passannamānā tehi therehi upālīpamukkhehi sadā kañcukamikkare omuñcāpetuṃ vāriyamānā na honti te brāhmaṇā bhikkhusaṅghaṃ buddha pamukkhañ ca paṇāmituṃ ārāmaṃ pavesanato bhikkhūhi vāriyamānā buddhasāsanānucchavikena sace pi ye diṭṭhimānaṃ atinānucchavikañ ceva na paggaṇhayyuṃ te puggalā kavindena pasaṃsitabbā ti ativiya kusalaṃ labbheyyuṃ | tenāhū porāṇā manussavinayavaṇṇanāyaṃ ye chattaṃ vā pattaṃ vā dhārentā vihāra cetiyabodhirukkha buddhapatimāya simāmaṇḍale pavissanti te niriye pattanti antamaso upāhanaṃ abhiruyhitvā tasmiṃ tasmiṃ simāmaṇḍale pavissanti te niriye pattanti ye hatthī assā sivika ratha yānādayo yāne abhiruyhitvā tasmiṃ tasmiṃ vihārūpaccāre pavissanti te niriye pattanti antamaso pi sisaveṭṭhanaṃ vā kañcukaṃ vā pārumpitvā tasmiṃ tasmiṃ **<fol 16>** maṇḍale pavissanti te niriye pattanti ye buddhañ ca dhammañ ca saṃghañ ca saraṇaṃ gatā te catu ariyasaccāni samapaññāya passanti[29] etaṃ kho saraṇaṃ khemaṃ etaṃ kho saraṇuttamaṃ

[29] From *ye buddhaṃ* to *passanti*, cf. *Dhammapada* 190.

etaṃ saraṇāgamma sabbadukkhā pamuccatī ti ||[30] <202> api ca pācittiyavinayavaṇṇanā na chattapānissa agilānassa dhammo desetabbo na pādukāruṇhassa agilānassa dhammo desetabbo na veṭṭhitasisassa agilānassa dhammo desetabbo na ogaṇṭhitassa agilānassa dhammo desetabbo yo pādukāruṇhanto hatthapāsaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pavisitvā pañcasila aṭṭhasilāni samāditvā dhammaṃ sutvā piṇḍipātaṃ paṇāmento so buddhasāsane agāravo yo koci evaṃ akiriyamāno buddhasāsane sagāravaṃ katvā ratanattayamāmako hoti tasmiṃ saraṇāgamanaṃ tiṭṭhati so uppapilakupaccheda kammasaṃkhātaṃ pāpakamma virahito ti veditabbā | aggamahāsenādhipati laṅkāyaṃ taṃ atthaṃ ubhayapakaraṇe saṃvijamānakaṃ nayitvāna pākaṭaṃ ārocetvā sirivaḍhana mahārājuttamassa brāhmaṇānaṃ buddha āṇācakkaṃ narindaṃ paṭiyādetvā kusalā **<fol 17>** bhivaḍhanāya laṅkindamahārājuttamassa ca | atha tassa rājamaṇḍirasamipaparamabuddhārāmavihārerājapurisenadutānudutāmaccānam āniyapavesanabhāvo buddha ratanabimbañ ca siridantadhātu valañjanañ ca dinamaheva ahosi | tayo dūtā ca sa uṇhisaṃ buddhabimbaṃ nikkhasuvaṇṇamayaṃ tassa paṭirupakaṃ disvā navaratanamaṇḍitaṃ maṇimuttāveduriyādikaṃ mahagghaṃ sundharamaṇḍape susaṇṭhitaṃ nānājātarupa rajaṭamayakhacittaṃ disvā aññaṃ buddharupañ ca hadayena samsayamānā taṃ buddhabimbaṃ navaratanamaṇḍitaṃ eva rupam eva laṅkāyaṃ na hoteva tasmā ayaṃ buddhabimbo evarūpo paṭimaṇḍito devaputtasadiso va ahosī ti mābravuṃ | so rājādhirājuttamo rājakiccaṃ abhikusalaṃ vitathaṃ buddhavaccanena nānukareyya buddhabimbo makuṭacumbito idiso va mahājambūpati vatthumhi pākaṭo ti vatvā taṃ nidānaṃ pākaṭaṃ vācento rājapuriso evam āha | jambūpativatthuṃ pesamānāmhase laṅkādīpe sāsituṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ aggamahāsenādhipati laṅkāyaṃ laṅkādhipaduttama rājassa taṃ ārocayitvāna imaṃ vatthuṃ pesento saṃghavaranāyakutthamassa vicāretvā vimatiharanatthāya **<fol 18>** sabbesaṃ brāhmaṇānañ ca laṅkindaṃ taṃ buddhabimbaṃ sabbanavaratana paṭimaṇḍitaṃ edisaṃ kāresi <203> kusala bhiyyobhāvāya laṅkādipe sirivaḍhanapurīvijite ti | api ca dutānudutamaccā vicitta kāñcana rajaṭa ratanapaṭimaṇḍite parama buddhārāmavihāre manoramma maṇḍape buddhasihiṅgarūpaṃ disvā taṃ ajānitvā nidānaṃ kathāpesuṃ savanāya | rājapuriso taṃ āharitvā dūtānudūtānaṃ tam pākaṭaṃ kathesi | dutānudutamaccā imaṃ sirivaḍhananagare natthi sihiṅganidānan ti abravuṃ | rājapuriso buddhasihiṅganidānaṃ likkhāpetvā pesayāmhase aggamahāsenādhipati imaṃ buddhasihiṅganidānaṃ niharitvā

[30] From *etaṃ saraṇaṃ* to *pamuccati*, cf. *Dhammapada* 192.

sirivaḍhanarañño āropetvā sirivaḍhanapurasmiṃ idaṃ gopetī ti bravi | api ca rājapuriso mahāvisuddhametrī nahutavādibicitta nahutabibiddhasnehānāmikā āgacchamānā dūtāmaccānaṃ nāvaṃ pakhanditvā laṅkādipasamipaṃ pattānaṃ pothaviyojala ajjharugaṭe toyenuṭṭhatthamhi mārutajaviciyugatā va titthati aruṇṇagāmassa tiṭṭhasamipe puramadisā bhijjati nāvā cattāro bhikkhū ca dve samaṇerā ca dve vilantamanussā ca aṭṭhajanā samuddhamajjhe maraṇamukhe pattiṃsu sabbe bhikkhusaṃghasāmaṇera rājapurissa vilantamanussā ca pothavikato oro **<fol 19>** hantā phalakaṃ vā nissāyudake vuyhamānā vā tira sampāpuṇesuṃ dvādasabhikkhusaṃghā ca navasāmaṇerā ca dve rājapurisā ca dibhāsavācakapuriso ca catuvejā ca navapesakārā ca ekārāmiko ca sattarasādhika satavilantamanussā ca chādhikapaññāsa satamanussā subhakkhara gurulahu suvaṇṇa rajaṭālaṅkārabhūsa vatthamahagghañ ca siridantadhātu pujābhaṇḍāraharājadānañ ca gahetvā aruṇagāmaṃ maṅgalamahāvihāraṃ vā upanissāya jayyabhāsitaṃ nāma porisaṃ paṇṇahatthaṃ aggamahāsenādhipatino peseyyuṃ aggamahāsenāpati taṃ paṇṇaṃ gaṇhanto gantvāntepuraṃ sirivaḍhanarañño taṃ ārocesi | sirivaḍhanamahārājā piyavādi rājamettiṃ vaḍhento ativiya passanno vāma aggakampahevaddhikārammahassaneva aggamahāsenāpatinā ca catusa vira makkhaggehi paññāsatisatabala <204> nikāyehi pañcādhikapaññāsatisatajanehi saddhiṃ sivikupavārayaticīvaragarula hubhaṇḍe pesetvā suddhācāra varañāṇamunī pamukkhānaṃ therānutherānaṃ dāpiyamāno mahāvisuddhametrī anuvādibicitra anubibiddhasanehā saṃkhātarājaporisānaṃ ekamekānaṃ kosayya nivatthavicitramālasetatalekañ ca visuddha sāṭakekañ ca vatthacatukoṇalikkhivicitra **<fol 20>** kekañ ca uraṅgavattharatarājisetarājiñ ca ratamukkarājekañ cāti pañcamaṃ vatthaṃ samaṃ diyamāno vejanitabhāsa porisa pesakekārāmikānaṃ kañcakavatthāni ca samaṃ samaṃ saṃghaṃ sakārābhaṇḍa subhakkharañ ca rājapurisañ ca ajjhesamāno niyamānupavāretvā dvādasadinnaṃ saṃkurakittanagaraṃ sampatto sirivaḍḍhanapurūpakantikaṃ ekāheva añjasaṃ | laṅkādipinduttamaraññā saha porisaparivāraṭṭhasatehi sabbesaṃ samaṇarājapurisānaṃ dakkhiṇavarasaṃgharāja pañcarājakulupaka soḷasa anusaṃgha pāḷibhāsāyavācugadasa sāmaṇerasenāpati adhikāra mahākiriyārāja karuṇādhikārammahatthamevanāmika anusenāpatitayānaṃ chatiṃsādhikatthasatānaṃ saṃgha subhakkharupavāriyapesanabhāvo vālu[ka] gaṅgānadiṃ sirivaḍḍhanapurupakantikaṃ sampāpuṇi agh(!)gha gāvutamagga pamāṇaṃ pi | laṅkādipaduttamo saddhassāhajāto āgantvā paṭṭhisaṇṭhāraṃ karonto sagāravena caṃkaratanayuggaṃ datvā ekamekānaṃ bhikkhūnañ ca gaṇhupavāraya anto sirivaḍḍhana purassa pupphārame sabbe rājapurise kuṭiyāvèranāmike nālikeravane vassamāno samaṇerānañ ca bhikkhūnañ ca

nānappakāraṃ civaraparikkhāraṃ datvā suddhe āgāraṃ kārāpento bhojanaṃ rundheyya nānāvidhaṃ kappiyakhādaniyaṃ **<fol 21>** sāmaṇera bhikkhūnañ ca upaṭṭhahatthāya | so taṃ tambula mugga phalāhārānnaminañ ca āharāpetvā upacchidati nāvikalaṃ rājapurisānañ ca | so dipaduttamo āgantvā catupaccayabhesajjaṃ deyyadānaṃ jivitaparikkhārañ ca bhikkhūnaṃ datvā te rājapurise rājamaṇḍiraṃ ārohanto sabbālaṅkārehi maṇḍitaṃ paṇāmasubhakkhara dātuṃ ekavāraṃ āruheyya āpucchapaṇāmituṃ punekavārañ ca <205> so tiṇṇaṃ rājapurisānaṃ ekamekañ ca vaṭaṃsakatidalasannibha aṅgulimuddhika sisakosarajaṭa parikkhitatala mūla rajaṭarañjitāni ca pañcādhika dvisata cattāḷisādhikadvisata dvesata aṅgularajaṭāni ca ekamekānaṃ koseyyapattarajaṭa cumbitakaṃ pesanivatthaṃ dasavidhaṃ paṇṇākārañ ca tesaṃ nitabhāsa porisavejjapesapurisānaṃ caturasānañ ceva adāpayi sirivaḍḍhanapurimahārājā samussāhitamānaso ratanabuddha bimbaṃ siridantadhātuvalañjanañ ca sasaṃghikaṃ anuyāyanto vālu[ka]gaṅgānadiṃ sampa[tto] attiviya domanassaṃ anubhuyyate varasaṃgharājuttamo sabhikkhusaṃgho taṃ thānaṃ sampatto domanassaṃ upādayi kasmā tassa niggatalaṅkādipamhā te sabbe rājapurisā sabhikkhukā devanagaraṃ āgacchantā kiñci vikalaṃ nāhontī ti paṇṇaṃ paricchijamānayuttaṃ likkheyyaṃ | **<fol 22>** | * | evaṃ so laṅkuttamindo pasannahadayo pitipāmojjo idam eva kusalaṃ kareyya so narindo dhammikamahārājā somanassapatto tena kusalena tassa rañño anumodi nānapakārena bhiyyoso mattāya | idāni varadhammiko sāminduttamo dūtānudutamaccānaṃ rājapaṇṇāhatānaṃ ativiya kāruñño tasmiṃ rājasandesaṃ ānite rājasāramaṇḍiraṃ pacchā gacchamāne taṃ niketiṃ rājapurise thānantaranucchavike payojetvānurakkhito pesakārapurise vassāpento pesakārakammena bhaṇḍāgārikapurisaṃ rajaṭaṃ gāhāpetvā visatipalaṃ samaṃ samaṃ dutānudutamaccānaṃ dāpetvā pañcapalaṃ samaṃ samaṃ dibhāsālaṅkāpurisānañ ca pañcapalaṃ dibhāsāvācakavilantassa laṅghipurisānaṃ guru dve paha(?)lā labhisi sā laddhuṃ chapādanti dvepādādhika cha palaṃ deti rājadūtupadūtabhāsāvācakapesakāra porisānañ ca bhisibimbohanaṃ kaṭasāchinna minatambulakamukapuvavikatiñ ca | sace pi te dutanitabhāsāpesakāraporisā pasaṃga yaṃ kiñci pipāsā honti so tesaṃ upaṭṭhāyikaṃ rājamantrīmahāmaccaṃ rajaṭaṃ gāhāpeti vikayamānucchavikāsiṃsanāya | <206> te dūtānudūtāmaccā nigatalaṅkādipā gacchamānā tena parigahaṃ dātabbayutakaṃ gāhāpayitvā dukkhasukkhasvatthiñ ca pucchiyamānā punapunam eva acchindeyyaṃ kiccak atupaṭṭhākarakkharājapurisaṃ khādani **<fol 23>** yaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭipādaya sattāhe sampatte tāni gāhāpayamāno tesaṃ deti yāva laṅkādipamhā | api ca so dhammiko rājā cudasannaṃ laṅkāporisānaṃ bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ ariyamunī

pabhūtīhi āgatānaṃ ārāmmikānaṃ rajaṭekapalañ ca dve dussayuggañ cā ti rajaṭavatthāni tesaṃ deti | api ca tasmiṃ dutānudutataye pavesapaṇāmite paramakhattiyasāmindo mahādayadharo tesaṃ rājadūtupadutatrīdutānaṃ pesavatthap aṇḍarataladasakaṇikekañ ca sisupageḷakasukhumatala kāñcanavicittalekkharukkhekañ ca kañcukeḷakatalakāñcanumujāveḷīkekañ ca suvaṇṇagaṇṭhi thūpikapañcavisañ ca kāyabandhanakosaya cinnarājīsuvaṇṇasādisaṃ vekañ ca tīviyaveḷī suvaṇṇagaṇṭhīkāthūpikekañ ca aṅgulimuddhika nilamaṇikaṭakaphalapamāṇekañ ca suvaṇṇa vaṭaṃ sakekañ ca suvaṇṇasāpaṃcārikekañ ca sovaṇṇataṭakamaṭṭhekañ ca sajjhukakoraṇḍa kāmbujadaladasekañ ca thālisajjhukoṭayi punnekañ ca rajaṭadabbekañ ca dvesuladabba sajjhukekañ cā ti sattabhaṇḍāni rājadutassa datvā upadutassa mikareḷakatalasuvaṇṇañ ca kañcukeḷakatalanilūmuja kāñcanaveḷiyekañ ca giveyyakaveḷisetavattha sovaṇṇagaṇṭhikā thūpikekañ cā ti tato mukkhāgghāni tīṇi bhaṇḍāni trīdūta **<fol 24>** ssa ca kañcukeḷakatalarattūm ujasovaṇṇekañ ca aṅgulimuddhikanilamaṇikuñjāphalūmukekañ cā ti tato mukkāgghāni dve baṇḍāni sattavatthābharaṇupabhogāni samakāni datvā sabbam eva sādisaṃ atthi tibhāsāvācakaporisacatulaṅgī ti sattannaṃ porisānaṃ sajjhukaṭakekam ekañ ca samaṃ samaṃ deti punekavāraṃ | dutānudute sattabandhagirī ārohante paṇāmaya buddhapādavalañjanāvagacchite bhūmindavara parama siribhāgyadharadhammika mahārājā tiṇṇaṃ dutāmaccānaṃ visamakānaṃ pañcavisatipalavisati palapañcadasapalā ti rajaṭāni uppadiyamāno <207> ariyamunī pabhūtīhi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ āgatānaṃ aṭṭhabrāhmaṇa laṅkāvāsīnaṃ pañcapalatipaladvipalachapādan ti rajaṭāni yathākamaṃ duttamaccapesaka porisānaṃ tepaññāsajanānaṃ pañcapaladvipalatipalan ti rajaṭāni visamakāni datvā tiṇṇaṃ dutamaccānaṃ sajjhupādarāja muddhikaṃ koṭetvā catukuñjāgururajaṭavaṭumaṃ yathākammaṃ adāsi dve pādādhikasattapalā gaṇanāvasena punekavāraṃ | api ca so mahārājā kāruññadharo te dūte pakosāpetvā suriyāmarindanāmike pāsādavare upaṭṭhāpento mahārahe rajaṭamaye rājapallaṅke ni **<fol 25>** sinno mahāmaccehi parivārito sajjhubhiṅgārayipunnalikkhañ ca sajjhucāṭiyipunnalikkhañ ca sāmyakheḷamaḷakañ ca yuggakoseyyacinnarājiñ ca ekakoseyya accalattadesañ ca tipesāvatthakañ ca tiṃsathāliñ ca sattarasabhaṇḍa bhājanakhira rukkhaniyāsalepañ ca chabhaṇḍabhājanakaṅsapaṇḍarañ cā ti uppabhogāni navabhaṇḍāni tesaṃ dūtāmaccānaṃ samakaṃ samakaṃ adāsi | pavesana nayanampāpucchake dūtānudūtatayeva tasmiṃ paramakhattiyavaṅsādhipaccibho rājā dūtāmacca bhāsā vācakaporisapesakaporisānaṃ karuṇāvegamussāhita mānaso taloddhātādhārā kaṇṇa pesanivatthaṃ mikaramoddhadesa sovaṇṇatalaṃ kañcuka kosayavelantā sajjhumbutalūpuja sovaṇṇavicitalatekaṃ kūṭagaṇṭhīka

sovaṇṇapañcavīsaṃ sovaṇṇagaṇṭhi puppha tuṅgoddhātakosayaveḷīyagīvakañ ca kāyaveḷīsaṇādhārañ ca asisapharu kosaparikkhita sajjhukathālikañ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni rājadutassa ca datvā pesanivatthakasetatalañ ca kosayamoddhasovaṇṇatalamikaraṃ kosaya velandāsajjhutalūtuṅga rajaṭavicitu rukkhakañcukañ ca gaṇṭhīkasovaṇṇathūpika pañcavīsañ ca pupphatuṅgaseta kosaya veḷīgiveyyakañ ca gaṇṭhīkasovaṇṇañ ca **<fol 26>** kāyaveṭṭhasaṇādhārañ ca asisakosa pharuparikkhitasajjhukakotikañ cā ti vatthābhāraṇāni uppadutassa datvā pesanivatthaka setatalaṃ uṇhisakosayamoddha talasuvaṇṇadesañ ca missakakosayutuṅgarajaṭa talanilavilandā kosayakañcākañ ca gaṇṭhīkakāñcanathūpikañ ca kosayoddhātutuṅgapuppha <208> sovaṇṇa gaṇṭhīkāthūpikaveḷiyagivañ ca kāyabandhāsamādhārañ ca khaggakosa pharuparikkhita sajjhucārikañ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni trīdūtassa ca datvā kañcukeḷakatalaratūtuṅgeḷaka sajjhugaṇṭhīkasādisaphāraṅgañ ca cumbita kosayatalarattūtuṅga suvaṇṇarukkhañ ca kāyasannaddhakosayamasrarūrājiñ ca rajaṭagaṇṭhīka sādisaphāraṅgapañcadasañ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni dibhāsāvācakavilantassa datvā rajaṭagaṇṭhīkasādisapharaṅgañ ca kāya sannaddhakosaya masrarūrājiñ ca kosayeḷakatalaratūtuṅgeḷaka kañcukañ ca cumbitameḷakatalaratūtuṅgasuvaṇṇar ukkhañ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni dibhāsavācakalaṅkā vilantassa datvā kosayamaṅgalāpesavatthakañ ca vicitarājīkañcukaterasañ ca gaṇṭhīka dantarattaraṅgaterasañ ca kosayacinna **<fol 27>** pesasāṭaka catukkarājiterasañ ca kosayamikarūtuṅga pupphatalarattaterasañ ca kāyabandhakosaya cinnarājirattaterasañ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni terasapesakaporisānaṃ datvā kosaya samasevatalarattūtuṅga kadalīpatakañcukañ ca gaṇṭhīkadantarāṅgaratañ ca eḷakatalarattūtuṅga pupphamikarañ ca kosayamaṅgalāpesavatthañ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni laṅghījeṭṭhakaporisassa datvā kāya bandhakosaya cinnarājitucchañ ca vicitarājikañvukañ ca dantagaṇṭhīkaraṅgarattañ ca mikarakosayacinna talarattūtuṅgapupphañ ca pesanivatthakatabanadesañ ca kāyaveṭṭhana kosayacinna rājītucchañ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni laṅghīsisānaṃ datvā rājīvicitakañcukachatiṃsañ ca gaṇṭhīdantachatiṃsañ ca mikarakosayasamasevachatiṃsañ ca pesavatthakasubaraṇa chatiṃsañ ca kosayacinnatuccharājītiṃsañ cā ti vatthābharaṇāni tiṃsapesakaporisānaṃ adāsi ekavāraṃ puna | dūtānudūtāmaccā pavisitvā devamahānagare saṇṭhitā yāva paccāgatā kiñci vekalaṃ na honteva | tathā so dhammiko rājā samindādhipatīnāmo tesaṃ dūtatayapesakaporisānaṃ mahākāruññadharo sucaritena bhaveyya | laṅkādipindo sirivaḍhanarājā imaṃ kusalaṃ anumodi | <209> api ca laṅkuttamamahārāje sabbe saṃgha ariyamunino nimantātetvā **<fol 28>**tamhā

jālanagaramhā anupotaṃ orohitvā āgacchante | kapitallotelante nāmaniyāmako sabbasmiṃ saṃgha ariyamunimhi pasannacitto sabbe saṃgha ariyamunīnaṃ manorathaṃ pāpesi te saṅgharājaporisā sabbāgamanā kenaci vikalā na honti | ekādasaruddha isaraparamanātha nārāyanadasarājadharadhammaseṭṭho mahārājā mahāsenāpatinā tam atthaṃ ārocito viditvā pākaṭaṃ kapitallotelante nāviko vilantajātiko bāhirapakkhito pavarabuddhasāsane pasannacitto sabbe bhikkhū ariyamunī [pamokkhe][31] paṭipajjamāno kanaci avikalāpetī ti rājavācaṃ bhāsitvā pasannacittassa vilantassa catupalagurukekasuvaṇṇasarakañ ca visapalagururajaṭakoraṇḍakañ ca rajaṭaparikkhita daṇḍakosamulattatisulaṃ kañcukasannaddhayuttaṃ paññāsasovaṇṇaganṭhikañ ca datvā so sirivaḍhanapurindo rājā anumodanaṃ karotu iminā rājakusalenā ti āha | api ca sānusaṅghā visuddhācāriyo pavarañāṇamunī ca te therā bhikkhū sāsanajotakaṃ karontā sirivaḍhanapure vasimsu | tasmiṃ ahontāvasādisāppakāni gimhañ ca hemantañ ca dve utūni tesaṃ mahantaṃ **<fol 29>** vasantautu ativiya sītayuttaṃ devamahānarasādisaṃ saṃgho sace sukhayutto laṅkāvāsino kulaputte ovādatthāya pasannacitto tasmiṃ vasitukāmo vasatu saṃgho utuviparināmattā ābādhiko hutvā phāsukaṃ alabhitvā niccavasituṃ asakonto sirivaḍhanapure aggamahāsenādhipatiṃ tam atthaṃ sirivaḍhanarañño ārocāpesi devanagaraṃ saṃgha puna vattāpanatthāya iccetaṃ sirivaḍhanarañño kusalaṃ hotu | api ca sirivaḍhanapuruttamassa laṅkindassa yathājjhāsayānurūpena vā rājamittasaṇṭhave abhivuḍhiyā vā maṅgalarāja paṇṇākāre dātukāmo hoti | so rājā sāmindādhipati mahārājadharadhammaseṭṭho nānāpadesa pūjito sabbaraṭṭharājūbhipaṭṭhito paṭidānakovido rājaporisaṃ ariyamunī dūtānudūtamacce pucchāpeti <210> ariyamunī dūtānudūtamaccā sirivaḍhanapurirājā bodhisambhārena vijitapaṭhaviyaṃ navajātaṃ suvaṇṇaṅkurabījaṃ pharacammasannaddhadhanuñ ca suvaṇṇapaṭatanukajālānucha **<fol30>** vikalepanabuddhabimbañ sirivaḍhanapurimhi ayapattañ ca mahāthālīnuthālikañ ca adhippetī ti vadiṃsu | taṃ sutvā rājapuriso sirivaḍhana purimahārājā idañ cidañ ca paṭṭhetī ti dūtānudūtakathitavacanaṃ ekādasaruddha isaraparamanāthanārāyana dasabidhadharadhammaseṭṭhaya mahārājuttamassa taṃ ārocesi | taṃ sutvā ca pana so dhammiko mahārājā dhammadharo medhāvī mahādhiro anāthanātho tamonuddhapaññābhāso puññānubhāvena lokapajoto devamahānagare dhajjuttamo sabbadisāsu pākaṭo suriyobhāsuro tathāsihanādavācaṃ onādento rājapaṇṇākāraṃ vikappento mittasaṇṭhavaṃ vaḍheti rājamettiñ ca sirivaḍhanarājutassa rājino sucaritena |

[31] This word is located in a fold of the paper. It is illegible in the photocopy that we possess. One can detect the presence of several characters in the border.

<fol 31> paramadhammikamahārājā uṇhissadhāraṅkuṭuggatañ ca suvaṇṇayikānāmañ ca taṃ thapitarajaṭapelañ ca veduriyamaṇimaya cumbita aṅgulirājamuddhikañ ca taṃ thapita suvaṇṇa dalasamuggañ ca rājāvattisovatthikañ ca majjhe rattanamaṇimayaneka ratana paṭimaṇḍita kuḍannuracchaddañ ca[32] te thapitavijjanarājīruciyamañjusasabbā ti aṭṭharājaggabhaṇḍāni ca rājakāyamahadharakañcukañ ca dasutuṅgagurasannaddhavatthañ ca urabandharājā vatīmekhalañ ca taṃ thapita vijjanarājirupiyamañjusabbā ti caturājadharabhaṇḍāni ca aggarājā vattīrasaracittakosiyā thapitasatthañ ca dhanuñ ca phalakañ ca suvaṇṇanāgasaṇṭhānāraṇiṃ cā ti caturājasatthāni ca vijjanarājisuvaṇṇamayamukhā dhāraṃ muggaculasarākañ ca dighato caturasaṅgulādhika dviratanaputhulato catura aṅgulādhikadviratana koseyyapupphutuṅga suvaṇṇataṇavirocittabimbhohaṇañ ca dighato caturassaṅgulādhikacharatana puthulato ekavisaṅgulādhika tiratanakoseyya pupphutuṅga suvaṇṇatalasucanī nāma vatthañ ca dighato navaṅgulādhikatiratanaputhulato aṭṭhārasaṅgulādhika ekaratanakoseyyapupphutuṅga suvaṇṇatalasucanī nāma vararājasayanaṃ sattamuṭṭhigaṇḍiñ ca kāñcanakammujalitadalavati rajaṭasamuggañ ca <211> kāñcanakammu **<fol 32>** jalitādhāra rupiyabhājanañ ca rājāvativethanarājāvatīmulakuṭamaya maṇikuḍannasuvaṇṇadvisūlañ ca kuḍannamaṇi vethana pharumaṇicumbitamoramaṇidabbiñ ca visapala aṅkurabijjasuvaṇṇañ ca taṃ thapita vijjanarājirajaṭasamuggañ ca sattanahuttapaṭatanukasuvaṇṇañ ca vijjanarājirajaṭamayarè nāma bhājanañ ca videssānukoṭarajaṭakhelamalakañ ca khacitakoṭarajaṭakumbhiñ ca mugga patimaṇḍitappasena phalakañ ca chiddadantamañjusacinañ ca dantakhacitavicitta pharuyutta suvaṇṇatalavijaniñ ca puppha candacakkayipunavijaniñ ca dantakhacitavicita puppha maṅkararūpañ ca rājāvatimaya āviñjanarajuñ ca dve ayapatte ca tathā muggamaya pidhānādhāre ca dve patte tathā hatthīkaṇṇamuggakatapidhānādhāre ca dve patte ca tathā rattarājivicittena saha muggapidhānādhāre ca dasa ayapatte ca tathā telapākena kamalanāmena rājīvicittapidhānādhāre ca dasa ayapatte ca tathā telapākena kamalacinanāmena rājīvicitta pidhānādhāre ca[33] paṇṇarasa ayapatte ca tathā rattarājīvicittapidhānādhāre ca tetiṃsa ayapatte ca tathā rukkhakāḷiniyāsalepana pidhānādhāre ca ekūnatiṃsayapatte ca tathā rattaniyāsalepana **<fol 33>** pidhānādhārecatāḷīsayipunapāṇaniyāsabhaṇḍānicasattaticinapāṇaniyāsabhaṇḍāni

[32] *ddañca* can also be read as well as *dūñca*.

[33] From *dasa ayapatte* to *rājīvicitta pidhānādhāre ca* the text is doubled, but the second time *kamala* adds: *cina*.

ca tetiṃsayipunathālānuthāle ca sattatyādhikasatacinathālānuthāle ca te nahutamahanta majjhimaculasuciyo ca dighato navaratanaputhulato caturatanamahantaṭṭharanañ ca dighato navaṅgulādhika charatana puthulato nava ṅgulāṭikadveratanaculaṭṭharaṇañ ca samatiṃsa pesanavatthañ ca visādhikasatakoseyya vatthañ ca chamahantamajjhimaculasetalohakumbhiyo ca pañcapaññāsarājabhaṇḍāni sirilaṅkādhipatissa datvā pesesi | * | so ca muggaṇṭhavicittaṅguli muddhikañ ca vijanarājimaṇicumbitavaṭaṃsakañ ca majjhe nilamaṇi cumbitu racchaddhakuḍana rajjunañ ca aṅgulimuddhikathapita suvaṇṇadighasamuggañ ca vaṭaṃsa kuracchaddha thapitavijjanarājirajaṭamañju sañ ca paṇḍukacammasannaddhaphalakañ ca maṇicumbhitamoramaṇidabbiñ ca rājāvatidvisulañ ca dvenahutapaṭatanukasuvaṇṇañ ca vajanarājirè nāma rajaṭabhājanañ ca maṭṭharajaṭakumbhiñ ca paṇṇarasanānākarapaṭabhaṇḍāni ca visayipunaniyāsabhaṇḍāni ca paññāsacina <212> niyāsabhaṇḍāni ca visayipunathālā nuthālañ ca asīticinathālānuthālañ ca pupphacandacakkayutte yipunavijaniñ ca culattharaṇañ ca samatiṃsapesanavatthañ ca saṭṭhīkoseyyavatthañ ca ekavīsarājabhaṇḍāni siri laṅkādhipatissa kaniṭṭharājakumārassa adāsi | parama orasso laṅkādhi **<fol 34>** patissa rājamittasandhavatthāya rājāvatikoseyyayipuna asiñ ca adāsi | * | paramadhammikamahārājā pañcadasanānākarapaṭabhaṇḍāni ca vīsayipunaniyāsabhājanañ ca catārisacinarukkhaniyāsa bhājanañ ca paṇṇarasayipunathālānuthālañ ca pañcatiṃsacinathālānuthālañ ca suvaṇṇarāji mañjusañ ca telapākarājivicittuccamañjusañ ca tenahutakāḷamattikasalākañ ca tisahassasuciyo ca dve ratasetakoseyyakāyabandhanāni ca pupphacandacakkayipunavijaniñ ca sakuṇaloma vijaniñ ca aggakuṭamaṇḍapanto catucatāḷīsabhaṇḍāni ca maṇḍapabahicudasabhaṇḍāni ca laṅkādipasaṃgharājassa adāsi | sohaṃ tisahassapaṭatanukasuvaṇṇañ ca puppholambana chattañ ca muggena rājivicittabhājanañ ca dvādasanānāsetasuvaṇṇabhājanañ ca soḷasayipu narukkhaniyāsabhaṇḍāni ca tiṃsacinarukkhaniyāsa bhaṇḍāni ca tiṃsa cinathālānuthālañ ca pupphacandavaṭayipunavījaniñ ca tiṃsahassasuciyo aṭṭhapesanavatthañ ca tathā viyūhanavatthañ ca dvādasavaṭakoseyyañ ca tathā rajjukoseyyañ ca laṅkādīpaggasenāpatissa dadāmī ti | sirisabbaññūparinibbānas aṃvaccharato dvisahassa dvisatanavanavutimusikasaṃvacchare āsujamāse kāḷapakkhe sattamītithiyaṃ sukravāre siriayuddhyādevamahānagarato pesitaṃ idaṃ pavarasubhakkharan ti |

2. Pabbajjā / Upasampadakammavācā[34] fragment of the formulas for the ordination of monks

Beginning[35] **<fol 35>**: [ukāsa] karuñaṃ katvā pabbajjaṃ detha me bhante | ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi | dutiyaṃ pi ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi tatiyampi ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi | sabbadukkhanissara ṇanibbānasacchikaranaṭṭhāya imaṃ kāsāvaṃ gahetvā pabbājetha maṃ bhante anukampaṃ upādāya || tatiyavāra | sabbadukkhanissa[ra] ṇanibbānasacchikaranaṭṭhāya etaṃ kāsāvaṃ datvā pabbājetha maṃ bhante anukampaṃ upādāya || tatiyavāra || ukāsa vandāmi bhante sabbaṃ aparādhaṃ khamatha me bhante mayā kataṃ puñaṃ sāminā anumoditabbaṃ sāminā kataṃ puñaṃ mayhaṃ dātabbaṃ sādhu sādhu anumodhāmi || ukāsa karuñaṃ katvā tisaraṇena saha sīlāni detha me bhante || ahaṃ bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi || dutiyampi ahaṃ bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi | tatiyampi ahaṃ bhante saraṇasīlaṃ yācāmi || namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa || **buddha^{8}ma**[36] **saraṇa^{8}ma gacchāmi dhamma^{8}ma saraṇa^{8}ma gacchāmi saṃgha^{8}ma saraṇa^{8}ma gacchāmi dutiyampi tatiyampi** || **buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi**[37] dutiyampi tatiyampi || saraṇāgamanaṃ || ukāsa āma bhante || pāṇātipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | adinnādānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi || abrahmacariyā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | musāvādā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | vikālabhojanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | **<fol**

[34] The text is close but not identical to those provided in Bizot 1988: 26-30 or Dickson 1874: 3-4. I remark that the written forms of characters enhance the double recitation, showing the importance of these crucial points.

[35] Gap of 21 words on the left portion of the paper now rubbed and illegible.

[36] The calligraphy of the text exhibits clearly the famous pronunciation of the taking of refuge on which rests the validity of the ordination of Theravāda monks. The *Khom* numeral 8 is written above the characters *ddha* of *buddha*. The same is true for the *ṇa* of *saraṇa*, the combination *mma* of *dhamma* and the *gha* of *saṃgha*. Cf. Pallegoix 1896: 64 in the chapter "Elements of grammar for acquiring a knowledge of reading the Siamese characters" which gives precision over this vowel-shortening symbol employed in the Siamese writing: the digit 8 over a vowel gives it a short sound (*lake bpaat or mai taikhu*). This pronunciation is referred to as *makaranta*.

[37] This second recitation is that called *niggahītanta*. It is clear that we have here a type of the formula where the taking of refuge is the object of the two wordings, one after another as shown in Bizot 1988: 49.

36>[38] sūkadassanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | mālāgandh avilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | uccāsayanamahāsayanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | jātarūparajaṭapaṭiggahaṇā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi | imāni dasasikkhāpadāni samādiyāmi || tatiyavāra || ukāsa vandā | la | anumodāmi || ukāsa kāruñaṃ katvā nissayaṃ detha me bhante | ahaṃ bhante nissayaṃ yācāmi | dutiyampi ahaṃ bhante nissayaṃ yācāmi | tatiyampi ahaṃ bhante nissayaṃ yācāmi || upajjhāyo me bhante hohi | tatiyaṃ vāraṃ || paṭirūpaṃ || ukāsa sampaṭicchāmi | tatiyavāra || ajjatagge dāni thero mayhaṃ bhāro ahaṃ pi therassa bhāro || tatiyavāra || pucchi || ayante patto | āma bhante || ayaṃ saṃghāṭi | āma bhante | ayaṃ uttarāsaṅgo | āma bhante | ayaṃ antaravāsako | āma bhante | ābādhā kuṭṭhaṃ | natthi bhante | gaṇḍo | natthi bhante | kilāso | natthi bhante | soso | natthi bhante | apamāro | natthi bhante | manussosi | āma bhante | purisosi | āma bhante | bhujissosi | āma bhante | aṇaṇosi | āma bhante | nasi rājabhaṭo | āma bhante | anuñātosi mātāpitūhi | āma bhante | paripuṇṇavīsativassosi | āma bhante | paripuṇṇante pattacīvaraṃ | āma bhante | kinnāmosi | ahaṃ bhante nāgo nāma | ko nāmo te upaj[jhāyo] **<fol 37>** me bhante āyasmā tissatthero nāma[39] saṃgham bhante upasampadaṃ yācāmi [u]llumpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho anukampaṃ upādāya dutiyampi bhante saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yā[cāmi] ullumpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho anukampaṃ upādāya tatiyampi bhante saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yācāmi ullumpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho anukampaṃ upādāya || [40]ābādhā kuṭṭhaṃ | natthi bhante | gaṇḍo | natthi bhante | kilāso | natthi bhante | soso | natthi bhante | apamāro | natthi bhante | manussosi | āma bhante | purisosi | āma bhante | bhujissosi | āma bhante | aṇaṇosi | āma bhante | nasi rājabhaṭo | āma bhante | anuñātosi mātāpitūhi | āma bhante | paripuṇṇavīsativassosi | āma bhante | paripuṇṇante pattacīvaraṃ | āma bhante | kinnāmosi | ahaṃ bhante nāgo nāma | ko nāmo te upajjhāyo | upajjhāyo me bhante āyasmā tissatthero nāma ||[41]

[38] Gap in the words: *naccagītavāditavi*, in the upper left-hand corner of the following folio at the glued junction. It starts again with: *sūkadassanā* […]

[39] Gap of 21 words at the junction of 2 sheets.

[40] Gap of 37 words. Starts again with: *ābādhā kuṭṭhaṃ* |

[41] The manuscript ends here.

Appendix

This is a brief survey of the numerous documents concerning the diverse embassies, missions and religious relations between Siam and Laṅkā in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These documents reside currently in Sri Lankan collections and in European libraries. The majority of these documents, little or poorly known, are however, available in public collections but have seemingly been neglected by researchers. The detailed and systematic study of these documents and the collation of their ensemble remains a task in order to shed light on the history of the relations of Buddhist monks of the Theravāda during this period.

1. Manuscript documents written in Sinhalese and Pāli

The British Library, London

BL.Or. 2702

Wickremasinghe 1900: 109 quotes item 98 Egerton 1112 *Saṅgarājavata.*

BL.Or. 6600(126) XI[42]

Somadasa 1987, vol. I, p. 198. Six olas[43] in Sinhalese prose: "*Kīrtiśri Rājasiṃha Katikāvata = Saraṇaṅkara saṅgharāja katikāvata.* A series of rules for the guidance of monks drawn up by Saraṇaṅkara saṅgharāja in the reign of Kīrtiśrī, B. E. 2290, i. e. A.D. 1747, with a note on the sacerdotal embassy from Siam. […] Siamese bhikkhus headed by Upāli mahā-sthavira were brought to Ceylon and the first Upasampadā ceremony was celebrated in 1753 A.D. Thus the Syāma nikāya (Siam Nikāya) which continues up to this day was founded in Ceylon. It was after the re-establishment of Upasampadā that KRK I (Kīrtiśri Rājasiṃha Katikāvata I) was promulgated by the king. Immediately after the establishment of Upasampadā a Katikāvata was considered necessary in order to ensure the purity of the order in the future. The second Katikāvata of Kīrtiśri Rājasiṃha (KRK II) was intended to provide a body of rules governing the administration of Vihāras […] 18th century copy."

[42] For complete description of these MSS. see: Somadasa 1987-1995.

[43] Palm leaves (from Tamil *olei*, leaf). This word has been romanized by travellers and missionaries in India and South East Asia into *ôle, olle* (French) or *ola* (English), now officially adopted in Indian codicology for catalogues describing manuscripts written on *Borassus flabellifer* L. or *Corypha umbraculifera* L. in place of folio.

BL.Or. 6601(105) III

Somadasa 1987, vol. I, pp. 405-407: "There are three separate writings, bound together[…] the third is a Pali writing without translation which may be called *Dantadhātu kathā* […] At the conclusion he adds in a Sinhalese colophon that the king has procured the Upasampadā from Siyama at his request […] Seven olas in a Pali prose composition on the Tooth Relic by Saranaṅkara saṅgharāja in A.D. 1729 when he was a novice: Śri Dantadhātukathā […]18th century copy."

BL.Or. 6601(105) IV

Somadasa 1987, vol. I, p. 407. Two olas, Sinhalese prose: "*Upasampadā sandeśa asna.* Model of a message to be despatched when requesting assistance for Upasampadā (Higher Ordination) from another country […] 18th century copy."

BL.Or. 6604(244)

Somadasa 1990a, vol. III, pp. 300-301. Forty one olas: "*Guṇaratna mālaya: Saṅgarājavata* (kavi) The garland of virtue-gems […] The works of the king at Kandy are described at great length, and the arrival of the Siyam embassy, which was shipwrecked on its voyage, and received in Ceylon by Ähälapola senevi […] Unreliable copy; 19th century."

BL.Or. 6605(8)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, p. 11. Seven olas in Pāli prose: "*Pali sandesa* (Thailand to Sri Lanka, B. E. 2385). A letter in Pali sent in general to the Saṅgha of Sri Lanka by ten monks of the Dhammayuttika nikāya resident at Paramanivesa-ārāma in Bangkok, with reference to the hospitality offered by the monks and the king of Siam, to four Sinhalese monks and three laymen who came via Penang. The letter is dated […] A.D. 1842. For printed text see Buddhadatta, Pāḷi Sandesāvalī, 1962, Letter No. 2, pp. 8-14, and Sinh. tr. pp. 195-199 (summary). 19th century."

BL.Or. *6605*(9)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, p. 11. Thirteen olas in Pāli prose: "*Siyam sandesa* (Pali) 2 (Thailand to Sri Lanka).[44] "This is not the Siyam [rāja] sandesaya.[45]

[44] This is an unreliable transcription in Sinhalese characters of the original document in *Khom* characters which I present in this article. The text has been greatly corrected and interpreted by the scribe.

[45] See Fernando 1959; Frankfurter 1907.

This sandesa was sent by the Commander-in-chief (Aggamahāsenāpati) of Siam to his counterpart Commander-in-chief of Sri Lanka, reviewing reciprocal gestures of hospitality shown by both countries, the religious fervour brought about by the Siamese mission to Kandy, and enumerates a list of manuscripts and other gifts sent to Kandy. Date is B.E. 2299: A.D. 1756/7[46] (?) A summary of this sandesa is given in *Syāmavarṇanāva*, ed. 1897, p. 36: Deveni vāraye Siyām sandesayeka sāmānya adahas piṭapata. 19th century".

BL.Or. 6605(10) I & II

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, pp. 13-14. Two olas in Pāli prose: "*Pāḷi sandesa* (Thailand to Sri Lanka, B.E.2359). A letter in Pali sent by Sirisumana mahāthera of Pavaranivesa vihāra of Siam, to Laṅkāgoḍa Dhīrānanda mahāthera of Sri Lanka, dated […] A.D. 1816. The Siamese mahāthera mentions several adverse circumstances which will prevent a ship coming to Sri Lanka in the current year, transporting monks; eg. the Burmese border war with the English; the death of King Paramadhammika mahārāja, and the funeral arrangements made by the royal succesor Paramendra Mahāmakuṭa; Subhūti-Samuddamuni also being ill etc."

Manuscript Or 6605(10) II contains two olas in Pāḷi prose: "Pāḷi sandesa (Sri Lanka to Thailand) An incomplete Pali sandesa from Sirisumanatissa nāyakathera of Gālle Minivangoḍa Paramānanda vihāra to Ñeyyadhamma saṅgharāja of Siam. 19th century."

BL.Or. 6605(13)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, pp. 17-18. Four olas in Pāli stanzas: "*Pāḷi sandesa* (stanzas) Sri Lanka to Thailand A.D. 1842 A letter in Pāli verse sent to Thailand from Sri Lanka by five Siamese monks headed by Buddhañāṇathera, who had come on a pilgrimage to Sri Lanka, dated Siamese Saka 1205 […] They had accompanied the Sinhalese monks mentioned in Or. 6605(8). 19th century."

BL.Or. 6606(151)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, p. 254. Four olas in Sinhalese prose: "*Siyam nikāye dänvīm patrayak*. An ecclesiastical circular issued by the Kāraka-mahā-sabhā of the

[46] According to Somadasa: "Dates in the MS. f.2b9. *Dvissahassa dvisata chanavuti saṃvacchara*. At the end, *dvisahasa dvisata navuti*. This second date should be *-navanavuti*, thus B.E. 2299; cf. *Syāmavarṇanāva*, p. 40, "mè subha-akṣara hasna agramahāsenādhipatin visin Buddhavarṣayen dedās desiya anūnavaveni varṣayehi vakmasa ava ekolosvak lat Sikurādā Ayōddhapurayen piṭatkaḷèyayi datayutuyi. This pr.[previous] version does not contain the list of books."

Siamese sect headed by Mādagama Dhammarakkhita Devamitta mahānāyaka-thera, announcing that monks of the Siyam nikāya who have joined the Amarapura or Rāmaññ nikāyas have no claim to the vihāras of which they were chief incumbents prior to their change of sects, as this has been a court ruling […] 19th century."

BL.Or. 6606(157) I

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, pp. 264-265. Fifty eight olas in Sinhalese prose: "*Kusalanukriyāsandesaya*: [Kīrti Śrī Caritaya]. An account of the mission sent by Kīrti Śrī to fetch the Upasampadā in Siam by Vilbāgedara Mudiyanse and Kandapolagedara Mudiyanse at Saka 1675, they returned with 10 priests; 97 priests were ordained in Lanka […] Early 19th century."

BL.Or. 6606(158)

Somadasa 1990b, vol. IV, pp. 265-266. Twenty four olas in Sinhalese prose: "*Kusalānukriyāsandesaya*: [Kīrti Śrī-Rājasiṃha kusalānukriyāsendesaya]. Excellent copy though incomplete. Early 19th century."

BL.Or. 6611(48)

Somadasa 1993, vol. V, pp. 48-49. Nineteen olas in Sinhalese quatrains: "*Guṇaratnamālaya; Saṅgarājavata*. 19th century."

BL.Or. 6611(50)

Somadasa 1993, vol. V, pp. 49-50. Twenty olas in Sinhalese quatrains: "*Guṇaratnamālaya; Saṅgarājavata.* 19th century."

National Museum, Colombo

Selection from the catalogue of manuscripts in the National Museum of Colombo. According to De Silva 1938[47] the manuscripts No. 1984, 1985, 1995 to 2000 concern the Siamese relations Ceylon in the eighteenth century. Here follows a summary of the essential:

National Museum Colombo 1984

Saṃgharājottama sādhu caritaya, 52 olas in Sinhalese prose. The life of Saraṇaṅkara Saṅgharāja and an account of the arrival of the Mahā Thera Upāli from Siam; ordination of monks at Kandy in 1779 A.D., under the reign of Kīrti Śri Rāja Sinha.

[47] De Silva 1938.

National Museum Colombo 1995

Śyāma varṇanāva, 30 olas in Sinhalese prose, copied from a manuscript by P.E. Peiris, 1903 A.D.: a relation of the introduction of the Siamese Buddhist ordination at the request of King Kīrti Śri Rājasinha in 1753 A.D.

National Museum Colombo 1996

Śyāma varṇanāva, 48 olas in Sinhalese prose, copied from a manuscript of P.E. Peiris, 1903 A.D. by U.W.M. Kirtiratne: a relation of the introduction of the Siamese Buddhist ordination at the request of King Kīrti Śri Rājasinha in 1753 A.D.

National Museum Colombo 1997

Śyāmopasampadā vata, 39 olas in Sinhalese prose and citations in Pāli: a relation of the introduction of Siamese Buddhist ordination, compiled by Siddhārtha Buddharaksita Mahāsthavīra, a disciple of Väliviṭa Piṇḍapātika Saranaṅkara Sangharāja from Uposathārāma at Kandy. Written in 1776 A.D. according to the memoires of Vilbāgedara Mudiyanse. This copied manuscript comes from Bhōpe Vihāra, Galle district and is dated 1887 A.D.

National Museum Colombo 1998

Śyāmopasampadāvata, 65 olas in Sinhalese prose: a relation of the introduction of Siamese Buddhist ordination for monks during the reign of Kīrti Śri Rājasinha (1747-1781 A.D.). This copy is dated 1807 in the *śaka* era (1885 A.D.).

National Museum Colombo 1999

Siyāmopasampadāva, 4 olas in Sinhalese verse: a relation of the introduction of Siamese Buddhist ordination for monks during the reign of Kīrti Śri Rājasinha (1747-1781 A. D.). No date.

National Museum Colombo 2000

Siyam sandeśaya, 10 olas in Pāli prose and verse: a letter addressed to the king of Siam in 2289 of the Buddhist era (1756 A.D.) describing the state of Buddhism in Ceylon.

> Beginning: pavarajinavaracaraṇaravindamakuṭanijasirasi samalaṃkataṃ niyyānikasapariyattikanava lokuttarasaddham mamuttābhāravibhusitaṃ sugatasutasaṃgharatana sabbābhūsitaṃ asesadesapatthaṭa atula asadisayaso tejappatāpabalaparakkamaṃ siyaṃ desādhipati mahārājānaṃ harihara hiraññagabbha

> dhataraṭṭha viruḷha virūpakkha vessavaṇadihi mahānubhāvasamp annadevarājagaṇhī āyurārogādī sakalā bhiväddhivaddhanaṃ katvā ciraṃ sampālanatthāya pesitasaṃdesaṃ nāma — […]
>
> End: […] laṃkāya sāsanābhivuddhikata kusalānubhāvena diva manujasukhaṃ anubhavitvā anekasatasāvakaparisaṃ aṭṭhasīti ratanabbeddha buddhakāyaṃ suvaṇṇavaṇṇaṃ dassanīyaṃ metteyyabuddhamupagate so pi metteyyo sammāsambuddho catuparisamajjhe tumhākaṃ pasaṃsissatīti—sugatasaṃvaccharato disahassa disata ekuna navuti saṃvacchare phussamāse sirīlaṃkādīpavāsihī sāmaṇerehi gaṇapāmokkhappattādi sīlācāra guṇakāraṇaṃ bhikkhunaṃ pesitasandesoti—[48]

Despite the difference in dates (1746 and 1756? probably a mistake), this seems to be the same manuscript that one finds described in de Silva 1938: 309 under number 2000 according to "Pali Text Society Report, List of Pâli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Colombo Museum" *JPTS* 1882: 54, it is mentioned under number 23: "*Siyam Sandêsa*. (Letters written to the King of Siam by Buddhist Bhikkhus in Ceylon, A.D. 1746. Copied from original copies preserved at Hittetiya Monastery at Matara."

Sri Lanka monasteries

Selection from the National Catalogue of Manuscripts of Sri Lanka: Somadasa 1959, vol. I, p. 92

- *śyāma nikāyika sīma saṃkaraya* 361
- *śyāma vata* 31
- *śyāma sandeśa, siyam sandeśa* 310, 407, 437, 620, 692(3)
- *śyāmopasampada kramaya hā vinayakarma vidhi* 429
- *śyāmopasampadanīta bhikṣu nāma mālā* 494
- *śyāmopasampadavata* 196, 214, 446, 590, 689

p. 107

[48] This refers without a doubt to the letter from King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha requesting the King of Siam to send a religious mission to Ceylon in order to re-establish a correct manner for the ordination of monks.

- *siyamaṭa yavatalada sandeśaya* 578
- *siyam upasampadavagunavistarayak hā vinayakaruṇu* 650
- *siyam deśīya varanugilla* 31
- *siyam nikāya piḷibanda vāda lipiyak* 598
- *siyam nikāye upasampada karmaya* (siṃhala) 663
- *siyam buruma ādi sandeśa* 365
- *siyam mahanikāye malvatu pārśvaye katikāvatak hā sandeśayak* (siṃhala) 650
- *siyam rajuge sandeśa piṭapana* (pāḷi) 305
- *siyam raṭin upasampadava gena ime puvata* 513
- *siyam sandeśa, śyāma sandeśa* 310, 407, 437, 620, 692(3)

Somadasa 1964, vol. II, p. 70

- *śyāmanikāyadīpanī* (pāḷi) 598
- *śyāmavarṇanāva* 632, 642
- *śyāmopasampadāvata* 512, 644
- *śyāmopasampadā vivaraṇaya* 484
- *śyāmopālinikāye upasampadā vistaraya* 520 (a)
- *śyāmopālivaṃśika sāsanavāritravidhi, sāsanapravätti kathāva ba*

p. 79-80

- *siyame dhārmika rajatumāge puṇyakaraṇa pravätti* 670
- *siyame dhārmika raju kīrti śrīrājasiṃharajuṭa pin anumodankoṭa phavanalada sandeśaya* 670
- *siyamtānāpati vistaraya* 522
- *siyamdeśayen laṃkāvaṭa upasampadava genāvistaraya* 389
- *siyamnikāya samaṅga vādaliyumak* 506
- *siyamrajuge puṇyānumodanāva* 670
- *siyamratnamālaya* (siṃhala, kavi) (kaṭupiṭiye mätiḷu) 632

- *siyam liyum* 517
- *siyamvinayapota* [Siamese book on Vinaya?] 522
- *siyam sandeśaya* 424, 672
- *siyāmdesa gamaṇam prakaraṇaya* 512

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[49] I have seen this book in EFEO Chiang Mai library [BUD.TEXT D533S]. A paper is attached to the book giving in typescript an English abstract of the introduction. I copy here a quotation of interest about *Saddhammasaṅgaha* and *Sotabbamālinī*: "A great couple of compilations of the Sangharaja: in accordance with the information given in the introduction of this new edition Saddhamma Sangaha, Ven. Pandit Puññasāra indicated that the manuscripts of these two works

Sihiṅganidāna, v. Notton, C., *P'ra Buddha Sihiṅga*

Silva Appuhami, D.B. and Perera Appuhami, H.P.: "The work known as *Śyāmavarnanāva* attributed to Ällepola Atapattuve lekam, one of the envoys who went to Siam to fetch the monks. The Sinhalese text was published in 1897."

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were sent to Sri Lanka by the King of Ayudhya Dhammika or Mahā Dhammaraja II (1733-58) through the missions from Siam, in 1753 and 1756". I should observe that the *Sotabbamālinī* is included in the list, but not the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*.

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Abbreviations

BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*
BL.Or.	The British Library Oriental Collections and India Office, London.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
EFEO DATA	Filliozat: École française d'Extrême-Orient database on Pāli studies. Available at École française d'Extrême-Orient library, 22, Avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris and Southeast Asia EFEO centers (Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Vientiane, Phnom Penh). Free CD-ROM on request <jacqueline.filliozat@orange.fr>.
JCBRAS	*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSS	*Journal of the Siam Society*
PTS	Pali Text Society
PLTCS	*Pāli literature transmitted in Central Siam* see Skilling P. & Pakdeekham 2002.
SPAFA	*Journal of SEAMEO Regional Center for Archaeology and Fine Arts.*

The *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa*, part I

Peter Masefield†

Abstract

The *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa*, 'An Anthology of Amusing Tales', was composed by a certain Raṭṭhapāla of the Guttavaṅka monastery in Sri Lanka, probably some time between 900-1250 AD. Its oldest surviving manuscripts date to the 16th century AD; this translation of its first few stories is based on the edition of Ver Eecke-Filliozat and Filliozat (Bangkok, 2003).

Introduction

Since 1944, when the Venerable Walpola Rahula originally published his article "The Sahassavatthu-aṭṭhakathā or Sahassavatthupakaraṇa" (Rahula 1944; updated Rahula 1956), several eminent scholars have continued his research up to the present day. Professor Sodo Mori, T. Rahula and Dr J. Matsumura have all made a large contribution towards the study of the forgotten *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* literature in Sinhalese, and the collections of stories in Pāli, still preserved in their original manuscript form, and now more easily accessible following the publication of catalogues listing the collections held in the monastic, private or national libraries in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia, as well as in Europe (Somadasa 1987).

The first of the two oldest *Sahassavatthu* manuscripts recently discovered is that from Lanna, consisting of a fragment copied at the beginning of the sixteenth century and still preserved at Wat Lai Hin, Lampang (Hinüber 1996: 189, n. 667). The second is that from Burma, datable circa 1648 AD, and consisting of a fragmentary royal

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copy now held in the Royal Asiatic Society in London (for a list of the *Sahassavatthu* manuscripts publicly available, see Ver Eecke-Filliozat & Filliozat, 2003).[1]

Dr J. Matsumura has recently succeeded in identifying the author of the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa* as Raṭṭhapāla of the Guttavaṅka monastery in Sri Lanka, who is mentioned in the introduction to the *Rasavāhinī* (Matsumura 1992) as having produced a rather confused text (Rahula T., 1984). She has also demonstrated that the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa* and the *Sahassavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* are two different texts.[2]

Although some believe that the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa* is so named since it denotes a collection of a thousand stories, it in fact contains only one hundred (wrongly numbered in Buddhadatta 1959 and Gandhi 1991). Others, such as Malalasekera (see Rahula 1944), have therefore suggested that Pali *sahassa* here does not represent Skt. *sahasra*, one thousand, but rather *sva* + *harṣa*, or indeed *sva* + *hāsya*. A more likely derivation is *sa* + *hassa*, hence our tentative translation: "An Anthology of Amusing Tales."

The date of the composition of the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa* is uncertain. The *Mahāvaṃsa* and its *ṭīkā* both make mention of a *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa*, just as a reference is also made to the Uttaravihāravāsins, thereby placing the work anywhere between 900-1250 AD, in that the late-thirteenth century *Rasavāhinī* is based on the *Sahassavatthu* (Hinüber 1996).

It is a difficult task to translate the text literally into English, since the form that has reached us is derived from a number of different manuscripts belonging to a variety of periods, regions and scripts. The work, as we have it, is not well balanced, full of repetitions, contradictions, inconsistencies, and often corrupted by scribal alterations. The translation of the first few stories offered here is based on the edition of Jacqueline Ver Eecke-Filliozat and Jean Filliozat (Bangkok, 2003), itself based on Buddhadatta's edition of 1959, but with an apparatus including variant readings from six Sri Lankan, Burmese and Thai (Khom) manuscripts.

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[1] According to the general inventory of the Pagodas manuscripts of Cambodia, established by the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient during the years 1920-1930, there was a *Sahassavatthu* in 8 *phūk* registered under No 59. (Archives EFEO Paris, box 37, see J. Filliozat "Pour mémoire d'un patrimoine sacré: les manuscrits pāli du Cambodge à l'École française d'Extrême-Orient" in BEFEO 87. 2, Paris 2001: 445-471). But the famous library of Wat Po Val was destroyed in 1975 and no other *Sahassavatthu* manuscript has been found in Cambodia since that time.

[2] See also Somadasa (1987, pp. 304-306) under *Sahassavatthupakaraṇaṃ*, which cites Hugh Nevill's notes: "The original work from which *Rasavāhinī* was rearranged. Composed by Raṭṭhapāla thera of the Taṅguttara parivena at Anuradhapura, at so early a period that the author of *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā* speaks of this work as an *aṭṭhakathā*. The only copies we have seen are in Burmese letters, and transcriptions into Sinhalese from those. See *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* [British Library Or. 6603(38)]."

Sahassavatthupakaraṇa

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa

[1][3] tilokanāthaṃ vanditvā dhammañ ca sukhamākaraṃ
saṅghaṃ niraṅgaṇañ c'eva Sīhaḷācariye pi ca.
Sahassavatthuṃ bhāsissaṃ Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathānayaṃ
gaṇhitvā cariyavādañ ca taṃ suṇātha samāhitā.
Buddho ca dullabho loke saddhammasavaṇam pi ca
saṅgho ca dullabho loke sappurisā atidullabhā.
dullabhañ ca manussattaṃ Buddhuppādo ca dullabho
dullabhā khaṇasampatti dhammo paramadullabho.
saddhādhanaṃ sīladhanaṃ hiriottappiyaṃ dhanaṃ
sutadhanañ ca cāgo ca paññā ve sattamaṃ dhanaṃ.
yassa ete dhanā atthi itthiyā purisassa vā
adaliddo ti tam āhu amoghaṃ tassa jīvitaṃ.
tasmā saddhañ ca sīlañ ca pasādaṃ dhammasāvanaṃ
anuyuñjetha medhāvī etaṃ Buddhāna sāsanaṃ.
tasmā cittam pasādetvā sīlavantesu sakkaccaṃ
appakam pi kataṃ kāraṃ puññaṃ hoti mahapphalan ti.

imāni dullabhāni sulabhāni hontī ti vijānanattham imāni vatthūni kathetabbāni.

[3] The numbers in square brackets indicate the page numbers of Buddhadatta's text (1959).

An Anthology of Amusing Tales

Homage to the Lord, the Arahant, the Perfectly Enlightened One

Having saluted the Saviour of the Triple World, the Dhamma that is a mine of bliss and the Saṅgha that is without blemish, as well as the Sinhala Masters,

I will relate the *Sahassavatthu*, adopting the method of the Sinhala Commentary and the views of the Masters. Listen to it attentively.

A Buddha is gained with difficulty in the world, as is also hearing the True Dhamma; the Saṅgha is gained with difficulty in the world; Good Men are gained with extreme difficulty.

Also gained with difficulty is the human state, and the arising of a Buddha; successful attainment of the moment[4] is gained with difficulty, whilst the Dhamma is gained with the utmost difficulty.

The treasure of faith, the treasure of morality, the treasures of a sense of shame and a fear of reproach, the treasures of hearing and generosity, with insight as the treasure that is seventh:

Whichever woman or man possesses these treasures, they say, is never poor, his life is not in vain.[5]

Therefore, the intelligent should give themselves over to faith, morality, devotion and hearing Dhamma—this is the dispensation of the Buddhas.

[4] Cp A IV 225f, which states that there are eight untimely moments for following the *brahmacariya*, and only one timely one: that is, when a Tathāgata has arisen in the world. See also the *Akkhaṇadīpanagāthā* (Sdhp vv 5ff: JPTS 1887 pp 36ff).

[5] Cp S I 232, etc.

I. Dhammasoṇḍakavatthu

paṭhamaṃ tāva Dhammasoṇḍakavatthumhi atthuppatti evaṃ veditabbā: **[2]** amhākaṃ sammāsambuddho Kassapa-sammāsambuddhassa dhammarājassa sāsanantaradhānato na ciren' eva kālena Bārāṇasīrañño putto Dhammasoṇḍakarājakumāro pitu accayena rajje patiṭṭhāya Kassapadasabalena desitaṃ dhammaṃ sotukāmo hutvā māsamattaṃ rajjaṃ katvā devanagarasadise Bārāṇasīnagare cakkavattirajjasadisaṃ rajjaṃ karonto evañ cintesi:

mayham evarūpaṃ rajjavilāsaṃ rajjānubhāvañ ca saddhammaviyogena divākaravirahitam ākāsaṃ viya sasivirahitā ratti viya dantavirahito gajarājā viya velantavirahito mahāsamuddo viya cakkhuvirahitaṃ susajjitavadanaṃ viya sugandhavirahitaṃ pāricchattakapupphaṃ viya catu-akkharaniyamatta-dhammadesanāviyogena mayham imaṃ rajjaṃ na sobhatī ti vatvā

1. The story of Dhammasoṇḍaka

Now, first of all, the matter-arising,[6] as regards the story of Dhammasoṇḍaka, is to be understood as follows: a short time after the disappearance of the dispensation[7] of our Dhamma-king, the Perfectly Self-Enlightened One named Kassapa, the son of the king of Benares, Crown Prince Dhammasoṇḍaka, having been established on the throne following the passing of his father, became desirous, after having reigned for a mere month, of hearing the Dhamma taught by Kassapa, the Ten-Powered One. Whilst conducting a reign that was similar to the reign of a Wheel-turner, in the city of Benares that was itself similar to the city of the *devas*, he thought as follows:

"The splendour of this reign, and the majesty of this reign, of mine, through its dissociation from the True Dhamma, is like a firmament lacking a sun, like a night lacking a moon,[8] like a king of elephants lacking tusks, like a great ocean lacking a final boundary,[9] like a beautifully made-up face lacking eyes, or like a *pāricchattaka*-flower[10] lacking fragrance; through its dissociation from a Dhamma-teaching consisting of four systematically-ordered syllables,[11] this reign of mine lacks any lustre."

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[6] *atthuppatti*; the matter that gave rise to the need for the teaching. Cp It-a I 35ff, where the four reasons giving rise to a teaching are explained in detail.

[7] *sāsana*; literally instruction, message and, by extension, the continued existence of the Dhamma-teaching associated with a particular Buddha.

[8] *sasi*; literally, the one with the hare. See the *Sasajātaka* (308), in which the Bodhisatta, having taken birth as a hare, in the absence of anything else sacrifices his own body as alms to Sakka, in the guise of a brahmin, who subsequently daubs the sign of a hare on the moon in remembrance of the offering.

[9] *velanta*; cp SED sv *velā*; *velā*, which sometimes denotes the sea-shore is, however, more literally a boundary, and, in Buddhist cosmology, the great ocean is seventh, and last, of the concentric oceans that surround Meru, being finally enclosed by the *cakkavāḷapabbata*, a wall of mountains equal in height to that of Meru itself, which thus prevents the light of the sun and moon from escaping outside the *cakkavāḷa*. See, for instance, D II 10, where in the Lokantarika hell, that is found in the space formed by three adjacent *cakkavāḷas*, neither the sun nor moon are able to shine, as a result of which the inmates of that hell are unable to see one another.

[10] The coral tree Erythrina Indica, a tree in Indra's heaven; cp Vv-a 174.

[11] *catuakkharaniyamattadhammadesanāviyogena*; the meaning seems to be that there was no-one who knew any Dhamma-teaching consisting of even four syllables in a meaningful order, that is to say, not four syllables chosen simply at random. According to Ver Eecke-Filliozat and Filliozat (p.2 n.21), the *Sahasavatthupakaraṇa* manuscript from Wat Pho lacks *niya*.

suvaṇṇacaṅgoṭakena sahassathavikabhaṇḍikaṃ susajjitamaṅgalahatthikumbhe ṭhapetvā Bārāṇasīnagare mahāvīthiyaṃ bheriñ carāpesi: ekapadikaṃ vā dvipadikaṃ vā tipadikaṃ vā catupadikaṃ vā dhammapadaṃ jānantassa dammī ti.

evaṃ bheriñ carāpetvā dhammajānanakaṃ alabhitvā punappunaṃ dvisahassaṃ tisahassaṃ yāva satasahassaṃ koṭidvikoṭisahassakoṭi-satasahassakoṭiṃ gāmanigamajanapadasenāpatiṭṭhānaṃ uparājaṭṭhānaṃ pariyosāne dhammadesanakam alabhitvā attano suvaṇṇapiṇḍikasetacchattaṃ cajitvā pi dhammadesanakam alabhitvā rajjasiriṃ pahāya attānaṃ cajitvā dhammadesakassa dāso hutvā pi dhammaṃ sossāmī ti vatvā evaṃ pi dhammadesakam alabhitvā vippaṭisārī hutvā kim me saddhammaviyogena rajjenā ti amaccānaṃ rajjaṃ niyyādetvā saddhammagavesako hutvā Dhammasoṇḍakamahārājā mahāvanaṃ pāvisi. **[3]**

Dhammasoṇḍakamahārājassa saddhammasavaṇatthāya vanaṃ paviṭṭhakkhaṇe Sakkadevarañño Vejayantapāsāde ratanakaṇṇikāya kampo ahosi paṇḍukambalasilāsanam uṇhākāraṃ dassesi. Sakko devarājā kena kāraṇena paṇḍukambalasilāsanam uṇhākāram ahosī ti cintevā attano sahassanettaṃ devamanussesu vitthāretvā olokento dhammagavesako hutvā vanaṃ paviṭṭhaṃ Dhammasoṇḍakamahārājānaṃ disvā cintesi:

And, having said as much, he placed a bundle containing a purse of a thousand pieces in a golden casket on the back of the beautifully caparisoned auspicious elephant, and had the drum paraded on the grand highway in the city of Benares, announcing: "I will give this to anyone knowing a verse of the Dhamma, be it one stanza, two stanzas, three stanzas or four stanzas."

And having had the drum be paraded in that way, without finding anyone knowing the Dhamma, he successively (offered) two thousand, three thousand and then as much as a hundred thousand, one *koṭi*, two *koṭi*s, a thousand *koṭi*s, a hundred thousand *koṭi*s, a village, a market town, the country, the position of commander of the army, the position of viceroy; eventually, still not finding anyone teaching the Dhamma, he surrendered his golden orb and his white sunshade; still not finding anyone knowing the Dhamma, he surrendered himself by way of abandoning the splendour of his reign and then said: "I will hear the Dhamma, even if I have to become a slave to one teaching the Dhamma," and then, as one remorseful at still not finding anyone teaching the Dhamma, he entrusted the kingdom to his privy councilors, saying: "What is the point for me in a reign that is dissociated from the True Dhamma?", whereupon the Great King Dhammasoṇḍaka entered the Great Grove as one seeking the True Dhamma.

The moment the Great King Dhammasoṇḍaka entered the Grove with the aim of hearing the True Dhamma, the jewelled roof-plate on the terrace of Vejayanta,[12] (palace of) Sakka, King of Devas, shook, indicating heat in the Paṇḍukambala Rock.[13] Sakka, King of Devas, wondering for what reason heat had appeared in the Paṇḍukambala Rock, extended his thousand eyes surveying *devas* and humans, saw the Great King Dhammasoṇḍaka entered upon the Grove as one seeking the True Dhamma and then thought:

[12] Sakka's famous palace in the Nandana Grove in the Thirty-three, for a description of which see the *Cūḷataṇhāsaṅkhayasutta* (M 37) in which Sakka shows Moggallāna around it (M I 252-254).

[13] Throne of Sakka, said to be made of stone the colour of the *jayasumana* flower (Sv 482), and from time to time to glow with heat as an indication to Sakka that a righteous person needs protection (J V 92), that the Buddha requires his assistance (J I 330, IV 315ff), or that virtuous deeds have been performed (J V 410ff, V 278ff).

ajja me attānaṃ vijahāya rakkhasavesaṃ māpetvā etam aniccādiparidīpanaṃ jātijarāvyādhimaranaṃ sakalasarīradosaṃ dassetvā dhammaṃ desetvā etaṃ sakarajje yeva patiṭṭhapetabban ti vatvā Sakko devarājā rakkhasarūpaṃ māpetvā mahāsattass' ābhimukho avidūre attānaṃ dassesi.

taṃ disvā Dhammasoṇḍakamahārājā evaṃ cintesi: evarūpā nāma rakkhasā dhammaṃ jānissantī ti vatvā avidūre ṭhatvā pucchāmī ti rakkhasena saddhiṃ sallapanto āha: sāmi mahāpuñña devarāja imasmim pana vanaghaṭe vasanadevarāja kin nu kho dhammaṃ jānāsī ti?

devatā mahārāja dhammaṃ jānāmī ti āha. yadi dhammaṃ jānātha mayhaṃ dhammakathaṃ kathethā ti āha. mahārāja ahaṃ tuyhaṃ dhammaṃ kathessāmi. tvaṃ mayhaṃ kīdisaṃ dhammakathikassa sakkāraṃ karissasī ti āha. evaṃ sante mayhaṃ dhammaṃ kathetvā pacchā mayhaṃ sarīramaṃsaṃ khādissasī ti āha. ahaṃ mahārāja chāto hutvā dhammaṃ kathetuṃ na sakkomī ti āha. yadi tumhe paṭhamaṃ maṃsaṃ khādatha dhammaṃ ko suṇissatī ti āha?

puna rakkhaso nāhaṃ dhammaṃ desetuṃ sakkomī ti āha. puna rājā mayhaṃ dhammapaṭilābhañ ca tumhākaṃ maṃsapaṭilābhañ ca tumhe 'va jānitvā mayhaṃ dhammaṃ desethā ti āha. atha kho Sakko devarājā sādhu mahārājā ti vatvā avidūre ṭhāne ubbedhena **[4]** tigāvutamattaṃ mahantam añjanapabbataṃ māpetvā evam āha: sace mahārāja imaṃ pabbatamuddhaniṃ āruyha ākāse uppatitvā tvaṃ mama mukhe patissasi ahaṃ tava ākāsagatakāle dhammaṃ desissāmī ti. evaṃ sante tuyhañ ca dhammapaṭilābho mayhañ ca maṃsapaṭilābho bhavissatī ti āha.

"Having discarded this (normal) person of mine, I will conjure the guise of a *rakkhasa* and then teach Dhamma, elucidating impermanence and so on, indicating the imperfection of the entire body (by way of) birth, old age, sickness and dying, and then state: 'This should be established during your very own reign'." And then Sakka, King of Devas, conjured the form of a *rakkhasa* and then revealed himself nearby facing the Great Being.

Upon seeing him, the Great King Dhammasoṇḍaka thought as follows: "*Rakkhasas* such as this must know the Dhamma" and, thinking he should station himself nearby and ask him, started conversing with the *rakkhasa*, saying: "Master, O one of great merit, O *deva*-king, O *deva*-king resident in this jungle-thicket, do you know the Dhamma?"

The *devatā* said: "I, great king, know the Dhamma." He said: "If you know the Dhamma, then please talk to me of the Dhamma." (Sakka) said "Great king, I will talk to you of the Dhamma. What kind of honour will you pay to me as Dhamma-talker?" (The king) said: "Such being the case, I will, after you have talked to me of Dhamma, allow you to devour the flesh of this body of mine." (Sakka) said: "I cannot, great king, talk of Dhamma when I am hungry." (The king) said: "If you first devour my flesh, who will there be to hear it?"

The *rakkhasa* again stated that he could not teach Dhamma. The king again stated: "You should teach me Dhamma, realising that this will allow me to gain Dhamma and you to gain flesh." Then Sakka, king of *devas*, saying "So be it, great king," fashioned a great mountain of collyrium, three *gāvutas*[14] in height at a nearby spot and then said: "If you, great king, rise up into the sky after mounting the summit of this mountain, you will fall[15] into my mouth; when you reach the sky, I will teach you Dhamma. This being the case, you will gain Dhamma and I will gain flesh."

[14] One quarter of a *yojana*; a *yojana* is said to be the distance that one team of horses, hauling a cart, can cover before becoming exhausted, a *gāvuta* the distance that can be covered by a similar team of oxen.

[15] *patissati*

tassa katham sutvā Dhammasoṇḍakamahārājā anamatagge saṃsāre dhammena suñño hutvā adhammasamaṅgī hutvā adhammass' eva atthāya pāṇātipātikā adinnādāyino kāmesu micchācārā sūkarikā orabbhikā māhisakā sākuṇikā corā pāradārikā ti gahetvā sīsacchinnānaṃ lohitaṃ catusu mahāsamuddesu udakato bahutaraṃ, mātāpituādīnaṃ piyamanāpānaṃ atthāya rodantānam assu catusu mahāsamuddesu udakato pi bahutaraṃ, imaṃ pana sarīraṃ saddhammass' atthāya vikkiṇantaṃ mahapphalañ ca manāpañ cā ti cintetvā sādhu mārisa evaṃ karomī ti pabbatam aruyha pabbatagge ṭhito mama rajjena saddhiṃ mayhaṃ sajīvaṃ sarīraṃ saddhammass' atthāya dassāmī ti somanasso hutvā dhammaṃ kathethā ti saddhammass' atthāya jīvitaṃ pariccajitvā ākāsato uppatitvā dhammaṃ kathethā ti āha.

atha Sakko devarājā sakabhāvena sabbālaṅkārehi patimaṇḍito ativiya somanassappatto tam ākāsato patantaṃ dibbaphusena parāmasanto urena patigaṇhitvā devalokaṃ netvā paṇḍukambalasilāsane nisīdāpetvā mālāgandhādīhi pūjetvā Dhammasoṇḍakamahārājassa dhammaṃ desento imaṃ gātham āha:

Upon hearing this talk, the Great King Dhammasoṇḍaka, being devoid of Dhamma and lacking possession of Dhamma, in *saṃsāra* that is without beginning or end, considered that with reference to[16] (all those who act) against the Dhamma - (such as) destroyers of living beings, those taking what has not been given, those practising misconduct amidst sense-desires, pork-slayers, sheep-slayers, buffalo-slayers, bird-slayers, robbers and adulterers - the blood of their severed heads is more abundant than the water in the four great oceans; that the tears of (their) mothers and fathers and so on, weeping for the sake of their dear and beloved, are more abundant even than the water in the four great oceans; but that selling this body for the sake of the True Dhamma would, however, be both of great fruit and pleasing, said:

"So be it, good sir: I will do as you say" and, standing on the mountain-top after ascending the mountain, said: "For the sake of the True Dhamma, I will give you my own life, my body, together with my kingdom. Please be joyous, talk Dhamma." Surrendering his life for the sake of the True Dhamma, he rose into the sky,[17] saying: "Please talk Dhamma."

Then Sakka, King of Devas, adorned with his own person, with all his ornaments, became extremely joyous and, receiving him, as he fell from the sky, on the breast, suffusing him with a divine sprinkling,[18] conducted him to the *devaloka*, where he had him seated on the Paṇḍukambala Rock, worshipped him with garlands and perfumes and so on, and then uttered this verse, teaching the Dhamma to the great king Dhammasoṇḍaka:

[16] *gahetvā*

[17] *akāsato uppatitvā*; cp above, where *ākāse uppatitvā* is instead found. I suspect that this apparently incorrect reading, seemingly common to all manuscripts consulted, has entered the text at some point in its history, due to the presence, immediately below, of *ākāsato patantaṃ*.

[18] *dibbaphusena parāmasanto*.

aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino
uppajjitvā nirujjhanti tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho ti.

evaṃ Sakko Dhammasoṇḍakamahārājassa dhammaṃ desetvā devalokasampattiṃ dassetvā devalokato ānetvā sakarajje patiṭṭhāpetvā appamatto hohī ti ovaditvā devalokam eva agamāsī ti.

Dhammasoṇḍakavatthu paṭhamaṃ

II. Migapotakavatthu

Uddaloḷakavihāre dhammasavaṇaghositasaddaṃ sutvā nimittaṃ gaṇhitamigassa vatthumhi atthuppatti. Uddaloḷakavihāravane nesādamanusso migānaṃ koṭṭhakaṃ bandhitvā migānaṃ vijjhanatthāya aṭṭhāsi.

eko migo gocaraṃ gaṇhitvā pānīyatthāya titthaṃ gacchanto dhammasavaṇaghositasaddaṃ sutvā dhammasavaṇasaddesu nimittaṃ gaṇhitvā ukkhittapādam anikkhipanto aṭṭhāsi.

tasmiṃ kāle nesādamanusso migakoṭṭhake ṭhito taṃ migaṃ vijjhi. so kālakiriya katvā Uddaloḷakavāsīmahābhayatherassa kaṇiṭṭhabhaginiyā kucchimhi paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi.

so mātukucchito nikkhamitvā sattavassikakāle mātulatherassa santike pabbajitvā khuragge yeva arahattaṃ pāpuṇitvā mātulatherassa santikaṃ gantvā mātulatheraṃ canda hatthena parimajjantam addasa. thero sāmaṇeraṃ disvā etaṃ rakkhituṃ vaṭṭati sāmaṇerā ti āha.

sāmaṇero therena kathitaṃ sutvā candasahassam āharitvā therassa dassetvā bhante candasahassam āharituṃ samattho kasmā ekaṃ candam **[7]** āharantassa pākaṭaṃ karissatī ti āha.

> "Impermanent, truly, are conditioned things; their nature is to arise and fall. Having arisen, they cease—their pacification is bliss" (D II 157).[19]

Having thus taught Dhamma to the great king Dhammasoṇḍaka, Sakka revealed the excellence of the *devaloka*, brought him back from there and then, having established him in his own kingdom, exhorted him to be diligent and then went straight back to the *devaloka*.

2. The story of Migapotaka[20]

This is the matter-arising as regards the story concerning the deer that had grasped the sign upon hearing the sound broadcast during a Dhamma-hearing in the Uddaloḷakavihāra: a huntsman constructed a hunting pit[21] in the grove of the Uddaloḷakavihāra, and then waited with the aim of shooting deer (with an arrow). Some deer, as it was going to a fording-place in order to drink after securing its fodder, heard the sound broadcast during a Dhamma-hearing, grasped the sign associated with such sounds when hearing Dhamma, and then remained standing, unable to set down its raised hoof.

At that very moment, the huntsman, stationed in the hunting pit, shot the deer. As it finished its time, it took relinking in the womb of a younger sister of the elder Mahābhaya, resident of the Uddaloḷaka. After emerging from his mother's womb, he went forth, when he was seven years old, in the presence of his uncle-elder, reaching arahantship whilst still in the tonsure-hall,[22] and then went into the presence of his uncle-elder, where he saw his uncle-elder stroking the moon with his hand. The elder, upon seeing the novice, said: "This should protect you, novice."

When the novice heard what the elder said, he fetched a thousand moons, showed them to the elder and then said: "Bhante, I am able to fetch a thousand moons—why fetch only one moon[23] and make it manifest?"

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[19] The text here continues with a short commentary on this verse, after which it draws the story to a close with this final paragraph.

[20] A deer-calf; this story is seemingly distinct from the *Migapotakajātaka* (No. 372).

[21] *koṭṭhaka*, cf. DOP sv (iv), 'a hide (perhaps a pit, for hunting)'.

[22] Cp Pv-a 53, where same is said of the venerable Saṃkicca.

[23] The meaning of *ekaṃ candam āharantassa* is unclear.

thero puna divase attano bhaginiyā gehaṃ gacchanto tiṃsasahassamattaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ gahetvā agamāsi. bhaginiyā pi dvinnaṃ mātulabhāgineyyānam atthāya dve āsanāni paññattāni dvinnam atthāya yāgubhattañ ca sampāditaṃ tass' ānubhāvena antarakhajjakañ ca bhattañ ca āsanañ ca sabbesaṃ tiṃsasahassānaṃ pahonakam ahosi.

sāmaṇero bhuttānumodanaṃ maṅgalaṃ vaḍḍhento dhammaṃ desesi. mātapitūnam ādiṃ katvā pañcakulasatāni sotapannāni ahesuṃ. bahūnaṃ dhammadesanā sātthikā ahosī ti.

Migapotakavatthu dutiyaṃ

III. Dhammasutaupāsikāya vatthu

Mahāgāme Rājavihārasmiṃ dhammasavaṇasutaupāsikāya vatthumhi atthuppatti. ekā Mahāgāmavāsī upāsikā Rājamahāvihāre Maṇi-cetiyagehadvāre dhammaṃ suṇamānā attanā patthetvā laddham ekaputtakaṃ āsivisena ḍasantaṃ disvā dhammasavaṇassa antarāyaṃ mā hotū ti vatvā sayañ ca na nivāresi aññesañ ca na dassesi.

pacchā dhammasavaṇaniṭṭhitakāle visavegena visaññībhūtassa dārakassa santikaṃ gantvā yena ākārena dhammasavaṇassa antarāyam akatvā ekapadam pi avināsetvā assosiṃ etena saccena nibbiso jīvatu mama putto ti saccakiriyaṃ katvā puttassa jīvitam arogaṃ katvā ten' eva somanassena pacchā cavitvā sagge nibbattā ti vadanti.

Dhammasutaupāsikāya vatthu tatiyaṃ

As the elder was going to his sister's house on the following day, he collected a company of as many as thirty thousand monks and then continued on his way. Two seats had been appointed by his sister for the pair, the uncle and his nephew, and a meal of rice-gruel prepared for them, but through his majesty, those refreshments,[24] meals and seats became sufficient for all thirty thousand.

The novice taught Dhamma, rendering appreciation for the what had been eaten[25] more auspicious. Five hundred families, starting with his mother and father, became *sotāpannas*. That Dhamma-teaching was of benefit to many.

3. The story of the female layfollower who heard dhamma

This is the matter-arising as regards a female layfollower who heard a Dhamma-hearing at the Rājavihāra in Mahāgāma: a certain female layfollower who was a resident of Mahāgāma, whilst hearing Dhamma at the gate to the Maṇicetiya compound[26] in Rājavihāra, upon seeing that her only son, who she had obtained through her own religious aspirations, had been bitten by a poisonous snake, said: "Let there be no obstacle to the Dhamma-hearing." She did not restrain her own (observances) or display (a sign of discomfort) to anyone else.

Later, when the Dhamma-hearing concluded, she went into the presence of her young child, who was unconscious as a result of the power of the poison, and then performed an act of truth, saying: "The manner in which I heard (of my son's malady) without creating any obstacle to hearing Dhamma, without ruining even a single word, as a result of this truth may my son live and be free from poison." They say that, having caused her son to live, to be healthy, she, on account of that same joy, later fell (from that existence) and came into being in heaven.

[24] *antarakhajjaka*; taken between the morning gruel and noon (cf. CPD sv).
[25] *bhutta*; vl *bhatta*.
[26] *geha;* cp Ras II 3: *maṇicetiyaṃ nāma mahācetiyaṃ ahosi tattha mahādvārakoṭṭhakasamīpe.*.

[8] IV. Migaluddakassa vatthu

Saddhammasavaṇamigaluddakassa vatthumhi atthuppatti. ito ekatiṃsakappamatthake Sikhī nāma sammāsambuddho loke uppajjitvā araññāyatane devatānaṃ catusaccapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ katvā dhammaṃ desesi.

taṃ eko migaluddako āsannaṭṭhāne ṭhatvā dhammaṃ sutvā cittaṃ pasādetvā cavitvā devaloke nibbattitvā ekatiṃsakappe duggatiyaṃ anibbattitvā sugatiyaṃ yeva devamanussasampattiṃ anubhavanto imasmiṃ Buddhuppade pabbajitvā catusaccapaṭisaṃyuttavacanaṃ sutvā catupaṭisambhīdāhi arahattaṃ pāpuṇitvā udānaṃ udānento imā gathā abhāsi:

> migaluddako pure āsiṃ araññe vivittāyatane
> addasaṃ virajaṃ Buddhaṃ devasaṅghapurakkhataṃ
>
> catusaccaṃ pakāsentaṃ nibbutaṃ amataṃ padaṃ
> assosiṃ madhuraṃ dhammaṃ Sikhino lokasāmino.
>
> ghose cittaṃ pasādesiṃ asamam appaṭipuggalaṃ
> tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā atariṃ duttaraṃ bhavan ti.
>
> Migaluddakassa vatthu catutthaṃ

4. The story of the deer-hunter

This is the matter-arising as regards the story of the deer-hunter hearing the True Dhamma: at a period of thirty-one *kalpas* from now, the Perfectly Self-Enlightened One named Sikhin arose in the world, and then taught Dhamma associated with the four truths to the *devatās* in a forest-tract.

A certain deer-hunter, stationed at a nearby spot, heard that Dhamma, made his heart devoted thereto, fell (from this existence) and then came into being in the *devaloka*, and did not come into being in a miserable destiny for thirty-one *kalpas*, experiencing excellence as a *deva* or a human solely in a happy destiny; he went forth in this Buddha-interval, heard a statement associated with the four truths, reached arahantship by way of the four discriminations and then, whilst giving rise to an Udāna, pronounced these verses:[27]

> "In the past, I was a deer-hunter in a secluded tract[28] in the forest;
> I saw the dustless Buddha, set to the fore of the company of *deva*s.
>
> I heard him, the quenched one,[29] manifesting the four truths, the death-free place, the sweet Dhamma of Sikhin, master of the world.[30]
>
> I made my heart devoted at that broadcast, so that it is without equal, without peer;[31] having made my heart devoted thereto, I crossed[32] becoming so hard to cross."

[27] Cp Ap II 451; Thag-a I 96.
[28] *vivittāyatane*; Ap, Thag-a *vipine ahaṃ.*
[29] *nibbutaṃ*; Ap, Thag-a *desentaṃ*.
[30] *lokasāmino*; Ap, Thag-a *lokabandhuno*.
[31] *asamam appaṭipuggalaṃ* Ap, Thag-a *asamappaṭipuggale*.
[32] *atariṃ*; Ap, Thag-a *uttariṃ*.

V. Bhujagavināsitavatthu

Mahāvāsavihāre ariyavaṃsadhammadesanaṃ savaṇatthāya gatamagge mahātherassa bhujagena daṭṭhavatthumhi atthuppatti. Mahāvāsavihāre ariyavaṃsadhammadesanākathanakāle Kaṇḍarajjavāsī eko mahāthero dhammaṃ sossāmī ti vatvā gantvā attano nisādana-okāsaṃ alabhitvā parisapariyante ekasmiṃ tiṇagumbe aṭṭhāsi.

tattha ṭhatvā dhammaṃ **[9]** suṇamānassa eko bhujago tiṇagumbato nikkhamitvā pādantarena āruyhitvā cattāro dāṭhā pāpetvā nisīdanapasse ḍasi. thero dhammasavaṇantarāyo mā hotū ti cintetvā hatthaṃ otaretvā bhujagassa sīsaṃ daḷhaṃ gahetvā upāhanathavikāyaṃ pakkhipitvā mukhabandhanaṃ bandhitvā ekapasse ṭhapetvā dhammaṃ assosi.

dhammasavaṇānubhāvena daṭṭhaṭṭhānato visaṃ na uggataṃ dhammasavaṇante aruṇe uggacchante manussānaṃ ca gatakāle mahābhujago mayā gahito ti bhujagaṃ dassesi.

bhikkhū kataravelāya ayaṃ bhujago tayā gahito ti āhaṃsu. nidānakathanakāle yeva ayaṃ bhujago mayā gahito ti āha. bhikkhū acchariyam āvuso evarūpam āsīvisaṃ gahetvā dhammadesanāya antarāyassa akaraṇan ti āhaṃsu.

sace āvuso na saddahatha ahaṃ bhujagena daṭṭhakālato paṭṭhāya avikkhittacitto hutvā ekapadaṃ pi avināsetvā dhammam assosim etena saccena visaṃ vinassatū ti saccakiriyam akāsi. taṃ khaṇaññeva visaṃ paṭhaviṃ pāvisi.

dhammasavaṇam evaṃ mahānisaṃsaṃ mahapphalaṃ sabbasattānaṃ visaghātakamahā-agadaṃ hotī ti osadhānaṃ samasaṅkhātaṃ visaghātaṃ mahā-agadaṃ.

Bhujagavisanāsitavatthu pañcamaṃ

5. The story concerning the expelled snake

This is the matter-arising as regards the story of a great elder who had been bitten by a snake whilst underway with the aim of hearing a Dhamma-teaching on the ariyan lineage at the Mahāvāsavihāra: at the time that a Dhamma-teaching on the ariyan lineage was being delivered in the Mahāvāsavihāra, some great elder, who was a resident of Kaṇḍarajja,[33] went, saying that he was going to hear Dhamma but, not finding any room to sit down, stood in a grass-thicket on the fringe of the assembly.

Whilst standing there hearing Dhamma, a snake emerged from the grass-thicket, rose up between his legs, brought out his four fangs and bit him on the buttocks. Thinking: "Let there be no obstacle to hearing Dhamma!", the elder lowered his hand, firmly grasped the snake's head, cast it into his sandal-bag, tied the mouth of the bag, set this to one side, and then continued to hear Dhamma.

Through the majesty of hearing Dhamma, the poison failed to rise from the place at which he had been bitten; at the time that the people were departing, upon the arising of the dawn at the end of that Dhamma-hearing, he revealed the snake, saying: "I have caught this great snake!"

The monks said: "For how long have you been grasping this snake?" He said: "Ever since the very beginning of the talk." The monks said: "It is a marvel, friend, in that, after grasping a poisonous snake of such a kind, no obstacle to the Dhamma-teaching was created."

He then performed an act of truth, saying: "If you, sirs, do not believe that, onwards from the time that I was bitten by that snake, I have remained undisturbed in heart, that I have heard Dhamma without causing even a single word to be ruined, then as a result of this truth may the poison be destroyed." At that very moment, the poison entered the earth.

In that hearing Dhamma is of such great advantage, of such great fruition, that it acts as the great antidote that destroys poison for all beings, that same great antidote that destroys poison is reckoned to be equivalent to medicinal herbs.[34]

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[33] Perhaps a reference to Kandarājika, a village in Rājarattha in Ceylon.

[34] *osadhānaṃ*; according to PED, sv *osadhī*, "Childers calls it Venus but gives no evidence; other translators render it as 'morning star.' According to Hindu mythology, the lord of medicine is the moon (*oṣadhīśa*), not any particular star." Cp Sn 687, where the moon is said to be the "bull of stars" (*tārāsabha*). It is thought that the moon infuses medicinal herbs with their curative property.

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Is Zen a Terrorist Religion?
(Three Zen-related Terrorist Incidents in 1930s Japan)

Brian Daizen Victoria

Abstract

This article seeks to answer the question of whether the Zen school of Buddhism in Japan can be considered a terrorist faith. It begins with a brief historical introduction to three major terrorist incidents in 1930s Japan, all of which had a clear connection to the Zen school, including both the Rinzai and Sōtō Zen sects. In chronological order the three incidents are the Blood Oath Corps Incident of 1932; the Aizawa Incident of 1935, and the Young Officers' Uprising of 1936 (J., *Ni Ni-Roku Jiken)*. Following the introduction, the Zen connection to each of these incidents is identified. The conclusion addresses the question of whether Zen, or at least Zen in prewar Japan, may accurately be identified as a terrorist faith.

Introduction

To question whether Zen, a major, traditional school of Buddhism in Japan, could be a terrorist faith would seem an oxymoron at best if not downright preposterous. After all, the very first precept all Buddhists, of whatever school or sect, lay or cleric, is the pledge "not to take life." Moreover, in 1938 D.T. Suzuki (1870-1966), the best known proponent of Zen in the West, claimed: "Whatever form Buddhism takes in different countries where it flourishes, it is a religion of compassion, and in its varied history it has never been found engaged

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in warlike activities."[1] How could a "religion of compassion," moreover, one that has never engaged in warlike activities, possibly be involved in the killing and destruction of innocents that is the hallmark of terrorism?

In order to address this question I begin with a brief introduction to the three terrorist incidents in question. This will be followed by a look at the Zen connection to each of these incidents. Finally, I will answer the question of whether Zen, or at least Zen as understood in prewar Japan, may be accurately identified as a terrorist faith.

Brief Introduction to the Three Incidents

The First Incident

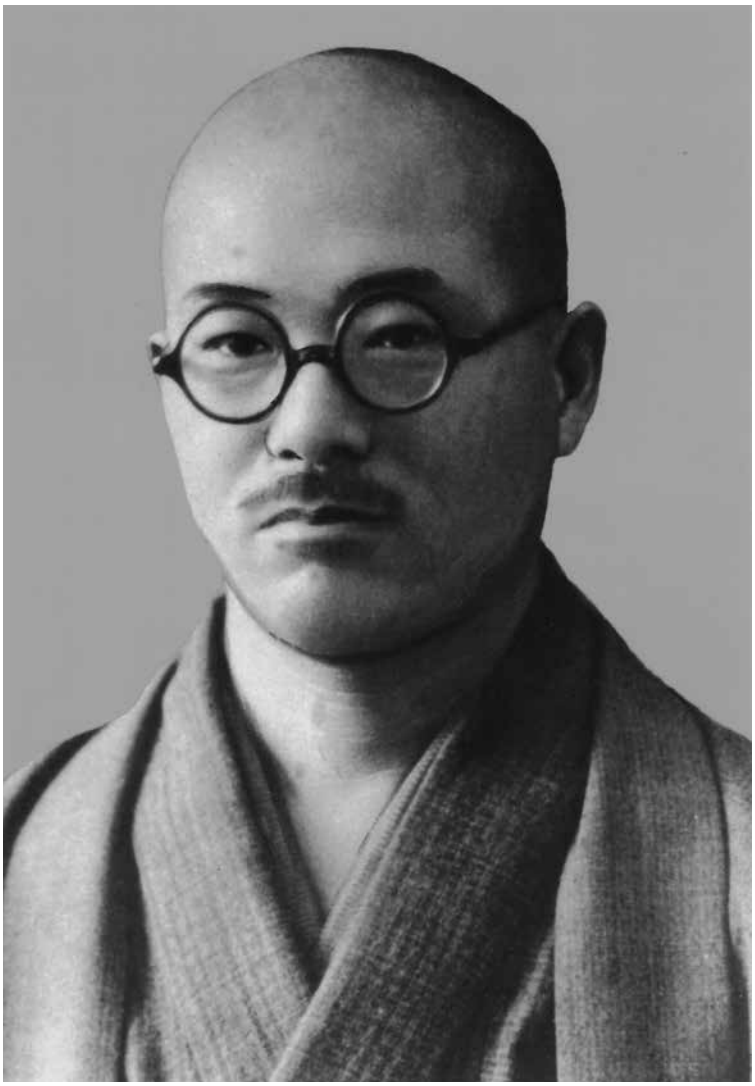
Popularly referred to as the *Ketsumeidan Jiken* ("Blood Oath Corps Incident"), the first incident consisted of a 1932 assassination plot directed at allegedly corrupt powerful businessmen as well as the liberal politicians associated with them. Although the terrorist group planned to assassinate some twenty victims, it succeeded in killing only two: Inoue Junnosuke, former Finance Minister and head of the Rikken Minseitō (Constitutional Democratic Party), and Dan Takuma, Director-General of the Mitsui financial combine.

The arrest of the assassins led to the discovery of a band of ultranationalists led by Inoue Nisshō (1887-1967), a Zen-trained layman who has heretofore been mistakenly identified as a Nichiren sect adherent.[2] Inoue was born in 1886 in Gunma Prefecture and spent his early adulthood as a spy for the Japanese military in Manchuria and northern China.

Even as a child, Inoue was deeply concerned with spiritual questions. In particular, he sought to understand the standards for distinguishing good from evil, right from wrong. This eventually led him to undertake Zen training in Manchuria even while serving as a spy for the Imperial Army. Eventually, however, he was compelled to abandon his Zen training in order to devote himself wholly to his spying activities.

[1] D. T. Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence on Japanese Culture,* p. 34.

[2] For a detailed discussion of how this (mis)identification of Inoue with the Nichiren sect came about, see *Zen Terror in Prewar Japan, Portrait of an Assassin,* especially pp. 197-201.



Inoue Nisshō at his arrest

Upon his permanent return to Japan in February 1921, Inoue was finally able to devote himself exclusively to Zen training, though this time on his own, i.e. without a teacher. As a result, he claimed to have had an enlightenment experience in the spring of 1924, after which he determined, in accordance with Zen tradition, to undergo "post-enlightenment" (*gogo*) training under Yamamoto Gempō, abbot of Ryūtakuji temple in Mishima, Shizuoka Prefecture. Yamamoto was recognized, as he still is, as one of the Rinzai Zen sect's most accomplished modern Zen masters.

Inoue Nisshō's temple, Risshō Gokokudō

While training under Yamamoto, Inoue was invited by Count Tanaka Mitsuaki (1843-1939), former Imperial Household Minister, to head the newly built temple of Risshō Gokokudō (Temple to Protect the Nation [by] Establishing the True [Dharma]). Although, as a layman, Inoue lacked the credentials to become a temple abbot, inasmuch as the new temple was unaffiliated with any sect, Inoue was nevertheless able to function as its abbot. It was here that Inoue turned the temple into a training center for a band of youthful, ultra-rightist radicals. Inoue became convinced that national reform could be achieved only through the elimination, i.e. assassination, of corrupt politicians in league with the selfish interests of financial combines known as *zaibatsu*.

Inoue embraced the tactic of *ichinin issatsu* (lit. "one person kills one") and drew up a list of some twenty political and business leaders whose assassinations would be the first step toward restoring supreme political power to the emperor, the immediate goal of a broad-based, ultranationalist movement known as the "Shōwa Restoration" (*Shōwa Isshin*). Toward this end Inoue distributed Browning automatic pistols to his band members. However, only two of them were able to carry out their missions before they, Inoue and the remaining band members were apprehended.

Rural girls sold into sexual bondage arrive in Tokyo

Historically, one of the most important consequences of the Blood Oath Corps Incident sprang from the subsequent trial in that it gave Inoue and his co-defendants a platform to broadcast their ultranationalist views. Many in the general public of what was then an impoverished country came to sympathize with the aims of the conspirators, if not necessarily their methods. In a more general sense the trial and its aftermath contributed to the erosion of the rule of law in 1930s Japan as well as a growing sense of social instability.

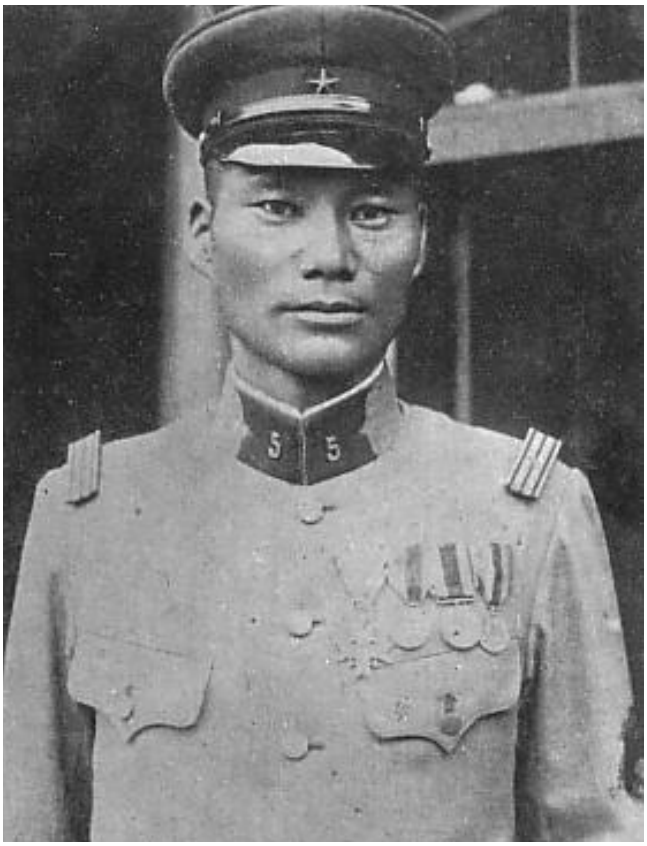
Rural boys eat raw radishes to satisfy their hunger

The sense of social instability was compounded when, on 15 May 1932, Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855-1932) was assassinated by a second group of Inoue's terrorist band, composed for the most part of young naval officers and cadets. This assassination, in combination with the previous two, provided the pretext to end political party-based government in Japan which was composed of a cabinet headed by a prime minister from the majority political party. Thus, with parliamentary democracy effectively ended, Emperor Hirohito and his close civilian and military advisors were able to select prime ministers to their liking up through Japan's defeat in August 1945.

For his part, Inoue was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1934 but released under a special amnesty in 1940 under a special amnesty that erased his entire criminal record. Almost unbelievably, given his terrorist background, shortly after his release Inoue was invited to become the live-in advisor to Prince and Prime Minister Konoe Fumimarō (1891-1945). Konoe headed the government until shortly before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Konoe committed suicide in December 1945 following Japan's defeat, while Inoue died in 1967, living with a former *geisha* in Kamakura.

The Second Incident

There were other assassins active during the 1930s, many of them officers in the Imperial Army. One of the most prominent of these was Lt. Col. Aizawa Saburō (1888-1936) of the Forty-First Regiment stationed in Fukuyama, Hiroshima Prefecture. He was a senior member of a group of relatively young army officers who, at least in their own eyes, were characterized by their complete and total devotion to a uniquely divine emperor. Appropriately, they designated themselves the Young Officers' Movement (*Seinen Shōkō Undō*) and willingly identified themselves with the larger Imperial Way Faction (*Kōdōha*) within the Army, which included some of Japan's highest ranking military officers.



Lt. Col. Aizawa Saburō

Like Inoue and his band, the young officers were dedicated to a Shōwa Restoration and attached the pejorative label "Control Faction" (*Tōseiha*) to those officers of any rank who, by refusing to join them, stood in the way of realizing their goals, especially major domestic reforms. Both military factions were, however, equally committed to the maintenance and, if possible, the expansion of Japan's colonial empire. In this sense, the struggle within the military was not one between 'good guys' and 'bad guys', or even 'moderates' versus 'radicals'. In the end, however, what may be termed the more realistic, if not opportunistic, stance of the Control Faction meant that its leaders eventually gained the upper hand in the military (and then the government), gradually purging senior members of the Imperial Way Faction from positions of leadership, beginning as early as January 1934.

Predictably, this purge of leaders produced a strong backlash, especially among the younger and more radical officers associated with the Young Officers' Movement. Having been one of the few high-ranking officers to oppose the ongoing purge, Gen. Mazaki Jinsaburō (1876-1956), then inspector-general of military training, was a hero (or 'savior') to the Young Officers, among them Lt. Col. Aizawa. Thus, when in July 1935 Aizawa learned that General Mazaki had also been purged, the former took it upon himself to seek revenge. As a midranking officer, Aizawa later claimed he acted in order to save still younger officers from ruining their careers by taking matters into their own hands.

The man Aizawa chose for assassination was Maj. Gen. Nagata Tetsuzan (1884-1935), director of the Military Affairs Bureau at the War Office. Nagata was known not only for his brilliant mind but equally for his attention to detail and the calm and thoughtful manner in which he reached decisions. None of these, however, were qualities that appealed to the deeply felt yearnings of Aizawa and his comrades for a swift and thoroughgoing restructuring of Japanese society, especially land reform, even though they were unsure of the details. Unsure, that is, because possession of a detailed plan for social reform would have impinged on the prerogatives of the emperor, something unthinkable for loyal subjects (although not necessarily for the highest-ranking officers of the Imperial Way Faction). Inasmuch as Nagata actively opposed their call for a Shōwa Restoration, he had to be eliminated.

Maj. General Nagata Tetsuzan

At approximately 9:20 a.m. on 12 August 1935, Aizawa entered the War Ministry from the rear and went to the first-floor office of an old friend, Lieutenant General Yamaoka Shigeatsu (1882-1954), head of army maintenance. Ostensibly, Aizawa had come to inform the general of his imminent departure for Taiwan. After sharing tea, Aizawa asked Yamaoka if Nagata was in his office on the second floor. Informed he was, Aizawa excused himself and, at 9:45 a.m., burst in on Nagata, sword in hand. Nagata did not immediately realize what was about to happen, for he was deep in conversation with Colonel Niimi Hideo, chief of the Tokyo Military Police.

Ironically, the two men were just then discussing what to do about the growing discontent in the army. Quickly coming to his senses, Nagata jumped up and headed for the door, successfully dodging Aizawa's first blow. He was, however, unable to escape the next, a thrusting blow from the back that momentarily pinned the general to the door. Not yet dead, the general was given a final blow to the head by Aizawa as the former lay outstretched on the floor. Making no attempt to escape, Aizawa was arrested by the military police shortly thereafter.

Aizawa's public court-martial began on 28 January 1936, at the headquarters of the First Division in Tokyo and received wide press coverage. Testifying on the general background to his act, Aizawa stated:

> I realized that the senior statesmen, those close to the throne, and powerful financiers and bureaucrats were attempting to corrupt the Army for the attainment of their own interests; the Army was thus being changed into a private concern and the supreme command [of the emperor] was being violated. If nothing were done I was afraid the Army would collapse from within. The senior statesmen and those close to the throne are indulging in self-interest and seem to be working as the tools of foreign countries who watch for their chance to attack Japan.[3]

As to why he chose Nagata to kill, Aizawa stated:

> I marked out Nagata because he, together with senior statesmen, financial magnates and members of the old Army clique like Generals Minami and Ugaki, was responsible for the corruption of the army. The responsibility for the Army rested on Nagata, the Director of the

[3] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror in Prewar Japan: Portrait of an Assassin,* p. 254.

> Military Affairs Bureau. He was the source of the evil. If he would not resign there was only one thing to do. I determined to make myself a demon and finish his life with one stroke of my sword.[4]

Aizawa also testified about his devotion to the emperor as follows:

> The emperor is the incarnation of the god who reigns over the universe. The aim of life is to develop according to His Majesty's wishes, which, however, have not yet been fully understood by all the world. The world is deadlocked because of communism, capitalism, anarchism, and the like. As Japanese, we should make it our object to bring happiness to the world in accordance with His Majesty's wishes. As long as the fiery zeal of the Japanese for the Imperial cause is felt in Manchuria and other places, all will be well, but let it die and it will be gone forever. Democracy is all wrong. Our whole concern is to clarify Imperial rule as established by Emperor Meiji.[5]

The Third Incident

Despite Aizawa's claim to have acted in order to save young officers from taking matters into their own hands that is exactly what a group of young officers, associated with the Imperial Way faction, did on 26 February 1936. On a snowy wintry morning, they and more than 1,400 troops under their command attempted a *coup d'état*. Their immediate goal, as yet another attempt at establishing the Shōwa Restoration, was violently to purge the government and military leadership of their factional rivals and ideological opponents.

Toward this end the rebels assassinated a number of leading officials, including two former prime ministers,[6] and occupied the government center of Tokyo. However, they failed in their attempt to assassinate Prime Minister Okada Keisuke (1868-1952) or secure control of the Imperial Palace. Although their supporters in the senior echelons of the Imperial Army attempted to capitalize on their actions, divisions within the military, in combination with Emperor Hirohito's vehement opposition to their attempted coup, meant the young officers were unable to achieve a change of government. Facing overwhelming opposition as the army moved against them, the rebels surrendered on 29 February.

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[4] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 255.
[5] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 255.
[6] https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Prime_Minister_of_Japan

Young Officers' Uprising

Unlike earlier examples of ultra-rightwing political violence by military officers and civilians like Inoue, this time the coup attempt had severe repercussions. After a series of trials closed to the public, nineteen of the Uprising's leaders were executed by firing squad for mutiny and another forty imprisoned. The radical Imperial Way faction thereby lost its influence within

the army, and the period of "government by assassination" came to a close. Nevertheless, the military, i.e. primarily members of the Control Faction like Tōjō Hideki (1884-1948), increased their influence within the government. The Marco Polo Bridge Incident, marking Japan's full-scale invasion of China proper, occurred the following year.

The Zen Connection to Each Incident

Introduction

Having briefly reviewed the three historical incidents, we next look at the significant role Zen played in each of them. I refer, first of all, to the role leading Zen masters, affiliated with both the Rinzai and Sōtō Zen sects, played in the incidents as well as the influence Zen training and thought had on the actual perpetrators of the incidents.

In seeking to evaluate the role Zen played, it is of critical importance to realize that the relevant Rinzai Zen masters, i.e. Yamamoto Gempō (1866-1961) and Seki Seisetsu (1877-1945), as well as Sōtō Zen master Fukusada Mugai (1881-1943), were far from the first modern Zen masters to support, even praise, disciples who engaged in killing. To give but one example, the noted Meiji period Rinzai Zen master Nantembō (1839–1925) praised his own famous Army disciple (and Dharma heir), General Nogi Maresuke (1849–1912) as follows:

> I have no doubt that Nogi's great accomplishments during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars were the result of the hard [Zen] training he underwent. The ancient Zen patriarchs taught that extreme hardship brings forth the brilliance [of enlightenment]. In the case of General [Nogi] this was certainly the case. All Zen practitioners should be like him. A truly serious and fine military man.

And Nantembō added, "There is no Bodhisattva practice superior to the compassionate taking of life."[7]

[7] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 258.

The Zen Connection to the Blood Oath Corps Incident

The head of the terrorist band, Inoue Nisshō, had begun his Zen training in Manchuria under the guidance of Azuma Soshin (1883-1966), a Japanese Sōtō Zen missionary who had been sent to minister to the Japanese residents of what was then, in effect, a Japanese colony. Even while working as a spy for the Imperial Army, Inoue practised *zazen* assiduously and passed a number of *kōan.* In recognition of his disciple's accomplishments, Azuma bestowed on Inoue the lay Buddhist name of *Yuishin* (Mind-only).

As previously noted, Inoue claimed to have had an enlightenment experience in the spring of 1924. He described his enlightenment as follows:

> I experienced a oneness in which the whole of nature and the universe was my [true] Self. I was overwhelmed with the feeling that "heaven and earth [and I] are of one substance," and "the ten thousand things [and I] are of the same root." This was something I'd never felt before, a truly strange and mysterious state of mind. I thought to myself, "This is really strange!" And then I thought, let me examine my past doubts in light of the enlightened realm I had just entered. As I quietly reflected on these doubts, I was astounded to realize that my doubts of thirty years standing had disappeared without a trace.[8]

Although Inoue had achieved what he believed to be enlightenment on his own, he nevertheless used classical Zen terminology to describe its contents. The two phrases Inoue quoted above are contained in the fortieth case of the *Blue Cliff Record* (J., *Hekiganroku*; Ch., *Biyan Lu*), the famous twelfth-century collection of one hundred *kōan* that has been described as containing "the essence of Zen."[9]

In the case in question, the conversation partner of the famous Zen master Huairang (677–744) cites a passage from an earlier essay written by Sengzhao (384–414) describing the oneness of heaven, earth, and humanity.[10] Significantly, Sengzhao is known for the deep influence Taoist thought and terminology exerted on his understanding of Mahāyāna philosophy, especially the Madhyamaka school's teaching of "emptiness" (Skt., *śūnyatā*; J., *kū*).

[8] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 67.
[9] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 67.
[10] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 67.

Inoue also used this occasion to examine his long-held doubts concerning the standards for distinguishing good from evil, right from wrong. Up to that point, Inoue had thought good and evil were two opposing entities. Now, however, Inoue realized:

> It is truly a case in which, from the very beginning, "good and evil do not differ [from each another]." Rather, when our thoughts and actions are in accord with the truth of a non-dualistic universe, this is good. When they are not, this is evil. For example, in the case of a relationship between two people, if you think and act on the basis that "self " and "other" are one, that is good. On the other hand, if you do no more than think (without action), that is evil. Yet concrete manifestations of good and evil do differ from one another according to the time, place, and those involved. Thus, there is no need to be attached to a particular concept [of good or evil] or think about what is right or wrong.[11]

In light of his subsequent career as the leader of a band of ultranationalist terrorists, it is significant that Inoue's essentially antinomian, enlightenment experience freed him from having to "think about what is right or wrong."

As a Temple Abbot

It was in the midst of his post-enlightenment training that Inoue accepted Count Tanaka's invitation to head a newly constructed Buddhist temple. It was 1928 and the new temple was in the seaside village of Ōarai, near the city of Mito in Ibaraki Prefecture. Inoue threw himself into the work of training a small group of about 20 young people. He drew on a variety of Zen training methods, including meditation practice (*zazen*), assigning *kōans* and conducting private interviews with his disciples (*dokusan*), all to create an intrepid group of volunteers with a 'do-or-die' (*kesshi*) spirit.

While Inoue had initially intended to train young people for legal political activism, by 1930, under pressure from both events and young civilian and military adherents, Inoue decided more drastic measures were necessary, convinced that an emergency situation required emergency measures. He claimed it was essential to first restore life to the nation, with debates over

[11] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 68.

methods coming later, much later. Inoue fully expected his political actions would lead to his death, but he, like his band members, was prepared to perish in the process of fomenting revolution.

Inoue found the basis for his commitment to destruction in his previous Zen training, specifically, in the thirteenth-century Zen collection of forty-eight *kōan* known as the *Mumonkan* (Ch., *Wúménguān)*, compiled by Wumen Huikai (1183-1260) in 1228. In case number fourteen of that collection, Inoue taught that Buddhist compassion had motivated Nansen (Ch., Nan-ch'üan, 748–834) to kill the monastery cat. Building on this, Inoue claimed:

> Revolution employs compassion on behalf of the society of the nation. Therefore those who wish to participate in revolution must have a mind of great compassion toward the society of the nation. In light of this there must be no thought of reward for participating in revolution. A revolution that does not encompass a mind of great compassion is not Buddhist. That is to say, revolution is itself the mind of great compassion.[12]

In other words, in the violently destructive acts of revolution one finds Buddhist compassion at work. Inoue and his band members were prepared to both kill and die in the process of achieving revolution.

Time for Action

In October 1930, Inoue and his band shifted their base of operations to Tokyo. From there, Inoue recruited additional young people, including some from Japan's most prestigious universities. Employing a Buddhist metaphor, one of Inoue's band members later explained at their trial: "We sought to extinguish Self itself."[13]

Inoue's band chose assassination as their method of revolution. Why? Because as Inoue explained: "this method was the most appropriate because it required, whether successful or not, the least number of victims. . . . The critical issue is that there was no better method than implementing what I felt sure was best for the country, untainted by the least self-interest."[14] In other words, inspired by the Bodhisattva ideal of sacrificing self on behalf of others, Inoue and his band

[12] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 113.
[13] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 120.
[14] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 113.

members believed that by being prepared to die in the process of revolution they could ensure as few people as possible fell victim to revolutionary violence.

Junnosuke Inoue (1869-1932), a former finance minister, was the band's first victim, shot on the evening of 9 February 1932 as he entered Komamoto Elementary School in Tokyo to deliver an election speech. His assassin was 20-year-old Onuma Shō (1911-1978), a onetime baker's assistant and carpenter's apprentice. On the morning of the assassination, Onuma was uncertain whether he would be able to carry out his assignment. Seeking strength from his Zen training, Onuma first recited four sections of the *Lotus Sutra* to calm himself. Thereafter, he started to practise Zen meditation: "When I opened my eyes from their half-closed meditative position, I noticed the smoke from the incense curling up and touching the ceiling. At this point it suddenly came to me – I would be able to carry out [the assassination] that night."[15]

Onuma Shō at his arrest

In his court testimony, Inoue made it clear that his Buddhist faith lay at the heart of his actions: "I was primarily guided by Buddhist thought in what I did. That is to say, I believe the teachings of the Mahāyāna tradition of Buddhism as

[15] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 120.

they presently exist in Japan are wonderful."[16] With regard to Zen, Inoue said: "I reached where I am today thanks to Zen. Zen dislikes talking theory so I can't put it into words, but it is true nonetheless."[17] Inoue went on to describe an especially Zen-like manner of thinking when he was asked about the particular political ideology that had informed his actions. He replied: "It is more correct to say that I have no systematised ideas. I transcend reason and act completely upon intuition."[18]

The Zen influence on Inoue's statement is clear. As D. T. Suzuki wrote in *Zen and Japanese Culture* in 1938:

> Zen upholds intuition against intellection, for intuition is the more direct way of reaching the Truth. Therefore, morally and philosophically, there is in Zen a great deal of attraction for the military classes. . . . This is probably one of the main reasons for the close relationship between Zen and the samurai.[19]

Inoue testified that Buddhism taught the existence of Buddha nature. Although Buddha nature is universally present, he argued, it is concealed by passions, producing ignorance, attachment and degradation. He saw the Japanese nation as being similar. That is to say, the nation's nature was truly magnificent, identical with the "absolute nature of the universe itself." However, human passions for money, power and other fleeting things had corrupted the polity.

At this point, the trial judge interrupted to ask him: "In the final analysis, what you are saying is that the national polity of Japan, as an expression of universal truth, has been clouded over?"

Inoue replied: "That's right. It is due to various passions that our national polity has been clouded over. It is we who have taken it on ourselves to disperse these clouds."[20]

Inoue meant that in planning to kill some twenty victims, he and his band sought to restore the brilliance and purity of the Japanese nation. Their victims were no more than obscuring "clouds."

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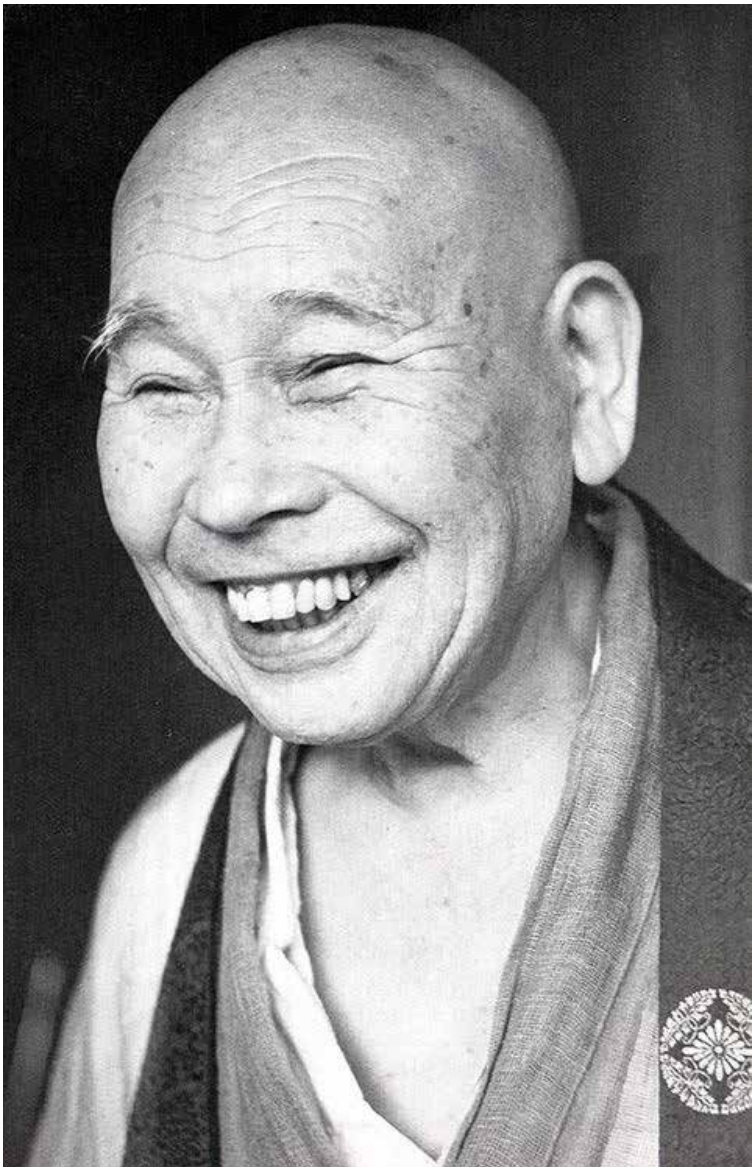
[16] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 111.
[17] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 111.
[18] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 111.
[19] Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence,* pp. 34-5.
[20] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 112.

Zen Master Gempō Yamamoto Testifies



Yamamoto Gempō, Inoue's Zen Master

The morning edition of *The Asahi Shimbun* newspaper on 15 September 1934 carried the news: "Zen Master Yamamoto Gempō, spiritual father of Inoue Nisshō, arrives in Tokyo to testify in court." Yamamoto claims: "I'm the only one who understands Inoue's state of mind."[21] Yamamoto began his testimony with a strong endorsement of Inoue's spiritual attainment:

> The first thing I would like to say is that Inoue has engaged in spiritual cultivation for many years. This led him to a direct realization of the most important element in religion — the true nature of the mind, something Buddhism calls perfect wisdom. Perfect wisdom is like a mirror that reflects humans, heaven, earth, and the universe. Inoue further realized that the true form of humans, heaven, earth, and the universe is no different than the true form of the Self. The manifestation of this truth of the universe is the Spirit of Japan, that is to say, the polity of Japan. It is in these things that Inoue's spirit is to be found.[22]

Addressing Inoue and his band's actions, Yamamoto testified that "in light of the events that have befallen our nation of late, there is, apart from those who are selfish and evil, no fair and upright person who would criticize the accused for their actions." Why? Because Yamamoto claimed their actions were "one with the national spirit." But what about the Buddhist prohibition against taking life? Yamamoto explained:

> It is true that if, motivated by an evil mind, someone should kill so much as a single ant, as many as 136 hells await that person. . . . Yet, the Buddha, being absolute, has stated that when there are those who destroy social harmony and injure the polity of the state, then even if they are called good men killing them is not a crime.[23]

While there is no question that Buddhism promotes "social harmony" between both individuals and groups, support for killing "those who destroy social harmony and injure the polity of the state" is nowhere to be found in Buddhist sutras. Instead, the source of these ideas comes from Neo-Confucianism, whose social ethics emphasise the importance of social harmony achieved through

[21] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 121.
[22] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 121.
[23] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 122.

a reciprocal relationship of justice between superiors, who are urged to be benevolent, and subordinates, who are required to be obedient and loyal.

Note, however, that in Japan it was Zen priests who had accepted and taught Neo-Confucianism, even while continuing to pay lip-service to Buddhism's traditional ethical precepts. As D.T. Suzuki explains:

> During the Ashikaga period [1336–1568], the position of the Chu Hsi philosophy [i.e. Neo-Confucianism] as upholding the orthodox doctrine of Confucianism was generally recognized, and the Zen monks began to pursue its study with more than a zeal for sheer learning. They know where their Zen was most needed and where the Sung philosophy proved its most practical usefulness. They thus became its real official propagators, and their influence radiated from Kyoto as centre out into the remoter parts of the country.[24]

Returning to Yamamoto, he ended his testimony by stating:

> Inoue's hope is not only for the victory of Imperial Japan, but he also recognises that the wellbeing of all the colored races (i.e. their life, death or possible enslavement) is dependent on the Spirit of Japan. There is, I am confident, no one who does not recognise this truth.[25]

In seeking to understand these words, we must remember that in pre-war (and wartime) Japan the state was headed by an allegedly divine emperor whose benevolence was claimed to extend to the wellbeing of all Asian peoples, especially those colonised by Western nations or endangered by the spread of communism. It was the emperor to whom the Japanese people were taught they owed absolute obedience and loyalty.

Yamamoto clearly shared this view. Thus, in the eyes of one of Japan's most highly respected Rinzai Zen masters, who essentially replaced Buddhist with Neo-Confucian ethics, Inoue and his band's terrorist acts were by no means 'unBuddhist' or blameworthy. And, of course, Yamamoto was not alone in believing this. This helps to explain why, despite his court testimony defending

[24] Suzuki, *Zen and Its Influence,* p. 120.
[25] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 122.

terrorists, Yamamoto remained so highly respected by his fellow Zen masters that they chose him to head the then united Rinzai Zen sect in the years immediately following Japan's defeat in August 1945.

The Aftermath

As previously noted, Inoue and his band members were all found guilty though all, including Inoue, were released from prison by 1940. Inoue went on to become the live-in advisor to Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe. In other words, a former leader of a band of terrorists exchanged his prison cell for life on a prime minister's estate. Significantly, Inoue never admitted to any kind of remorse for having ordered the assassination of some twenty Japanese political and financial leaders, of whom two were killed initially and one, Prime Minister Inukai, was killed shortly thereafter. In fact, Inoue later defended his actions, claiming that it was he who had "dealt a blow to the transgressors of the Buddha's teachings."[26]

Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi

[26] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 106.

The Zen Connection to the Aizawa Incident

Aizawa Saburō first encountered Zen at the Rinzai temple of Zuiganji located near Matsushima in Miyagi Prefecture. At the time, Aizawa was a twenty-six-year-old second lieutenant attached to the Twenty-Ninth Infantry Regiment headquartered in the northern city of Sendai in the same prefecture. On a Monday morning in the spring of 1915, Aizawa's company commander, Prince Higashikuni Naruhiko (1887–1990), paternal uncle to Emperor Hirohito, addressed the assembled company officers: "Yesterday I visited Zuiganji in Matsushima and spoke with the abbot, Matsubara Banryū [1848–1935]. He informed me that Buddhism was a religion that taught exerting oneself to the utmost in service to the country."[27]

Simple as this statement was, it nevertheless proved to be the catalyst for Aizawa's Zen practice, for as he later explained: "I was troubled by the fact that I knew so little of what it meant to serve the country."[28] Aizawa decided to personally visit Banryū to hear more. Banryū related the well- known example of Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336), a loyalist samurai leader at the time when the imperial system was divided into two contending parts, known as the Northern and Southern Courts Period (1336–1392), each court with its own emperor. Defeated in battle and facing death, Masashige is said to have vowed to be reborn seven times over in order to annihilate the enemies of the Southern emperor.

Banryū went on to inform Aizawa that, if he truly wished to acquire a spirit like that of Kusunoki, he "must study the Buddha Dharma and especially practise Zen meditation."[29] Inspired by these words, Aizawa determined to do exactly that, though he first encountered the practical problem that Zuiganji was located some distance from Sendai, making it impossible for him to meditate there on a daily basis.

The result was that Aizawa sought out an equally well-known Sōtō Zen master resident in the city of Sendai itself, Fukusada Mugai, abbot of the large temple complex of Rinnōji. Similar to the way Yamamoto Gempō treated Inoue Nisshō when the two first met, Mugai initially refused to accept Aizawa as his lay disciple. "If you're just coming here for character-building, I don't think you'll

[27] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 253.
[28] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 253.
[29] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 253.

be able to endure [the training]," Mugai told him.[30] Refusing to be dissuaded, Aizawa eventually gained Mugai's acceptance. In fact, shortly after Aizawa began his training, Mugai granted him, in a highly unusual gesture, permission to board in the priests' quarters just as if he were an *unsui* (novice monk).

Some months later, Aizawa encountered yet another barrier to his Zen practice when his regimental superiors decided it was improper for him to actually live at a Buddhist temple. Informed of this, Mugai set about finding alternative living quarters for his military disciple. It was in this way that Aizawa came to board with Hōjō Tokiyoshi (1859–1929), then president of Tōhoku University and another of Mugai's lay disciples. With this arrangement in place, Aizawa continued to train under Mugai until the spring of 1917.

As to what he gained from his Zen training, Aizawa testified at his pretrial hearing: "The result of [my training] was that I was able deeply to cultivate the conviction that I must leave my ego behind and serve the nation."[31] During the trial itself Aizawa made a comment that indicated what he shared in common with Inoue Nisshō, i.e. antinomianism. In describing his state of mind at the moment of the assassination, Aizawa testified: "I was in an absolute sphere, so there was neither affirmation nor negation, neither good nor evil."[32]

In describing this aspect of Zen, the well-known Western exponent of Japanese culture and Zen, Reginald Blyth (1898–1964), wrote: "From the orthodox Zen point of view, any action whatever must be considered right if it is performed from the absolute."[33]

During the court-martial, the judge questioned Aizawa about the influence Mugai had on him. Specifically, he asked which one of Mugai's teachings had influenced Aizawa the most. Aizawa immediately responded: "Reverence for the emperor [is] absolute."[34] As for Mugai's attitude toward his military disciple, one of Aizawa's close officer friends described it as "just like the feelings of a parent for his child."[35]

Unsurprisingly, Aizawa felt the same about Mugai. This is revealed, among other things, by the fact that even after his imprisonment, Aizawa arranged for medicine to be sent to Mugai upon hearing of his master's illness. In fact,

[30] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 253.
[31] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 253.
[32] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 255.
[33] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 255.
[34] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 254.
[35] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 254.

it was this illness that prevented Aizawa from realizing his final wish—that Mugai be present to witness his execution. Having failed in this, Aizawa's last message to Mugai read, "I pray you will fully recover from your illness just as quickly as possible."[36]

Given the closeness of the master–disciple relationship between Aizawa and Mugai, it is not surprising that Mugai was the second person to visit Aizawa in prison after the latter's arrest on 4 September 1935. Mugai subsequently visited him once again on 10 September. The entries in the prison's visitor log describe Mugai as Aizawa's "teacher to whom is owed a debt of gratitude" (*onshi*). The purpose of the visits was recorded as a "sympathy call" (*imon*).

Execution

In light of Mugai's admiration for his disciple, it was only natural that the close relationship between these two lasted even beyond the grave. Thus, following Aizawa's execution by the military authorities on 3 July 1936, Mugai bestowed on his disciple a posthumous Buddhist name (*kaimyō*) consisting of nine Chinese characters, numerically speaking the highest honor a deceased Japanese Buddhist layman can receive. The meaning of the characters also reveals Mugai's esteem for his disciple: "Layman of loyalty and thoroughgoing duty [residing in] the temple of adamantine courage."

Mugai bestowed this auspicious posthumous name on Aizawa in spite of the fact that a general order had been issued that forbade both elaborate memorial services and the erection of shrines or monuments in his memory. Thus, by honoring a man the Army had branded a "traitor to the nation" (*kokuzoku*), Mugai himself became the subject of an investigation by the military police. Although hospitalized at the time, upon being informed of the investigation, Mugai said: "Are there any traitors in the realm of the dead? If they [the military police] have any complaints, tell them to have the Minister of the Army come here and lodge them in person!"[37]

Aizawa had yet a second connection to Zen following his death. A portion of his cremated ashes was retained in Tokyo and interred in a common grave for all twenty-two former officers and civilian sympathizers who were executed for their part in the Young Officers' Uprising. The grave site is located at the Sōtō Zen temple of Kensōji in Azabu, Tokyo, founded in 1635 by the Nabeshima family, the former feudal lord of Hizen (present-day Saga Prefecture).

[36] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 254.
[37] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 257.

It was only in the postwar years that relatives of the deceased were allowed openly to hold memorial services at Kensōji. In 1952, these relatives erected a tombstone over the common grave that included the names of the deceased together with the following inscription: "Grave of the Twenty-Two Samurai."

In 1965, this same group erected a statue of the Bodhisattva of compassion, Avalokiteśvara (*Kannon*), at the spot in Yoyogi, Tokyo, where the executions took place. This statue was dedicated to the memory of both the executed rebels and their victims. Even today, memorial services are held yearly at Kensōji on 26 February and 12 July (the day on which most of the condemned were executed).

The organizational name chosen by the relatives for their undertakings is *Busshin-kai* (Buddha Mind Association). One is left to ponder the connection between "Buddha mind" and the terrorist acts of the perpetrators. Their terrorist acts were dedicated to the restoration of complete political power to the emperor via a military coup, that is, the Shōwa Restoration.

The Zen Connection to the Young Officers' Uprising

One of the Uprising's key leaders was a Zen-trained layman by the name of Ōmori Sōgen (1904–1994). Like Inoue, Ōmori was an ultranationalist who shared a close connection to Tōyama Mitsuru, the ultimate ultranationalist fixer. As an ultranationalist, Ōmori joined his first right-wing organization, the *Kinki-kai* (Imperial Flag Society), in May 1927 at age twenty-three. The *Kinki-kai* sought to create a totally emperor-centric society. Among other things, this entailed the abolition of political parties and transfer of the nation's wealth, especially industrial wealth, from the private sector to the emperor for disposal as befits a "benevolent father."

Zen Master Ōmori Sōgen

Ōmori's initial connection to Zen was the result of his practice of *kendō* (the way of the sword) at the age of fourteen or fifteen. He subsequently trained under some of Japan's best-known masters, including Maeno Jisui (1870–1940), Oda Katsutarō, and Yamada Jirōkichi, fifteenth-generation head of the Jikishin Kage school of swordsmanship. Ōmori also studied a second Zen-related art, i.e. calligraphy, under Yokoyama Setsudo (1884–1966) of the Jubokudō school. In time, the two founded their own school of calligraphy known as the Hitsuzendō (Way of Brush and Zen).

Maeno Jisui, like so many teachers of swordsmanship, was also an experienced lay Zen practitioner in the Rinzai sect. Ōmori explained how his practice of swordsmanship led to an interest in Zen as follows:

> Honestly speaking, the reason I entered the Way of Zen from the Way of the Sword had nothing to do with any lofty ideals on my part. Instead, being short, I realized that I had no hope of standing up to opponents taller than me if I couldn't compensate for their physical advantage by acquiring superior spiritual power. In short,

> I entered the Way of Zen due to the fear experienced when sword fighting. I hoped to overcome this fear.[38]

Subsequently, in the late spring of 1925, Ōmori met Seki Seisetsu, head of the Tenryūji branch of the Rinzai Zen sect. This marked a major turning point in Ōmori's life, for he would continue to train under this distinguished master for the next twenty years, i.e. until the latter's death in October 1945. It was in 1933, following eight years of intensive struggle with the *kōan* "*mu*," that Ōmori, aged 29, had his initial enlightenment experience. Ōmori related his enlightenment as follows:

> I finished *zazen* and went to the toilet. I heard the sound of the urine hitting the back of the urinal. It splashed and sounded very loud to me. At that time, I thought, 'Aha!' and understood. I had a deep realization.[39]

Ōmori added that thanks to his enlightenment, he realized that he was at the center of absolute nothingness (*zettai-mu*) as well as at the center of the infinite circle. "To be at the center of the infinite circle in this human form," he claimed, "is to be Buddha himself."[40]

The Role of Jikishin Dōjō

On January 1, 1934, Ōmori established Jikishin Dōjō (lit., "Direct Mind" Training Hall) in the Koishikawa district of Tokyo. The training hall's title is an abbreviated from of the traditional Sino-Japanese Zen phrase, "pointing direct(ly) at the human mind, seeing one's nature, [and] becoming Buddha" (*jikishi ninshin, kenshō, jōbutsu*). Accordingly, it was here that Ōmori was able to combine his Zen training with his ongoing rightwing activism. The *dōjō,* created with the financial support of a number of right-wing activists, was aligned with the Imperial Way Faction, especially the Young Officers' Movement, and included such men as Nishida Mitsugi (1901-37), Kobayashi Junichirō (1880–1963), and another former Army officer, Shibukawa Zensuke (1905–1936). In the role of *dōjō* "advisor" was Tōyama Ryūsuke, the eldest son of ultranationalist fixer, Tōyama Mitsuru.

[38] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 262.
[39] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 262.
[40] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 262.

Ōmori made it possible to practice Zen, *kendō*, *jūdō*, and calligraphy at Jikishin Dōjō, all in preparation for the realization of the Shōwa Restoration. Japanese historian Arahara Bokusui described the *dōjō* as "giving the impression of having been the inner citadel of the Imperial Way Faction among all the patriotic organizations of the day."[41]

An ordinary day at the *dōjō* began with wake-up at 6 a.m., followed by cleaning and then approximately forty-five minutes of *zazen* meditation, the time required for one stick of incense to be consumed. This in turn was followed by a morning worship service consisting of the recitation of Shinto prayers (not Buddhist sutras) before the hall's main altar, on which was enshrined a large tablet of the Sun goddess, Amaterasu Ōmikami, alleged progenitor of the Imperial family and successive emperors. It should be remembered that not only Zen but Buddhism as a whole had long enjoyed a synchronistic relationship with Shinto since Buddhism's introduction to Japan in the 6th century.

To the left of the main altar were three rows of photographs of Japan's greatest military heroes and right-wing civilian leaders. To the right was an alcove in which, together with a flower arrangement and traditional Japanese swords, was hung a large scroll reading, "Enemy Countr[ies] Surrender!" (*Tekikoku Kōfuku*). From 4 to 6 p.m. every afternoon, there was martial arts practice. *Jūdō* was taught on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, while *kendō* was on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Thursday afternoon was reserved for study circles, while calligraphy was practised on Sunday afternoon.

From the fifteenth of every month there was a five-day period of intensive Zen meditation (i.e. *sesshin*), commencing at 4 a.m. and lasting until 10 p.m. each day. The purpose of the *sesshin* was described as "the realization of our great pledge [to achieve the Shōwa Restoration] by acquiring an indestructible and adamantine body of indomitable resolve through introspection and Zen practice."[42] Further, in justifying this rigorous training schedule, Ōmori wrote, "In *Bushidō*, as a traditional Way transmitted from ancient times, a person throws his mind and body into *Bushidō*. Forgetting himself and becoming one with the Way, he completely transforms the small self into the Way of the warrior. He then lives the Great Life."[43]

[41] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 266.
[42] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 266.
[43] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* pp. 266-67.

For *dōjō* students, the "Great Life" clearly entailed a great deal of right-wing political activism, activism that would eventually bring imprisonment or death to many of its participants. Initially, however, the *dōjō*'s political activism took the form of publishing right-wing organs, the first of which was a monthly magazine entitled *Kakushin* (Essence). The initial issue was published on 18 September 1934, with the lead article titled: "Destroy the False and Establish the True—Risk Your Life in Spreading the Dharma—the Great Essence of the Shōwa Restoration." The article contained the following call to action:

> The [Shōwa] Restoration is a holy war to destroy the false and establish the True [Buddha Dharma] and applies equally to [Japan's] domestic and foreign affairs. The *Essentials of Combat* [*Sentō Kōyō*] states: "The essence of victory lies in integrating various combat elements, both material and immaterial, so as to concentrate and give full play to power superior to that of your enemy at a strategic point."
>
> In this instance, "various combat elements, both material and immaterial" refer to the unity in speech and action of all military and civilians involved in the Restoration Movement and other patriotic activities. The "enemy" refers to the enemy amongst us, that is to say, today's ruling powers who, with the backing of various financial cliques and elder statesmen, command the services of bureaucrats, big and small, as well as the police. The basis of power superior to this enemy is the force of all those dedicated to destroying the false and establishing the True. This force is to be found in the great unity of the people's forces composed of the civilians and military of this imperial land. . . .
>
> As a practical matter, we recognize that the Restoration can only be put into effect through the realization of a new cabinet of national unity centered on a unified Army and Navy. We must therefore support and promote the Army and Navy as the main force backing the Restoration while reverently seeking the promulgation of an imperial order that will promptly disperse the black clouds engulfing us. This is the proper duty of all citizens who cooperate with, and support, imperial policy.

> Duty is heavier than mountains while death is lighter than feathers. Given this, how is it possible that the epoch-making, great undertaking [of the Shōwa Restoration] can be accomplished without the valiant, dedicated spread of the Dharma at the risk of your lives?[44]

The Buddhist influence on this article is as unmistakable as its political extremism. In addition to the call for the "dedicated spread of the Dharma," the phrase "destroy the false and establish the True" first appeared in a famous Chinese Buddhist treatise entitled *San-lun-hsüan-i* written by the Sui Dynasty priest Chi-ts'ang (643–712). It forms one of the fundamental tenets of the San-lun (Three Treatises; J., *Sanron*) school of Buddhism based on the Madhyamaka philosophy of Nāgārjuna. However, the "destruction" called for in this school originally had nothing to do with taking the lives of other sentient beings. Instead, it referred to "destroying" the *mind of attachment*, such "destruction" being in and of itself the establishment of the True Dharma. In Japan, the Nichiren sect attached particular importance to this phrase.

Needless to say, doctrinal subtleties of this nature were of no interest to Ōmori and his associates, for they sought to employ Buddhism as a means of bolstering their claim that the movement for a Shōwa Restoration was part of a "holy war." Not only that, by calling on their readers to risk their lives on behalf of the Restoration, the article's unspoken assumption was that killing "the enemy amongst us" was a necessary part of the process.

In the immediate aftermath of the failed Uprising, Ōmori was detained for questioning. However, after two months in detention, he was released because the police were unable to amass sufficient evidence to convict him of any offence. Nevertheless, in the Uprising's aftermath he was arrested a second time and given a short prison sentence for distributing leaflets in support of the Uprising's imprisoned leaders. Ōmori remained in prison for a year before being placed on probation for three years. Like Inoue, Ōmori received a full pardon in 1940.

Ōmori found his time in prison quite beneficial, both mentally and spiritually: "A solitary cell in a prison is a great convenience. Everything can be done in one room: the toilet is there; you can eat there; you can even study there. While I was there, I didn't think I should read all the time, so during the day I read books, and at night I did *zazen*."[45]

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[44] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 267.
[45] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 272.

On his release from prison, Ōmori was gratified to find that his Rinzai Zen master, Seki Seisetsu, expressed approval of his conduct. On the day of his release, Seisetsu visited Ōmori at the *dōjō* and said, "You had a long *sesshin* [intensive meditation period]. You had much hardship, but you did well."[46] Seisetsu then took his disciple out to dinner. Ōmori summed up his prison experience as follows: "Since there is no other place where one can study so leisurely, everyone should do the right thing and get into prison."[47] In light of Ōmori's close connection to the Young Officers' Uprising, one can only express surprise that he hadn't succeeded in "do[ing] the right thing" earlier.

Zen Master Seki Seisetsu

[46] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 272.
[47] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 272.

Following war's end, Ōmori formally entered the Rinzai priesthood and became a prolific author of books about Zen. One of his books was entitled *Zen to Ken*. When the book was published in 1958 no less a personage that D.T. Suzuki praised it, saying, "I was enthralled by Mr. Ōmori's *Zen to Ken* (*Zen and the Sword*). With this, for the first time, we can speak of *Ken* and Zen as one."[48] In other words, Ōmori personified what D. T. Suzuki, among others, had long insisted was a Zen ideal — "the unity of Zen and the sword" (*Zenken ichinyo*).

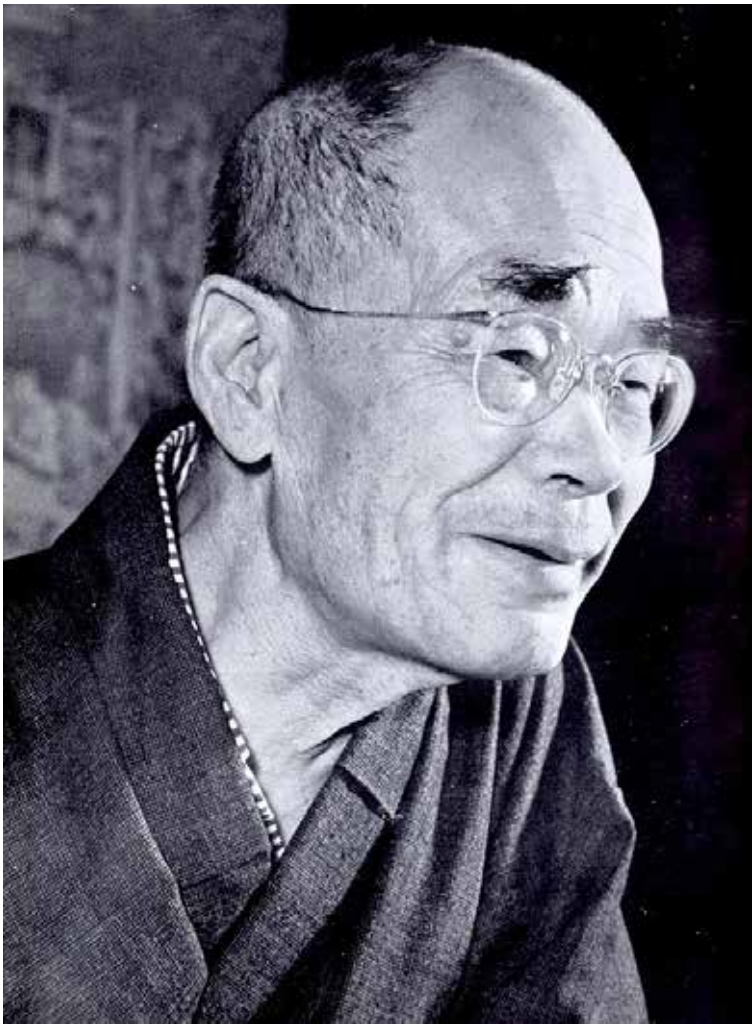
Ōmori later served as president of the Rinzai Zen sect–affiliated Hanazono University and was the founder of Chōzenji International Zen Dōjō in Honolulu, Hawaii. To this day, Ōmori remains lauded, at least by his disciples, as the "greatest Zen master of modern times," whose very life is "worthy to be considered a masterpiece of Zen art."[49]

Conclusion

Is Zen a terrorist faith? Based on the role played by both Zen clerics and laymen in the three incidents described above, the answer must be: "Yes, it certainly *can be* a terrorist faith." That is to say, there are elements in Zen, especially in its Japanese formulation, that can be marshalled to *enable* acts of terrorism. However, this is not to claim that Zen *motivated* the Zen practitioners described in this article, either lay or cleric, to carry out their terrorist acts.

I vividly recall a presentation I made before the D.T. Suzuki Research Society in Kyoto on 4 August 2019. After discussing the Zen connection to the three incidents described above, I asked Society members if there were any teachings in Suzuki's voluminous writings on Zen prior to the end of WW II that would have militated against, or condemned, the use of Zen meditation, practice or doctrine as enabling mechanisms for committing terrorist acts. There was an awkward silence and then Sueki Fumihiro, one of Japan's leading Buddhist scholars, quietly said, "There are none."

[48] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 261
[49] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 261.



D. T. Suzuki

On the one hand, I was grateful for the intellectual honesty of this distinguished scholar yet disappointed by the silence of the other participants. Why? Because Suzuki made it clear why none of his teachings could have been used to oppose terrorist acts. Suzuki wrote:

> Zen has no special doctrine or philosophy with a set of concepts and intellectual formulas, except that it tries to release one from the bondage of birth and death and this by means of certain intuitive modes of understanding peculiar to itself. It is, therefore, extremely flexible to adapt itself almost to any philosophy and moral doctrine as long as its intuitive teaching is not interfered with. It may be found wedded to anarchism or fascism, communism or democracy, atheism or idealism, or any political and economical dogmatism. It is, however, generally animated with a certain revolutionary spirit, and when things come to a deadlock which is the case when we are overloaded with conventionalism, formalism, and other cognate isms, Zen asserts itself and proves to be a destructive force.[50]

Since, according to Suzuki, Zen can be founded wedded to fascism or "*any* political and economical [sic] dogmatism" why couldn't it have been wedded to "terrorism", especially terrorism based on the *intuitive* thought of Inoue Nisshō who, moreover, clearly possessed "a certain revolutionary spirit" let alone proved to be "a destructive force"?

As for violence, Suzuki explained why there were no impediments to joining it to Zen as well:

> In Japan, Zen was intimately related from the beginning of its history to the life of the samurai. Although it has never actively incited the latter to carry on their bloody profession, it has passively sustained them when they have for any reason once entered into it. Zen has sustained them in two ways, morally and philosophically. Morally, because Zen is a religion that teaches not to look backward once the course is decided upon; philosophically because it treats life and death indifferently.[51]

[50] Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence,* pp. 36-37.
[51] Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence,* p. 34.

By contrast, in the *Yodhājīva Sutta*, the Buddha is recorded as having said:

> When a professional warrior strives and exerts himself in battle, his mind is already seized, debased, and misdirected by the thought: "May these beings be struck down or slaughtered or annihilated or destroyed. May they not exist." If others then strike him down and slay him while he is thus striving and exerting himself in battle, then with the breakup of the body, after death, he is reborn in the hell called the realm of those slain in battle.[52]

This *sutta,* found in the Pāli canon, notes that the Buddha, at least initially, was reluctant to address this topic, but in the face of repeated requests, he gave the preceding reply. His response is particularly significant in that the Buddha was himself, at least by birth, a member of the warrior (*kshatriya*) caste. The prevalent view of this caste was that following death on the battlefield the warrior would be reborn in the company of deities (*devas*) slain in battle, i.e. a desirable state.

If one regards the *Pāli* cannon, as I do, as representative of the oldest stratum of the Buddha's teachings, then the absence of an equivalent teaching in the Mahāyāna *sutras* demonstrates how far the latter tradition has, at least in this instance, strayed from this foundational teaching, still extant in the Theravāda tradition. It also shows how mistaken Suzuki was to accept uncritically the longstanding close relationship of the Zen school in Japan to the warrior class and its associated violence and killing. To be sure, Suzuki claimed that the Zen school did not actively incite the samurai to carry on their "bloody profession" but it nevertheless "passively sustained them."

But what did Suzuki mean by his claim that Zen in Japan, from its outset, had "passively sustained" the samurai both morally and philosophically? Morally, he asserted, because it taught the samurai not to look backward once the course was decided upon and philosophically, because it treated life and death indifferently.

Here, the first question to be asked is what does "not to look backward once the course is decided upon" have to do with morality, i.e. distinguishing right from wrong, good from evil? Would it, for example, be "immoral" to have second thoughts, i.e. to change one's initial course of action, if there were sufficient reason to do so? Is blindly following one's initial decision, no matter how mistaken/destructive it turns out to be, an expression of *Buddhist* morality?

[52] SN 42.3 (PTS: SN IV 309).

Is there any passage in the *vinaya*-based precepts governing the actions of Buddhists, either lay or cleric, to indicate this is the case?

As far as Japan is concerned, isn't blindly following one's initial decision, *without looking backward* no matter how mistaken/destructive it turns out to be, exactly what Japan did up through its abject defeat in WW II, all the while enjoying the enthusiastic if not fanatical support of Zen priests and other Buddhist clergy?[53] If Suzuki's claim accurately reflects the content of Zen morality since its introduction to Japan at the beginning of the 13th century, is there anything surprising about the clerics' later fanatical support for Japan's modern wars?

And what about the "philosophical" side to the equation, i.e. Zen's willingness to "treat life and death indifferently"? Suzuki develops this philosophical orientation further by adding: "From the philosophical point of view, Zen upholds intuition against intellection, for intuition is the more direct way of reaching the Truth."[54] In this connection, the reader will recall that Inoue Nisshō testified: "I have no systematized ideas. I transcend reason and act completely upon intuition."[55] This is not to suggest, however, there was a direct connection between the two men.

To be sure, there is ample scriptural precedent in the Zen school for its emphasis on intuition. For example, Zen's first patriarch, Bodhidharma, is said to have given a copy of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* to his successor, Hui-k'o (487-593), and told him that it contained everything he needed to know. Serving as a cornerstone in the development of Ch'an (Zen) in China, this sutra contains all the major teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism, with two of its teachings having particular import for Zen. The first of these is the teaching of the primacy of consciousness, i.e. all the objects of the world, and the names and forms of experience, are merely manifestations of the mind. Second, and even more importantly, the knowledge of this is something that must be realized and experienced for oneself and cannot be expressed in words. That is to say, it can, and must be, realized intuitively through intensive meditation. In the words of Chinese Zen masters, these two teachings became known as "have a cup of tea" and "taste the tea."

[53] Readers who doubt the accuracy of this statement are invited to read either of my two books on this topic, *Zen at War* or *Zen War Stories.*

[54] Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence* p. 34.

[55] Quoted in Victoria, *Zen Terror,* p. 208.

However, while granting this, there is, I suggest, nothing in Buddhist doctrine to suggest that the "taste the tea" includes, as Yamamoto Gempō claimed, assassinating those who destroy social harmony and injure the polity of the state.[56]

The Role of Zen Meditation (*zazen*)

If the Zen school in Japan consisted only of (a questionable) morality and philosophy that merely "passively" condoned those involved in a "bloody profession," then it could be said it differs little from similar violence-condoning rationales found in the world's other major religions. However, Zen contains an additional feature that played an important role in all three terrorist incidents described above, i.e. the practice of meditation (*zazen*).

But what was it, exactly, about Zen meditation that made it so useful to not only Inoue and his band members but all of the terrorists described above?

One particularly insightful response is provided by Winston King in his 1993 book *Zen and the Way of the Sword*. King identified the fundamental problem to be that "Zen has no intrinsic ethical quality or inner monitor, but (to repeat) historically seems to be primarily a psychological technique for maximizing the visceral energies whatever their orientation."[57]

If Zen becomes, or better said, is *reduced to* a psychological technique – which clearly occurred – then nowhere is the exercise of this technique more effective than in the practice of *zazen*, a key component of which is the experience of *samādhi* and the acquisition of the mental power associated with it. This begs the question: did the Zen-related terrorists described above have an authentic experience of *samādhi* and the mental power associated with it?

Before attempting to answer this question, let us first examine *samādhi* and its associated mental power in more detail. *Samādhi* refers to a state of meditative consciousness. The term *samādhi* derives from the Sanskrit root *sam-ā-dhā*, which means "to collect" or "bring together" and is often translated as "concentration" or "unification of the mind." In early Buddhist texts, *samādhi* is associated with the term *samatha* (calm abiding). In the Pali *sutta*s (Skt., *sūtra*s), *samādhi* is defined as one-pointedness of mind, a meditative absorption attained through the practice of meditation, that is, *jhāna* (Skt., *dhyāna*; Kor., *Seon*; J., *Zen*; Ch., *Ch'an*; Vietnamese, *Thiền*).

[56] For further discussion of this topic, see *Zen Terror,* pp. 215-16.
[57] Quoted in *Zen Terror,* p. 222.

Jhāna/*dhyāna*, a core Buddhist practice commonly translated as meditation, is described as a state of "no mind" in the Ch'an/Zen school. The four *jhāna*s/*dhyāna*s, as described in the *sutta*s/*sūtra*s, focus on the cultivation of two qualities: inner concentration and present-moment awareness, the former preceding the latter, which concludes with a state of perfect equanimity and awareness (Pāli, *upekkhā-sati-pārisuddhi*), when the mind becomes still, without conscious thought, yet open to experience in the present moment. As such, *samādhi* also lies at the heart of the last of the eight elements of the Buddhist Noble Eightfold Path (i.e. right concentration).

Because "one-pointedness of mind" is an intrinsic and indivisible part of *samādhi*, the mental power produced by this concentrated state of mind is a potent force for understanding the true nature of the Self in the hands of an experienced meditator. *Samādhi* and the psycho-spiritual power associated with *samādhi* are closely related to one another.

For those who have experienced a deep *samādhi*, it is a luminous experience that seems to the meditator to be beyond time and place, though it is definitely not a trancelike experience in which the meditator is transmitted to a supernatural realm. In fact, if anything, the meditator is more fully "present" in the "here and now" than ever before. The meditator may also subsequently experience a wonderful sense of "oneness" with his or her surroundings. Thus, to use *samādhi* to harm other sentient beings would appear, on the face of it, to be utterly impossible.

Nevertheless, before and during the Asia-Pacific War, Japanese Zen leaders, including D. T. Suzuki, often wrote about this meditation-derived mental power, emphasizing the effectiveness of *samādhi* power (J., *zenjōriki*) in battle.[58]

It is important to note that these modern descriptions of *samādhi* power's effectiveness on the battlefield were not the first time this phenomenon occurred in Japanese Zen history. For example, retired samurai-turned-Zen-priest Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655) wrote, "It's with the energy of Zen *samādhi* that all the arts are executed. The military arts in particular can't be executed with a slack mind. This energy of Zen *samādhi* is everything. The man of arms, however, is in Zen *samādhi* while he applies his skill."[59]

[58] See, for example, Suzuki's uncritical reference to Uesugi Kenshin's use of *samādhi* in battle in *Zen Buddhism and Its Influence*, p. 56.

[59] Quoted in *Zen Terror,* p. 212

The reader will recall that *samādhi* was a key part of Onuma Shō's preparations to assassinate Inoue Junnosuke:

> After starting my practice of *zazen*, I entered a state of *samādhi* the likes of which I had never experienced before. I felt my spirit become unified, really unified, and when I opened my eyes from their half-closed meditative position I noticed the smoke from the incense curling up and touching the ceiling. At this point it suddenly came to me — I would be able to carry out [the assassination] that night.

Onuma's comments make it clear that *samādhi* power, acquired through meditation, was what had enabled him to commit his terrorist act. In short, *samādhi* power was as available to terrorists as it had once been to warriors and their soldier successors, for exactly the same reason — it enhanced their ability and determination to kill (and be killed).

The Bodhisattva Ideal

Inoue and his band members often referred to themselves as *sute-ishi* (pawns), fully prepared to sacrifice themselves in the course of assassinating their intended victims. In doing so, they identified themselves with a Mahāyāna Buddhist archetype, i.e. Bodhisattvas, ever ready selflessly and compassionately to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of all sentient beings. The reader will recall just how important a role Buddhist compassion played in Inoue's thinking as expressed in his court testimony:

> Revolution employs compassion on behalf of the society of [our] nation. Therefore, those who wish to participate in revolution must have a mind of great compassion toward the society of [our] nation. In light of this there must be no thought of reward for participating in revolution. A revolution that does not encompass a mind of great compassion is not Buddhist. That is to say, revolution is itself the mind of great compassion.

At least in their minds, Inoue's band members regarded themselves as no less compassionate than their master. Onuma Shō, assassin of Inoue Junnosuke, testified:

> Our goal was not to harm others but to destroy ourselves. We had no thought of simply killing others while surviving ourselves. We intended to smash ourselves, thereby allowing others to cross over [to a new society] on top of our own bodies. I think this is what our master Inoue meant when he told us that our goal was not to sacrifice personal affections on the altar of justice but to destroy ourselves. In the process of destroying ourselves, it couldn't be helped if there were [other] victims. This was the fundamental principle of our revolution. A mind of great compassion was the fundamental spirit of our revolution.[60]

And, of course, Aizawa Saburō believed he was sacrificing himself in order to save junior officers in the Imperial Way faction from ruining their careers by taking matters into their own hands – as they nevertheless did in the Young Officers' Uprising. And in undertaking their Uprising, the young officers believed they were sacrificing themselves in order that Emperor Hirohito would, upon regaining absolute, unimpeded power, enact major domestic reforms, beginning with land redistribution, that would benefit their impoverished fellow Japanese. In other words, all of the terrorists introduced above were convinced they were sacrificing themselves out of their great compassion for others.

Young Officers' Uprising

[60] Quoted in *Zen Terror,* p. 120.

When all is said and done, what is missing in Japanese Zen, from the time of its adoption by the warrior class in the 13th century to the present, is very simple – a near total lack of, or disregard for, the *vinaya*-based precepts, the very first one of which is: not to take life.

True, a general commitment to the Bodhisattva ideal has always remained central to Zen, allowing followers to convince both themselves and others they were following Buddhism's ethical prescriptions. However, by virtue of its wholescale adoption of the primary Neo-Confucian ethic calling for absolute loyalty unto death, Zen became an ever pliant tool in the hands of Zen's powerful patrons. In other words, the Buddhist ethic of concern for the wellbeing of *all* sentient beings was replaced by a demand for unquestioning, *self-sacrificing* loyalty to one's feudal lord and, in the modern period, to one's nation as embodied in the person of the emperor.

In today's world, where Buddhist-derived meditation, under the rubric of "Mindfulness Meditation" is now practised by Wall Street executives hoping to make a "killing on the stock market" and by US military personnel undergoing "warrior mind training," something very much like a Zen bereft of Buddhist ethics is now finding a new home with different patrons, though still united by a common bond – to use the "visceral energies" derived from meditation "whatever their orientation," i.e. for their own ends.

But in Zen, the Bodhisattva ideal remains available to add a veneer of self-sacrificing compassion to convince both self and others that even killing is being done on behalf of others or, as expressed by Inoue Nisshō: "kill one that many may live" (*issatsu tashō*).

I realize, of course, there are some Buddhists, particularly in the Mahāyāna tradition, who believe it is possible to kill without violating the first precept on the condition the killing is of widespread benefit and the killer is motivated solely by compassion. For example, Tibetan Buddhist scholar, Robert Thurman writes: "Surgical violence—killing the one to save the many—is part of the bodhisattva ethic." True, Thurman notes the "bad karmic effects" accruing to the Bodhisattva from the act of killing but then adds: "You get bad karma, too, but because you're acting out of compassion, not hatred, the good karma will outweigh the bad."[61] It is clear the perpetrators of the three terrorist incidents introduced in this article, especially the first, believed their killing was done

[61] See Robert Thurman, "Rising to the Challenge: Cool Heroism".

compassionately, i.e. killing the one (or few) in order to save the many. In Thurman's words, they were engaged in "surgical violence." Yet, if this were true, what is to prevent not only Zen but Buddhism as a whole from being considered a terrorist faith?

Postscript

While the focus of this article has been on the Zen Buddhist connection to terrorism, it is, needless to say, only one expression of religious terrorism as found in *all* of the world's major faiths at one time or another in their histories. And, of course, religious terrorism remains a current reality, Islam being what I refer to as "the flavor of the day." Thus one question to be asked, is whether there are any lessons for the present to be learned from the Zen-affiliated terrorism described in this article?

I suggest there are, beginning with the observation that Inoue's story reminds us that, first of all, terrorism is a tactic employed by the weak against the strong for the simple reason that terrorists lack the means to employ any other method. Initially, for example, Inoue claimed he did not intend to engage in terrorist acts. But he reached the conclusion that social reform could no longer wait, and embraced terrorism as the only tactic available to him. To believe, as many governments claim, that it is possible to 'stamp out' or 'eradicate' terrorism by killing all terrorists, or suspected terrorists, is akin to believing, in the case of an air force, that aerial bombardment as a tactic of warfare could be permanently eliminated if every living bombardier (or drone operator) were killed.

Second, terrorism is not simply an isolated product of crazed or fanatical religious adherents. Instead, there are nearly always underlying political, economic and social causes. Japan in the 1930s was a socially and economically unjust society. Corrupt business and political leaders showed little concern for the welfare of the majority of the Japanese people. The great economic disparity between rich and poor led to attempts, increasingly violent, to enact social reform. To many Japanese frustrated with ineffective peaceful and legal efforts, terror seemed the only remaining avenue available to enact change.

Third, terrorists do not view themselves as hate-filled, bloodthirsty monsters. Instead, as incongruous as it might seem, many are motivated, like Inoue and his fellows, by what they believe is a deep and compassionate

concern for their compatriots. "Kill one that many may live" is the Buddhist phrase Inoue and his band used to express their concern.[62] They believed compassion and concern for the wellbeing of the majority of the exploited and oppressed in Japan, especially the rural poor, justified their violent actions. It couldn't be helped if a few had to die for the majority to flourish. No matter how inhumane their acts, they were moral in their own eyes by virtue of their concern for others.

Fourth, I suggest that, counterintuitive as it may seem, religious terrorism is *not* primarily a religious phenomenon. Instead, as religious studies scholar Karen Armstrong notes, "Terrorism is fundamentally and inherently political, even when other motives—religious, economic, or social—are involved. Terrorism is always about power — acquiring it or keeping it."[63]

Note, however, that Armstrong's assertion does not lessen the importance of religion's role in terrorism, for it is equally true that all religions can (and have) been used by powerful behind-the-scenes actors as enabling mechanisms, serving to justify, or at least facilitate, the death of both others (i.e. the victims of terror) as well as themselves (the terrorists). In seeking to understand the rationale behind any act of terrorism the first question to be asked is, I suggest: "Who benefits?"

Finally, it is important to recognise that religious terrorists care so much about protecting or rescuing those in perceived need that they are typically willing to sacrifice their own lives in the process of carrying out their terrorist acts. Inoue and his band, for example, regarded themselves as no more than "sacrificial stones" (pawns) in the struggle to reform Japan. This conviction allowed them to view themselves as Bodhisattvas, ever-ready to sacrifice their own welfare for the sake of others out of their "great compassion."

Such self-sacrifice resonates with the tenets of many religious faiths and enables terrorists to see themselves as not only ethical but even unselfish exemplars of their faith. Of all the connections between religion and terrorism this is perhaps the most powerful if not the most concerning – and enduring.

[62] For a discussion of the Buddhist roots of this phrase, see *Zen Terror,* pp. 217-20.
[63] Quoted in *Zen Terror,* p. 246.

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Women in British Buddhism: Commitment, Connection, Community
by Caroline Starkey.
Abingdon/New York: Routledge
ISBN: 9781351616119 (222 pp.)

Reviewed by Sarah Shaw

This book represents an important step in our understanding of the female monastic orders in Buddhism and how they are adapting and settling into a culture where, until recently, Buddhism would have appeared alien. Are there nuns in Britain? How are they faring and what sort of people are they? Starkey's thorough and notably well substantiated work gives us a deeply scholarly overview of the topic, but is written in a maturely empathetic style that makes us only tangentially aware of the painstaking research and corroboration that have contributed to her important ethnographic and theological study.

Starkey starts her book with a simple image, that of a distinguished nun giving a *dhamma* talk at a Buddhist meditation centre in Manchester, and impresses upon us just what a development this has been in the acculturation of Buddhism in British society. She then lays out her methodology with care. As she notes, this is the first multiple-tradition work that makes a "concentrated and sustained" exploration of the experiences of ordained Buddhist women in Britain. She asks a number of questions: how do the women fit in to the traditional Buddhist structures? What kind of people are they? Do they interact with debates on gender, and how do they situate themselves with regard to them? We get a fascinating slice of how a new tradition to the UK has adapted and started to settle itself in an environment where Buddhist nuns still seem a novelty to many. Her chosen subjects and interviewees, those practising as nuns in a number of different Buddhist orders in Britain who were willing to engage in her survey, number only twenty-five (one had ordained previously). She explores their journeys, however, with a scrupulous attention to historical

background and context which, alongside the depth of her questions about motive, orientation and practice, renders this sample number appropriate. We find out about the evolution of what is in effect a microcosm of British Buddhist practice, manifest in dedicated women who perhaps embody trends operating in all the four assemblies: monks, nuns, laymen and lay women, the four groups felt necessary for a thriving Buddha *sāsana* and the perpetuation of the teaching.

Taking a largely ethnographic and religious studies approach, she rightly highlights narrativity in her analysis (p.10): in such a small study the character and life events of those who have espoused these goals are of particular interest. She interviewed the women in her study individually and clearly spent time with each one. She anticipates criticisms of what seems at first sight a more personal approach, with subtle investigation of the methodological problems involved. By guarding the privacy of her informants, she notes, she has sometimes had to do things that would seem vague: specifying Tibetan rather than a specific lineage, for instance, or saying 'a few' where the number involved would itself divulge information. She is careful to explain the parameters of such reserve, however, and it is a small price to pay for something she has clearly earned: trust. The ethnographic implications of this sense of relaxation of boundaries with the nuns are of course enormous. All the nuns were given the chance to edit, adjust comments and to withdraw information if they wished. So while an emphasis on the personal and the idiosyncratic might suggest a purely anecdotal approach, as we see in her comprehensive study it combines the best of both worlds: we get the etic benefit of a scrupulous attention to data, facts and detail in a contextualised background, at the same time as hearing, often eloquently, the emic comments of the women concerned. They clearly spoke to her in full confidence that their reflections and accounts of feeling would be valued and correctly represented.

The introductory chapter and Chapter 2 ("Buddhism in Britain") together constitute a highly up-to-date historical account of the evolution of Buddhism in Britain, how the first groups were started, and the part women, often lay, had to play in this process. More high-profile figures, such as Caroline Rhys Davids and the Reverend Master Jiyu Kennett, are discussed, the latter in some detail as one of the first women to take an ordination in Britain, in the Zen group at Throssel Hole Priory. Starkey also notes the role women had in establishing Buddhist organisations in the UK such as, notably, Venerable Myokyo-Ni (Austrian-born Irmgard Schloegl, 1921–2007). At this point it seems also worth mentioning a laywoman whose name Starkey perhaps never even encountered, so skilful

was this woman's ability to work under the radar of public knowledge. Miss Connie Waterton was a key figure in the mid-twentieth century development of Buddhism in the UK. A leading founder of the still operative Buddhist Society of Manchester in Sale in 1951, which I believe is one of the oldest Buddhist Societies in the UK, she and Russel Williams taught meditation there for years, with her being very much the senior and older partner. Russel was the front man and is now more widely known: but Connie was, as he freely acknowledged, his guiding influence, a meditation mentor of considerable experience and teaching ability.[1] This detail rather reinforces a point that Starkey makes in various ways throughout her book: that women involved in Buddhism in the UK, whatever their denomination, tend to have a strong practice orientation and, if they do go on to be nuns, see that aspect of monastic life as key. Starkey's study of Buddhism in general in the UK is certainly the most thorough and comprehensive I have read in the last few years; it also gives us an overview, that I had not encountered before, of the kind of women involved in setting up groups and the extent of their interests. As she notes, adaptation, diversity, along with the difficulty of treading a sometimes knife-edged balance between traditional practice and modern Western mores, prove key to understanding the way the various nuns involved have come to act within and adjust to their chosen life.

From here, the account moves fluidly to closer study of the women involved. Chapter 3 ("British Buddhist Women and Narratives of Conversion") explores the kind of people who have chosen this way of life, their motives, and their backgrounds. The nuns represent most of the major Buddhist groups of the United Kingdom: Amida Shu, the Serene Reflection Meditation Tradition/ the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives; Thai Forest Sangha (Theravāda) and, for Tibetan Buddhism, the Gelug, Karma Kagyu, and Nyingma orders. The organisation Triratana (once Friends of the Western Buddhist Order) is also an interesting and helpful addition here, whose members ordain as laypeople. Her study highlights various aspects of ordination, the procedures involved, and even the dress that is adopted at different stages of commitment and engagement.

As she explains, in the end her focus group constituted largely ethnically 'white' women, a reflection in part of those who have chosen this life in the UK, but also as she notes, of those willing to participate in the survey. It was also the author's wish to scrutinise closely the ways indigenous culture absorbs

[1] See Russel Williams, *Not I, Not other than I: the Life and Spiritual Teachings of Russel Williams*, edited by Steve Taylor, Alresford, Hants: O-Books, 2015, 132–139.

Buddhist female monasticism; she details ventures by other ethnic groups. She found most of her subjects could be termed 'middle-class': many are highly educated and left good professions and homes to take up the monastic life. The motives of these women then become interesting: why do they do this? To what were clearly a wide range and depth of questions, she found varied answers. The spiritual search of some had been motivated by a strong sense of *dukkha*, triggered by a personal crisis such as bereavement or divorce. Many, however, had been prompted by an active wish and a search for meaning that had grown through what would be considered by most to be a happy and successful life. Several had had good jobs and in some cases, marriages and children: they had felt drawn to the life of a nun as a sense of urgency (*saṃvega*) and faith (*pasāda*) had deepened. Most felt more at home living as a nun; their first-person comments speak of the movement towards ordination as a journey to where they felt they belonged, despite all the major difficulties they recount in adjusting to the discipline and procedures involved. Many had been part of Buddhist groups for some time, and wanted to strengthen their connection to the tradition and participate actively in communal living within that; others had come recently to Buddhism, and had been surprised by the calling that had made them feel that they wished to pursue such a dramatically different lifestyle. A "wider community of practice" seems to be perceived by most as important, as well, of course, as attraction to the tenets and perceived peacefulness of Buddhism – features that attract lay Buddhists too. While Starkey is wisely wary of making too rigid comparisons, she notes that there appear to be many parallels with nuns in Thailand, where the background motives of nuns have also been researched, with comparable results.

After this vivid picture of a cross-section of motives and interests, the steps towards and including "ordination", however that is constituted in the various traditions, are explored. These usually involve specific stages from lay woman to postulant, novice, and finally ordinand. Chapter 4 ("Deepening commitment: The path to ordination") takes each of the orders in turn, explaining the actual rituals involved. Again, analysis of the detail of ceremonies and what that involves for the practitioner is punctuated with helpful and frequent accounts provided by the women as they describe feelings, physical experiences and thoughts undergone through each transformation. Interestingly, none of those who participated were under thirty, though some had been when they first became nuns. This presents a very different picture from South and Southeast Asia. Starkey comments that this is possibly a result of the lack of exposure to

nuns in UK society, where Buddhism is not widely known and practised. Women would have encountered Buddhism later in life, as an unfamiliar tradition, rather than being steeped in Buddhist values from childhood. It should also be stressed that one motive explicitly stated to be significant and crucial for S and SE Asian nuns in taking ordination, the wish to arouse merit for both oneself and one's family, was not stated by her interviewees. The understanding that by adopting the holy life one is bringing immeasurable benefit not only for oneself but also for one's larger circle of family and relations, whether departed or living, is perhaps a feature that still feels culturally different in the UK.

Full 'ordination' as a nun was not always technically possible. Despite this, many had found the ceremony whereby they adopted their chosen life deeply memorable. As Starkey concludes, a sense of belonging, a kind of conversion, whether rapid or gradual, and a sense of the chosen life opening up possibilities not there in the lay life animate many of the narratives of the nuns: "As Ceola (OBC) explains: the doors happened to open for me in that way, at that stage, and came about in this form, if you like" (p.95). Although the details of some of the rituals were not disclosed, almost all felt deep joy on taking their vows. One Tibetan nun (Elizabeth, Gelug) says of her *ragjungma* ordination: "There wasn't anywhere else I wanted to be, there wasn't anything else I wanted to do, there was no ifs or buts, or whatever, I couldn't wait. In fact, they had to get me to slow down!" (p.98). The difficulties involved in the adjustments to monastic life are not underplayed. Many recorded periods of real struggle and cultural dissonance with the new discipline and conditions involved. But throughout the sometimes painful internal processes involved, the ameliorative support of friendship and trust with teachers and companions is stressed.

Chapter 5 ("Buddhist Couture") is divertingly informative and insightful. It always amazes me and other newcomers at Buddhist conferences in S and SE Asia, just how beautiful, richly expressive, and colourful the often highly elaborate accoutrements to the dress of so many orders are. Robes seem to reflect the commitment of the people involved at every level of engagement. If you talk to anyone who has been or is a member of the Sangha, male or female, shaving the head, the adoption of robes, and simply knowing how to be comfortable while wearing garments that often seem strange and even magnificent, are often cited as major turning points. I have noticed that those who have taken ordination often describe it with amusement, some mild alarm, but also a sense of awe: those participating are, after all, undergoing ceremonies and rituals which in many cases date back to the early days of Buddhism. In this chapter there is a welcome

emphasis on the sheer physical detail of ritual, dress and the shaving of the head, both from the practitioner's point of view and from that of their often symbolic intent, "unpacked" for each tradition. Starkey explores these procedures, for each of the orders. Again, there is frequent recourse to quoted comment:

> As Ailith (OBC) explains: "I think wearing robes is important because … it's a reaffirmation that this is what I'm doing, this is the life I'm living, these are the choices I've made, which … for me it's a reminder." (p.113).

Starkey notes how frequently this word 'reminder' features, and what this means. Dhannadipa (Theravāda), for instance, says:

> "They are a constant reminder that I've orientated my life towards awakening and towards the Dhamma. And whatever else is going on, I only have to look down and there's this robe and it's a reminder." (p.113)

How the robes are made, and the way they are often sewn by hand by the participants and the care that goes into ensuring every stitch and fold are right, help to substantiate a sense of the import of the ordination or ceremony. Dhanadipa (Theravada) sums it up: "I just find it a very beautiful thing to be able to live within" (p.118). Clearly there are difficulties too, and Starkey records these: one said she had never worn the colour involved and had not felt it suited her. More generally, many felt that they were always being ambassadors for Buddhism, and felt an ongoing sense of responsibility because of that: this was usually a positive experience, but sometimes onerous too. Another nun, Delia (OBC), sees shaving the head as an "active expression" of her Buddhist practice:

> "From the place of the willingness and deep wish to give oneself to monastic life, to keep shaving the head is both a symbol of this aspiration – and actually an expression of the active doing of it." (p.114).

Another useful area of observation is the assignation of a new name, often the case at such ceremonies: although some nuns reported difficulties with paper work and hospitals as a result of a new denoter of identity, these too often act as a reminder. "(Amida) explained that in her tradition names are chosen because they reflect: 'an aspect of our personality that's there but nascent or weak or dormant and that needs to be brought out to the surface.'" (p.115). Sensitive

focus on such detail helps to explain the whole. This chapter felt crucial and, through its frequent citation of the nuns' comments, Starkey provides thorough analysis of the motives, experiences and aspirations of those who choose to adopt the robe. Dress and spiritual practice really do feel 'intertwined'.

I must admit I felt reluctant to leave these observations for Chapter 6 ("Loaded words: Attitude to feminism and gender equality"). Starkey, however, provides us with an easily assimilable overview of some of the key problems and debates now colouring any consideration of the status and recognition of female monastic lines. She acknowledges and examines the complexities involved, again supported by comments from the nuns, whose responses vary. Some felt strongly for reinstatement of the female lines, others were cautious but optimistic, feeling that by living in this way they were offering support for the nuns' movement as a whole. Some felt such issues were, in the end, peripheral to the overall endeavour of the Buddhist path, though there is also an urgency that arises from the knowledge that the way of life nuns can enjoy now is not guaranteed in the future. Starkey's concluding remarks to this chapter, which sum up her discussion and interviews, are worth quoting in full:

> I began to ask myself whether my question about feminist engagement and attitudes to gender equality was, in itself, rather limiting. These are questions that are asked repeatedly of Buddhist nuns (and, indeed, other religious women) the world over. No matter how generally or gently I asked the question about equality or women's roles in Buddhism, I felt I was already setting up a binary and an opposition – forcing my participants to choose a perspective or a position and stick to it. The reality is far more complex. Even for those women who were, to many extents, ardent 'campaigners', their priority was living out Buddhist teachings in their local area and with a community of practice that they wanted to foster and develop. Those who wanted to distance themselves from the issue in entirety continued to differ in their approach, shaped in part by the institutional histories of different Buddhist groups in Britain. Although challenging simplistic assumptions about who British Buddhist women are and what motivates them is important, continually reducing this to 'the F word' is a blunt instrument, and doesn't get us very far in appreciating the entirety of women's daily lives, their relationships with communities, and the commitments that they make. (pp.160-1)

In Chapter 7 ("Pioneers and volunteers: women building British Buddhism") Starkey brings in the bricks and mortar of Buddhist practice, in a literal sense: how the nuns relate to and act within their physical buildings, the land, and by extension with the communities in and around the temples or monasteries where they lived. Here they seem to be building, in many and all senses of the word. Some are involved in actual physical work around the land and physical structures; at another level, most are participating in communal life within their community and outside it, the "locations" not only of edifices, geographical features but also social organisms too. One nun, Rajana (Forest Sangha), makes this connection, and notes the difficulties involved at all these levels, from sometimes physical work to building up a sense of friendship within the community itself:

> "We just had to make a lot of mistakes and that's never a very pleasant experience … the whole process of learning how to work together, learning how to be in community, wasn't easy." (p.175).

As is traditional, of course, many nuns also move around, locate to different monasteries or temples, and, in the case of international orders, to different countries too. Starkey deals with the *anicca* of these shifts, but notes too how important it can be to develop some sort of rootedness, perhaps within one location or monastery, and one community – even though that might in many cases be largely within the larger network of online companions too. One senses she feels that how this process occurs will for many women be crucial, as there are many factors that still make the communities of nuns fragile and uncertain.

Starkey's conclusion brings her back to her subtitle: Commitment, Connection, Community. All of these threads have been evident throughout her discussion; her exploration of "locations", and how these women relate to their environment, both physical and emotional, gives a sensitive and nuanced picture of how the nuns' order happens to be now. The UK is not an indigenously Buddhist country; we do not yet offer the supports multi-generational communities of nuns in Buddhist locations might naturally provide. The book itself is uplifting, showing shadows as well as light, but one feels it ends on a serious note. While these nuns are important for the perpetuation of Buddhism, as she concludes, it is not always easy for them and their future is still uncertain.

This book will be of great interest to anyone who would like to find out about the ways Buddhism has become acculturated and accepted in British society in general: the nuns' experiences feel like vignettes that open windows onto larger Buddhist perspectives in the UK. The fact that in this process of absorption an acceptance of nuns has occurred too, shows us how carefully and gradually those involved in what must have felt like a pioneer undertaking have integrated into community life in the United Kingdom. This is an achievement: the phenomenon of Buddhist nuns in the United Kingdom is recent and until the end of the twentieth century largely unheard of. I remember visiting the then Chithurst, now Cittaviveka, in the Thai Forest Sangha tradition, in 1979. There was great excitement at the arrival of four nuns to a special house for them. It really did seem unusual – perhaps the kind of adventure it must have been for those very first Buddhist nuns in the third and fourth century BCE, also living in a society where their calling would have seemed very much against the grain. This continuing sense of adventure is palpable behind the emic responses recounted here, by women who clearly trusted their interviewer. Starkey's close analysis gives them the context and explanatory detail they deserve.