

8

Uruvelā Sutta 1

Paṭhama Uruvelā Sutta, The 1st Uruvelā Discourse | A 4.21

Nearly identical to Gāraṇa Sutta (S 6.2/1:138-140), SD 12.3

Theme: Even the Teacher respects the teaching

Translated by Piya Tan ©2019

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1 Summary and significance**1.1 SUTTA HIGHLIGHTS****1.1.1 Summary and style**

1.1.1.1 The Uruvelā Sutta 1 is the very first sutta in the Uruvelā Vagga (the Uruvelā Chapter), the 3rd chapter of the Catukka Nipāta (the Book of Fours) of the Aṅguttara Nikāya. The Vagga is named after its first 2 Suttas: the Uruvelā Sutta 1 and the Uruvelā Sutta 2, which follows it, both associated with the town of Uruvelā [§4 n].

The Sutta is named “**the 1st Uruvelā Sutta**” (*paṭhama uruvela sutta*) following the scholiast or mnemonic summary of titles (*uddāna*) at the end of the Vagga.¹ The Sutta is located in the Book of Fours (*catukka, vagga*) because it refers to the 4 aggregates (*khandha*), that is, those of *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā* and *vimutti* [§6].

1.1.1.2 The Uruvelā Sutta 1 (A 4.21) is a short narrative on the Buddha’s reflection on the necessity of having a proper teacher, and the holding up the Dharma—the truth and teaching of his awakening—above even the teacher.² It is reported by Ānanda (§1: “Thus have I heard”);³ hence, as the Sutta narrator, he then relates how the Buddha, alone at Uruvelā, “just after the great awakening” [1.1.2], reflecting on the need for “respect and deference” to someone or something worthy of them. [§§2-5]

That person worthy of respect should be fully accomplished in 4 dharma aggregates—moral virtue, concentration, wisdom and liberation—but being himself fully accomplished in these aggregates he sees no one else excelling him [§6]. As such, he decides to honour **the Dharma**. [§7]

Brahmā Sahampati appears, exults and endorses the Buddha’s gesture of putting the Dharma above even himself [§§8-12]. The Sutta closes with Brahmā uttering his 3 verses [§§13-15]. Then, as if as an after thought, the Buddha declares that he respects the sangha, too [§18]. [2.8.4]

1.1.1.3 The Uruvelā Sutta 1 is closely identical to **the Gārava Sutta** (S 6.2), SD 12.3. Their main teachings are practically identical.⁴ There are, however, 3 technical differences between the two Suttas. The 1st difference is their **narrative style**: they are differently narrated by Ānanda [2.8.3].⁵

The 2nd technical difference is in the number of “**aggregates**” (*khandha*) of spiritual accomplishments. The Gārava Sutta lists 5 such aggregates: those of moral virtue, of mental concentration, of wisdom, of liberation, and of the knowledge and vision of liberation [1.1.3.1].

The 3rd difference, a significant one, is that, while the Gārava Sutta ends abruptly with Brahmā’s 3 verses, the Uruvelā Sutta 1 closes with 3 additional paragraphs [§§16-18]. We will discuss this interesting problem later [2.8.4]

Despite these technical differences, both the Suttas highlight the Buddha’s reflection that **the Dharma is above even the Buddha himself**. *The teaching is always above the teacher*. This makes the true Dharma the “one and only refuge,”⁶ but which, in practice, comprises the 3 refuges: the Buddha, the Dharma and the sangha.⁷

1.1.2 “Just after the great awakening”

1.1.2.1 The Uruvelā Sutta 1—recounting events about the Buddha “**just after the great awakening**” (*paṭhamābhisambuddha*), or when he has just become the self-awakened Buddha—is among the “autobiographical discourses” in which the Buddha relates episodes of his own life and career. There are hardly a handful of such valuable suttas that specifically recount events immediately following the great awakening.

The phrase *paṭhamābhisambuddha* literally means “the 1st self-awakening.” It is actually idiomatic Pali referring to Buddha “when he *first* attained self-awakening,” or, “just after the full awakening” [§4].

¹ *Dve uruvelā* (Se:SR 21:41,9; A:Ee 2:31,30).

² See **Gārava S** (S 6.2), SD 12.3.

³ Ānanda recited this Sutta before the 1st council [2.8.3.2].

⁴ S 6.2,3-12; A 4.2,6-15.

⁵ Their respective origin-stories (*nidāna*) differ: cf S 6.2,1-2 and A 4.21,1-5.

⁶ **Mahā,parinibbāna S** (D 16,2.25.2), SD 9; **The one and only refuge**, SD 3.1; SD 32.14 (4.1.2.1); SD 51.17 (2.2.6.1).

⁷ On the 3 refuges, see SD 47.1 (3.2.2.1); SD 51.8 (1.3.3.1); on refuge-going, see SD 45.11 (3).

The “first” is an adverb of time, not a numerical qualifier: it simply means “at the start of the fully awakened one’s career.” The Chinese versions confirm this, too [1.1.4.2].

Hence, at §4, the expression, *paṭhamābhisambuddha*, is rendered as “just after the full awakening.” The expression recurs in this same sense, for example, in **the Vinaya** Mahāvagga 1 and in the openings of suttas 1-4 in the Bodhi,vagga of **the Udāna**.

1.1.2.2 Śamatha,deva⁸ uses *mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas nas riñ por ma lon pa na*, that is, *acirābhisambuddha*, “not long after he is self-awakened.” This agrees with the Sanskrit text of **the Catus,pariṣat Sūtra** (CPS)⁹ and of **the Saṅgha.bheda,vastu**.¹⁰

Both the Chinese **Saṃyukta Āgama** sutras have 成佛未久 *chéngfó wèijǐu*, suggesting an underlying Sanskrit *acirābhisambuddha*, “not long after the full awakening (becoming buddha).” In addition, the Chinese versions also have 初成正覺 *chūchéng zhèngjué*, indicating *prathamābhisambuddha*, “when full awakening was first attained.” [1.1.4.1]

This term is, however, not found in the Schøyen fragments of the *Urubilvā Sūtra.

1.1.3 The 4 or 5 aggregates

1.1.3.1 As already noted, **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** (A 4.21) is located in the Catukka Nipāta (the book of fours)¹¹ because it refers to the 4 aggregates (*khandha*), that is, moral virtue (*sīla*), mental concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*paññā*) and liberation (*vimutti*) [§6]. This number of aggregates is uncommon, and may indicate the Sutta’s *early* origin—a rule of thumb for texts is that “the lesser is usually older.” [1.1.1.3]

Usually, in the suttas, we see here the 5 aggregates, ending with the aggregate of “knowledge and vision of liberation” (*vimutti,ñāṇa,dassana*).¹² This is the arhat’s review knowledge, with which he reviews or surveys the nature and extent of his awakening. In fact, **the Gārava Sutta** (S 6.2) lists these 5 aggregates. [1.1.3.2]

1.1.3.2 The other versions of the Sutra, including the Gārava Sutta, give **all 5 aggregates**, but describe them differently. Śamathadeva gives 5: *tshul khirms phun sum tshogs pa*, etc, which should translate as a form of *sampadā* (BHS) or *saṃpad* (Skt) (accomplishment or attainment), while one Chinese Saṃyukta Āgama version also gives an equivalent of *sampadā* (具足 *jù zú*). Apparently, this is only a difference in *wording*, since their sense is the same: spiritual accomplishment. The Pali *khandha* (Skt *skandha*) refers to a “set” of such well-accomplished spiritual attainments.

⁸ Nepalese scholar (Tib: Zhi gnas lha), Sarvastivada Abhidharma specialist.

⁹ **Catuspariṣat Sūtra** [CPS] belongs to Dīrgha Āgama of the Mūla,sarvāsti,vāda. See Waldschmidt 1952 etc. Rev by O Botto, *East and West* 11 1962:272 f.

¹⁰ **Saṅgha.bheda,vastu** [SBV] is the 17th and last section of the Vinaya of the Mūla,sarvāsti,vāda. Waldschmidt’s reconstruction as *prathamābhisambuddha* earlier on at CPS 1.2 is a wrong retranslation influenced by the Pali. CPS 2.4 has *ayaṃ (buddho bhaga)vān urubilvāyāṃ viharati (na)dyā nairāñjanāyās (t)ī(re bodhimūle ‘cirābhisambuddho*—but this, too, is a reconstruction. The Tibetan Vinaya has *mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas nas riñ por ma lon par = acirābhisambuddha*. Saṅgha.bheda,vastu has: *ayaṃ buddho bhagavān urubilvāyāṃ viharati nadyā nairāñjanāyās tīre bodhimūle acirābhisambuddhabodhis tejodhātusamāpannaḥ ...* (Gnoli 1977:121.7).

¹¹ Skilling op cit has *Catukka,vagga*.

¹² **Saṅgīti S** (D 33) gives 4 *dhamma-k,khandhā: sīla-k,khandho, samādhi-k,khandho, pañña-k,khandho, vimutti,k,khandho*. A similar list is found in the Central Asian Skt **Saṅgīti,sutra**, but not in Chin Dīrgha Āgama version. See also Anupāda Sutta (M 111), which refers to the arhat as *vasi-p,patto pārami,patto ariyasmiṃ sīlasmiṃ ... ariyasmiṃ samādhismiṃ ... ariyāya paññāya ... ariyāya vimuttiyā* (M 111/3:28,35-29,3), SD 56.4. According to Anālayo, no parallel to this discourse has been identified so far (2011:635).

1.1.3.3 As in the Pali *khandha* (aggregate/s), Sanskrit Buddhist texts regularly have *skandha* here.¹³ Some scholar, however, think that the forms with *sam-pad* seem unusual, although there are instances with *sampanna*, such as, for example, in the Dhajagga Sutta (S 11.3)¹⁴ and the Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra.¹⁵

In the prose, Śamathadeva and the Uruvela Sutta 1 refer to the “self-awakened ones” (*sambuddha*) of the 3 times rather than the “Tathāgata.” The variation between *sambuddha* and *tathāgata* as a point of controversy is common in different recensions of Āgama materials, although it has not been adequately analysed.¹⁶

1.1.4 Sanskrit parallels and other translations

1.1.4.1 In recent times, scholars have discovered remnants of a **Sanskrit version** of the Uruvela Sutta 1 (A 4.21) in Afghanistan. They have been preserved amongst Buddhist manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection,¹⁷ and which appear to belong to a single folio.¹⁸ The largest fragment is MS 2381/241, the left-hand side of the folio; since the top and bottom are preserved, we can estimate the width of the folio, and know that the folio has 8 lines on each side. MS 2381/186 only preserves the top/bottom portion, and 5 lines are preserved.

MS 2382/uf18/2d is the smallest fragment, containing only 2 or 3 lines of text. A page number may be seen on the upper left margin of Schøyen 2381/241. Unfortunately, the figure is damaged but appears to read “ .71” as the last two digits of a possible 3-digit number. In any case, this suggests that the folio belonged to a relatively long manuscript.

A study of the contents allows us to assign Schøyen 2381/186 to the right portion of the folio, and Schøyen 2382/uf18/2d to the middle portion.¹⁹ The script used is **Brahmī** (like that on many of Asoka’s inscriptions), in a subscript form called “Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I,”²⁰ as described by L Sander, “A brief paleographical analysis,” in BMSC I (2000:298-300). Scholars have reconstructed and identified from these fragments a text closely resembling **the Uruvela Sutta 1** (A 4.21).²¹ [1.1.4.2]

1.1.4.2 The main part of the 3 fragments [1.1.4.1] appears to represent a **Sanskrit parallel** to the **Pali Uruvelā Sutta 1**,²² to parallel a short sūtra cited by **Śamatha,deva** [1.1.2.2] in his Essential Commentary on Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakośa (Abhidharmakośa, upāyikā, ṭīkā),²³ preserved in Tibetan;²⁴ and to parallel 2 Chinese translations, one in each of the 2 Saṃyukta Āgamas in Chinese.²⁵

¹³ See eg BHSD 607 f, *skandha* (3).

¹⁴ S 11.3 (SD 15.5).

¹⁵ Skilling 1994:272-275. Cf Arthaviniścaya Sūtra (Samtani 1971:47.6) for another list.

¹⁶ Skilling et al 2016:175-177.

¹⁷ **The Schøyen Collection** is the world’s largest private collection of textual artefacts spanning 5000 years of history, mostly located in Oslo and London. Started by Norwegian businessman, Martin Schøyen (b 1940), its Buddhist collection has about 20 MSS (some of which are only ancient fragments) from most Asian countries spanning nearly 2000 years. <https://www.schoyencollection.com/23-religions/living-religions/23-15-buddhism>.

¹⁸ Since no other fragments have so far been identified, the scholars (Skilling et al 2016:16) assume for the time being the 3 fragments are all that survive of the folio.

¹⁹ See Skilling et al 2016 esp facsimile (2016:183).

²⁰ Dated 5th-6th cent CE. On Gandharan Buddhism see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gandharan_Buddhism.

²¹ A transliteration and tentative restoration of the Skt fragment of Uruvela S 1 is found in Skilling et al 2016:160 f.

²² MS 2381/186 was identified as a parallel to **Gāraṇa S** (S 6.2), SD 12.3, by Peter Skilling, 14 June 2002; MS 2381-/241 and 2382/uf18/2d were identified by Saerji (萨尔吉 Sà ěr jí), 5-8 August 2012, both using preliminary transcriptions made by Klaus Wille, to whom we are grateful for his painstaking work. For reasons given below, these fragments were subsequently viewed as a possible parallel to the Uruvelā S rather than to the Gāraṇa S. (Skilling et al 2016:161 n3)

²³ For details, text and tr of the Tib version, see Skilling et al 2016:165-168. See foll n.

It appears that the Sūtra proper starts from the 5th line of the recto (*samayam urubilvāyām viharami*); but the first 4 lines have not been identified. The fragments do not preserve any title; for convenience, scholars have called this reconstructed Sanskrit text **the *Urubilvā-sūtra**.²⁶

1.1.4.3 The discovery and identification of these Sanskrit fragments as a version of **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** are profoundly significant. This text—along with the discoveries and identifications of a number of other ancient Buddhist manuscripts—further confirm the age and historicity of the Buddha’s teachings.²⁷ Such ancient textual artefacts are likely to date back before any Buddhist texts in print today. And there are probably many more ancient Buddhist manuscripts or their remains that are yet to be discovered and identified.

However, this does *not* mean that the teaching or school that the artefact belonged to or represented “predates” the early Buddhist texts (EBT). The EBT were carefully preserved and transmitted by a monastic **oral tradition** since the Buddha’s time.²⁸ During the 1st century BCE (not long after 103 BCE), the Sinhala chronicles tell us, the oral Pali canon was written down in Sri Lanka.²⁹ [2.8.4.4]

The oral tradition probably continued well after this, but we seem to have no clear records of when the Pali canons of the Buddhist communities of SE Asia (especially Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand) wrote down their own Pali Tipiṭakas, of which they each have their own complete redaction of the Pali Canon, often more than one.

Such scriptures remain the most complete and authentic “Early Buddhist Texts (that) originated in the lifetime of the Buddha or a little later, because they were, in the main, spoken by the Buddha and his contemporary disciples.”³⁰ The Pali Canon, then, is the oldest Buddhist canon or scripture that we have that are the closest to the Buddha’s time. Hence, they are called the “**early Buddhist texts**.”

1.1.5 [1.1.3] The Uruvelā cycle³¹

1.1.5.1 Both the Pali **Uruvela Sutta 1** (A 4.21) and the Sanskrit ***Urubilvā Sūtra** [1.1.4.2] belong to the “Uruvela cycle” of texts in which the Buddha, as teacher, recalls and relates events that took place in the vicinity of **Uruvelā** (Skt *urubilvā*). The cycle includes events just before the awakening, the awakening itself, and soon after the awakening. Our Sutra³² belongs to the last cycle, that is, the events in the vicinity of the Bodhi-tree in the months after the awakening, before the newly awakened one went to Benares to give his first Dharma teaching.³³ [1.1.5.2]

1.1.5.2 How do we know this? It is not difficult to make an educated guess, but which is fraught with the argument from silence. But with good intentions, we should do well to whet our curiosity about when the events of **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** (A 4.21) and **the *Urubilvā Sūtra** occurred.

²⁴ D 4094, *mñon pa, ñu*, 84a3-85b4 = P 5595, *mdo ’grel, thu*, 130b1-132a6. See prec n.

²⁵ SĀ 1188 (T99.321c18-322a27; SĀ 101 (T100.410a3-410b10). For details, text and tr of Chin version, see Skilling et al 2016:168-168-170.

²⁶ Skilling et al 2016:161.

²⁷ For details on other ancient Buddhist MSS, see (1.1.2.1) n on the Schøyen Collection.

²⁸ See eg Norman 1983b:1-10; EB:KP (Routledge 2007, 2010): 582-596 Pāli Canon.

²⁹ Norman 1983b:5, 10. There are indications, however, that texts might have already been written down before this date (J Brough 1962:218).

³⁰ Sujata & Brahmali 2015:4.

³¹ This section is inspired by Skilling et al 2016:182.

³² The anglicized “sutra,” in this connection, is a broad term for the discourse-text of any Buddhist tradition, Pali or otherwise.

³³ On the 1st teaching, see SD 1.1.

Now, it is unlikely that this episode of **the Buddha's respect for the Dharma** occurred during the 1st 7 weeks after the awakening, since the suttas and Commentaries that relate to this period do not mention the event at all.³⁴ Hence, we can conclude here that it must have occurred after the 7 weeks following the great awakening.

1.1.5.3 If the Buddha had already been with the group of 5 monks in the deer park, he would have addressed them regarding such a key teaching. That the Buddha was *alone* when he reflected on **respect for the Dharma** is further broadly hinted by the Buddha being “alone in seclusion” (*rahogatassa paṭisallīnassa*), when this reflection arose in him.

The *nidāna*³⁵ of the Uruvelā Sutta 1 tells us that the Buddha, while residing in Jetavana, recounts to the monks there of his lone reflection while “dwelling under the goatherds’ banyan tree on the bank of the Nerañjarā river at **Uruvelā**, just after the full awakening” [§4]. If there were other monks with the Buddha, he would characteristically recount such a reflection to them.³⁶

The Gāraṇa Sutta (S 6.2), which records the very same event, confirms the Buddha’s solitude at that time. Even more interestingly, this Sutta has *no* audience at all! It is simply a retelling of this key event by an “omniscient narrator”³⁷—clearly, this was the elder Ānanda before the 1st council at Rājagaha 3 months after the Buddha’s passing. This event must have been personally recounted by the Buddha to Ānanda during the last 25 years of the ministry when Ānanda served as the Buddha’s personal attendant.³⁸ [1.1.1.3]

1.1.5.4 The Uruvelā Sutta 1 is, in fact, only one of a number of suttas that record the Buddha’s solitary reflections while he was staying under the goatherd banyan tree soon after his awakening. Other lone reflections by the Buddha at *the very same venue and around the same time* include the following:³⁹

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| • Brahm’āyācana Sutta | (S 6.1/1:135), (V 1:4), SD 12.2 | Brahma’s entreaty |
| • (Satipaṭṭhāna) Brahmā Sutta | (S 47.18/5:167) | the “one-going way” |
| • (Satipaṭṭhāna) Magga Sutta | (S 47.43/5:185) | the “one-going way” |
| • Brahmā Sahampati Sutta | (S 48.57/5:232), SD 86.10 | the 5 spiritual faculties |

1.1.6 [1.1.4] Primary sources

1.1.6.1 The primary sources for the events of **the Uruvelā cycle** include the various Vinayas—the Pali **Mahāvagga**, the Sanskrit Mūla,sarvāstivāda **Saṅgha.bheda,vastu**, etc—and the sutras of several

³⁴ On the 7 weeks after the awakening, see SD 26.1 (5).

³⁵ *Nidāna* here refers to the “origin or background,” usu to the place and event leading to the sutta.

³⁶ Cases of the Buddha relating his solitary reflections incl: **Cūḷa Rāhu’ovāda S** (M 147,2/3:277), SD 70.7; **Tapo,-kamma S** (S 4.1/1:102), SD 79.8

³⁷ An omniscient narrator is “all-knowing” in having a full knowledge of the story’s events and the motives and unspoken thoughts of various characters. He may describe events happening simultaneously in different places (not normally available to the limited point of view or 1st-person narrative). In modern writing, the omniscient narrator is usu in the 3rd person. However, the Pali idiom allows a free movement of the narrator as either person, as in **Uruvelā S 1** (A 4.21). See (2.8.3.2).

³⁸ ThaA 2:56 f; SD 37.4 (1.2.4.3-1.2.4.4). See SD 12.3 (1.1.1.3).

³⁹ Another such reflection is in **Tapo,kamma S** (S 4.1/1:102). A similar reflection, when the Buddha was in a forest hut in the Himalayas of Kosala, see **Rajja S** (S 4.20/1:116 f), SD 61.71; in **Pālileyya** (V 1:352). The Buddha reflects on his strictness with undisciplined new monks: **Piṇḍolya S** (S 22.80/3:91), SD 28.9a. Other cases incl **Rāhu’ovāda S** (S 35.121/4:105), SD 93.6; **Nāga S** (U 42); **Pabbajjūpasampadā Kathā** (V 1:21); **Pātimokkh’uddesānujananā** (V 1:102); **Pañca,bhesajja Kathā** (V 1:199); **Kappiya,bhūmi Anujanana** (V 1:238). The Buddha in Dharma soliloquy, **Ñātika S** (S 12.45/2:74) = (S 35.113/4:90).

early schools (eg, the **Catuṣ,pariṣat Sūtra**) [1.1.2.2]. The various chronologies we have of the Buddha's activities do not always seem to agree, and later texts often enlarge the cycle with further events.⁴⁰

The account of Brahmā Sahampatī's entreating the Buddha to teach the Dharma is, for example, a familiar episode in the narrative of the newly awakened Buddha.⁴¹ The *Urubilvā Sūtra account of it, however, has hiatuses in the fragments available to us today.⁴² This account, unlike the other accounts of the story, says that Brahmā, appearing mid-air, salutes the Buddha with his palms in anjali, and recites his verses. [2.0]

1.1.6.2 The story of the Buddha's "hesitation" to teach his newly found Dharma, and of how Brahmā entreats him to do so,⁴³ is well known as "**Brahmā's entreaty** (to the Buddha to teach)" (P *brahmāyācana*,⁴⁴ Skt *brahmā'dhyeṣaṇa*). References to the event are part of modern Thai liturgy: the verse-invitation, found near the start of **the Buddha,vaṃsa**, is often used in a formal request for a public Dharma-teaching in the Thai tradition.⁴⁵ The verse runs thus:

Brahmā ca lokādhipatī saḥampatī kat'añjalī anadhivaraṃ ayācatha |
"Santīdha sattāppa,raj'akkha,jātikā, desehi dhammaṃ anukampimaṃ pajam̃" ||

Brahmā Sahampati, lord of the world, with palms in anjali entreated the one unexcelled,
 "There are beings here who, by nature, have little dust in their eyes, teach the Dharma out
 of compassion for all beings!" (B 1.1*/5,4)

1.1.6.3 Now, Brahma's exultation in the Blessed One's decision **to take the Dharma as his resort, to hold the Dharma above himself**, belongs to the same textual cycle and mythical genre as Brahmā's entreaty [1.1.6.2]. Yet, the former, although found in the Uruvelā Sutta 1 and the *Urubilvā Sūtra, is not included in any of the Vinaya narratives.

This is, in fact, understandable since this event directly refers to the Dharma itself, rather than being merely a part of the Buddha story. In fact, this event's significance is highlighted by being recorded in its own Sutta [1.1.1], along with a Sanskrit version [1.1.4.1], and translations in Chinese and in Tibetan [1.1.4.2].⁴⁶

1.2 THE BUDDHA'S RESPECT FOR THE SANGHA

1.2.1 The sangha's greatness

1.2.1.1 The Uruvelā Sutta 1 closes with the Buddha declaring: "Henceforth, bhikkhus, now that the sangha has acquired greatness, I have (deep) respect for the sangha, too." (*Yato ca kho bhikkhave saṅgho'pi mahattena samannāgato atha me saṅghe'pi (tibba,)gāravo'ti*. The reading *tibba* (sharp; keen) occurs only in the Burmese and the PTS editions. The adjective **tibba** means "sharp, keen, eager." In this context, as suggested by the PED (sv), it has the sense of "very devout." Perhaps, an even better rendition is "deep," which we have used here.

⁴⁰ For an example in the Saṃyukta Āgama (*za āhan jīng*), see Y-M Lin 2010:125-137.

⁴¹ For an analytical and synoptic study of the early texts, see Bareau 1963 and Nakamura 2000.

⁴² For a reconstruction see Skilling et al 2016:161, photo 183.

⁴³ See Bareau 1963:135-143 and Nakamura 2000:227-235.

⁴⁴ See **Brahmāyācana S** (S 6.1), SD 12.2.

⁴⁵ See Skilling, "*Ārādhanaṃ Tham*," 2002:84-92.

⁴⁶ This point does not seem to have been discussed by any scholar.

1.2.1.2 The Aṅguttara Commentary and Subcommentary on the same passage [§18] explain the key words as follows:

“**Mahattena samannāgato** means “has acquired greatness” by way of these 4 kinds of greatness, that is to say: (1) the greatness of seniority, (2) the greatness of abundance, (3) the greatness of the holy life, (4) the greatness of foremost gains.”

Mahattena samannāgato’ti rattaññū, mahattaṃ vepulla, mahattaṃ brahma.cariya, mahattaṃ lābh’agga, mahattaṃ’ti iminā catubbidhena mahattaṃ samannāgato. (AA 3:26,16-18)

(1) The greatness of seniority (*rattaññū, mahatta*). The word **rattaññū** (*ratta* + √ÑĀ, “to know”) literally means “who has known (many) nights,” that is, by way of long meditations in the nights. The English expression is “who has known many *days*,” meaning “of long experience, seasoned, wise”; hence, of great seniority, worthy of profound and general respect.

The Subcommentary (*ṭīkā*) explains *rattaññū* as meaning that “they have known the days (literally “nights”) (*rattiyo jānantīti rattaññū*), that is, “they have known many nights since the day they aspired to become renunciants” (*attano pabbajita, divasato paṭṭhāya bahū rattiyo jānantī*): this is said of those who have long been renunciants (*cira, pabbajitāti vuttaṃ hoti*)—it means the state of greatness of seniority (in terms of practice) (*rattaññūnaṃ mahanta, bhāvo rattaññū, mahantaṃ*).⁴⁷ (AAṬ:Be 2:245)

The Subcommentary uses the form **mahantaṃ**--“this is the explanation” (*esa niddeso*)—for **rattaññū, mahantaṃ**, meaning “a state of striving” or “the state that is the striving” (*bhava-p, padhāno*). (id)

Hence, we can take this “greatness of seniority” as referring to the sangha being populated by monks and nuns who have renounced early in the ministry. Thus, they are great by way of being *the earliest disciples* of the Buddha, that is, the world’s first Buddhist renunciants and saints, especially the arhats.

(2) The greatness of abundance (*vepulla, mahatta*) is that of the state of growth on account of (the great number of) those who are elders, middle-year monks and novice monks (*thera, nava, majjhimānaṃ vasena vipula, bhāvo vepulla, mahantaṃ*) (AAṬ:Be 2:245). Clearly, this refers to the size of the sangha in terms of monastic population.

When there were 60 arhats in the world, the Buddha gave them **the “great commission”** (**mahā, cārika*) to “go forth, bhikshus, on a mission for the good of the many” (*caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahu, jana, hitāya*) ... teach the Dharma, bhikshus (*desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ*) ... declare the holy life (*brahma, cariyam pakāsetha*).⁴⁸ Buddhism, thus, became the world’s first missionary faith.

(3) The greatness of the holy life (*brahma.cariya, mahatta*) means the “state of abundance” on account of those taking up the 3 trainings,⁴⁹ that is, the holy life in the dispensation (the Buddha’s teaching), comprising meditation or dhyana, and the spiritual knowledges (*sikkha-t, taya, saṅgahitassa sāsana, brahmacariyassa jhānābhiññ’ādi, vasena vipula, bhāvo brahma.cariya, mahantaṃ*, AAṬ:Be 2:245).

Traditionally, **the “holy life”** (*brahma, cariya*, literally, “Brahmā’s conduct; the perfect life”) refers to the celibate life of a monastic renunciant who have given up the household life for the monastic life, that is, gradual training of renouncing wrong views for the attaining of the path of awakening, leading to the final state of renunciation, nirvana. Hence, it refers to monastic life in proper practice (the path) and prospect (awakening).

(4) The greatness of foremost gains (*lābh’agga, mahatta*) refers to a state of plenitude in terms of support and gains that are exquisite (*visiṭṭhassa paccaya, lābhassa vipula, bhāvo lābh’agga, mahantaṃ*,

⁴⁷ Subcomy reads *mahantaṃ* for *mahattaṃ*, both of which are synonyms.

⁴⁸ See ***Mahā, cārika** (Mv 1.11.1 (V 1:21,1-8), SD 11.2(11).

⁴⁹ On the 3 trainings, see **(Ti) Sikkhā S** (A 3.88), SD 24.10c; **Sīla samādhi paññā**, SD 21.6; SD 1.11 (5).

AAṬ:Be 2:245). “Support” (*paccaya*) refers to the 4 supports of almsfood (*piṇḍapāta*), robes (*cīvara*), shelter (*senāsana*) and medicine and health support (*gilāna, bhesajja*). Despite their abundance, and because it is so, monastics are trained and reminded to use these supports in a proper and mindful manner so as not to fall into any kind of luxury, waste, hindrance to their spiritual lives, nor bringing any negative effect on their donors and supporters.⁵⁰

1.2.2 Reasons for respect for the sangha

1.2.2.1 Let us now look at the Sutta’s closing words (spoken by the Buddha), “**I have (deep) respect for the sangha, too**” (*atha me saṅgho pi tibba, gāravo*). The adjective “**deep**” (*tibba*) is an alternate reading, found only in the Burmese and the PTS editions, but seems to fit the context rather well. Explaining this closing sentence, the Commentary explains:

“**I have (deep) respect for the sangha, too**’ means ‘Respect for the sangha has arisen in me, too.’ On what occasion did the Blessed One show respect to the sangha? It was at the time of Mahā Pajāpati’s cloths-offering. At the time when Mahā Pajāpati’s gave the twin cloths to the Blessed One, he respected the sangha, saying: ‘Gotami, give the twin cloths to the sangha. When they are given to the sangha, both the sangha and I are honoured.’”⁵¹ (AA 3:26) [2.8.3.3]

1.2.2.2 More often we are told of the Buddha putting the Dharma above himself, such as taught in **the Gārava Sutta** (S 6.2), SD 12.3, and here in **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** (A 4.21). Further, the Buddha famously declares: “Who sees the Dharma, sees me” (*yo dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati*).⁵² Just as Yasa’s father is unable to see Yasa until he has heard the Dhamma,⁵³ so, too, only when we fully understand the Dharma, that we will really *see* the Buddha.

As an example of how the Buddha respects the sangha, the Commentary quotes the story of Mahā Pajāpati’s cloths-offering to the Buddha, which he requests that she offers them to the sangha—then, both the sangha and he, too, will be honoured [1.2.2.1]. Offering to the sangha—the unsurpassed field of merit (*anuttara puñña-k, khetta*)⁵⁴—is the best of material or worldly giving in the sense that whatever allowable that is given to the sangha will benefit the person who needs it most, so that there is neither luxury nor wastage.⁵⁵ The giver is also blessed.⁵⁶

1.2.2.3 The Buddha’s respect for the sangha can be usefully understood from at least 2 important points:

- (1) the sangha is the protector, exemplar and propagator of the Buddha Dharma;
- (2) the sangha, as a community, is self-governing, guided by the Dharma.

(1) Since the Dharma is above even the Buddha himself, clearly, it is also above the sangha, both of the noble disciples and of the conventional renunciations. The purpose of the sangha, then, is clearly to

⁵⁰ See **Sabb’āsava S** (M 2,13-16), SD 30.3; **Santuṭṭhi S** (A 4.27), SD 104.8.

⁵¹ **Atha me saṅgho pi (tibba-)gāravo**’ti *atha mayhaṃ saṅghe pi gāravo jāto. Kasmim pana kāle bhagavatā saṅghe gāravo kato’ti. Mahā, pajāpatiyā dussa, yaga, dāna, kale, tadā hi bhagavā attano upanītaṃ dussa, yugaṃ saṅghe gotamī dehi, saṅghe te dinne ahañ c’eva pūjito bhavissāmi saṅgho cāti vadanto saṅghe gāravaṃ akāsi nāma.* (AA 3:26,15-24)

⁵² *Yo dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati: Vakkali S* (S 22.87,13/3:120), SD 8.8; Miln 71; SA 2:252; AA 1:250; DhA 4:118; UA 311; ItA 2:116; ThaA 2:147; ApA 492. See SD 10.4 (2.2.5).

⁵³ See **Yasa Pabbajā** (Mv 1.7.8 @ V 1:16), SD 11.2(7).

⁵⁴ See **Saṅghānussati** (Vism 7.98/220) + SD 15.10a (5).

⁵⁵ See also the story of robe recycling: How robes are recycled, SD 37.14.

⁵⁶ See **Tirokuḍḍa S** (Khp 7 = Pv 1.5), SD 2.7.

uphold the Dharma. For this reason alone, it is understandable why the Buddha respects the sangha. Indeed, the sangha would be meaningless and purposeless if it does not uphold the Dharma.

The sangha preserves the true and tested traditions of the elders from the Buddha's time. The arhats are testimonies to the possibility of attaining nirvana in this life itself. The monastic renunciants are thus aspirants to nirvana. As such, they serve as exemplars—like the elder Assaji⁵⁷—for others to aspire to reach the path in this life itself.

As a learning and teaching community, the sangha, by its own practice and example, propagates the Dharma. **The Vinaya** provides the meaning and *means* for the sangha's existence: it “removes” (*vi-naya*) the defilements of its celibate renunciants while supporting them. **The Dhamma** gives the purpose and *power* for the sangha members: to be liberated from all views, and from all worldliness or samsara, that is, to attain nirvana.

(2) The greatest respect that the Buddha shows to the sangha is to allow it to function both as a **spiritual community** as well as a **legal person**. By teaching his first disciples himself and ensuring that they attain the very same level of awakening or **arhathood** as he did, the Buddha laid down a strong foundation for the sangha as a spiritual community that is free of power-politics and ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁵⁸

Then, by allowing the monastics themselves—by a properly convened chapter (*sangha*) and sangha act (*saṅgha,kamma*) (like a parliamentary act)—the Buddha “rationalized his charisma” and empowered the Vinaya-rooted and Dharma-based sangha as a “legal person.” It is then able to act legally to deal with sangha matters, especially the ordination of renunciants, and owning of allowable goods and assets for the spiritual benefit of both the sangha and the world. This gesture of the Buddha—in allowing the sangha to be a spiritual community and a legal person—is of great, even unparalleled, significance in religious history.

2 Brahmā Sahampati's verses⁵⁹

2.0 SANSKRIT SOURCES OF THE VERSES

2.0.1 In all versions of the Uruvelā Sutta mentioned in our study, **Brahmā Sahampati** utters 3 verses close to the Sutta's end [§§13-15] by way of exulting and confirming the Buddha's reflection. The Schøyen Sanskrit fragments [1.1.4.1] preserve only parts of a sentence stating that Brahmā stood in the air, holding his palms respectfully together in *añjali* towards the Buddha, and addressing him in verse. The verse fragment reads as follows:

(vaihāya)sam ar̥tar̥kṣe sthito yena tathāgata(s tenāñjaliṃ praṇamya tathāgataṃ gāthayā-dhyabhāṣata)

... ye ca buddhā anāgatāḥ ... tvā vihareyur viharam̐ti ca a ...

(Cf §§9-12)⁶⁰

2.0.2 Brahmā's verse triad [§§13-15] recur in several places in (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin literature, as well in several combinations elsewhere. In all cases, the occasion or origin story (*nidāna*) differs from the texts

⁵⁷ On Assaji: SD 1.1 (1.3); SD 42.8 (1.2); SD 51.5 (5.2.3.10).

⁵⁸ The monastics hierarchies we see today are the result of economics (Sri Lanka) or politics (Thailand). In either case, this hierarchy is the legacy of their becoming the “state religion”: “How Buddhism became Chinese,” SD 40b (1.2.5, 5); SD 26.11 (3.1.3.1); SD 36.1 (1.9.2.2).

⁵⁹ This section is from Skilling et al 2016:170-174.

⁶⁰ Skilling et al 2016:161, 170.

mentioned here in our study. Nevertheless, the occurrences of these verses in the texts of numerous schools and traditions attest to the historicity and importance of these verses.

Now we will examine the occurrences of these verses in other contexts, as found in some Sanskrit texts, that is: the Udāna,varga [2.1]; sections of the Mūla,sarvāsti,vāda Vinaya [2.2]; the Prātimokṣa of the Dharmaguptaka [2.3]; the Mahāvastu [2.4]; a Central Asian Mahāyāna sutra fragment [2.5]; and in post-Buddha scholastic literature [2.6].

2.1 THE UDĀNA,VARGA

2.1.1 Tathāgata,varga

2.1.1.1 Brahmā's 3 verses are included in the Tathāgata,varga (chapter on the Thus Come) of the great compendium of verses, often called the Sanskrit Dharmapada, **the Udāna,varga** (Uv 21.11-13):⁶¹

<p>11 <i>ye cābhyatītāḥ sambuddhā ye ca buddhā hy anāgatāḥ yaś cāpy etarhi sambuddho bahūnāṃ śokanāśakaḥ </i></p>	<p>The self-awakened one of the past, and the buddhas to come, too, and the self-awakened in the present,⁶² those who remove the sorrows of the many,</p>
<p>12 <i>sarve saddharmaguravo vyāhāṣu viharanti ca athāpi vihariṣyanti eṣā buddheṣu dharmatā </i></p>	<p>all, with respect for the true Dharma, dwelled and (now) dwell and they will dwell, too— this is in the nature of the buddhas.</p>
<p>13 <i>tasmād ihātmakāmena māhātmyam abhikāṅkṣatā saddharmo gurukartavyaḥ smaratā buddhaśāsanam </i></p>	<p>Therefore, one desiring one's own good, yearning for greatness, should revere the true Dharma, recollecting the teaching of the buddhas.</p>

Notice the remarkably close agreement between Pali verses [§§13-15] and the Sanskrit of the Udāna,-varga here. It shows that they probably came from the same urtext (ancient source), or that the Sanskrit version was translated from the Pali or some Prakrit⁶³ text.

2.1.1.2 The 3 verses [§§13-15] are included in **the Chinese translation** of the Udāna,varga (T212, 出曜經 *chūyàojīng*, translated by 竺佛念 Zhú Fóniàn). The text states that the verses are from the Saṃyukta

⁶¹ Bernhard 1965:281 f. The Skt here has been tr by Piya Tan. For more refs, see (2.4) n on verses.

⁶² Note that the ref to the present Buddha is sg, signifying that there is only *one*. This shows that this verse, even Uv, is ancient, dated before the rise of the notion of multiple Buddhas in the present in this universe or imagined ones.

⁶³ Prakrit (Skt *prākṛta*, “natural”), also known as Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), refers to the “natural” or vernacular languages of mediaeval India in contrast to Sanskrit (Skt *saṃskṛta*, “constructed”), which is a priestly, often lofty, language, not normally used amongst the populace. The Buddha is said to speak the Prakritic dialect of Māgadhī (Norman 1980:61-77). The Jains recorded their scriptures in Ardha,māgadhī (“half-Māgadhī”). Prakrit Gāndhārī is the dialect of Buddhism in Gandhāra region (Afghanistan) [SD 26.11 (3.2.2.4)]. The language of the *Urubilvā S is, however, a kind of Buddhist Skt [1.1.2.1]. The ancient Prakrits are the forerunners of many modern north Indian languages such as Bengali and Odia (previously Oriya). See EBP 659 f; A C Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, 2nd ed 1928; R Pischel, *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language* [German, 1900], tr S Jha 1944, rev 1981. On *prākṛta*, see SD 26.11 (3.1.4).

Āgama, which locate the sūtra in Anāthapiṇḍada's park-monastery in the Jetavana, outside Śrāvastī,⁶⁴ as in the Pali Uruvelā Sutta 1.

The contents are similar, but the Dharma is expanded to include a list from the 4 focuses of mindfulness (*smṛty-upasthāna*) to the noble eightfold path (*ārya, aṣṭāṅga, mārga*). The narrative is concise, but does not mention Urubilvā or Brahmā's intervention. Hence, their respective contexts differ.⁶⁵

2.1.1.3 In his **Udānavarga, vivaraṇa** (Udāna, varga commentary), Prajñāvarman gives the following origin story (*nidāna*) in Tibetan translation:⁶⁶

*khyim bdag bzañ sbyin bcom ldan 'das la chos ñan ciñ 'dug pa na | ko sa la'i rgyal po gsal
rgyal bcom ldan 'das kyī spyān śnar 'oñs te | mdun bsu ba ma byas pas de 'khrugs par gyur to ||
des chos ñan pa'i phyir gsol ba btab pa las ji tsam na tshigs su bcad pa gsum po 'di gsuñs so ||*

“The house-lord (*grhapati*) Sudatta was sitting, listening to the Dharma from the Blessed One. Prasenajit, king of Kosala, came into the presence of the Blessed One. When no one made him welcome, he was perturbed. When he requested to hear the Dharma, (the Blessed One) spoke these 3 stanzas.”⁶⁷

2.2 MŪLA, SARVĀSTIVĀDIN VINAYA⁶⁸

2.2.0 The set of 3 verses [§§13-15] occurs thrice in the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin **Vinaya**: once in **the Bhaiṣajya, vastu** and twice in **the Vinaya, vibhaṅga**. As far as we know, no Sanskrit fragments of the relevant passages are preserved or have been identified.

The 3 verses also occur in **Yijing's**⁶⁹ Chinese translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin **Vinaya[vibhaṅga]** [2.2.2] and **Bhaiṣajya, vastu** [2.2.1]. The narratives are similar to those of the Tibetan translations.

2.2.1 Bhaiṣajya, vastu.⁷⁰ The narrative takes place at Rājagrha (P *raja, gaha*). The serpent-kings (*nāga, -rāja*) Grog mkhar (Valmīka) and Ri bo (Girika) saw Śreṇya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, from afar, and then said to the Blessed One:

“How is it: should one pay homage first to the Saddharma, or to the king?”

“O Nāga kings, one should pay homage to the Saddharma: the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, respect the Saddharma, and the arhats as well as venerate the Saddharma.”

Then, on this occasion the Blessed One recited these verses.

2.2.2 Vinaya, vibhaṅga (1).⁷¹ The setting is the squirrels' habitat (Kalandakanivāsa)⁷² in the Bamboo Grove outside Rājagrha (*rgyal po'i khab na 'od ma'i tshal ka lan da ka'i gnas*). The basic story is the same as that of the *Bhaiṣajya, vastu* [2.1.1], but the Nāgarājas are Ri bo (Giri) and Yig 'ong (Valgu).

⁶⁴ T212.718b26-27.

⁶⁵ Skilling et al 1026:171 (slightly edited).

⁶⁶ Balk 1984:616.30-618.30.

⁶⁷ Tr (*grhapati*, “house-lord”) from Skilling et al 2016:171.

⁶⁸ The section's nn are from Skilling et al 2016:171-174 (with minor editing and paragraphing for easier reading).

⁶⁹ 義淨 *yijing*, Chinese Buddhist monk and pilgrim. In 671 he set out via the southern sea-route for India, where he stayed for 10 years, returning finally in 695 with some 400 Skt texts. He began his tr of the massive Mūla, sarvāstivāda Vinaya while sojourning in Palembang (Srivijaya), Indonesia.

⁷⁰ 'Dul ba gzi, *Sman gyi gzi*, in section on *ltuñ byed 'ba' śig tu 'gyur pa rnam* (= *pātayantika*), tr by Sarvajñadeva, Vidyākara-prabha, Dharmākara and Dpal gyis lhun po, rev by Vidyākara-prabha and Dpal brtsegs: D 1, 'dul ba, kha, 9a4-5 = P 1030, 'dul ba, ge, 8b2-4. The story is summarized in Panglung 1981:20.

2.2.3 Vinaya,vibhaṅga (2).⁷³ The setting is in Anātha,piṇḍada’s park-monastery in Jetavana outside Śrāvastī. The basic story is the same as in the Bhaiṣajya,vastu [2.1.1], but the serpent-kings are dGa’ bo (Nanda) and Nye dga’ (Upananda), while the king is Prasenajit, king of Kosala.

2.3 PRĀTIMOKṢA OF THE DHARMA,GUPTAKA

The Chinese translation of the Prātimokṣa of the Dharmaguptaka school includes the 3 verses [§§13-15] near the end (T1429, 四分律比丘戒本 *sifēnlǚ bīqiū jièběn*, translated by Buddhayaśas), but combines the 1st 2 verses into one verse (6 stanzas); the 5th stanza is slightly different, reflecting the context: it states that one should respect moral virtue (*śīla*), that is, the Dharma (*dharma*).

Although other *Prātimokṣas*—for example, those of the Sarvāstivādins, the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the Lokottaravādin Mahāsāṃghikas—have verses at the end, none of their extant texts seem to have any verses that correspond to Brahmā’s verses.

2.4 MAHĀVASTU PARALLEL TO THE 1ST VERSE

A close parallel to the 1st verse [§13] occurs in the Mahāvastu, but in a different context: the Buddha meets with the naked ascetic (*ājīvaka*) **Upaka**, in the section which Senart called “de la Bodhi au Rishipātana.” The Mahāvastu verse (Mvst 3.327) agrees with verse §13 = S 562 of the Uruvelā Sutta 1.⁷⁴

<i>ye cābhyatītā sambuddhā</i>	The self-awakened ones in the past,
<i>ye ca buddhā anāgatā </i>	and the buddhas in the future,
<i>ye caitarahiṃ sambuddhā</i>	and the self-awakened ones in the present
<i>bahūnāṃ śokanāśakā </i>	who remove the sorrows of the many,
<i>dharmam deśenti satvānām</i>	they teach the Dharma to beings—
<i>buddhānam eṣā dharmatā </i>	this is the nature of Buddhas. (Mvst 3.327,11-13) ⁷⁵

The 1st four lines agree with **§13** very closely; even lines cd echo the “nature of the buddhas.” The main difference is that these 6 lines are addressed to Upaka by the Buddha who is on the way to Benares. Even then, it is interesting to see how this is connected with the awakening story-cycle.⁷⁶

2.5 PARALLEL TO THE 1ST VERSE IN A MAHĀYĀNA SŪTRA FRAGMENT FROM CENTRAL ASIA

A condensation of the 1st verse [§13], which collapses the 1st stanza into a single line, occurs in an unidentified Mahāyāna sūtra fragment in “nordturkestanische Brāhmī, Type a” from the “Handschriften-Höhle” at Šorcuq (between Kucha and Turfan in Central Asia), recovered on the 3rd German Turfan expedition.⁷⁷ It is said to be spoken by Brahmā Sabhāvati⁷⁸ in a quite different context, and is connected with **Prajñāpāramitā**:

⁷¹ ‘*Dul ba rnam par byed pa*, tr by Jinamitra and Klu’i rgyal mtshan, see D 3, ‘*dul ba, ja*, 222a4-5 = P 1032, ‘*dul ba, ñe*, 209a6-7. The story is tr in von Schiefner 1906: 142–143, and summarized in Panglung 1981:142 f.

⁷² Skilling et al: “Kalandaka residence” (2016:171).

⁷³ ‘*Dul ba rnam par byed pa*, as preceeding: D 3, ‘*dul ba, ña*, 81b1-3 = P 1032, ‘*dul ba, te*, 74b5-6.

⁷⁴ Skilling et al 2016:172 errs in saying that the resemblance is only in “a single line ... v 2d (Senart 1897:327.10).”

⁷⁵ Also at Uv 21.11-12 (frag Stein, JRAS Apr 1924); SĀ T2.322122. See below: **§13** = S 562 (S 6.2,13), SD 12.3. For other occurrences, see Skilling 1997:613; his refs are taken from Bernhard 1965-68. A close quote is found in the *pudgala,viniścaya* section of Abhidharmakośa: *ye cābhyatītāḥ sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatāḥ | yaś ca etarhi sambuddhā bahunām śokanāśanāḥ* (Abhk *vyākhyā* 1204; tr Abhk:Pr 4:1328).

⁷⁶ The Buddha’s meeting with **Upaka** is related in **Ariya Pariyesanā S** (M 26) and the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, but the verses are different: (M 26,25) nn, SD 1.11; V 1:8,21 (SD 12.1 (4+5)); on Upaka’s non-returning: SD 49.13 (4.2).

⁷⁷ Waldschmidt (SHT 3) 1971:211 f.

prajñāpāramitā śrutvā uttīrṇa bhava,sāgarā

Having heard the perfection of wisdom,
he crossed over the ocean of existence:

ye [c-ābhya]tītā sambuddhā bahūnaṃ śoka,nāśanā.

In the past, too, the self-awakened ones
removed the sorrows of the many.

2.6 CITATIONS OF THE VERSES IN LATE LITERATURE

2.6.1 Multiple Buddhas in the present?

2.6.1.1 Vasubandhu cites the 1st line [§13] in his discussion on the capacity of a continuum called “buddha” to give rise to unmistakable knowledge by simply adverting his attention.⁷⁹ It is this citation of the 1st verse that is the occasion for Śamathadeva to cite the Uruvelā Sūtra. [1.1.4.2]

2.6.1.2 The verses [2.4] were also quoted by **Bhavya**,⁸⁰ a 6th-century Madhyamaka theologian (*śāstra,kāra*). He quotes them in his Madhyamaka, *hṛdaya,tarka,jvālā* to “prove” that many Buddhas can appear in many worlds, against the early Buddhist teaching that only one Buddha appears in one world.⁸¹ This view of multiple Buddhas is not found in early Buddhism but is an imaginative theology introduced probably through influence by or reaction to external challenges of the day.

2.6.2 Mahāyāna developments and influences

2.6.2.1 It is to be expected that **the Mahāvastu**—a text of the Lokottara,vādins, a branch of the liberal Mahā,saṅghika school—refers to Buddhas of the present in the plural—*ye caitarahiṃ sambuddhā bahūnāṃ śokanāśakā, dharmāṃ deśenti*. The Mahāsaṅghika school accepted the existence of many Buddhas at the same time in different universes, as did some other later schools, and the idea is widely accepted in Mahāyāna thought.

For **the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins**, however, it does not seem doctrinally appropriate, and the Udāna,-varga verses as they stand are ambiguous but is clearly singular, with *yaś cāpy etarhi sambuddho* (singular) *bahūnāṃ śokanāśakaḥ* followed by *sarve saddharma,guravo vyāhārṣu viharanti ca*. But the redaction need not necessarily be doctrinally correct.⁸²

2.6.2.2 The influence of Mahāyāna theology is found in the traditions of all the Theravāda countries. Traditional **Siamese** liturgical texts, for example, include passages like *paccuppanā ca ye buddhā* (in the plural) and chants on the “the Buddhas of the 10 directions.”⁸³ It is possible that such passages were composed or introduced early in Siamese history or before that, when Vajrayāna Buddhism was very influential in the region.

⁷⁸ *Sabhāvati* is a variant of *Sahāpati*, apparently unrecorded elsewhere: see BHSD 560 *sabhāpati*, 587 *sahāpati*, 588 *sahāpati*, *sahāmpati*, etc.

⁷⁹ Pradhan 1967:467.13-22. For Yaśomitra’s comments, see Shastri 1973: 1205.27-30. Also see Wogihara 1936: 705.28-706.2.

⁸⁰ The author’s name is uncertain. He is called Bhavya in the Tanjur in connection with Uruvelā S. Some modern scholars prefer the name as Bhāviveka.

⁸¹ D 3854, *dbu ma, dza*, 182b4. For the 1st + 2nd verses, see 182b1-2 = P 5256, *dbu ma, za*, 198b1-3. Cf Eckel 2008: 178 (tr), 359 (text). Only the teaching that only 1 Buddha arises in the universe in a dispensation (*sāsana*), see **Bahu,dhātuka S** (M 115,14), SD 29.1a.

⁸² Skilling et al 2016:174.

⁸³ See Skilling 1996a:151-183.

Even today, flourishing in the margins and undergrowths of Thailand’s mainstream Theravada is the “cult of amulets” and a sundry structure of superstitions (such as Brahma worship and mundane magic). Some scholars label this as “**apotropaic Buddhism**.”⁸⁴ This phenomenon reflects the popular view of Buddhism as being efficacious in solving, or at least assuaging, present human sufferings. As such, it reflects a profound misunderstanding, or an effective lack of understanding, of the actual message of the Buddha, which is still preserved in the scriptures.

2.6.3 Only one Buddha in the universe

2.6.3.1 The notion that many Buddhas can arise in many universes is alien to early Buddhism. Such a false view is rejected for the simple reason that the historical Buddha does not teach this. Secondly, it is speculative, a distraction from the Buddha Dhamma that is *already available for our training for the path*.

The wheel has already been invented, and we were to go around claiming that there are many other Wheel-inventors; we even laud and worship them! The vital point is that we should focus on making proper use of the wheel and improving its utility for the greater good. Moreover, this redundant notion of the present existence of numerous Buddhas is not found in the early texts and is unequivocally rejected in Pali literature.

2.6.3.1 Buddhaghosa, for example, rejects the idea of multiple Buddhas in the present in his Manoratha, pūraṇī, the Aṅguttara Commentary (AA 3:26,3). Here is the relevant Commentary’s text, followed by its translation (with the verse appended):

<i>[ye ca atītā sambuddhā</i>	<i>ye ca buddhā anāgatā</i>
<i>yo c’etarahi sambuddho</i>	<i>bahunnarṇṇaṃ sokanāsano</i>
<i>sabbe saddhamma, garuno</i>	<i>vihaṃsu viharanti ca</i>
<i>athā pi viharissanti</i>	<i>esā buddhāna dhammatā] [§§13 f]</i>

vihaṃsu [vl vihariṃsu] viharanti cāti ettha yo vadeyya viharantīti vacanato paccuppanne pi bahū buddhāti so “bhagavā pi bhante etarahi araharṇṇaṃ sammā, sambuddho’ti iminā vacanena paṭibāhitabbo. na me ācariyo atthi sadiso me na vijjati sadevakasmim lokasmim n’atthi me paṭipuggalo’ti⁸⁵ ādīhi c’assa suttehi aññesaṃ buddhānaṃ abhāvo dīpetabbo. (AA 3:26,3-9)

[The self-awakened ones in the past,	the buddhas in the future.
and the self-awakened one now,	who remove the sorrows of the many:
they all dwelled, (now) <u>dwells</u> ,	and they will dwell, too,
with respect for the true Dharma—	this is the nature of the buddhas.] [§§13-14]

If someone were to say (of this verse), “[The expression] ‘they dwelled and dwell (*viharanti*, 3rd person plural)’ (shows that) according to the word (of the Buddha), there are many buddhas in the present as well,” this should be countered by means of this statement, thus:

“The Blessed One, good sir, (mentioned in the singular) here is “at present, the arhat, the truly and fully awakened one.” The non-existence of other buddhas (at present) should be explained by citing other suttas, such as,

No teacher have I,	an equal to me there is none.
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⁸⁴ See M E Spiro, *Buddhism and Society: A great tradition and its Burmese vicissitudes*, 1970.

⁸⁵ See eg **Ariya Pariyesanā S** (M 26,171.7), SD 1,11.

In all the world, with its gods, there is no other like me [no counterpart of me].
(M 26,25/1:171), SD 1.11

2.7 OVERVIEW: USES OF THE VERSES

2.7.1 Used by Brahmā Sahampati and the Buddha

In sum, then, the verses are spoken either:

by Brahmā Sahampati:

the Uruvela Sutta [§§13-15]; **the Gārava Sutta** [1.1.1.3]; **Śamatha,deva** [1.1.4.2];

or by the Buddha:

the Bhaiṣajya,vastu [2.2.1], **the Vinaya,vibhaṅga** [2.2.2-2.2.3], **the Mahā,vastu** [2.4].

These texts are instructive examples of how verses are put to different uses in Buddhist literature.

2.7.2 A summary of the Sutra's message

2.7.2.1 In the Uruvelā/Urubilvā cycle of texts, **Brahmā Sahampati** recites the verses to epitomize the sutra's message: buddhas of the past, of the future, and of the present all revere the Dharma. This idea is retained in **the Mahāvastu** but in a different context: it is spoken by the Buddha to **Upaka**, “a passer-by.” [2.4]

2.7.2.2 In **the Dharmaguptaka Prātimokṣa** [2.3], the verse is adapted to fit the context of monastic discipline: it is not the Dharma but the Prātimokṣa that is highlighted. The Prātimokṣa is the monastic code of Vinaya rules, very much like a nation's constitution.

2.7.2.3 And in the “nāga,rāja narratives” of **the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya** [2.2.2], the verses are used to illustrate the necessity of respecting the Dharma even before saluting the country's king himself, thus applying the verse to political/hierarchical ends.

2.8 A COMPARISON OF THE SUTRA VERSIONS

2.8.1 Available sutra fragments.

According to scholars (Skilling et al, 2016), no other fragments apart from 2381/186, 2381/241 and 2382/uf18/2d have so far been identified in the Schøyen Collection, and it is impossible to suggest the nature of the collection to which the fragments might have belonged—whether to the Saṃyukta Āgama, the Ekottarika Āgama, or to some other collection.

There do not seem to be any citations of **the prose part** of the sutra⁸⁶ in any known scholastic literature, although, as seen above, the verses are well known. The possibility thus remains that our fragment belongs to a citation in a scholastic text, although this strikes us as unlikely.

2.8.2 The Uruvelā Sutta 1 and related sutras

2.8.2.1 The Schøyen fragments are clearly not identical to any of the complete versions of the *Uru-bilvā Sūtra or Uruvelā Sutta 1. It describes the Dharma as *dharmo gambhīro nipuṇo*, “deep and subtle.” The other versions do not do this, the phrase evokes a famous description of the Dharma in the sutras

⁸⁶ On the usage of “sutra” here, see (1.1.3) n on “sutra.”

that describe the Buddha's realization, such as in **the Ariya Pariyesanā Sutta** (M 26), **the Saṅgha.bheda,-vastu** [1.1.6.1], or **the Catuṣ,pariṣat Sūtra** [1.1.6.1].

The textual connection, where it exists, is thus a natural connection. The sequence of some parts, however, clearly differ. In the other versions, the verses follow the prose, and come at the end of the text. In the Schøyen fragments, it seems that *the prose follows the verses*.

2.8.2.2 The Theravāda preserves a second version of the text known as **the Gārava Sutta** (S 6.2) [1.1.1.3], the 2nd sutta in the 1st Vagga of the Brahmā Saṃyutta of the Sagāthā Vagga of the Saṃyutta Nikāya.⁸⁷ This text takes its name (*gāravo*) from the mnemonic verse (*uddāna*) at the end of the Vagga.⁸⁸ It is included in the Brahmā Saṃyutta because, as in the Uruvelā Sutta 1, at the end of the Sutta, Brahmā Sahampati descends from his heaven, confirms and applauds the Buddha's thought, and then pronounces the 3 verses.

The two Pali versions themselves are practically identical in their main teaching, but differ in minor technicalities. **The Gārava Sutta** (S 6.2) opens with traditional tag, *evam me sutam* ("Thus have I heard"): the Blessed One was staying under the goatherd banyan⁸⁹ tree (*aja,pāla nigrodha*) on the Nerañjarā river bank at Uruvelā, just after his awakening.

The Uruvelā Sutta 1 (A 4.21), too, opens with *evam me*, but the Blessed One was staying in Jeta's grove. The Buddha then relates how "just after the full awakening," he was at Uruvelā. Uruvelā as the narrative location is identical in both Suttas. Clearly, the narrator or narrative style of either Pali Suttas differs [2.8.3].

The *Urulivā Sūtra, however, does *not* open with *evam mayā srūtam* (the Sanskrit form of *evam me sutam*). Moreover, there are 4 unidentified lines at the start of the sutra.⁹⁰ A wildcard search of the Pali forms of those Sanskrit words in the CSCD did not yield any hits. It is unlikely that these words are from any Pali text we know.

2.8.2.3 In both the Pali Suttas [2.8.2.2], the Buddha sits under **the goatherd banyan tree**. Śamathadeva instead says that it is the Bodhi tree (*byañ chub kyi śing druṅ = bodhi,mūle*),⁹¹ as in the two Chinese Saṃyukta Āgama versions, too [1.1.4.2]. It is likely the 3 translations are those of the same source or one that mentions the Bodhi tree instead of the banyan tree, as in the Pali texts. Unfortunately, the Schøyen fragment is missing at the corresponding place.

Now, both the Pali Suttas give the same account of Brahma applauding the Buddha and uttering his 3 verses. But there is a significant difference: **the Gārava Sutta** simply ends, quite abruptly, it seems, with Brahma's verses, while **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** goes on to state that Brahmā then salutes the Buddha again and vanishes, after which the Buddha reflects further on this respect to the sangha, now that it has grown in size.

Clearly, in the latter Sutta, both the Dharma and the sangha are shown to be respected by the Buddha [1.2]. This latter statement on the sangha is, however, found neither in the Tibetan or in the Chinese versions. More on this later. [2.8.4]

⁸⁷ S 6.2/1:138,29-140,16 (SD 12.3).

⁸⁸ S:Se 15:244,2; S:Ee 1:153,5.

⁸⁹ Skilling et al 2016:176 says "fig" instead of "banyan" (*nigrodha*). Apparently, it can mean either.

⁹⁰ The 4 lines are: (1) *brāhmaṇena vā devena vā mā .e ...* || (2) *samāpadyeyuḥ evam api kila [bh] ...* || (3) *ya pary-āpaṃnā aparimuktā eva [s]. [t]k ... ā* || *ya ... [b]uddho [hy] abhijñā ...* || (4) *paśamaḡāmināḡ: ye dīrghāyuso devā va ...* || *... thā mṛ ... [v] . y. ...* || (Skilling et al 2016:160).

⁹¹ On *bodhimūle*, see *Saṅghabhedavastu*, loc cit.

2.8.3 The Sutta narrator

2.8.3.1 The Uruvelā Sutta 1's narrator⁹² (Ānanda) [1.1.5.3] begins by locating the Blessed One in Anātha,piṇḍika's park-monastery, in Jeta's grove, outside Sāvattihī. Then, he addresses the monks, and he himself relates the events that had occurred after his awakening. Thus, we have a "nested"⁹³ account here: Ānanda tells us what the Buddha is telling those assembled before him—and now *we* are the audience. [1.1.1.2]

2.8.3.2 The main difference between the two suttas is that in **the Gārava Sutta** (S 6.2) [1.1.1.3], the narrator (Ānanda) recites the Sutta before the 1st Council (*saṅgāyanā*) or communal recital (*saṅgīti*). He relates the events, referring to the Buddha in the 3rd person, but in **the Uruvelā Sutta 1**, it is the Buddha who relates the events to the assembled monks himself, in the 1st person. Idiomatically, Pali allows the 3rd person narrator to use direction (1st person) speech in reporting a narrative.

Further, the opening tag, "Thus have I heard," means that Ānanda is narrating the Uruvelā Sutta 1 in the 1st-person account as an omniscient narrator [1.1.5.3]. In other words, the Buddha had related the Uruvelā Sutta 1 to Ānanda *alone* when the latter was the Buddha's personal attendant. [1.1.5.3]

2.8.3.3 As already noted [2.8.2.2], **the *Urubilvā Sūtra** does not have the opening formula stating the location (*nidāna*).⁹⁴ The Schøyen fragment records the Buddha as addressing the monks directly in the 1st person. This narration style is the same as that of the Uruvelā Sutta 1 and as with Śamathadeva's account. Hence, scholars take it as a parallel to the Uruvelā Sutta 1 rather than the Gārava Sutta.⁹⁵

The fact, however, remains that both the Gārava Sutta (S 6.2) and the Uruvelā Sutta 1 (A 4.21) record the same event—the Buddha's respect for the Dharma *and* the sangha, but differ only in the way they are *narrated* [2.8.3.2]. The *Urubilvā Sutra also differs from the Uruvelā Sutta 1 in omitting the closing passage where the Buddha declares **his respect for the sangha**, too [§18]. However, there is the possibility that this is simply because that portion of the fragment is lost, too.

2.8.4 Respect for the sangha: Closing difficulties

2.8.4.1 We have noted that the teachings of both **the Gārava Sutta** (S 6.2) and **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** (A 4.21) are practically identical. They differ only in a couple of technicalities: the way they are narrated [2.8.3], the number of dharma-aggregates they mention, and in their respective endings (following Brahma's departure) [1.1.1.3].

The Gārava Sutta seems to close abruptly with Brahma's verses; the Uruvelā Sutta 1 closes with 3 additional paragraphs [§§16-18]. The first two of these paragraphs are part of the narrative sequence; but the 3rd and last paragraph [§18] is of special interest.

2.8.4.2 The Uruvelā Sutta 1 ends with the Buddha declaring: "Henceforth, bhikshus, now that the sangha has acquired greatness, I have (deep) respect for the sangha, too." [§18]. For such a remark, meant to bear great significance, it seems to stand oddly all alone by itself, like an afterthought. Indeed, if the sangha is to be highlighted, more should have been said leading up to this closing remark. It is, as if,

⁹² On the sutta narrator, see SD 12.3 (1.1.1.2).

⁹³ Meaning a story within a story, or layers of narration.

⁹⁴ The omission of *evam me sutam* or other opening formulas in the collections of short suttas is common; phrases are omitted as editorial shortcuts, and the omissions are rarely if ever significant.

⁹⁵ Skilling et al 2016:176.

the “last word” is given to the sangha—which would then, ironically, water down the whole purpose of the Sutta, which is to highlight respect for the Dharma.

Furthermore, this closing remark on respect for the sangha appears neither in **the Gāraḥ Sutta** (S 6.2) nor its Chinese versions in **the Saṃyukta Āgama** (SĀ 101 and SĀ 1188) [1.1.4.2], nor in the Tibetan version [2.2]. Even more significant is that **the Gāraḥ Sutta**, in the Saṃyutta Nikāya does not have the closing remark on the sangha, but it is present in the Uruvelā Sutta 1, in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (a collection often used for teaching neophytes and the laity).

2.8.4.3 Can we surmise that this closing mention of the sangha [§18] is to remind neophytes and the laity that, besides the Dharma, the sangha, too, needs respect? This is to prevent any misunderstanding that we should neglect the sangha, which clearly needs lay support to survive and prosper. This statement is, however, not innovative at all—the issue here is simply that of narrative focus and flow. The remark on the sangha seems to be out of place here.

Is it likely that this closing remark on respect for sangha was added to the Uruvelā Sutta 1 before the Āgama sutras were transmitted to China? The Āgama sutras were already available in Chinese by the 5th century CE,⁹⁶ and the date of the *Urubilvā Sūtra (in Gandhāra, Afghanistan) is also around that time [1.1.4.1]. Is it possible that the Theravāda or its predecessor added this last line to the Sutta, and that this is among the suttas transmitted to Sri Lanka and SE Asia? Or, it could have been added in Sri Lanka [2.8.4.4].

Hence, either the change was made after the 5th century (which would be too late, since the Pali canon was closed by Asoka’s time, c268-c232 BCE), or the Āgamas were transmitted from an ancient source outside of where the Pali tradition was popular and preserved, that is, in the north (Kashmir) or northwest (Gandhāra, etc). Sadly, the ancient Buddhist texts from those areas have now mostly disappeared or been effectively forgotten.

2.8.4.4 If we stretch our imagination a bit more, we may surmise that **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** was composed or taught to Ānanda before the Gāraḥ Sutta. This may explain why the Uruvelā Sutta 1 has only 4 aggregates (the older set), while the Gāraḥ Sutta lists 5; but it is unlikely that the closing sentence on respect for the sangha would be added then. There is, however, a likelier explanation.

One must consider when such a significant change—the addition of a closing remark on respect for the sangha—was most likely to have been made. It must be a time when the sangha (here, meaning or including the conventional monastic community) was fearing for its own existence. There was, in fact, such a time in Sri Lanka, when various conditions led to the writing down of the Pali canon,⁹⁷ as reported

⁹⁶ Āgama in Chinese. **Dīrgha Āgama** 長阿含經 *cháng āhánjīng* (Dharmaguptaka, 22 rolls, all 30 sutras) tr Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 *fótuóyēshě* & Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 *zhú fóniàn* (T1), 413 CE, Late Qin dynasty 後秦 *hòuqín* (384-417); other tr T2-25; [PDB: Dīrghāgama]. **Madhyama Āgama** 中阿含經 *zhōng āhánjīng* (Sarvāstivāda, 60 rolls) (T26) tr Gautama Saṅghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆 *qútán sēngqié típó*, 397-398, Eastern Jin dynasty 東晉朝 *dōng jìn cháo* (266-420); (other tr T27-94); [PDB: Madhyamāgama]. **Saṃyukta Āgama** 雜阿含經 *zá āhánjīng* (50 rolls between 435-443) (T99) tr Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 *qiúnà bátuóluó* (Song 劉宋 *liú song*); other tr T101-124, F89; incomplete tr (Kaśyapīya, 16 rolls) (T100, anonymous), Three Qin 三秦 *sānqín* period (352-431); and 27 sutras tr An Shigao 安世高 *ān shìgāo* (fl c148-180); [Ency Bsm: Saṃyuktāgama]. **Ekottara Āgama** 增壹阿含經 *zēngyī āhánjīng* (T125) 51 rolls, 471 sutras, tr Dharmānandi 曇摩難提 *tánmó nántí*, Fu Qin state 苻秦 *fúqín*; then ed Saṅghadeva, 397-398; other tr T126-148; [Ency Bsm: Zen-yi A-han].

⁹⁷ Writing, however, was already known in Asoka’s times, such as his inscriptions, and might have existed even earlier: see Wujastyk 2014:163-165.

in the Sinhala chronicles. It is said that “500 rahats who assembled at Aluleṇa ... recited and reduced to writing the text of the Three Piṭakas”⁹⁸ [1.1.4.3]

E W Adikaram, in his *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, gives the following reasons (paraphrased) for the writing down of the Pali Tipiṭaka in the Alu, vihāra:⁹⁹

- (1) Invasion by non-Buddhist foreigners (from south India), wars and political unrest led to the exodus of monastics from key learning centres such as the Mahāvihāra; students are separated from their teachers so that the textual lineage is broken.
- (2) A famine caused by the bandit (*cora*) Brāhmaṇatissa brought widespread hardships.
- (3) The sangha was filled with false monastics who showed no interest in the Pali texts.
- (4) The rise of the Abhayagiri fraternity, its Mahāyāna inclination and king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya’s favouring them, all threaten the existence of the Mahāvihāra. (Adikaram 1946:79)

2.8.4.5 We can conclude with at least 2 important points relevant to our study here. The first is that the Sri Lankan monks were concerned about the survival of the sangha, without whom there will be no “teaching” or dispensation (*sāsana*). Hence, they feel justified to add this instructive line. There is clearly no need to doubt the Buddha’s respect for the sangha—which we have already discussed [1.2.2]. It was just a matter of re-asserting this vital teaching to consolidate the sangha, so that the Dharma would prevail.

Theravāda Buddhism in southeast Asia—Myanmar, Thailand, Khmer and Laos—are all connected with Sri Lanka, especially by way of exchanges in monastic ordinations. Besides their own local Pali textual traditions, they also inherited the complete Pali Tipiṭaka from Sri Lanka. Hence, we are likely to notice the pervasive unity of scriptural tradition of the Theravada of Sri Lanka and of southeast Asia. And all these ethnic forms of Theravada preach deep respect for the sangha.

We may also conclude then that if the last line of the Uruvelā Sutta 1 [§18] was added after Asoka’s time, it must have been added in during the writing down of the Tipitaka onto ola leaves, done in the Āloka cave not long after 103 BCE.

3 Expressions for respect

3.0 THE 3 ASPECTS OF TERMINOLOGY. There are 3 aspects of terminology that we will discuss in connection with the Uruvelā Sutta 1 and related suttas, thus:¹⁰⁰

- (1) terms of respect, with a string of 3 terms which is prominent in **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** and the ***Urubilvā Sūtra** and a few other texts, but otherwise rare;
- (2) terms of deference, seen in a sequence of verbs which are near-synonyms;
- (3) terms of spiritual accomplishment, which combines especially with the first term in many of the texts.

⁹⁸ Nikāya, saṅgraha p9 (tr M C Fernando 1908) (Ency Bsm 1:398 Aluvihāra). Only a brief mention is made in Dīpv 20.20 f; Mahv 33.100 f, 108 f. See Ency Bsm 8:766 Writing.

⁹⁹ Also called Āloka, leṇa (the cave of light) (P *āloka, vihāra*), located 4 mi north of Matalē, on the Dambulla road. See Ency Bsm: Aluvihāra; also R Bowden 2009.

¹⁰⁰ This section is from Skilling et al 2016:177-182. However, here we differ in some ways, such as instead of using the term “hierarchy,” we prefer “respect,” and so on. There are also minor corrections in the citations.

3.1 THE TERMS OF RESPECT: GĀRAVA, APATIṢṢA, SABHĀGA, VUTTI

3.1.1 Sakkatvā garukatvā upanissaya ...

3.1.1.1 The key phrase, *sakkatva garukātvā upanissaya*, “honouring, respecting, (dwell) in dependence” in combination with various forms of the verb *vi-VHAR* (to take), “to dwell,” occurs 15 times in **the Gāraḥa Sutta** (S 6.2) and 13 times in **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** (A 4.21). In summary, these phrases occur as follows:

- (1) *sakkatvā garukatvā upanissaya vihareyyaṃ*,
“may I, respecting, honouring, ... dwell in dependence;”¹⁰¹
vihareyyaṃ is 1st person optative singular;¹⁰²
- (2) *sakkatvā garukatvā upanissaya viharīṃsu*,
“they, respecting, honouring, ... dwelt in dependence;”¹⁰³
viharīṃsu is 3rd person aorist plural;
- (3) *sakkatvā garukatvā upanissaya viharissanti*,
“they, respecting, honouring, will dwell in dependence;”¹⁰⁴
viharissanti is 3rd person future plural;
- (4) *sakkatvā garukatvā upanissaya viharatu*,
“let (the Blessed One), respecting, honouring, ... dwell in dependence”¹⁰⁵;
viharatu is 3rd person imperative;
- (5) *sakkatvā garukatvā upanissaya vihāsiṃ*,
“I, respecting, honouring, ... dwell in dependence”¹⁰⁶;
vihāsiṃ is 1st person aorist active.¹⁰⁷

3.1.1.2 The important phrase, *agāro viharati appatisso*, “one dwells without respect, without deference (for a teacher).” This phrase occurs in S 6.2,2 and A 4.21,5. The closing verses of these 2 Suttas also contain 2 phrases with *garu*, “respect”: *saddhamma,garuno* (respecting the true Dharma) [2nd verse line a] and *garukatabbo* (should show respect) [3rd verse line c].

More fully, we have the phrase as *gāravā patissā sabhāga,vuttino* [3.1.2.2]. The negative term, *asabhāga,vutti*, is listed in the Mātikā (content summary) to the Khuddaka.vathu,vibhaṅga (ch 17) of **the Vibhaṅga** (Vbh 345,27) and defined as “unsociable conduct (lacking mutual courtesy).” Its Commentary, the Sammoha,vinodanī (VbhA), defines *asabhāga,vutti* as “rude conduct,” that is, taking pleasure in opposing, obstructive actions (*vipaccanīka,sātata*); lacking consideration (*anādariya*).

3.1.1.3 *Agaravatā* (an abstract noun of *gāraḥa*) refers to the state of one who is discourteous. *Ap-ṭaṭṭissavatā* is a state of being disobedient in not caring about seniority (*jeṭṭhaka,bhāvassa akaraṇaṃ*). **The Vibhaṅga Commentary** describes “undefertial conduct” (*asabhāga,vutti*) in some detail, such as not looking at one’s parents (*mātaraṃ pitaraṃ vā ... na oloketi*);¹⁰⁸ quarrelling about property with par-

¹⁰¹ In **Gāraḥa S** (S 6.2): §2 §3x2 §4x2 §5x2 §6x2 §7x2 §8; in **Uruvelā S 1** (A 4.21): §5 §6x8 §7.

¹⁰² See OberliesPG 415, 427 (§69.1).

¹⁰³ In **Gāraḥa S**: §11; in **Uruvelā S 1**: §10.

¹⁰⁴ In **Gāraḥa S**: §11; in **Uruvelā S 1**: §11.

¹⁰⁵ In **Gāraḥa S**: §11; in **Uruvelā S 1**: §12.

¹⁰⁶ Only once in **Uruvelā S 1**: §17.

¹⁰⁷ OberliesPG 444, 447 (§71.3): he uses the term “preterit.”

¹⁰⁸ This incl not visiting our parents and keeping cordial relations, instead of keeping them “invisible” in our lives. When it comes to difficult parents or elders, we should learn some people skills to deal with them, or visiting them only with those who are willing or able to cope with them.

ents and siblings; shameless speech; not performing due service to teachers, the sick, the needy, the lame and the maimed; not being respectfully restrained around Buddha shrines; and not respecting relatives. (VbhA 477 f)¹⁰⁹ [3.1.2.4]

3.1.2 The “respect” (*gāra*) cycle

3.1.2.1 As in the case of Pali Suttas [3.1.1.1], the Sanskrit texts, too, preserve a stock of absolutives—*satkṛtya(-tvā) gurukṛtya(-tvā) upaniḥśṛtya(-tvā)*—followed by forms of *vi-VHAR* (to take), “to dwell,” several times in the Schøyen fragments. These parallel texts also have a stock of adverbial phrases—(*sa/a*)*gaurava*, (*sa/a*)*pratīśa*, (*a*)*sabhaya*,*vaśavartin*—which, however, is not seen in the Schøyen fragment. These stock phrases link **the Uruvelā Sutta 1** (A 4.21) and **the *Urubilvā Sūtra** to several other texts, all of which may be called **the “respect” (*gāra*) cycle** since they highlight that quality.

3.1.2.2 Here, we cite the instructive **Tittira Jātaka** (J 37), the partridge birth-story, which highlights the virtue of respect for seniority, especially within the monastic order, but broadly applicable to family and society. Three animal friends—an elephant, a monkey and a partridge—live together under a great banyan. But they lack respect, deference and mutual courtesy (*agāravā appatissā asabhāga,vuttino*) for one another.¹¹⁰

When the elephant is asked about his memory of the banyan, he replies that as a baby, the banyan’s topmost branches tickled its belly: it was a mere bush. The monkey then recalls that as a baby, he only needed to stretch out his neck to nibble away the topmost banyan sprouts: it was just a small plant. As for the partridge, he tells them that he had eaten the seeds of a banyan tree at some place and voided them here!

Clearly, the partridge is the eldest. The other two give him due respect and service, and value his counsel. In that way, they live together showing **respect, deference and mutual courtesy** (*gāravā patissā sabhāga,vuttino*)¹¹¹ to one another until the end of their lives, when they gain heavenly rebirth.¹¹²

3.1.2.3 The **Pali** version of this Jātaka story (J 37) is well known, and is found both in the *Vinaya Culla,vagga* and the *Jātaka Commentary* (*Jātak’aṭṭhakathā*), and in **Sanskrit** in the *Gilgit Śāyan’āsana,vastu*. These texts, as do a number of suttas in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*,¹¹³ use some of the stock phrases or a part of them. [Table 3]¹¹⁴

3.1.2.4 As mentioned, an important source for the “respect” stock phrases (as we shall call them) is **the Tittira Jātaka** (J 37)¹¹⁵ [3.1.2.2], which recurs in **the Vinaya Culla,vagga**.¹¹⁶ Its Sanskrit parallel, *Śāyan’āsana,vastu*, also uses the cognate terms in Sanskrit and Tibetan [Table 3].

¹⁰⁹ For full tr see VbhA:Ñ 2:234 f.

¹¹⁰ J 1:218,20. See also V 2:161,21; A 3:14,23.

¹¹¹ J 1:219,16.

¹¹² J 37/1:217-220.

¹¹³ **Agāra** S 1 (A 5.9/3:7,20); **Agāra** S 2 (A 5.10/3:8,17); **Agāra** S 3 (A 5.21/3:14,23), SD 74.20; **Agāra** S 4 (A 5.22/3:15,17), SD 74.21; (**Pañcaka**) **Kimbila** S (5.201/3:247,14 f), SD 106.12; **Vivāda,mūla** S (A 6.36/3:334,14); (**Chakka**) **Kimbila** S (A 6.40/3:339 f passim), SD 106.13; **Abhabba-ṭṭhāna** S 1 (A 6.92/3:439,1 f); (**Sattaka**) **Kimbila** S (A 7.56/4:84, passim), SD 106.14; **Sakkacca** S (A 7.66/4:120-125 passim); (**Dasaka**) **Sagāravāgāra** S (A 10.155/-5:248 f). See (3.1.2.4).

¹¹⁴ This table is from Skilling et al 2016:177 f.

¹¹⁵ See Skilling 2008: §77.2; for parallels, see L Grey 1994:413 f.

¹¹⁶ **Cv 6.3** (V 2:161,21, 162,7+14); **J 37**/1:217,16, 218,11+14.

Pali	Sanskrit Śayan'āsana,vastu ¹¹⁷	Tibetan	
		Śayan'āsana,vastu	Śamatha,deva
<i>sagāraṇa</i> "respectful"	<i>sagaurava</i>	bkur sti dañ bcas ¹¹⁸	gus pa sañ bcas pa
<i>agāraṇa</i> "disrespectful"	<i>agarauva</i>	bkur sti med	gus pa med pa
<i>sapatissa</i> "deferent"	<i>sapratīśā</i>	že sa dañ bcas	bdag po bdañ bcas
<i>apatissa</i> "undeferential"	<i>apratīśā</i>	že sa med	bdag pa med
<i>sabhāga,vutti</i> "sociable"	<i>abhaya,vaśavartin</i>	'jigs pa'l dbaṅ du 'gro ba dañ bas pa	'jigs pa dbaṅ sgyur bu dañ bcas pa
<i>asabhāga,vutti</i> "unsociable"	<i>abhaya,vaśavartin</i>	'jigs pa'l dbaṅ dumi 'gro ba	'jigs par dbag sgyur ba med pa

Table 3. Terms of respect found in Uruvelā Sutta 1 and related texts. (Skilling et al, 2016)

The Pali **Tittira Jātaka** (J 37) uses the phrases *agāravā appatissā/sagāravā sappatissā* followed by verbal forms of *vi-* V HAR several times: *viharanti* (they dwell), *viharitvā* (having dwelled) and *viharissanti* (they will dwell), respectively.¹¹⁹ [3.1.1.1]

The third member of our group is found in **the Tittira Jātaka** of the Vinaya and the Jātaka,¹²⁰ both in the negative form: *agāravā appatissā asabhāga,vuttino*. The positive version—*sagāravā sappatissā sabhāga,vuttino*—occurs in the same texts.¹²¹ [3.1.1.1].

The PTS *Index to the Jātaka* (2003) records the terms for the Tittira Jātaka and nowhere else.¹²² The first two terms do not pose any real problem in a broader study: *gaurava* occurs alone in various contexts, and *(sa/a)-gaurava* and *(sa/a)-pratīśā* occur together regularly in a number of sources. In Pali *(sa/a)-gāraṇa* *(sa/a)-ppatissava* are often used together.¹²³ The inclusion of *(sa/a)-bhayavaśa,vartin/(a)sabhāga,vutti* as a third and final term seems rare, and the compound rarely if ever stands alone. Its use appears to be limited to the texts noted here, and it seems to have fallen out of use quite early.

3.1.2.5 It is not easy to understand the 3rd pair of terms, the Pali *sa/a-bhāga,vutti*,¹²⁴ especially how to reconcile them with the Sanskrit *sa/a-bhayavasavartin*. Sadly, neither the negative nor the positive form of the term seems to be attested in any other Prakrit or Sanskrit forms, so our investigation is restricted to Sanskrit and Pali sources and Tibetan and Chinese translations. If the terms had been in vernacular usage in early northern India, we have no other evidence at present.

¹¹⁷ Śayan'āsana,vastu (SAV), section 15 of the Mūla,sarvaāstivāda Vinaya, ed R Gnoli 1978.

¹¹⁸ For *že sa dañ bcas*, see Mahāvvyutpatti no 1776.

¹¹⁹ For these occurrences, see PED: viharati.,

¹²⁰ V 2:161,21; J 218,14+20.

¹²¹ V 2:162,7+14; J 37/1:219,15.

¹²² See *Index to the Jātaka*, by Yamasaki & Ousaka, 2003.

¹²³ See *Index to the Jātaka*, ib.

¹²⁴ See CPD 1:304: appatissa/appatissa.

There is a clear connection between Pali *sabhāga,vutti* and Sanskrit *sabhaya,vasavartin*, but to date neither philologists nor scholars have explained the evolution of these two forms. Hence, we are left with the examination of the textual context, which should be carefully done.

3.1.2.6 From Table 3, we can see that *sabhaya,vaśavartin* occurs in the Śayan'āsana,vastu (found in Gilgit); a similar narrative structure and content is found in SĀ 1241 of the Chinese **Saṃyukta Āgama**, translated by Guṇabhadra in the first half of the 5th century. It has a phrase “to fear (show deference) and care, following another” (畏慎隨他 *wèishèn suítā*),¹²⁵ which points to Sanskrit *sabhaya,vaśavartin*. There is no Pali counterpart to this.

The Gilgit **Ekottarika Āgama** uses the 3 terms in the definition of the “community that does not have a superior and the community that does have a superior” (*anagravat-parṣad* and *agravatī parṣad*)¹²⁶ (SĀ 1242);¹²⁷ but the Pali parallel, **the (Catukka) Brahma Sutta** (A 4.63/2:70 f), does not have these terms.

The idea of a community with a “superior or foremost leader” (*agravat*) is alien to early Buddhism and not found in the Pali suttas. **The Gopaka Moggallāna Sutta** (M 108), in fact, teaches just the contrary: the sangha has *no* leader, but is led or regulated by the Dharma, that is, by a consensus of those keeping to the Vinaya and holding right view.¹²⁸

3.1.2.7 The Pali seems to make good sense: commenting on **the Agāra Sutta** (A 5.21), Buddha-ghosa defines *asabhāga,vuttika*, thus: “one who keeps to a life of being habitually at odds (with others), unsociable” (*asabhāga,vuttiko'ti asabhāgāya visadisāya jīvita,vuttiyā samannāgato*).¹²⁹ CPD (1:499) similarly defines *asabhāga* as “not being in community with others, unsociable,” and refers to the Aṅguttara Nikāya passage just quoted.

For *asabhāga,vutti*, the CPD cites Vinaya (V 1:84,6), in which the novices (*sāmaṇera*) dwell “habitually unsociable, undeferential, disrespectful (*agāravā appatissā asabhāga,vuttino*) towards the monks, and *asabhāga,vuttika*, “not living in mutual courtesy,” from the Culla,vagga and Aṅguttara Nikāya passages referred to above.

3.1.2.8 Clearly, the Pali gives these words very clear definitions. They are probably the oldest forms, which somehow became corrupted or obscured in the process of **Sanskritization**. The Pali may, perhaps in parts, be a rationalization or standardization of an earlier Prakrit form, a predecessor of both the Pali and the Sanskrit forms. It is possible that the Pali *vutti* became Sanskrit *vartin* or *vṛtti*. As for Pali *-bhāga* becoming Sanskrit *-bhaya*—can there have been changes in the consonant by vocalization, *g > j > y*, or the reverse by gutturalization, *y > j > g*?¹³⁰

3.1.2.9 Finally, a brief note on a few Sanskrit words. **The Abhidharmakośa** uses the above phrases to define *ahrī* (lack of moral shame): *ahrīr-agurutā*, “moral shame is the lack of respect,”¹³¹ which the

¹²⁵ Skilling et al has the foll: 畏慎隨他自在 *wèishèn suítāzizài*, which they tr as “awe (deference, fear), following another’s authority” (2016:178). 自在 *zizài* should not be in this excerpt as it reads with what follows.

¹²⁶ *Parṣad*, “an assembly, community, gathering,” is also spelt *pariṣad*. On these 2 forms, see L Sander, “Pariṣad und parṣad in Vinaya- und Hīnayāna-sūtra-texten aus den Turfanfunden und aus Gilgit,” 1985.

¹²⁷ SĀ 1242 (T99.340c3-20): http://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T0099_047 (Note that the Taisho line-numbering has been removed for cosmetic priorities at the cost of seeker’s convenience.) Tripāṭhī 1995:94, 187. Here, we use the form Ekottarika Āgama or Ekottarik’āgama, rather than Tripāṭhī’s Ekottar’āgama. For a discussion on the title, see Allon 2001:9-12.

¹²⁸ M 108,7-11/3:9 (SD 33.5).

¹²⁹ A 5.21/3:14,23 (SD 74.20); AA 3:228,1 f.

¹³⁰ Skilling et al 2016:179.

¹³¹ *Abhidharmakośa,kārikā* 2:32a.

Bhāṣya explains as follows: *guṇeṣu guṇavatsu câgauravatā apratīsatā abhayam-avaśa,vartitā* [read *abhaya,vaśavartitā*] *āhrīkyam gaurava,pratidvandvo dharmah*,¹³² “regarding the qualities of those with such qualities, it is the lack of respect, the non-deference and unsociability; moral shame is a state contrary to respect (for others).”¹³³

3.2 THE TERMS OF RESPECT

3.2.1 Recapitulation

3.2.1.1 As we have noted [3.1.2.1], the Schøyen fragment only preserves the phrase—*satkṛtya(-tvā) gurukṛtya(-tvā) upaniḥṣṛtya(-tvā)* with forms of *vi-VHAR*—which occurs in various texts. We have also examined the phrase *gaurava pratīsa sabhayavaśavartin* [3.1.2.1]. **The Uruvelā Sutta 1** has the phrase *sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya + vi-VHAR* as parallel to **the *Urubilvā Sūtra** in the Schøyen fragment.

3.2.1.2 Śamathadeva has *bkur stir byas | bla mar byas | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te yoṃs su bsten ciñ gnas par bya ba*. This is a longer sequence, probably with 4 terms: *satkṛtya gurukṛtya mānāyitvā pūjayitvā upaniśrāya ca + vi-VHAR*, “to reside.”

In the Chinese **Saṃyukta Āgama** (T99.1188), 恭敬宗重. 奉事供養, 依彼而住 *gōngjìng zōngzhòng fèng-shì gòngyǎng yībǐérzhù*, also points to the same 4 terms.

3.2.2 (Tika) Sevitabba Sutta (A 3.26)

3.2.2.1 Another connection to the Buddha’s reflections on respect at Uruvelā is found in **the (Tika) Sevitabba Sutta** (A 3.26), found in the Puggala Vagga of the Tika Nipāta of the Aṅguttara Nikāya.¹³⁴ The Sutta records the Buddha as defining 3 kinds of persons (*puggala*):

- (1) one who is not to be resorted to or sought out,
- (2) one who is to be resorted to and sought out, and
- (3) one who is to be resorted to and sought out by showing respect and revering.

The 1st individual is inferior in virtue, concentration, and wisdom. The 2nd individual is one’s equal in virtue, concentration, and wisdom. The 3rd individual is one who betters one in all 3 qualities: to such a person one should resort. What is the reason for this?

iti aparipūram vā sīla-k,khandham paripūressāmi paripūram vā sīla-k,khandham tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi

aparipūram vā samādhi-k,khandham paripūressāmi paripūram vā samādhi-k,khandham tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi

aparipūram vā paññā-k,khandham paripūressāmi paripūram vā paññā-k,khandham tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi ...

Thus will I fulfill the aggregate of moral virtue that is yet unfulfilled, or use the fulfilled aggregate of moral virtue wisely, now and then.

I will fulfill the aggregate of concentration that is yet unfulfilled, or use the fulfilled aggregate of concentration wisely, now and then.

¹³² P Pradhan 1967; Pradhan 2nd ed 1975 & D S Shastri 1998: Abhk 59.18+19 f.

¹³³ Pruden, in his tr of Abhk (French tr by Poussin,1923-31), vol 2 1988.

¹³⁴ A 3.26/1:124-126 (see A:W 2:20 n4).

I will fulfill the aggregate of wisdom that is yet unfulfilled, or I will use the aggregate of wisdom wisely, now and then ... (A 3.26/1:124-126)

3.2.2.2 The importance of these ideas is seen in their import into the Perfection of Wisdom (*prajñā, pāramitā*) philosophy. **The Pañca.vimśati, sāhasrikā Prajñā, paramita** (the Perfection of Wsdm in 25,000 Lines) has the same 4 terms:

*aham eva kauśika imāṃ prajñā, pāramitāṃ sat, karomi guru, karomi mānāyāmi pūjayāmi satkṛtya guru, kṛtya mānāyitvā pūjayitvā upaṇiśrāya ca viharāmi.*¹³⁵

Kauśika, surely, I honour, respect, think of, worship this Perfection of Wisdom; I dwell honouring, respecting, thinking of, worshipping, dependent on it.

*kau śi ka de ltar ṅa ṅid kyaṅ śes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa 'di la rim gror byed |
bkur stir byed | bsti staṅ du byed | mchod par byed de | de ltar rim gro daṅ | bkur sti daṅ |
bsti staṅ daṅ | mchod pa byas śiṅ rnam par spyod na* |¹³⁶

A study of the terms for respect and reference in suttas and texts is desirable, but it is beyond the scope of this study.

3.3 THE TERMS OF SPIRITUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

3.3.1 The kinds of respects

3.3.1.1 Both the Pali and the Sanskrit texts teach an interdependent sequence of spiritual training and development that leads to the attaining of nirvana, a training rooted in and beginning with **respect** (*gāraṇa*). However, there is some variation in the stock terms and where they appear, but the general structure of spiritual training and development is the same.

The Saṅgīti Sutta (D 33) lists **the “6 kinds of disrespect”** (*agāraṇa*), beginning with: one is “disrespectful and undeferential” (*agāraṇo ... appaṭiṣso*) towards the Teacher (the Buddha), the Dharma, the monastic sangha, the training and hospitality.¹³⁷ This list is then followed by the positive counterpart, that is, the 6 things worthy of “respect and deference,” thus:

“These are **the 6 kinds of respect**:

- (1) a monk (practitioner) dwells with respect, with deference, to the teacher (especially the Buddha);
- (2) he dwells with respect, with deference, to the Dharma (the true teaching);
- (3) he dwells with respect, with deference, to the sangha (the noble saints and the celibate Vinaya-keeping monastic community);
- (4) he dwells with respect, with deference, to the training (that is, the 3 trainings); [1.2.1.2(3)]
- (5) he dwells with respect, with deference, to heedfulness [diligence];
- (6) he dwells with respect, with deference, to hospitality.” (D 33,2.2(10))¹³⁸

3.3.1.2 A similar list, found in **the Sūkara, khata Sutta** (S 48.58), is given by the elder Sāriputta, who mentions these 5 things that lead to the non-decay and non-disappearance of the true Dharma, thus:

¹³⁵ Kimura 1986:102.17–19.

¹³⁶ D 9, *śes phyin, kha*, 117a2–3.

¹³⁷ D 33,2.2(9)/3:244.

¹³⁸ *Cha gāravā. Idh'āvuso, bhikkhu satthari sagāraṇo viharati sappaṭiṣso; dhamme sagāraṇo viharati sappaṭiṣso; saṅghe sagāraṇo viharati sappaṭiṣso; sikkhāya sagāraṇo viharati sappaṭiṣso; appamāde sagāraṇo viharati sappaṭiṣso; paṭisanthāre sagāraṇo viharati sappaṭiṣso.* (D 33,2.2(10)/3:244)

“Here, bhante, the monk whose influxes have been destroyed (an arhat),

- (1) dwells with respect, with deference, to the Teacher;
- (2) he dwells with respect, with deference, to the Dharma;
- (3) he dwells with respect, with deference, to the sangha;
- (4) he dwells with respect, with deference, to the training.”
- (5) he dwells with respect, with deference, in mental concentration. (S 48.58) = S 16.13¹³⁹

This list of 5 kinds of respect recurs in **the Saddharma Paṭirūpaka Sutta** (S 16.13), SD 104.10.

3.3.2 The Sanskrit Vinaya

3.3.2.1 The Śayan’āsana,vastu,¹⁴⁰ a Sanskrit Vinaya text of the Mahāsaṅghikas, states that respect for fellow brahmacharis¹⁴¹ (*sabrahmacārin*) leads to the fulfilment of the rules of proper social conduct (*āsamudācārika dharma*).¹⁴² This seems to be the Mahāsaṅghika version of the Pali *ābhisamācarika,-sīla*,¹⁴³ “the morality of proper social conduct,” which are the minor monastic rules governing general behaviour of monastics.¹⁴⁴

This supports the fulfilment of the “rules of training” (*śaikṣa,dharma*), which in turn supports the fulfilment of the aggregates (*khandha*)¹⁴⁵ of moral virtue, concentration, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge and vision of liberation—it is then possible for a practitioner to realize nirvana that is free from clinging. The Blessed One concludes:

“Therefore, bhikshus, you should train thus: we should dwell with respect, with reverence, with deference towards fellow brahmacharis, senior, middling and new.”¹⁴⁶

— — —

¹³⁹ *Idha, bhante, khīṇāsavo bhikkhu satthari sagāravo viharati sappāṭisso, dhamme sagāravo viharati sappāṭisso, saṅghe sagāravo viharati sappāṭisso, sikkhāya sagāravo viharati sappāṭisso, samādhismim sagāravo viharati sappāṭisso.* (S 48.58/5:234), SD 110.58 = S 16.13/2:225,8-12 (SD 104.10).

¹⁴⁰ Gnoli 1977: 9.21. For an annotated English tr, see Schopen 2000:107 f.

¹⁴¹ “Brahmacharis,” *brahma,cārī*, ie, celibate monastic practitioners.

¹⁴² BHS def *āsamudā,cārikā* as “applying to customary behavior (*samudācāra* 1).” Schopen renders *āsamudā,cārika dharma* as “rules of customary behaviour” (2000:150 ad II 31).

¹⁴³ *Ābhisamācarika*: (adj) “belonging to good conduct,” V 1:64,27; M 1:469,23; A 2:243,15. (n) “good conduct” (the minor rules on personal behavior of monastics) (a comy term), Vism 11,27 f, 19,13; UA 225,28; VA 992,18, 1160; KhpA 199,13; DhA 1:59,18, 3:447,4; SnA 393,3.

¹⁴⁴ This differs from *ādi,brahma.cariyika,sīla* (also *-cariyaka-*), “the moral virtue fundamental to the holy life,” which are the rules connected with a monastic’s spiritual progress. D 3:284,20+26; M 3:192,27, 200,30; S 2:75,21, 4:91,11; A 2:243,22, 244,11 f, 4:166,13; S 5:448,18. See CPD: ādi-brahmacariyaka.

¹⁴⁵ “Aggregate” (*khandha*) here in the sense of “body,” connoting the “totality” of the rules or states and their import.

¹⁴⁶ *Sa tāvad bhikṣavo bhikṣuḥ sagauravo viharan sapratīśaḥ sabhayavaśavartī brahmācāriṣu sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu āsamudācārikān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate.* For the Gilgit Skt version and Tib version of *Śayan’āsana,vastu* passage with this conclusion, see Skilling et al 2016:181. [Table 3; 3.1.2.6]

Uruvelā Sutta 1

The 1st Uruvelā Discourse¹⁴⁷

A 4.21

- 1 Thus have I heard.¹⁴⁸
- 2 [1] At one time, the Blessed One was dwelling in Anātha,piṇḍika's park-monastery in Jeta's grove, outside Savatthī.
- 3 There the Blessed One addressed the monks: "Bhikshus!"
"Bhante!" the bhikkhus replied.

THE TEACHING

- 4 **The Blessed One** said this:¹⁴⁹
"Bhikshus, at one time I was dwelling under the goatherds' banyan tree on the bank of the Nerañjarā¹⁵⁰ river at **Uruvelā**,¹⁵¹ just after the full self-awakening.¹⁵²
- 5 Then, bhikshus, while I was alone in seclusion, a course of thought arose in my mind, thus:¹⁵³
'It is painful to dwell without **respect and deference**.¹⁵⁴ Now what recluse or brahmin may I, honouring, respecting, dwell dependent on?'

The 4 dharma-aggregates

- 6 Then, bhikshus, it occurred to me:¹⁵⁵

(1) For the fulfilment of any unfulfilled **aggregate of moral virtue** of mine,¹⁵⁶ may I, honouring, respecting, dwell dependent on another recluse or brahmin.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁷ **Gāraṇa S** (S 6.2/1:138-140), SD 12.3, records the incident in direct narrative mode. It includes a 5th factor: the knowledge and vision of liberation. Since it is set at the time of the Buddha's awakening, it makes no mention of the sangha, which arose only after the Buddha began to teach.

¹⁴⁸ *Evam me sutam*: see (2.8.3).

¹⁴⁹ The Buddha speaks from here right to the end, §18.

¹⁵⁰ **Nerañjarā river** is identified as the modern Lilājanā or Nilājan. Beginning in Hazaribagh plateau (NE India), it flows in Chatra district north of Simaria southwards, meeting the Mohanā 10 km (6 mi) south of Gayā; then flowing as the Phalgu or Falgu (CAGI 524): DPPN sv (2:85 f). The Skt form in the Schøyen fragment is Nerañjanā (recto, line 5): Skilling et al 2016: 163 n17. For the BHS Nairañjanā, see BHSD 312. See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lilajan_River.

¹⁵¹ **Uruvelā** (Skt *uruvilvā*, *urubilvā*) was a locality along the Nerañjarā banks [see foll], in the vicinity of the Bodhi tree at Buddha, gāyā. In the kingdom of Magadha: DPPN sv (1:435 f); Finegan 1989:86. On Uruvilvā (BHS), see BHSD 148. In Uruvelā, the Buddha also reflects on the 4 satipatthanas: (**Satipaṭṭhāna**) **Brahmā S** (S 47.18/6:167). This event is cited in Prajñāvarman's Udāna.varga, vivaraṇa: Balk 1984:442.12-443.23. In the 2 Chin SĀ, the Buddha reflects on the 4 *smṛtyupasthanas* in a Sutra which follows *Urubilvā-sūtra (Skilling et al; 2016).

¹⁵² "Just after ... full awakening," *paṭhamābhisambuddho*. Note the idiomatic Pali here. [1.1.2]

¹⁵³ *Tassa mayham bhikkhave rahogatassa patisallīnassa evam cetaso parivitakko udāpādi*.

¹⁵⁴ *Dukkham kho agāravo viharati appatisso*. On *agarava appatissa*, see (3.1).

¹⁵⁵ On the aggregates (*khandha*), see (2.8.5).

¹⁵⁶ Throughout: Be Ce Ee *aham*; Se me.

¹⁵⁷ *Aparipūrassa kho me sīla-k, khandhassa pāripūriyā aññam samaṇam vā brāhmaṇam vā sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyam*.

However, in this world with its devas, Māra and Brahmā, among this generation with its recluses and brahmins, its devas and humans,

I do not see any recluse or brahmin more accomplished in moral virtue than myself whom I might, honouring, respecting, dwell dependent on.

(2) For the fulfilment of any unfulfilled **aggregate of concentration** of mine, may I, honouring, respecting, dwell dependent on another recluse or brahmin.

However, in this world with its devas, Māra and Brahmā, among this generation with its recluses and brahmins, its devas and humans,

I do not see any recluse or brahmin more accomplished in concentration than myself whom I might, honouring, respecting, dwell dependent on.

(3) For the fulfilment of any unfulfilled **aggregate of wisdom** of mine, may I, honouring, respecting dwell dependent on another recluse or brahmin.

However, in this world with its devas, Māra and Brahmā, among this generation with its recluses and brahmins, its devas and humans,

I do not see any recluse or brahmin more accomplished in wisdom than myself whom I might, honouring, respecting, dwell dependent on.

(4) For the fulfilment of any unfulfilled **aggregate of liberation** of mine, may I, honouring, respecting, dwell dependent on another recluse or brahmin.

However, in this world with its devas, Māra and Brahmā, among this generation with its recluses and brahmins, its devas and humans,

I do not see any recluse or brahmin more accomplished in liberation than myself whom I might, honouring, respecting, dwell dependent on. ^[158]

Respecting the Dharma

7 Then, bhikshus, it occurred to me:

'Let me then honour, respect, and dwell in dependence only on **this very Dharma** to which I have fully awakened.'¹⁵⁹

8 [2] "Then, bhikshus, **Brahmā Sahampati**,¹⁶⁰ [21] having known with his own mind the reflection in my mind,¹⁶¹ just as a strong man might stretch out his arm or bend it back, Brahmā Sahampati disappeared from the Brahmā world and reappeared before me.

9 Then, bhikshus, Brahmā Sahampati, having arranged his upper robe on one shoulder, knelt down on his right knee on the ground, raised his palms lotus-wise¹⁶² towards me, and said this to me:

'So it is, Blessed One! So it is, Sugata [well-farer]!

¹⁵⁸ **Gāraḥ S** (S 6.2) has a 5th passage, on *vimutti,ñāṇa,dassana-k,khandha* (S 6.2/1:139,18-24), SD 12.3.

¹⁵⁹ *Yaṃ nūnāhaṃ yo'pāyaṃ* dhammo mayā abhisambuddho, tam eva dhammaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyan'ti.* Be *yvāyaṃ*; Ce Ee Ke Se *yo'pāyaṃ*.

¹⁶⁰ Brahmā Sahampati's most important role is inviting the newly awakened Buddha to teach: **Āyācana S** (S 6.1), SD 12.2. **Brahma Saṃyutta** of the Saṃyutta (S 6.1-15/1:136-159) contains 15 suttas in prose and verse centering on Sahampati. See DPPN sv (2:337 f).

¹⁶¹ Another occasion when Sahampati reads the Buddha's mind is in **Cātumā S** (M 67,8/1:458), SD 34.7.

¹⁶² "Raised his palms lotus-wise," *añjalim paṇāmetvā*, ie, with palms together raised (to the ear or head level) towards a person (or object) of veneration.

10 Bhante, those who were the arhats, fully self-awakened, in **the past**—those Blessed Ones, too, honored, respected, and dwelled dependent only on the Dharma.¹⁶³

11 Bhante, those who will be the arhats, fully self-awakened, in **the future**—those Blessed Ones, too, will honour, respect, and dwell dependent only on the Dharma.¹⁶⁴

12 Let the Blessed One, too, bhante, who is **now** the arhat, fully self-awakened, honour, respect, and dwell dependent only on the Dharma.¹⁶⁵

This is what Brahmā Sahampati said. Having said this, he added:

Brahmā Sahampati's verses¹⁶⁶

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>13 <i>Ye ca atītā</i>¹⁶⁷ <i>sambuddhā</i>
<i>ye ca buddhā anaāgatā</i>
<i>yo c'etarahi sambuddho</i>¹⁶⁸
<i>bahunnam</i>¹⁶⁹ <i>soka,nāsano</i> [S 562]¹⁷⁰</p> | <p>The self-awakened ones of the past,
the buddhas of the future,
and the self-awakened one now,
who remove the sorrows of the many:</p> |
| <p>14 <i>sabbe saddhamma,garuno</i>
<i>viharṃsu</i>¹⁷¹ <i>viharanti ca</i>¹⁷²
<i>atho'pi</i>¹⁷⁴ <i>viharissanti</i>
<i>esā buddhāna dhammatā</i> [S 563]</p> | <p>With respect for true Dharma,
they all dwelled and (now) dwell,¹⁷³
and they will dwell, too—
this is the nature of the buddhas.</p> |
| <p>15 <i>Tasmā hi attha,kāmena</i>
<i>mahattam</i>¹⁷⁶ <i>abhikaṅkhatā</i>
<i>saddhammao garuno,kātabbo</i>
<i>saram</i>¹⁷⁷ <i>buddhāna,sāsanan'ti</i> [S 564]¹⁷⁸</p> | <p>Therefore, one <u>desiring the good</u> [one's own good],¹⁷⁵
yearning for greatness,
should revere the true Dharma,
recollecting the teaching of the buddhas.¹⁷⁹</p> |

¹⁶³ *Ye'pi te bhante ahesuṃ atītā addhānaṃ arahanto sammā,sambuddhā, te'pi bhagavanto dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viharṃsu.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ye'pi te bhante bhavissanti anāgatam addhānaṃ arahanto sammā,sambuddhā, te'pi bhagavanto dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viharissanti.*

¹⁶⁵ *Bhagavāpi bhante etarahi araham sammā,sambuddho dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viharatūti.*

¹⁶⁶ For a discussion on these verses, see (2).

¹⁶⁷ Be Ee Se *ye ca atītā*; Ce *ye c'abbhatītā*. Se gives the same reading (*ye ca atītā*) in **Gāraṇa S** (S 6.2), SD 12.3. Ce reading is closer to Skt version: *abbhatīta* (Skt *abhy-atīta*), "what has passed," Tha 1035. See CPD: sv.

¹⁶⁸ Notice the singular number in this line, which is plural in the Skt counterparts [2.6].

¹⁶⁹ Be *bahūnaṃ*; Ce Ee Ke Se *bahunnam*.

¹⁷⁰ For these Saṃyutta verse parallels, see **Gāraṇa S** (S 6.2,13-15), SD 12.3. For a parallel in Mvst, see (2.4).

¹⁷¹ Be Ce *viharṃsu*; Ee Ke Se *viharṃsu*.

¹⁷² Be Ce Ee *viharanti ca*; Se *vihāti ca*. Both Ee + Se read *viharṃsu viharanti ca* in **Gāraṇa S** (S 6.2), SD 12.3.

¹⁷³ On the falsity of the idea of more than one buddha in the universe or outside (AA 4:36), see (2.6.1).

¹⁷⁴ Be Ce Ee *atho'pi*; Se *athāpi*.

¹⁷⁵ Ce A 4:91,1 *attha,kāmena*; Be Se Ee *atta,kāmena*, "desiring one's own good." For *attha,kāma* (desirous of one's good): V 1:302,32 = A 3:143,24; D 3:164,1; M 1:117,31; A 1:44,2, 197,8 ≈ U 7,2; (pursuing the highest goal, cf *atta,kāma*, *att'attha.kāma*, *att'atthiya*): S 1:140,150* = A 2:21,23* (Ee *atta-°*) = 4:91,1* (vl *atta-°*); U 32,15* (UA); A 1:231,19 (qu MA:Ee 2:219,19), 4:227,25*. On *atta,kāma* confounded with *attha,kāma*, see S 1:75,27*, 140,15* = A 2:21,23* = 4:91,1* (vl *attha,kāma*); Vv 951; cf A 1:231,21 (= *attano hita,kāmā*, Com); C 3:4,6. See CPD: *atta-kāma* 1 + *attha-kāma*.

¹⁷⁶ *Mahatta* = *mahā* + *tta* (Skt *tva*): *tta* is a secondary suffix (*taddhita*) which forms abstract nouns. *Mahatta* should not be confused with *mahattā* (Skt *mahatman*), "great souled," meaning "big-hearted, open minded," etc. See DhammajotiRP 200 f.

16 This, bhikshus, was what Brahmā Sahampati said.

He then paid homage to me, and keeping me on his right, he disappeared right there.

17 Then, bhikshus, having acknowledged Brahmā's request and what was proper for myself, I honoured, respected, and dwelled dependent only on **the Dharma** to which I had fully awakened to.¹⁸⁰

18 Henceforth, bhikshus, now that the sangha has acquired greatness, I have (deep) respect for **the sangha**, too."¹⁸¹ [22]

— evaṃ —

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¹⁷⁷ *Saram*, glossed by Comy as *sarantena* (SA 1:204,24), which is prob a truncation of instrumental, *anuserantenam* "by following." But there is the form *anussaram* (J 4:172,20*), which Comy takes = *anussaranto*, "following" (JA 4:173,26): CPD sv anu-sarati. Norman however thinks that it could be a *ṇamul* type absolutive (Tha:N n ad Thī 26): see also S:B 406 n235. See foll n.

¹⁷⁸ This verse recurs in (**Sattaka**) **Mettā S** (A 7.58a,13/4:91,1 f), SD 2.11a.

¹⁷⁹ Alt tr: "by recollecting ... ": see prec n. *Buddhāna* is pl for *buddha*. It is possible that the cpd or phrase *buddhāna,sāsanam* is a corruption of *buddhānusāsanaṃ*, "the Buddha's instruction," which would preserve the singular form.

¹⁸⁰ *Atha* khvāham bhikkhave brahmuno ca ajjhesanaṃ viditvā attano ca patirūpaṃ, yōpāyaṃ dhammo mayā abhisambuddho tam eva dhammaṃ sakkatvā garukatvā upanissāya vihāsim*. Be Ce Ee *atha*; Se *idha* ("here").

¹⁸¹ *Yato ca kho bhikkhave saṅgho'pi mahattena samannāgato atha me saṅghe'pi (tibba)* gāravo'ti*. Ce (*tibba*) *gāravo*; Be Ee *tibba.gāravo*; Se *gāravo*. *Tibba,gārava* (Skt *tīvra,gaurava*) occurs elsewhere [1.2.1.1]. For Skt *tīvra,-gaurava*, see Tripāṭhī, *Ekottarāgama-Fragmente der Gilgit-Handschrift*, 1995:94, 187, and Vaidya, *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, 1961a: 33.11. **Comy** says that the final remark regarding honouring the sangha is made when Mahā Pajāpatī has offered a set of robes to the Blessed One [M 142/3:253], SD 1.9, who then says: "Give them to the order, Gotamī. If you do so, both the order and I will be honoured." (AA 3:26). This remark is clearly a late interpolation as it does not fit well with the context nor is it found anywhere else.

On the significance of respect for the sangha [1.2]. On the problem of this closing para [2.8.4]. See §6 n.