

The Vaggas of the Sutta Nipāta

THE Aṭṭhaka and the Pārāyana Vaggas appear to have been independent collections long before the existence of a separate work called the Sutta Nipāta. The Culla Niddesa which comments on the Pārāyana Vagga and Khaggavisāṇa Sutta and the Mahā Niddesa which comments on the Aṭṭhaka Vagga form the eleventh book of the Khuddaka Nikāya. They make no specific reference to the Sutta Nipāta. In spite of the fact that these two works were commentaries they came to be reckoned as Canonical texts, and in turn were commented upon in the fashion of all Canonical works.¹ The fact that the Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana Vaggas and Khaggavisāṇa Sutta had, at one stage, existed independent of a specific collection, does not necessarily prove that all other suttas in Sn. are late. The Niddesas themselves quote from suttas which came to be later included in Sn., besides quoting from other works in the Canon, and parts of Sn. already commented upon in the Niddesas.²

II

ASOKA'S BHABRU EDICT.

Some of the Suttas included in Sn. are mentioned by Asoka in his Bhābru Edict (*vide* U.C.R. VI. 2 p. 81), but often under different names. The Edict inculcates the study of the following passages :—

1. Vinaya-samukase,
2. Aliya-vasāni,
3. Anāgatā-bhayāni,
4. Muni-gāthā,
5. Moneyya-Sūte,
6. Upatisa-pasine and
7. Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigicya.

1. Saddhammapajjotikā, the commentary on the Niddesas was composed during the reign of Aggabodhi I who ascended the throne (of Ceylon) in 554 A.C. (*vide* Sdpj. I. vii).

2. *Vide* Nd 1. ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas pp. 513-515 and Nd 2 ed. W. Stede pp. 289-290. Sabhiya Sutta is quoted from no less than 14 times i.e. Sn. 514 is quoted at Nd 1. 71, Nd 2. 220; Sn. 516 at Nd 1. 244; Sn. 519 at Nd 1. 87, Nd 2. 214; Sn. 522 (cp. A. III. 345) at Nd 1. 202, Nd 2. 180; Sn. 527 at Nd 1. 58, 221, 336; Sn. 529 at Nd 1. 93, 205, Nd 2. 256 and Sn. 531 at Nd 2. 255. Sūciloma S. is quoted from 4 times i.e. Sn. 271 at Nd 1. 16, 364, 471 and Nd 2. 201; Padhāna S. also 4 times *viz.* Sn. 436-439 at Nd 1. 96, 174, 333 and Nd 2. 253; M gandiya S. twice *viz.* Sn. 844 at Nd 1. 179, 200, and Dhotakamānavapucchā (Sn. 1064) Mogharājamānavapucchā (Sn. 1119), Salla (Sn. 576-581 ab cp. D. II. 120), Dvāyatānupassanā (Sn. 740-741) and Nālaka (Sn. 715) Suttas once each at Nd 1. 32, 438, 121, 455 and Nd 2. 118 respectively.

Of these seven "dhammapaliyāyas" (sections of the Scriptures) only Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 6 have been observed by scholars to be identical with passages in Sn. All the seven passages are identified to some measure of satisfaction.³

Vinaya-samukase (1) "the Exalted Treatise on Moral Discipline" is identified with the Sāmuḅkaṃsikā Dhammadesanā (Ud. V. 3) by A. J. Edmunds in J.R.A.S. 1913 p. 387. Dr. B. M. Barua (J.R.A.S. 1915 p. 809) identifies it with the Siṅgālovāda Suttanta (D. III. 180-194) arguing that "Ariyassa vinaya" which is the topic of discussion there is implied by the term Vinaya-samukase and that it was intended for the clergy and the laity alike. S. N. Mitra (I.A. 1919 pp. 8-11) suggests the Sappurisa Sutta (M. III, 37-45) on account of the occurrence of the words vinayādhāra and attānaṃ samuḅkaṃseti. Bhandarkar (Asoka pp. 87-88) attempts to prove its identity with the Tuvaṭaka Sutta of Sn. (Sn. 915-934) from the fact that it is included by Buddhaghosa in a list of four suttas, three of which can be identified with three of Asoka's "dhammapaliyayas." He adduces further interval evidence and maintains that the Buddha expounds religious practices here, for, paṭimokkha, paṭipadā and samādhī are some of the topics under discussion.

Muni-gāthā (4) is undoubtedly the Muni Sutta of Sn. (Sn. 207-221).⁴ Rhys Davids (J.P.T.S. 1896 p. 95) argues that if Śaila-gāthā (at Divy. 35) meant Sela Sutta, then Muni-gāthā should be the Muni Sutta. He further states "that Asoka should lay so much stress on this short poem is only in harmony with the tenor of the whole context in the Edict."

The next "dhammapaliyāya" **Moneyya-sūte** (5), is identified with the discourse of the Nālaka Sutta (Sn. 699-723). It was wrongly identified as either A.I. 273 or It. 56 (Rhys Davids *loc. cit.*); but all available evidence shows that Moneyya-sūte was none other than the Nālaka-discourse. The alternative name for the Nālaka Sutta in Pāli itself is Moneyya Sutta (Chalmers xi), which perhaps owes its origin to the opening word "moneyyam." Further, the sūtra in Mvastu. that corresponds to this discourse is also called Mauneya (Mvastu. III. 387 ff.). The short and unimpressive prose passages at A. I. 273 and It. 56 could not in any way have been the Moneyya-sūte of Asoka, though they deal with Moneyyāni in brief.

3. Vide Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 172-174 ff.; Dharmānanda Kosambi, I.A., 1912 pp. 37 ff.; Rhys Davids, J.P.T.S. 1896 pp. 93 ff.; J.R.A.S. 1898 pp. 683 ff.; Rādhakumud Mookerji, Asoka, pp. 117 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, Asoka, pp. 85 ff.; J. D. L. (Calcutta) xx, pp. 1-7; Sylvain Lévi, J. A. 7, 475 ff.; and Oldenberg, Vinaya Piṭakam I. xl ff.

4. Vide Dharmānanda Kosambi, I. A. 1912 pp. 37 ff.; Mookerji, Asoka pp. 16 ff. and Bhandarkar, Asoka 85 ff.

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Oldenberg and Rhys Davids attempt to identify **Upatisa-pasine** (6) with a Vinaya passage (Vinaya Texts 3. 149 i.e. Vin. I. 39-41) which gives the story of Sāriputta's conversion as a result of his question to Assaji. Rhys Davids elaborates further on this in J.R.A.S. 1893 p. 693 and J.P.T.S. 1896 pp. 97-98. But Dharmānanda Kosambi (I.A. 1912 p. 40) identifies it with Sāriputta Sutta (Sn. 955-975). It is generally accepted that the passages mentioned by Asoka are short pieces. The people were instructed to study these dharmaparyāyas and perhaps learn them by heart as was the practice then. A passage in verse lends itself easier for memorising than one in prose, and has more poetic appeal. This alone is sufficient reason why Upatisa-pasine cannot be the prose sutta at Vin. I. 39-41.

The seventh "section of the scriptures" called the "**Exhortation to Rāhula**, beginning on the subject of Falsehood" has so far been identified as the Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta (M.I. 414-420),⁵ but the probability is that it perhaps referred to a Rāhula Sutta in verse. The only Rāhula Sutta in verse in the Pāli Canon, is found at Sn. 335-342. But the sutta as it exists now, cannot be easily identified with Lāghulovāde musāvādaṃ adhigicya, as it neither begins with (adhi + √kr̥), nor deals with the topic of musāvāda (falsehood) anywhere in the body of the sutta. It has been pointed out by Katre that probably the Vatthugāthā (Sn. 335-336) formed a part of a different Rāhula Sutta and that the concluding sentence in prose links them with the rest of the sutta. He further states that the clue to the verses is found only in the prose formula at end of the sutta. This other Rāhula Sutta, presumably a part of which is now preserved as Vatthu-gāthā in Sn. was probably the sutta mentioned by Asoka. But all this is purely conjectural. No definite connection can be established between Sn. 335-336 and M.I. 414-420, the other Rāhula Sutta; and there is no conclusive proof that No. 7 in the Edict had any connections with Sn. 335-336 or Sn. 335-342. The only reasons for suspecting that they were connected are:—

1. The Rāhula Sutta in Sn. is a comparatively short piece in verse.
2. The two, Lāghulovāda and Rāhula Sutta refer to the same person (Rāhula).
3. This "dhammapaliyāya" follows three others in the Edict which are identified with certainty to belong to the same type of literature (i.e. pieces now preserved in Sn.).

5. Rhys Davids, J.P.T.S. 1896 p. 95.

Eliminating the Rāhula Sutta as doubtful there yet remain *four suttas of Sn. in Asoka's list*. The consensus of opinion among scholars is that Muni-gāthā, Moneyya-sūte and Upatisa-pasine referred to suttas which were included in Sn. Perhaps Bhandarkar is correct when he identifies Vinaya-samukase as the Tuvāṭaka Sutta.⁶ There is no doubt that these suttas existed at least as early as the 3rd century B. C. For lack of further evidence it is incorrect to presuppose the existence of Sn. prior to the time of Asoka as there is no specific mention of it either in inscriptions or in any Canonical work.

III

THE AṬṬHAKA VAGGA.

The Episode of Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa.

On the other hand, the early existence of the Aṭṭhaka and the Pārāyana Vaggas as separate collections, can be deduced from the references made to them in other works. The earliest mention of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga is at Vin. I. 196, in the episode of Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa, which repeats itself in many other works with various additions and alterations.⁷ The Vinaya passage runs. . . āyasmā Soṇo sabbān'eva Aṭṭhakavaggikāni sareṇa abhāsi (the venerable Soṇa recited all the sections—or suttas—of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga with proper intonation). At Ud. 59 the precise number of suttas in the Aṭṭhaka Vagga is also mentioned. . . āyasmā Soṇo. . . soḷasa Aṭṭhakavaggikāni sabbān'eva sareṇa abhāsi (the venerable Soṇa recited all the 16—Suttas—of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga with proper intonation). Dh A. IV. 102, UdA. 312, AA.I. 241 and Th 1 A. I. 459 relate this incident in very much the same words, but with additional commentarial gloss.

The Avadāna of Koṭikarṇa (Divy. 20), which is an extract from the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins⁸ mentions the Aṭṭhaka Vagga: Athāyuṣmānchroṇo bhagavatā kṛtāvakāśaḥ asmātparāntikayā guptikayā Udānāt, Pārāyanāt, Satyadrṣṭaḥ, Śailagāthā, Munigāthā, Arthavargiyāni (v.l. arthavadgiyāni) ca sūtrāni vistarena svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ karoti. (Then the venerable Śroṇa, with the approval of the Bhagavā, rehearsed in detail, with intonation, in the accent of an Aparāntika, passages from the Udāna and Pārāyana, the Satyadrṣṭa (?), the Śaila-gāthā (Sela S.), Munigāthā (Muni S.) and the sūtras of the Arthavarga).

6. *op. cit.*

7. The episode of Soṇa (Śroṇa) in Pāli and BSk. is fully analysed and critically studied by Sylvain Lévi in J.A. 1915 pp. 401 ff.

8. *Vide* Huber, B.E.F.E.O. 1907, Sylvain Lévi, T'oung Pao 1907 and M. Chavannes, *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues II.* 237 ff.

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In the Avadāna of Pūrṇa at Divy. 34-35, the merchants who embarked with Pūrṇa are said to have recited the Udāna, Pārāyana, Satyadarśa, Sthaviragāthā, Śailagāthā, Munigāthā and the Arthavargīya Sūtra.

In the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins which is found in Chinese⁹ (Tok. XVI. 4. 56a), Śroṇa is said to have recited the Pārāyana and the Satyadarśa. Buddha compliments his Avantī pronunciation.

The Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, preserved in Chinese (Tok. XVI. 2. 30a), contains a version similar to the Pāli account in the Vinaya ; but the number of suttas is specified as in the Udāna.

The account in the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas resembles the version in Pāli and the account in the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas. Here (Tok. XV. 5. 53b ; chap. 39) Koṭikarṇa is said to have recited the 16 Arthapada without addition or omission.

In the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas (Tok. XV. 9. 61a ; chap. 23) Śroṇa recites the Aṣṭavarga (Ch. Chu Pa-ch'un-ching), and the Buddha questions him on the phrases (pada) and the meaning (artha).

In all these accounts, except in the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, the Arthavargīyāni or the Aṭṭhakavaggikāni are mentioned. The additional list of titles in Sanskrit texts is a mere expansion though Sylvain Lévi does not consider it an interpolation :

“ On pourrait être tenté de croire que la liste des titres donnée dans le texte sanscrit est une interpolation, si la version tibétaine du *Dulva* ne venait pas contrôler—et sur certains points rectifier—le texte sanscrit.” (*ibid.* p. 412). The Tibetan version parallel to the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins is at *Duiva* I. 378-405 (cf. Divy. I, Ch. Tok. XVII. 4. 104e-109b).

IV.

OTHER REFERENCES IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT WORKS.

Besides the episode of Soṇa (Śroṇa), there are numerous references to, and quotations from the Aṭṭhaka Vagga. Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa* quotes the following verse :—

Tasya cet kāmāyānasya chandajātasya dehinaḥ
te kāmā na samṛdhanti śalyavidhā iva rūpyate

and attributes it to the Aṭṭhaka Vagga (cp. Sn. 767).

9. I am indebted to Prof. Sylvain Lévi's analysis of the Śroṇa Episode in J.A. 1915, for these references.

Yaśomitra in his Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā comments: Tathā hyārthavargīyeṣūktam iti : Arthavargīyāni sūtrāṇi yāni Kṣudrake paṭhyante teṣūktam ; tasya cet kāmāyānasya iti vistarāḥ. Tasya dehinaḥ kāmāyānasya chandajātasya yadi kāmā viṣayā na samṛdhyanti na sampadyante śalyaviddha ivāsau rūpyate bādhyate ityārthaḥ. (This is what is meant by the statement that it has been so said in the Arthavargīyas : It is stated in the sūtras of the Arthavargīya found in the Kṣudraka (Nikāya or Āgama ?) that the meaning of " if of him who desires etc." is, "If the desires and sense-pleasures of a being who yearns and craves for such pleasures are not satisfied nor fulfilled he sulks and is perturbed like one shot with an arrow").

Bodhisattvabhūmi (p. 48) commenting on the word kānti says thus, Uktam ca bhagavatā Arthavargīyeṣu,

Yā kaścana samvṛtayo hi loke, sarvā hi tā munir nopaiti

Anupago hyasau kena upādatīta, dṛṣṭaśrute kāntim asamprakurvan (cf. Sn. 897). " And so it has been said by the Bhagavā in the Arthavargīyas, ' Whatever conventions of the world there are, none of them affects the muni (sage), for he does not move with them, wherefore shall he who forms no sense-attachment to what is seen and heard be guided (by them)?' "

The reading *kāntim* in Bodhisattvabhūmi sheds a new light on the interpretation of the line Sn. 897 d. All MSS., except two Burmese MSS. (Nos. 4 and 5 mentioned at Sn. p.v., P.T.S. ed.) which read khanti, agree on the reading khantiṃ. Nd 2. 165 considers khanti as a synonym for diṭṭhi, ruci, laddhi, ajjhāsaya and adhippāya, perhaps guided by the occurrence of diṭṭha and suta at other passages in Sn.¹⁰ Sn.A. 558 comments on it as : khantiṃ akubbamāno' ti. . .pemaṃ akaronto. Chalmers translates Sn. 897d as, "when phenomena of sense appeal to them no more," Fausböll, "he who is not pleased with what has been seen and heard," Neumann, "Beim Sehn und Hören angehalten nimmer," and E. M. Hare, "why give accord to things of sight and ear?" All these translators apparently translate the idea correctly, but none of them seems to have questioned the text. According to the reading

10. This idea occurs no less than 18 times in Sn. viz. Sn. 797 b = 887 a, 793 ab = 914 ab, 798 cd, 887 ab (887 b = 790 b), 910 ab, 1079 ab = 1080 bc = 1081 bc, 1082 cd = 1083 cd, 788 b = 789 a, 802 ab, 897 d and 778 d = 250 d. All these instances (except 250 d) are found in the sections commented in Nd 1 and 2.

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khantim the corresponding Sk. would be kṣāntim (patience).¹¹ The word khanti in a context like this may be translated as, "tolerance for" or even "(developing) a weakness for," but such a translation appears unnatural and laboured. If the text had been kantim (from √kam) and not khantim, the idea conveyed would be more in keeping with the context. The reading kāntim in BSk. cannot be brushed aside as a wrong Sanskritisation for Pāli khantim. On the other hand, it may perhaps go back to a reading much earlier than Pāli.

There is also a number of passages and lines common to the Aṭṭhaka Vagga and other Pāli works. They are fully examined by Franke.¹²

V.

THE CHINESE ARTHAPADAM.

The complete Aṭṭhaka Vagga together with additional stories as a background is found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka although "it can be said with certainty that there is not and has never existed a Chinese version of the Sutta Nipāta."¹³ This section called the *I-tsu* or *Yi-tsou-king* (Arthapadam) is a translation dating back to the beginning of the 3rd century A.C., according to Anesaki. It occurs as No. 198 in the Thai Shu Tripiṭaka. The 16 pieces occur in the following order:—

Kāma Sutta contains	8 lines	with 3 pādas each;	(No. 1 in Pāli Aṭṭhaka Vagga).
Guhaṭṭhaka S.	16	2	(No. 2
Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka S.	4 & 12	2	(No. 3
Suddhaṭṭhaka S.	16	2	(No. 4
Paramaṭṭhaka S.	16	2	(No. 5
Jarā S.	20	2	(No. 6
Tissametteyya S.	20	2	(No. 7
Pasūra S.	23	2	(No. 8
Māgandiya S.	27	2	(No. 9
Kalahavivāda S.	32	2	(No. 11
Cūlaviyūha S.	34	2	(No. 12
Mahāvīyūha S.	40	2	(No. 13
Tuvaṭṭaka S.	40	2	(No. 14
Sāriputta S.	16 & 24	2	(No. 16
Purābheda S.	28	2	(No. 10
Attanda S.	40	2	(No. 15

11. Vide E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 171 and s.v. P.T.S.

12. Vide R. Otto Franke, *Die Sutta Nipōta Gāthās mit ihren Parallelen*, Z.D.M.G. 1909-1912, and E. M. Hare, *Woven Cadences*, (S.B.B. Vol. XV.), pp. 203-206.

13. Anesaki, J.P.T.S. 1906-1907, p. 50.

In addition to the prose incorporated with these verses there occur some additional stanzas. The lines beginning with "na socanāya" at A. II. 62 are found at No. 1 and Sn. 152-179 in No. 13 of the Chinese version, i.e. Tuva-taka Sutta.

All this evidence helps to show that the Aṭṭhaka Vagga as a collection is old, and Sylvain Lévi¹⁴ concludes, "Nous sommes en droit de classer L'Arthavarga parmi les monuments les plus anciens de la littérature bouddhique."

VI.

AṢṬAKA VARGA OR ARTHAKA VARGA ?

The title Aṭṭhaka Vagga calls for attention next. The name Aṭṭhaka suggests that the vagga consists of octaves or suttas with eight stanzas each, but only four of its suttas (*viz.* Nos. 2-5) are proper octaves. It cannot be determined whether these suttas were aṭṭhakas (aṣṭakas—octaves) or arthakas (arthakas—meaningful utterances) to begin with. Pāli tradition has been very strong in insisting on the name Aṭṭhaka. It was customary for Pāli compilers to resort to artificial means such as numerals, in their classifications. They may have deemed it proper to call a section Aṭṭhaka Vagga even though only a small proportion of its suttas consisted of real octaves. Similar instances may be seen in works like udāna where an important sutta in a vagga gives the name to the whole of it. It was not considered necessary that all the suttas in the vagga should consist of 8 stanzas each, unlike the majority of the nipātas (the earlier ones) of Th 1 and Th 2. It would be incorrect to say that only these four "aṭṭhakas" formed the Aṭṭhaka Vagga and that the other suttas were subsequently added or grafted from other places. This would imply a tacit acceptance of the incomplete artificial classification of Pāli compilers as final. In fact, the vagga follows a systematic arrangement in which the sutta with the least number of verses is placed first and proceeds gradually in ascending numerical order till the suttas with the highest number of verses are placed last. The order of arrangement of the suttas need not necessarily be as old as the vagga itself, for the Chinese version follows a slightly different order. However, nothing conclusive can be inferred from this.

Almost all the references to the Aṭṭhaka Vagga which mention the number of suttas in it speak of the "Soḷasa aṭṭhakavaggikāni" (Ud. 59, Ud A. 312, DhA. IV. 102 and AA.I. 241). The Chinese version was seen to contain the 16 suttas in full. Despite this general agreement Th 1A. speaks of "aḍḍhaḍḍhasoḷasa aṭṭhakavaggikāni"; (Th 1A. I. 459 S.H.B., commentary on

14. J.A. 1915, p. 417.

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Soṇatthera's verses at Th 1. 365-369). This statement would imply that the Aṭṭhaka Vagga consisted of 56 ($3\frac{1}{2} \times 16$) suttas—an impossibility. Commentarial tradition cannot always be relied upon; and in all probability this statement may have been an exaggeration like the passage at AA. IV. 35 which speaks of 250 stanzas of the Pārāyana, when in actual practice the whole vagga, including the Vatthu-gāthās and Epilogue contains only 174 stanzas. The statement at Th 1 A. I. 459 can also be interpreted as "56 stanzas of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga." It is not possible to find out to what suttas these 56 stanzas belonged. Obviously the 32 stanzas which form the four regular octaves should be included in this number. This leaves 24 verses which should be expected to belong to three other regular octaves; but no such suttas are to be found in the vagga. Furthermore, there is no possible combination of two or more suttas which brings about a total of 24 stanzas. There is no justifiable reason why a commentary of so late a date as 5th century A.C. should ignore some of the suttas and speak of only 56 stanzas when Nd 2. Vin. I. 196 and Ud. 59, leaving aside contemporary commentarial literature, confirm that it *did* consist of 16 suttas. The reading, aḍḍhuḍḍhasoḷasa aṭṭhakavaggi-kāni is incompatible with evidence furnished by all other sources and therefore can be summarily dismissed as a Commentarial error.

Pāli works uniformly refer to this section as Aṭṭhaka Vagga though BSk. and Chinese Buddhist works give it different names. It is called *Arthavargīyāni Sūtrāni* (v.l. arthavadgīyāni) at Divy. 20 and 35. Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra (supra) call it *Arthavargīya*. Bodhisattvabhūmi too refers to it as Arthavargīya. The Chinese version gives the name as *I-tso* or *Yi-tsou-king* (Arthapadam). In the episode of Śroṇa found in the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas¹⁵ (Ch. Tok. XVI. 2. 30a) the reference is to the sixteen Arthavargīya (Ch. *Yi-pin* = Artha-varga). The Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas (Tok. XV. 5. 53b) has it as the sixteen *Arthapada* (Ch. *Yi-kin* = Artha-pada). In the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins it is called the Arthavargīyāni Sūtrāni (Dulva: *don kyī choms kyī mdo*). The Sarvāstivādi Vinaya calls it the Artha-vargīya Sūtra (Tok. XVII. 4. 9b, Col. 5; Ch. *Yi-tsing* = Artha-vargīya). At Tok. XVI. 4. 56a it is called *A-tch'a-p'o-k'i-ye-sieou-to-lou*, "sūtra des vertues rassemblées" and is identified by Lévi (*ibid.*) as Arthavargīya Sūtra.

It is significant that the majority of these works refer to it as Artha (ka)-varga or Artha-pada. *The Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas alone speaks of an Aṣṭa-varga*, but even here the idea of artha and pada is not absent. It is said that the Buddha questioned Śroṇa on the phrases (*pada*) and the meaning (*artha*) after his recital (Tok. XV. 9. 6ra, chap. 23). The Vinaya of the

15. The following references to Chinese works are from Sylvain Lévi, *ibid.*

Mahāsaṅghikas thus preserves the Pāli tradition at the same time reflecting another common to the rest of the BSk. works. It is quite probable that this section was originally not meant to be described as the "Eights," and BSk. may have preserved an earlier tradition which called these "Aṭṭhakas" *Arthakas*. The four octaves were probably "Arthakas" (Atthaka—meaningful statements) at the beginning. Each of these suttas contains in its opening line the words used for their respective titles. Guhaṭṭhaka opens with, *Satto guhayam bahunābhicchanno* (Sn. 772a), Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka with, *Vadanti ve duthamanā' pi ēke* (Sn. 780a), Suddhaṭṭhaka with, *Passāmi suddham paramam arogam* (Sn. 788a) and Paramaṭṭhaka with, '*Paramam*' ti diṭṭhīsu paribbasāno (Sn. 796a). These words are used as illustrations in the didactic-ballad discourses to elucidate the meaning, and hence the suttas are *Atthakas* (Arthakas). It is a mere coincidence that the number of stanzas constituting each of these suttas happens to be eight. The word attha together with the secondary suffix—ka (attha + ka) may have changed into aṭṭhaka (probably) with the influence of Western Prākṛit which has a tendency to cerebralise dentals following an r; i.e. —rt— > —ṭṭ— and —rth— > —ṭṭh—. The first change is frequent in Pāli itself; e.g. Sk. ārta > aṭṭa. Artha itself is frequently changed to aṭṭha, which spelling was later restricted to a specific meaning as "law-suit" (aṭṭa). In cpds. artha > aṭṭha in Pāli, e.g. aṭṭhakathā, aṭṭhuppatti, etc. (s.v., P.T.S.). In the case of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga this change perhaps was more accentuated by the mere coincidence that four of its suttas consisted of 8 stanzas each. The weakness of Pāli compilers to be guided by numerical classifications may have finally led to stamp down the name "eights" or "octaves" on this vagga.

The emphasis on **attha** (weal) in the Pāli Canon is evident from the numerous instances in which the word occurs.¹⁶ The formula, atthāya hitāya sukhāya (for the benefit, well-being and comfort of) which occurs all over the Canon (e.g. D. III. 211 ff. It. 79, Kh. VIII. 1 etc.), leaving aside all other references to attha, testifies to the importance of this concept. It is probable that the idea underlying the Aṭṭhakas of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga was related to *attha* (weal) though fundamentally it was the elucidation of meaning (attha paridīpanā) that was aimed at. This may be seen more clearly at Saddharmapuṇḍarīka 383 l. 3.

Evam idaṃ mahārthasya dharmaparyāyasya dhāraṇā, vācanā, deśanā Bodhisattvānām anuttarāyāḥ samyak sambodher āhāraḥ saṃvartanti. (In like manner, the learning by heart, the reciting and the teaching of this section of the scriptures of great meaning—or benefit—tends to bring about the perfect and supreme Enlightenment of Bodhisattvas.)

16. Vide P.T.S. (s.v.) for examples quoted.

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All this evidence seems to indicate that the term *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* (also *mahāsaṅghika Aṣṭa-varga*) was a misnomer arising from an early confusion caused by the occurrence of eight stanzas each in Nos. 2-5 of the *Vagga*. The term *Aṭṭhaka* is best interpreted as *Arthaka* as in the majority of BSk. works.

From isolated references to *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* in many Pāli works it is conjectured that "it may possibly have been the name of divisions of other works."¹⁷ In the whole of the Pāli Canon no other *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* can be traced though *Aṅuttara* has an *Aṭṭhaka Nipāta* and *Th 1* and *Th 2* contain *Aṭṭha Nipātas*. Though the absence of other *Aṭṭhaka Vaggas* does not preclude the possibility of the occurrence of other sections bearing that name no references to *another Aṭṭhaka Vagga* have been discovered so far.

VII.

PĀRĀYANA VAGGA.

The next *vagga* in importance is the *Pārāyana*. It consists of 18 pieces; *viz.* a prologue in verse called the *Vatthu-gāthā*, 16 short dialogues in verse called *Pucchās* and an epilogue in prose and verse. The word *Pārāyana* occurs thrice in the text itself, but all these references are to be met with in the epilogue; *viz.* Sn. p. 218, Sn. 1130d and 1131a. The prose passage at p. 218 gives a commentary-like explanation of the term *Pārāyana*: *Ekam ekassa ce pi pañhassa attham aññāya, dhammam aññāya, dhammānudhammam paṭipajjeyya, gaccheyy' eva jarāmarañassa pāraṃ, pāraṃgamanīyā ime dhammā' ti, tasmā imassa dhammapariyāyassa pārāyanam t'veva adhivacanam.* (If one were to comprehend the import of each one of these questions, and realise the Dhamma therein, and follow the path in accordance with the major and minor precepts of the Law, one would cross over to the further shore of old-age and death. As these teachings lead to over-yonder, the name *Pārāyana* is given to this disquisition on the Dhamma). The two stanzas Sn. 1129-1130 express the same idea in verse and explain the title *Pārāyana*.

Although the title does not occur in any of the *Pucchās* (or *Pañhas*) the central theme of the *vagga* is "The Way Beyond" or "Crossing Over." The idea of crossing over of the Flood (*ogha*) occurs 10 times.¹⁸ The "passing beyond" of this "Sinful State" (*visattikā*) is mentioned 5 times,¹⁹ and this

17. Malalasekera s.v., D.P.P.N.

18. Sn. 1052 c, 1059 c, 1064 d, 1069 d, 1070 b, 1081 e, 1082 g, 1083 g, 1096 b and 1101 b.

19. Sn. 1053 d, 1054 d, 1067 d, 1085 e and 1087 d.

is an idea common with other Canonical texts, particularly Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas. The overcoming of birth and old-age (jāti and jarā) which is a necessary accompaniment of the "Going Beyond" is to be met with in 10 places.²⁰ An idea parallel to this is the abandoning of ($\sqrt{hā}$ or $pa + \sqrt{hā}$) sorrow, or that of jātijarā (or jāti and jarā), occurring 7 times in Sn.²¹ Connected is the idea of overcoming the material substratum of birth (upadhī) at Sn. 1057b and 1083b. The destruction of ($pa + \sqrt{bhid}$) ignorance (avijjā) occurs at Sn. 1105 f and 1078d, and of craving (taṇhā) and attachment (kāma and its synonyms), 9 times.²² The other concepts emphasised are, the state of emancipation (vimokha) at Sn. 1088d, 1105c, and 1189d (the Buddha is called vimutta, the released, at 1101 and the emancipated one is mentioned at Sn. 1071c, 1072c, 1073c, 1074c and 1114d), cessation (nirodha) at Sn. 1037e, the destruction (uparodha, or verb $upa + \sqrt{rudh}$) of evil at Sn. 1036e, 1037df, 1110b, 1111d, tranquillity (santi) at Sn. 1066a, 1067a, the tranquillised state (santipada) at Sn. 1096c, nibbāna at Sn. 1061d, 1062d, 1094c, 1108d, 1109d and nibbānapada at Sn. 1086d. Ajita questions the Buddha regarding the taints of the world at Sn. 1032; the dangers arising out of the world are mentioned at Sn. 1032, 1033, of ogha at 1092, 1093 and of sorrow and the arising of Ill at Sn. 1033, 1049, 1050 and 1051. The escape from the evils of the world, the crossing over of the Flood and the attainment of santi or nibbāna are the dominant ideas in the vagga. The verb with \sqrt{tar} alone is used no less than 23 times in the Pucchās in addition to verbs like pajahati, thus justifying the title Pārāyana.

The word **pāra** occurs thrice in the Pucchās (Sn. 1059, 1105 and 1112); but in the latter two instances it is used in praise of the Buddha. In the whole of Sn. the word occurs 43 times, together with its derivatives and cpds., evenly distributed in all the five vaggas. Of these, pāra, "the Beyond," is directly mentioned in five instances; *viz.* na pāraṃ diguṇaṃ yanti (Sn. 714c), tiṇṇo ca pāraṃ akhilo akaṅkho (Sn. 1059d), gacche pāraṃ apārato (Sn. 1129d) and maccudheyapāraṃ (Sn. 1146d). The idea of "crossing over" is incorporated in a simile at Sn. 771d, and pārasmiṃ (loc.) occurs at Sn. 1018c and 1020d. This concept is totally different from pāramī or pāramitā of later Buddhism. Pāraṃgata occurs at Sn. 803d and pāragata at Sn. 21b, 210d, 359b and 638c. Pāra in the line, so bhikkhu jahāti orapāraṃ (Sn. 1c-17c—that monk shuns the here and the beyond) has a different connotation from pāra in the rest of the references. The idea that is diametrically opposed to

20. Sn. 1045 d, 1046 e, 1047 bd, 1048 d, 1052 d, 1060 d, 1079 f, 1080 f and 1081 g.

21. Sn. 1050 c, 1057 c, 1058 a, 1082 b, 1079 e, 1020 e and 1122 f.

22. Sn. 1068 cd, 1070 cd, 1082 f, 1083 f, 1085 c, 1103 a, 1123 d, (at 1101 and 1021 it is used as an epithet of the Buddha).

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pāraṃ + √gam is at Sn. 15 b, oraṃ āgamanāya paccayāse (casual antecedents for the return hither). The concept of "going beyond" is to be met with in numerous other Canonical works; e.g. S. IV. 174, A. V. 4, M. III. 64, Th I. 771-773, etc. and is one of the most fundamental tenets in early Buddhism.

VIII.

ITS ANTIQUITY.

This vagga appears to have been called Pārāyana from the earliest times.²³ Several Cononical works refer to it and quote from it. Sn. 1109 is found at S. I. 39 in the Devatā Saṃyutta, and at S. I. 40 the same stanza occurs with its first line reading, nandī saṃbandhano loko instead of nandīsaṃyojano loko. Yet there is no mention of the Pārāyana here. S. II. 47 refers to the Ajitapaṇha when quoting Sn. 1038, and the stanza is quoted again at S. II. 49 making it the topic of discourse up to p. 50. Aṅguttara refers to the Pārāyana 6 times. At A. I. 133 Puṇṇakapaṇha of the Pārāyana is mentioned and Sn. 1048 quoted. At A. II. 45-46 the same stanza is quoted thus: Imā kho bhikkhave catasso samādhībhāvanā, idaṃ pana etaṃ sandhāya bhāsitaṃ Pārāyane Puṇṇakapaṇhe (These indeed, O monks, are the four meditations on concentration; it has been declared so in the Puṇṇakapaṇha of the Pārāyana regarding this). The Udayapaṇha of the Pārāyana is mentioned at A. I. 134, and Sn. 1106, 1107 are quoted from it. A. III. 399, 401 quote Sn. 1042 with the opening line reading differently,²⁴ and refer to the Metteyyapaṇha of the Pārāyana. At A. IV. 63 the female lay-devotee Nandamātā is reported as reciting the Pārāyana with proper intonation (sareṇa) and Vessavaṇa is pleased with it. Sn. 1064 is quoted at Kvu. 94; Sn. 1117 at Ap. 537, 25; Sn. 1118-1119 at Ap. 537, 26-28; Sn. 1119 at Vsm. 656 and Kvu. 64; besides the numerous instances where the verses of the Pārāyana are quoted in Commentaries and quoted and commented on in Nettippakaraṇa.²⁵

Among the references in BSk. works²⁶ many of the following have already been mentioned in connection with the Aṭṭhaka Vagga. Divy. 20, 34, include it among the texts recited by Śroṇa and the merchants respectively. The Dulva too mentions it in the episode of Śroṇa. The Vinaya of the Sarvāsti-

23. Also *Vide* § III; Anesaki, J.P.T.S. 1906-7 p. 51, mentions that no less than 13 references are made to it in early texts.

24. Sn. 1042a reads, so ubhantaṃ abhiññāya, while the line at A. III. 399 reads, yo ubhante viditvāna.

25. *Vide* Otto Franke and E. M. Hare, *ibid.*

26. *Op. cit.* (Sylvain Lévi).

vādins (Ch. Tok. XVI. 4. 56a) mentions *Po-lo-yen* (Pārāyana) as one of the texts recited by him, and includes it among the "great suttas" in a passage which is important for the history of the Canon. *Po-lo-yen* (The Way Across) is the 16th passage out of the 18 mentioned. The Arthavargīyasūtra is No. 17, and the majority of the other passages is from D. In a list of sūtras "which should be taught to novices" occurring in the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas (Ch. Tok. XV. 8. 9. 3a) the *Pa-ch'ung-ching* (Aṭṭhaka Vagga) and *Po-lo-yen* are mentioned at the head. The Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas (chap. 54) too refers to the Pārāyana. Reference to it is also made in Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā (chap. 4), where it is stated that the Pārāyana was recited at a "Council" of 500 arhats held under Kaniṣka's patronage. Some of the passages specially cited are the second stanza of Posālamāṇavapucchā and Sn. 874. Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra in its first chapter quotes the "Question of Mākandika" in the Aṭṭhaka Vagga (Sn. 837-840 are quoted), and in chapter 3 "The Question of Ajita in the Pārāyana" (Sn. 1032 ff.). Āśvaghoṣa refers to the brāhmaṇas of the Pārāyana in his Buddhacarita (v. 1061) and Sūtrā-lankāra (canto 43). Dr. E. J. Thomas (Life of Buddha, p. 274) mentions the story of Bāvarī in a later form found among the MSS. discovered in Central Asia and cites Sieg und Siegling, "Tocharische Sprachreste" I, p. 101.

From all these references, specially those in the Pāli Canon, which are older than the BSk. works, it is evident that the Pārāyana existed very early as a separate collection. Nowhere is Sn. mentioned when quotations are made from various pañhas. This is further proof that the Pārāyana, like the Aṭṭhaka Vagga goes back to a period prior to the compilation of Sn. The various quotations also show that the questions of the Pārāyana have not undergone the rigid classification and arrangement found later in Sn. They are invariably called pañhas and not pucchās unlike in Sn.

Dr. W. Stede (Nd 2, p. xx) suggests that these pañhas may have existed in "some arrangement other than that which enumerates them simply as Pucchās 1, 2, etc." By carefully analysing the various MSS. of Nd 2 he notes that the Niddesa makes it "conclusive to a certain extent that groups of pucchās existed separately before they were set in the present arrangement, or were taken out of their present setting because they were greater favourites than others." The popularity of the Ajita Sutta perhaps led to its being placed at the head of the vagga. Metteyya and Puṇṇaka Pañhas can be considered to have been equally popular, judging from the quotations made from them in Pāli works; and this probably explains their position as second and third respectively in the vagga. Udaya Pañha is also quoted from, but it is placed as No. 13. Dr. Stede concludes that either of Nos. 3 and 4 may have formed the last sutta of a separate group.

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It is generally accepted that Nd 2 is older than Sn. The latter does not yield any information regarding the arrangement of these pucchās. All the 16 pieces are called Pucchās, whereas in Nd 2 some are called suttas; (*viz.* Nos. 1 and 3, and the others are called pañhas). The minor variations in the mode of referring to and commenting on these pieces in Nd 2 may shed some light on this question. Dr. Stede²⁷ shows that Nd 2 is uniform as regards the concluding statements in the Commentaries of the suttas up to No. 3; e.g. Ajita Sutta Niddeso samatto etc., that Nos. 4 and 5 are numbered after the comments on them (e.g. Mettagu pañham catuttham samattam etc.), and that the numeration ceases after No. 5. He questions whether Nos. 1-5 formed one separate collection. It is quite probable that Nos. 1-3 formed one collection and that Nos. 1-5 another, so that the group Nos. 1-3 was either included in the bigger group Nos. 1-5, or the earlier group was Nos. 1-3 which was later extended up to No. 5. It is quite obvious that Nos. 6-16 formed a group or groups independent of Nos. 1-5. The position of the popular Udaya Pañha as No. 13 may suggest that it may have been placed at the head of another group consisting of Nos. 13-16, just as the well-known Ajita Pañha was placed at the head of the earlier group (Nos. 1-3 or 1-5). The probability is that Nos. 6-16 consisted of two groups *viz.* Nos. 6-12 and 13-16. All these pieces were, at a subsequent date, taken together and gradually worked out into a legend by introducing Bāravī, the brahmin of the South.

IX.

THE VATTHU GĀTHĀ.

The legend of Bāvarī leads to the question of *the relationship of the vatthu-gāthā and the epilogue to the pucchās of the Pārāyana*. The Niddesa leaves the vatthu-gāthā (v.g.) uncommented, and it is doubtful whether they were known to its author. In some MSS. of Nd 2 (*vide* Nd 2 introduction) the text of the v.g. and that of the epilogue is to be met with, while in others only that of v.g. The inclusion of the v.g. and the epilogue in MSS. of Nd 2 does not help one to determine whether the author was acquainted with these two pieces, for it may have taken place long after the writing of Nd 2. The fact that the v.g. are not commented upon in the work shows *either* that the v.g. did not exist at the time of the writing of Nd 2, *or* that they may have existed in some form or other, but were not accepted as authentic by the author. The early occurrence of v.g. in verse is highly doubtful, but it is probable that the versification of an earlier existing prose legend may have taken place somewhere about the same time as the composition of the v.g. of the Nālaka Sutta. This introductory prose legend cannot be considered very old, for all

27. *Ibid* p. xxi.

the internal evidence of the v.g. and the epilogue shows that these pieces were at least a few centuries younger than the pucchās. It is probable that the legend of Bāvarī which was introduced as an ākhyāna-narrative by the reciters of these ballads, underwent certain changes and modifications as time went on, and finally became fixed in the present metrical rendering. The outcome is a short kāvya in itself in true epic-style.

The opening stanzas easily suggest their kinship with epic literature. A Kosalan brahmin (from Sāvattthi?) comes to the Southern Country (Dakkhiṇāpatha or Deccan) and settles down at Muḷakā (reading with Nd 2 and Chalmers) on the banks of the upper Godhāvarī in the country of the Assakas (Aśmaka), probably not very far from Patiṭṭhāna (Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Paīṭhan about 19.5° N 75° E).²⁸ Then another brahmin visits him and demands (text, yācati—begs, Sn. 980d) 500 pieces. When Bāvarī replies that he has no money the other curses. The pronouncement of the curse (Sn. 983), its description (Sn. 984), the repercussions on Bāvarī (Sn. 985), the appearance of the devatā (Sn. 986) and the conversation that ensues (Sn. 987-993) are truly characteristic of epic poetry. There are numerous instances of similar situations in the Sanskrit epics and other literature. The pronouncement of the curse in Nalopākhyāna and the gradual *dénouement* of the plot in it could be compared with the legend of Bāvarī. The comparatively later Jātaka literature affords many parallels. Neumann (Reden p. 547) compares Sn. 984 with the description of the curse in Śakuntalā. The tidings of the Buddha given by the devatā cause immense joy in Bāvarī who summons his pupils and bids them visit the Buddha. In reply to their question as to how they would be able to recognize the Buddha, Bāvarī replies that he could be distinguished by the 32 characteristics of a mahāpurisa (super-man). He instructs them not to ask their questions verbally, but merely to think of them, so that the Buddha would give the appropriate answer.

The sixteen brahmins wend their way North through Patiṭṭhāna to Māhisati (Māhiṣmatī) south of the river Vetravatī which divides the Maṇḍala of Avantī into North and South, the North having its capital at Ujjenī (modern Ujjain) and the South at Māhiṣmatī,²⁹ and known as Avantī Dakkhiṇāpatha.³⁰ From there they proceed to Ujjenī north of the river and to Gonaddha.³¹

28. B. C. Law, in "India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism" pp. 157, 158, 218, tries to establish that this Bāvarī was Pasenadi's teacher (Sn. A. II, 580), and that when he built his hermitage "near the Pancavatī during Pasenadi's reign there came into existence a high road connecting Rājagaha and Patiṭṭhāna." (*ibid.* p. 219).

29. *Vide* D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures* 1918, p. 54.

30. B. C. Law, *op. cit.* p. 104.

31. According to B.-C. Law (*ibid.* p. 74), Māhiṣmatī was later known as Gonaddha. But this is very doubtful and improbable.

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They continue East to Vedisa known as "The Forest City" (Sn. 1011d, Vanasavhaya, identified by Cunningham with modern Bhilsa in Gwalior State, 26 miles N.E. of Bhopāl), and then North-East to Kosambi (Kauśāmbī), and next North to Sāketa, Setavya and Sāvatti, the capital of the Kosalas, then eastwards to Kapilavatthu (Kapilavāstu) of the Sākya, and the city of Kusinārā (Kṛṣṇinagara) of the Mallas, then further North to Pāvā and Bhojanagara in the Malla country in the Himalayan foot-hills and finally South-East to Vesālī of the Magadhas and Pāsāṅka cetiya near Rājagaha where they meet the Buddha. They are satisfied with the answers to their "mental" questions and salute the Buddha. With the invitation of the Buddha to ask him questions to have their doubts cleared, they begin asking questions one by one.

The vatthu-gāthā, as a whole, depict conditions much later than the time of the Buddha, or even the time of the compilation of the pucchās. Internal evidence and linguistic data show that they are decidedly later than the pucchās. It will be useful to analyse the internal evidence which consists chiefly of a study of the names of places mentioned in the story, the terms and technical expressions used, signs of the growth of the concept Buddha and the doctrinal emphasis. Firstly, the v.g. show intimate knowledge of the Dakkhināpatha, of far-off places like Muḷakā (not identified) and Patiṭṭhāna in the land of the Assakas (North-Western Hyderabad). The road taken by the 16 māṇavas was the trade-route running from South-West to North (Patiṭṭhāna to Sāvatti) and the route running from North to South-East (Sāvatti to Rājagaha).³² The simile at Sn. 1014b, mahālābhaṃ va vāṇijo (as a merchant—longs for—great gain) seems to allude to the caravan-men who followed these trade-routes. Even if the first route did exist as early as the time of Pasenadi (according to Sn.A. 580) it cannot be said that Buddhism had spread to these southern regions so early as the time of composition of the pucchās. It must have taken a considerable period of time before Buddhism spread to these regions, and places like Māhissati, Ujjeni, Gonaddha and Vedisa were far away from the cradle of Buddhism. A knowledge of these places in the v.g. presupposes a time when Buddhism was known to the people in Dakkhināpatha even if it had not spread there. It is also of interest to note how the brahmins looked upon this region. Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra V. 15 considers this region as unholy land.

Surāṣṭraṃ Sindhu Sauvīram *Avantī Dakṣiṇāpatham.*

Etāni brāhmaṇo gatvā punaḥ saṃskāram arhati.

32. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 103.

(It behoves a brahmin who goes to Surāṣṭra, etc., to perform his sacraments again). cp. Divy. 19. It is needless to say that under these conditions Brahmanism could not have spread to these regions very early. If that was so it is difficult to explain how Bāvarī a brahmin, and other brahmins mentioned in the v.g. could find their way here to a land so far south, even to the furthest limits of the unholy land. If Bāvarī was a historical figure he must have lived at a time when the brahmins had begun to consider the Dakkhiṇāpatha no longer as unholy land. This fact and the knowledge of the trade-route to the South-West suggest that the v.g. reflect a period when Dakkhiṇāpatha was well-known to Buddhist writers. The first time that this region is expected, with some degree of certainty, to have come under the influence of Buddhism, is during the reign of Asoka when he sent out his missionaries far and wide. Mahādeva was sent to Mahisamaṇḍala and Rakkhita to Vanavāsa (cp. Vedisaṃ Vanasavhayam both presumably in Dakkhiṇāpatha. (Mhv. 12, 3-4).

The terms and technical expressions used in the v.g. point to a comparatively late period. The use of the words *visaya* (in Assakassa visaye—Sn. 977a) and *mandira* (in Kosalamandira—Sn. 996a, and Kusināraṇca mandiram—Sn. 1012d) needs investigation. The word *visaya* in the sense of region, country or kingdom may have had its origin in epic or Classical Sanskrit. It is not used in this meaning in Vedic. The nearest approach to it in old Pāli is to be found in words like Pettivisaya or Yamavisaya (the realm or domain of Petas and Yama respectively). This usage in the v.g. appears late. The word *mandira* is frequently found in late Sk. in the sense of house or mansion, as in Pāli. Here it apparently stands for a political or regional division. If these regions were independent kingdoms (or cities as in the case of the latter) they would rather be referred to as *desa* or *raṭṭha*, or *nagara* or *rājadhāni*. It is probable that these two *mandiras* were two of many such *mandiras* within a large empire. Such an empire came into existence for the first time in India's history under Candragupta (322-298 B.C.)³³ and the next great empire was that of Asoka (272-232 B.C.)³³. It may then be possible that the v.g. were written at least after the time of Candragupta. (Other available evidence tends to show that they were of still later date).

The next point of interest lies in Sn. 1000-1001. The sixteen mānavas learn from Bāvarī that the Buddha's distinguishing marks are the 32 characteristics. Here the v.g. present a phase of development in the Buddha-legend, for it is not his teaching that is mentioned, but his outward marks. Sn. 1001 dogmatically states that there are two, and only two, courses of action open to a being who has these 32 marks on his body. This is further proof of a

33. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 206, assigns these dates.

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gradual crystallization that has set in. There are a few epithets used in the v.g., e.g. sambuddho (7 times),³⁴ sabbadhammānapāragū (Sn. 992b), pabhaṅkara (Sn. 991d), vivattacchadda (Sn. 1003c) and anāvaiṇadassāvī, among others at Sn. 991, 992, 995, 996, 1003 etc., but the majority of them are found in the older parts of the prose Nikāyas as well.

The phrase pubbevāsanavāsītā (Sn. 1009 d) "impressed with the resultant force of their former deeds"³⁵ too sheds some light on the date of the v.g. The doctrine of **vāsanā** is apparently alien to early Buddhism, though the same idea may be found in germinal form in phrases like pubbe kataṃ kammaṃ (actions done in the past). The developed idea as such is to be seen at Miln. 10, pubbe vāsanāya coditahadayo (his heart impelled by former impressions); Miln. 263, pubbevāsītavāsanā (cp. Sn. 1009d), and Vism. 185, katasamaṇadhammo, vāsītavāsano, bhāvitabhāvano (he who has discharged the obligations of a recluse, has the resultant force of his former deeds impressed on him and has developed his meditations). Vāsanā is often mentioned in Nettippakaraṇa where it occurs no less than 12 times,³⁶ in a slightly different sense though fundamentally the same. Some suttas here are called vāsanābhāgiya (pertaining to v.). All the works in which this term is employed reflecting on an accepted theory of vāsanā, are comparatively late. Of them the date of Vism. is to some extent certain; i.e. 5th century A.C. Hardy limits the date of Nett. between 2nd century B.C. and 5th century A.C. though he is more inclined to favour a date in the neighbourhood of the latter limit.³⁷ Mrs. Rhys Davids in her "Milinda Questions" suggests a date towards the beginning of the Christian Era to Miln.; and in her "Outlines of Buddhism" p. 103, she assigns the date 80 B.C. These instances show that all the other references to vāsanā do not go back earlier than 2nd century B.C. This fact may, to some extent, help in determining the date of the v.g. All these references to vāsanā presuppose the existence of at least, a contemporary belief in "former impressions." It has already been noticed that this term does not occur in earlier Pāli works. It is probable that the concept of pubbevāsanā was further developed into a fuller theory by the time of the Commentaries. The frequent occurrence of this idea in Nd2 is very significant. The concluding passages in the comments on each of the 16 pucchās contains one standard phrase in which the word vāsanā occurs—(vide Nd 2, p. xxiv),

34. This word occurs 7 times in the v.g. and twice in the epilogue, viz. Sn. 992 a, 994 a, 995 f, 998 d, 1003 c, 1016 a, 1031 a, 1145 c, 1147 c. There are 10 other occurrences in Sn. —3 in Uraga Vagga and 7 in Mahā Vagga.

35. Vide P.T.S. for vāsanā and vāsita; vāsanā = impression (Rhys Davids).

36. Also vide P.T.S., s.v.

37. Nettippakaraṇa (P.T.S.) Introduction p. xx.

Ye tena brāhmaṇena saddhiṃ ekajjhā, ekappayogā, ekādhippāyā, ekavāsana-vāsītā. (They who were together with the brahmin, of similar undertakings, of similar intentions and impressed with similar former impressions).

It has been noticed earlier that either the v.g. did not exist at the time of the compilation of Nd 2, or if they did exist in some form or other they were not accepted as authentic by the writer of Nd 2. The occurrence of the same idea in both Nd 2 and the v.g. shows that neither belonged to a period prior to the development of a theory of vāsana. The probability is that both the v.g. and Nd 2 were not separated from each other by a long interval of time, and that the subject-matter of the v.g. may have existed in some form before Nd 2 was compiled, and that the latter was influenced by it. This would explain the occurrence of the phrase ekajjhā etc. in Nd 2 in spite of the fact that the v.g. are left uncommented in it. In the light of the above observations it may be inferred that these references to vāsana do not date back earlier than 2nd century B.C., and that both the v.g. and Nd 2 which were separated by a short interval of time do not go back earlier than the earliest limits of the period to which Nett. Miln. and Vism. can be assigned; i.e. 2nd century B.C. As regards the v.g. this is further borne out by linguistic data.

The v.g. contain words and linguistic forms belonging to various periods. There are older forms lying side by side with much younger ones. These older forms are the same as the already existing early gāthā-forms and belong to a stratum which is generally called "the Gāthā-dialect." They either preserve the gāthā-idiom or are borrowings modelled on the language of the gāthās. There are numerous instances of younger forms, some betraying a strange resemblance to epic Sanskrit. It also contains highly developed and perhaps Sanskritic idioms and usages. Even though there is a preponderance of older forms, the younger forms show that these gāthās should belong to a later period. The idioms, Assakassa visaye (Sn. 977 a), vasī Godhāvarī kūle (Sn. 977c) are purely Sanskritic. Tass'eva upanissāya (Sn. 978 a) is a peculiar usage which Bdhgh. comments as "upayogathe c'etaṃ sāmivacanam, taṃ upanissāyā'ti attho," (Sn A. 581). The verb yācati (Sn. 980 d) in the present tense following another in the past (āgañchi-Sn. 979 d) is typical of Sk. epic poetry. Bhavaṃ nānupadassati (Sn. 983 b) is again the Sk. idiom though the verb is a historical future form. Other instances of verbs in the present tense following a verb in the past are at Sn. 985, ussussati and na ramati after āhu in Sn. 984 d. The idiom bhotī jāṇāti (Sn. 988 a) is also Sanskritic. The loc. sg., asmiṃ in asmiṃ puthavimaṇḍale (Sn. 990 b) is very near Sk. asmin, as usually Pāli has imasmiṃ. Puthavimaṇḍala as a term referring to the world belongs to late Sk. The words visaya and mandira have already

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been discussed. The word *apacca* (Sn. 991 c) is seldom used in Pāli although it goes back to Vedic *apatya* ; but it is in frequent use in Sk. In spite of the old forms *the sufficiently numerous younger forms* are ample proof that the language of the v.g. taken as a whole is rather late. This is quite in accord with the overwhelming internal evidence which definitely shows that the v.g. are of no great antiquity.

X.

It was stated earlier that the *vatthu-gāthā* were meant to introduce the subject, but apart from the legendary introduction which has little bearing on the *pañhas* (*pucchās*), the latter are still independent suttas. *Bāvarī* the brahmin, is spoken of as the teacher of the 16 *mānavas* ; and in the epilogue *Piṅgiya* is represented as singing Buddha's praises in *Bāvarī*'s presence and converting him. This, apparently, is the only connecting link between the legend in the v.g. and epilogue and the *pucchās*. Yet, a rather successful attempt has been made to incorporate in this legendary epic, the *pucchās*, and to establish a connecting thread running through the whole *vagga*. However, one loses all contact with the story of *Bāvarī* in the *pucchās*. The Buddha is seen answering the eager questions of some would-be followers. Nothing else can be gathered from the *pucchās* about these interlocutors of the Buddha, except what can be seen from their views and philosophical leanings.

The position of the story of *Bāvarī* in the *Pārāyana* is best summed up in the words of Dr. E. J. Thomas, "The *Pārāyana* is indeed old. . . There is no reason for thinking that this legend in its present form is of the same age as the *Pārāyana*. . . It is evident that even though the legend may be old, the same cannot be said of the details that may have been introduced when it was recast." 38

XI.

URAGA VAGGA.

Proceeding to the other three *vaggas*, the *Uraga Vagga* calls for attention next. It has already been mentioned (U.C.R. VI, 1) that the *Uraga Sutta* which has been placed at the head of the *vagga* has given its name to the whole section. In many respects the opening *Uraga Sutta* resembles the *Khagga-visāṇa Sutta*, but unlike the two *Yakkha*-ballads, *Hemavata* and *Ālavaka Suttas* or *Parābhava* and *Vasala Suttas* which deal with practically the same topic, the two are not placed together in the *vagga*. Both *Uraga* and *Khagga-*

38. *Life of Buddha*, p. 14.

visāṇa Suttas are didactic ballads with regular refrains running through them, and dealing with similar topics. Another poem which can be classed in the same category is Muni Sutta which resembles the other two in both subject-matter and style though the refrain is confined to only 8 out of its 15 stanzas (i.e. Sn. 212-219). All these three suttas are archaic in character. Available evidence suggests the independent existence of Khaggavisāṇa and Muni Suttas, prior to the compilation of Sn. The former is commented in Nd 2 (as an independent sutta) and is quoted in full at Ap. I, 8-13 (Pacceka-buddhāpadāna) while the latter is mentioned in Asoka's Bhābru Edict as Muni-gāthā, and in several other instances along with other sections of the Scriptures (supra).

Dhaniya and Kasibhāradvāja Suttas are similar to these three in subject-matter, but form a different type of ballad. They can be grouped together as dialogue-ballads though the latter in reality is a narrative-ballad with the dialogue in mixed prose and verse. In both of them there is a great deal of the dramatic-element; both are didactic to a certain extent and both deal with farmers who eventually became lay-disciples. The former contains highly antithetical alternate verses uttered by Dhaniya the herdsman and the Bhagavā respectively, while the latter in its main section (Sn. 76-81) contains one question by the brahmin and a long answer given by the Buddha in metaphors stating counterparts to some important Buddhist concepts, in the various implements used and actions done in ploughing. In both these suttas the Buddha is represented as retracing the very words of the interlocutors giving them a new value and a new twist so that the higher truths of his message are brought within the limited scope of a ploughman's (or herdsman's) terminology. One would normally expect these two suttas too to be grouped together like Nos. 6 and 7 and Nos. 9 and 10, on account of their similarities in style and theme and the technique employed in them.

The next poem Cunda Sutta differs from the first four suttas in theme and general tone. It presupposes a time when some monks were seen leading a life of evil and sin (Sn. 89). The gradual crystallisation of ideas regarding the ideal monk (Sn. 86) and the motive of preventing the lay ariyasāvakas losing their faith in the virtuous monks on account of these evil-doers (Sn. 90) show that the poem belonged to an age of developed monasticism. The inclusion of this sutta here perhaps serves to connect the four earlier suttas of lofty ideals with the three popular suttas that follow. The first of these enumerates the causes of man's downfall and deterioration (parābhava), the second details the characteristics of a vasala (an out-caste in the strict Buddhist sense), and the third is a treatise on mettā (amity). The only characteristic

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that is common to Cunda Sutta and the two that follow it is that all three of them are dialogue-ballads. In the grouping together of the two suttas, Parābhava and Vasala, may be seen signs of an attempt at some sort of arrangement of the suttas. Although the next sutta, Metta, is a didactic ballad it shares something in common with the two preceding suttas—all three of them being popular in character and intended for the benefit of both monk and layman. Metta Sutta occurs in both Kh. (No. IX) and the Catubhāṇavāra (Parittas), whereas the other two are found repeated in the Parittas only.

The next two suttas, Hemavata and Āḷavaka, are of high literary merit—both containing the dramatic element to some extent. The fact that they deal with yakkhas appears to have been the reason for their being grouped together. The next sutta (Vijaya) contains a list of the parts of the human body, in poetical form. Placed last in the vagga is the old Muni Sutta, which probably entered the vagga last of all.

Judging from the subject-matter, type of ballad, and the grouping of poems in the vagga, it appears that this section now known as the Uruga Vagga consisted of only 10 suttas at a certain stage ; thus :—

- Group I, Suttas 1-4,
- No. 5 separating Groups I and II,
- Group II, Nos. 6 and 7,
- No. 8 separating Groups II and III,
- Group III, Nos. 9 and 10.

This clearly explains the position of the old Muni Sutta as the last member of the vagga, placed immediately after so late a piece as the Vijaya Sutta. In spite of its resemblance to Khaggavisāṇa and Uruga Suttas in language, style and theme, it has not been grouped with them.

XII.

CULLA AND MAHĀ VAGGAS.

The next two sections of Sn., Culla Vagga (Cvg.) and Mahā Vagga (Mvg.) consist of 14 and 12 suttas respectively. The total number of stanzas comprising the 14 suttas of Cvg. is a little more than half that of Mvg. (i.e. Cvg. 183, and Mvg. 361). The majority of the suttas in Cvg. are short pieces whereas those of Mvg. are comparatively longer. This perhaps may have been the reason for naming these two sections as Culla and Mahā Vaggas respectively. Yet there are exceptions as regards the length of the suttas in the two vaggas. The most outstanding are Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta (No. 7 of Cvg.) consist-

ing of 32 stanzas, Dhammika Sutta (No. 14 of Cvg.) consisting of 29 stanzas and Subhāsita Sutta (No. 3 of Mvg.) containing only 5 stanzas in addition to the introductory prose. There are 7 suttas in Cvg. containing 10 stanzas or less,³⁹ and 5 containing a number ranging from 17 to 12.⁴⁰ The other two are the exceptionally long suttas just mentioned. Five suttas of Mvg. contain 32 or more stanzas each,⁴¹ in addition to the prose in the majority of them; and the number of stanzas in six others ranges from 20 to 26.⁴² The Subhāsita Sutta which is exceptionally short for this vagga has already been mentioned. It is curious to note that both the long suttas in Cvg. are named "Dhammika" and that they occur as seventh and fourteenth members of the vagga. The fact that one of them is the last sutta of the vagga, and that they occur at regular intervals may suggest that they did not originally belong here.

The suttas of Cvg. may be classified roughly into two categories: 1. dialogue-ballads and 2. didactic-ballads; but the classification is not complete by itself. On the one hand, all the suttas are didactic in some degree or other, but on the other, practically each sutta seems to represent a type by itself. Āmagandha and Sammāparibbājanīya Suttas are dialogue-ballads entirely in verse where the interlocutor speaks but once and the Buddha replies with a discourse. An interesting feature is the refrain running through the discourse in both suttas. They deal with topics of general interest in all periods of the history of Buddhism. Kiṃsīla Sutta also appears as such a dialogue, although the questioner's name is not mentioned. It is highly didactic and may equally be classed with the pure didactic-ballads.

There are four dialogue-ballads with prose introductions. The first of them, Mahāmaṅgala Sutta is highly popular in character, and the second Sūciloma is didactic. Both these suttas introduce supernatural beings as interlocutors. The former contains a refrain while the latter has none. The next Vaṅgisa Sutta, is an ode in the form of a dialogue-ballad. This is the least didactic of all the 14 suttas in Cvg.; yet, it is by no means lacking in it. Here the interlocutor plays a more active part than in the other dialogue-ballads of this vagga. The last Dhammika Sutta is an eulogy of the Buddha followed by a discourse dealing with the sīlas and such other topics. There are also four didactic-ballads entirely in verse; *viz.* Hiri, Dhammacariya, Nāvā and Uṭṭhāna Suttas. Nāvā Sutta is named after the simile employed in it (Sn. 321) and the other three after their opening words as in the case of Kiṃsīla Sutta. The opening question in Kiṃsīla Sutta can be explained as

39. Nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

40. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 12 and 13.

41. Nos. 4, 6, 9, 11 (with vatthu-gāthā) and 12.

42. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 10.

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a vatthu-gāthā, although it is not specifically mentioned so as in Rāhula Sutta. The Rāhula Sutta differs from the above four in that it has two vatthu-gāthās consisting of a question and an answer, and ends with a concluding prose sentence. The Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta is essentially didactic in its verse section, but it contains an introductory prose dialogue and concludes with a confession of faith in prose. The opening Ratana Sutta cannot be placed in any particular category. It is neither a didactic poem nor a dialogue, but a paritta of later date with a good deal of Saccakiriya (asseveration). The Culla Vagga thus presents a confused mass.

It is not quite possible to sift out the suttas that were included in the vagga subsequent to the formation of a vagga as such, or spot out at a glance the suttas on which the vagga was built later. On the whole, this section as a vagga is decidedly later than the Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana Vaggas, and probably later than many suttas of the Uraga Vagga. As regards individual poems, the occurrence of the two long suttas (Nos. 7 and 14) in a section of short (culla) suttas leads one to the inference that they originally did not belong to this vagga. One may be justified in saying that these two were probably either importations to the vagga or were in existence in some other collection prior to the formation of Culla Vagga. Another sutta that appears foreign to the vagga is Ratana Sutta. From its internal evidence and linguistic data it will be seen that it is a comparatively late poem. This, along with the fact that it occurs at the head of the vagga seems to suggest that it need not necessarily have belonged to this vagga at the outset. Neither does it follow from this that the Cvg. was older than these three suttas; and the question of whether the two longer suttas belonged to another group of suttas (vagga) before Cvg. came into existence will be discussed later.

XIII.

MAHĀ VAGGA.

The suttas of the Mahā Vagga are a little more uniform in character. The Pabbajjā, Padhāna and Nālaka Suttas are narrative-ballads with occasional dialogue. It has already been noticed that these three suttas represent the earliest beginnings of a life of the Buddha in verse (U.C.R. Vol. VI, 2). It is established beyond any doubt that the Nālaka Sutta is the same as the Moneya-sūte of Asoka's Bhābru Edict. An analysis of Nos. 1 and 2 of Mvg. shows that they are very old pieces. Sylvain Lévi⁴³ identifies Pabbajjā Sutta

43. J. A. 1915. Regarding Bimbisārapratyudgama he says, "Le P'in-po-cha-lo-po-lo-cha-k'ia-mo-nan, 'Bimbisāra vient au-devant' est sans doute le Pabbajjāsutta du Sutta Nipāta." *cp.* Mvastu. II, 198, Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, Saṅghabhedavastu chap. 4; Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas, Upasampadāvastu chap. 31.

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as being mentioned in the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins (chap. XXIV) in a passage which refers to other texts as well, which he considers are of great importance for the history of the Canon. Of the other nine suttas, eight (except Salla, No. 8) are "mixed-ballads." Seven of them are dialogues. It has been pointed out that No. 3, Subhāsita Sutta, is too short for a section of "long" suttas (mahā). Nos. 4-7, 9 and 10 are uniform in every way. No. 8 is a didactic-ballad deriving its name from the oft-used metaphorical term salla occurring in stanza 19 (Sn. 592). The Dvayatānupassanā Sutta stands as a class by itself in the whole of Sn. It conveys the general impression of a late sutta. Its position as last in the vagga, as in the case of Ratana Sutta which is at the head of Cvg. seems to strengthen the supposition that it was an additional accretion, though its lateness is not necessarily proved thereby. Evidence for its lateness is to be sought in the sutta itself.

The majority of the pieces in Mvg. can be called "mixed-ballads" with dialogue; *viz.* Nos. 3-7, 9 and 10. Six of these, including No. 3, Subhāsita Sutta, are best described as "sutta-ballads," i.e. they are discourses in the form of mixed-ballads—and the latter is more in the nature of an exposition (veyyākaraṇa), rather than a ballad proper. There are also four such "sutta-ballads" in Cvg. *viz.* Nos. 5, 7, 12 and 14, which occur in a regular pattern in the vagga. (Suttas 5 and 12 resemble each other in outward form; both are short mixed-ballads with dialogue, though fundamentally the latter is an ode followed by a discourse, while the former, a didactic discourse in answer to a question. The pair Nos. 7 and 14 has been discussed at length). The suttas 6 and 13 too resemble each other in many respects, both being entirely in verse. The only difference between the two is that the former is a straightforward didactic poem while the latter is a didactic discourse in answer to a question; but the two are similar in outward form. The symmetry seen in these three pairs of suttas cannot be a mere accident. It seems likely that in building up the Culla Vagga these suttas have been so placed as to work out a definite pattern.

This leads to the question whether these suttas belonged to some other group or vagga before Cvg. came into existence. If there was any such group some of the suttas now found in Mvg. should also have been included in it, for, the existence of a section called Mahā Vagga without a corresponding Culla Vagga is very doubtful.⁴⁴ The resemblance of suttas 4-7, 9, and 10 of Mvg. to the four "mixed-ballads" of Cvg. in form and style suggests that they too may have been included in such a group. There is nothing to prevent No. 8

44. Examples of Mahā and Cūla (Cula) Vaggas occurring together in the Canon are too numerous and need no mention here. *Vide* D.P.P.N., Malalasekera, s.v.

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of Mvg. being in the same group, for it could be argued that as No. 9 in Mvg. is rather expository in character, No. 8 which is an expository didactic poem should have been placed in front of it as in the present vagga. But the greater probability is for the same type of "mixed" dialogue-ballads to be grouped together, like the pucchās of the Pārāyana. This would mean that the *hypothetical vagga* consisted of Cvg. 5, 7, 12 and 14 and Mvg. 4-7, 9 and 10.

This reflects no light whatsoever on the question of the age of the suttas found in these two vaggas. Beyond any reasonable doubt Moneyya Sutta (Nālaka discourse) could be placed among the oldest suttas in Sn. The age of the suttas does not necessarily determine whether they belonged to a particular group (or groups) or not, for, they can exist independently and be introduced into other collections at subsequent dates; e.g. the old Muni Sutta, a comparative new-comer to Uraga Vagga. This further justifies the exclusion of old suttas like Pabbajjā, Padhāna and Nālaka from the reconstructed group of ballads. Moreover, the position of these suttas in Mvg. indicates that they were probably additions made when two vaggas grew in place of a vagga of mixed-ballads. (This need not necessarily have belonged to Sn., and its independent existence like the Pārāyana or Aṭṭhaka Vagga is not improbable). Pabbajjā and Padhāna Suttas were placed at the head of Mvg. (and not Cvg.) probably on account of their length. The only plausible explanation of the position of the short Subhāsita Sutta as the third member of the vagga is that it could have occurred in some collection or other together with the preceding suttas; but this is highly improbable. As it differs considerably from the "sutta-ballads" it cannot be surmised that it may have occurred immediately before Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta in an earlier group. As regards the Salla Sutta, its length and the expository nature of the following (Vāsetṭha) sutta may have been responsible for its inclusion in the present Mahā Vagga, and probably it did not exist together with the others in an earlier group. The Nālaka Sutta seems to have been introduced immediately after the regular "mixed-ballads." The chief reason for its inclusion here and not in Cvg. is its length. One would normally expect this sutta to be placed beside the other two suttas which are directly connected with the life of the Buddha. The fact that this is separated from them also suggests that these three suttas did not originally belong here, but were introduced after the two groups Mvg. and Cvg. were formed.

It may also be possible that the three suttas, Pabbajjā, Padhāna and Nālaka were earlier found together in one group at a certain stage, and that eight suttas were added after the Padhāna Sutta to make up the Mahā Vagga. The fact that these three suttas belong to an early stratum does not necessarily imply that they may have been the only suttas

of their class. Moreover, Nāḷaka Sutta does not form a continuous narrative with the other two suttas. A comparison with the later BSk. sources, such as Lal. which aims at dealing with a continuous life of the Buddha, or Mvastu. which contains accounts of incidents connected with his life, shows that these three suttas in Sn. deal with only three of the numerous incidents reported in later sources. It is quite probable that some suttas parallel to those found in Lal. and Mvastu. were lost and that Sn. contains only a partial picture. The fact that only these three are preserved shows that they are but fragments of an earlier stratum brought to light at a subsequent date and included in the group now known as Mahā Vagga. It has already been pointed out that their relative position in the vagga shows that they are additions made to the vagga rather than parts of its framework. From these it is evident that Mvg. was not built upon these suttas but it grew incorporating them.

It is not possible to determine whether any one of these two vaggas was earlier than the other (as a vagga). Neither of them is a perfect "finished" chapter. Though the majority of the suttas conforms to the designations "Culla" and "Mahā", in length, many exceptions have already been noted. The themes in the "minor" suttas (i.e. those in Cvg.) are equally lofty as those of the suttas in Mvg. Therefore the possibility of the two sections being named according to the nature of the themes can be set aside. There is no perfect uniformity in the type of suttas in both vaggas though as many as six suttas of Mvg. can be classified as "mixed" dialogue-ballads. The same type of sutta is to be seen in Cvg. too; *viz.* Nos. 4, 5, 7, 12 and 14, though the didactic element seems to predominate in them. The commonest type of sutta in Cvg. is the pure didactic-ballad entirely in verse,⁴⁵ but Mvg. No. 8 (Salla Sutta) too can be said to belong to the same type. The similarity of these two vaggas even on this point suggests that they cannot be separated from each other in point of time. Both vaggas date back to the same period, and the occurrence of the older suttas in Mvg. proves nothing beyond the fact that they were incorporated into the vagga during the time of its compilation, which perhaps was synchronous with the collation of Sutta Nipāta as an anthology.

N. A. JAYAWICKRAMA

45. There are seven such suttas; *viz.* Nos. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 13.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

- B.E.F.E.O. Bulletin de l'école française d'Extreme Orient
D.P.P.N. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names.
I.A. Indian Antiquary.
J.A. Journal Asiatique.
J.D.L. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.
J.P.T.S. Journal of the Pāli Text Society.
J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Katre. S. M. Katre, Early Buddnist Ballads and their Relation to Older Upanishadic Literature; (London University Thesis, Ph.D. 1931, unpublished).
P.T.S. Rhys Davids and Stede, Pāli-English Dictionary of the Pāli Text Society.
Reden. Karl E. Neumann, Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos, aus der Sammlung der Bruchstücke, Sutta Nipāto des Pāli Kanons (übersetzt) München, 1924.
S.B.B. Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
S.H.B. Simon Hewavitarne Bequest.
U.C.R. University of Ceylon Review.
Z.D.M.G. Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

The abbreviations for Pāli and BSk. texts are the same as those given in the P.T.S. Dictionary.