Arahant Mahinda - Redactor of the *Buddhapūjāva* in Sinhala Buddhism

This study seeks to establish that Arahant Mahinda, who introduced the Buddhadhamma to Sri Lanka, is the Redactor of the *Buddhapūjāva* in Sinhala Buddhism. The Sīla Trio – Pañca-, Āṭṭhangika- and Dasa-Sīla, is also found to emerge in the same process. The launch date has been determined to be the full moon day of *Kattika* in the year 247 BCE, i.e., 2260 years ago (current year: Oct. 1, 2012), or even more likely, 42 days prior to that (parallel: Aug. 18, 2012).
By the same Author

Buddhism (selected)


Rebirth as Empirical Basis for the Buddha’s Four Noble Truths, Sumeru, 2010.


Arahant Mahinda -
Redactor of the *Buddhapūjāva*
 in Sinhala Buddhism

*with Pali Text, Translation and Analysis*

Suwanda H J Sugunasiri, PhD
DEDICATION

To my Loving Parents, for a Buddhist upbringing.

Missinona Warnakulasuriya

To Senator J W Fulbright*, in kataññutā gratitude.

*whose initiative resulted in the Fulbright Scholarship Program which brought me to the US.
Front and back covers

* The cover picture shows the view Arahant Mahinda would have had from his Cave. Photo credit: Mr T Y Lee.

* The back cover shows the author at the edge of Mahinda cave, both literally and symbolically. Photo credit: Swarna Sugunasiri
Thank you.

A work of research is never the work of a single person. It is with a deep sense of gratitude, then, that I thank the several scholars who have read, and critiqued, one or another or both the papers, in their various stages. So my thanks go to Prof. Bhikkhu Analayo of Hamburg University (Germany), Prof. Michael Berman of Brock University, Prof. Guruge of the University of the West (USA), Bryan Levman of University of Toronto, Prof. P D Premasiri of Peradeniya University (Sri Lanka), Prof. Leonard Priestley and Prof. Don Wiebe of the University of Toronto. Without them, these papers would have been the poorer. Of course, I alone take responsibility for any errors and omissions.

For taking the time out of his busy schedule to write a Foreword, I thank Prof. Ananda Guruge, Dean Emeritus of Academic Affairs of the University of the West, USA, former Ambassador of Sri Lanka to USA and France and Senior Advisor at the UN.

I owe a special thanks and gratitude to Prof. Michael P. Berman of Brock University, Canada, for not only his input, but also for Guest Editing the Special Issue of the Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies in which the paper that is now Part II of this book first appeared. Moreover, without his unstinting cooperation over the last eight or so years, first as Section Editor but later as Managing Editor as it went online, the Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies could not have been the success it has come to be.

The picture of the Mahinda Cave in Mihintale, Sri Lanka, which adorns the cover of my book is thanks to the graciousness of Mr. T Y Lee of Singapore.

If I thank my wife Swarna for all her contributions, intellectual input and support in my academic and community work, it is with pleasure I can also thank her for the author photo on the back cover.

I thank Inoka de Silva for doing up the Index in a matter of days, and Jim Vuylsteke for taking a final overall look at the book before going to print. Again, any shortfalls are my responsibility alone, for which I apologize.
And finally, I thank Johnny Osorio of JT Printing for a cover design well executed to capture the concept I had in mind, as well as computer assistance in putting the book together. To Jonathan and Tai at JT Printing go my thanks for a quick printing job.

Suwanda H J Sugunasiri
Forest Hill, Toronto, Canada
October 2012
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My research started innocently enough, with a simple interest in providing a Handbook for the practitioner, showing the Pali Text and English translation side by side. This was intended primarily for an overseas Sinhala Buddhist community, particularly for the younger generation.

If it was a perceived community need, then, that prompted my hand, it was to my pleasant surprise that I began to realize that providing an accurate translation of the Pali text meant dipping into the Buddha’s Teachings. The first paper, then, is the outcome of that effort. Here, even as I seek to relate the material to their Canonical origins where relevant, I also make note of any variations that may have come about in the local context over the years. The Buddhapūjāva being a living practice, I wanted to bring it alive by showing the differential roles played by the Sangha on the one hand, and the devotees on the other, separately and together, throughout the Homage. Modes of physical communication – kinesics in communicative terms or kāya viññatti in Canonical terms, adopted by them come to be included as well. The perspective, however, is not comparative. And for that reason, the wider literature on the subject does not find a place here, a shortcoming readily acknowledged.

So Part I may be seen as a critical textual study as well as an anthropological study of a ritual in a given sociocultural context, both as a public as well as a personal ritual in a home setting. Overall, then, the paper can be said to reflect three perspectives – that of the academic, participant observer and practitioner (the Text examined being the one known to the researcher, though with modifications), rolled into one. How well they dovetail, of course, is something that
the reader will decide.

My critical study of the Text also began to show me that the Buddhapūjāvā was no haphazard line-up of a series of homage items, but that it had a sophisticated structure. Working in the Canadian Buddhist community for over three decades, it was my privilege to have had the rare opportunity to observe the ‘Homage to the Buddha’ rituals conducted within the temples of just about all of the world’s Buddhist traditions present in Canada, thanks to our multicultural policy. Even though I have made no formal study of them, and my observations can only be said to be at best informal and unsystematic, it soon became clear nonetheless that the Buddhapūjāvā in Sinhala Buddhism was far more complex than any other I had encountered.

It was this realization that developed into an interest in identifying the author of this sophisticated spiritual instrument. The second paper, then, is the product of that enquiry.

It would also be useful to understand what it is that Arahant Mahinda is said to be Redactor of. This stems from the fact that the term Buddhapūjāvā itself, written as a single term as in the post-Canonical literature, or as two words, buddha pūjā, as e.g., in Kinnard’s article (Kinnard, Jacob N, 2005, “Iconography: Buddhist Iconography”, The Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol. 7, Jones, Lindsey (Ed. in Chief), pp. 4327-4331), is understood in more than one way.

In fact, to quote from Part II (p. 101), “it is used in three different senses:

1. The general sense of a “common form of worship in the Buddhist world” literally “honoring the Buddha” ......

2. As a short form for buddhassa pūjā, as in Pali, in the narrower sense of a specific ‘Offering to the Buddha’, as e.g., of incense, light, food and medicinal drinks at a temple, or in a home setting.

3. A label for a whole ritual that includes the narrow, second sense of a specific offering, but, as will be seen, entails much more.
In a formulaic sense, the three may be shown in the following manner: Honouring the Buddha (1) > whole ritual (3) > a specific offering (2), the sign > meaning ‘wider than’.”

It is in sense number three, then, that the study is about.

The two articles, independently written, were never intended to be published together within the same cover. But, as will be seen, even as each has its own intrinsic value, they complement each other. Part I gives the reader a good sense of what it is it that Arahant Mahinda is Redactor of as in Part II. It also provides the insight as to why it would require the genius of someone like Arahant Mahinda for the Buddhapūjāva to have emerged. Part II, on the other hand, provides the religious, historical and sociological contexts that gave rise to the ritual as in Part I.

It may also be noted that to the extent that the two pieces were written independently, there is bound to be some overlap, such as e.g., the use of Fig. 1 in both Parts I and II.

I come to this study literally as a student, and not a scholar, of Sinhala Buddhism. Thus, my work over the last two years has been a deep learning curve for me. Though born into a Sinhala Buddhist family, and growing up in a Buddhist milieu in Sri Lanka for a little under three decades, the Buddhapūjā was, like for most of us, merely a ritual that was participated in. Living overseas – US and Canada, over the last five decades, it has been no different. This meant that there had never been a context which called for a critical, or serious, look at the practice.

The research was to take me into areas of study in relation to both India and Sri Lanka - post-Canonical literature, Paleography, Buddhist practices, Travels of Chinese pilgrims, *Mahavamsa* ‘the Great Chronicle’ of the Sinhalas, etc. These are all completely outside my academic training – Buddhist Textual study, Moral Education, Linguistics, National Development. But most educationally, and of personal relevance, my work took me into the history of Buddhist Lanka that I had only known tangentially, i.e., living in the country. So it has taken me back to the country’s history, at least one aspect of
it, in some depth. It will thus be evident how this research has been a truly learning experience.

My research finding is that Arahant Mahinda, who introduced the Buddhadhamma to Sri Lanka, is also the Redactor of the Buddhapājāva. But surprisingly, also of the Sīla Trio – the Pañca-, Aṭṭhangika- and Dasa- Sīla. While the latter two may be more specific to the Theravada tradition, the first, namely the Five Training Principles (sikkhāpada), aka Precepts, of course, is common to all Buddhists.

Surprisingly, I say, since the untested and unchecked assumption, in the Sinhala Buddhist culture and I presume in every Buddhist culture, is that they all must surely come from the Buddha himself. What the research seems to show, however, is that while the ingredients of the Sīla Trio have definite Canonical origins, the systematizing of them in terms of a hierarchy, and assigning the label Sīla, is ingenious to the Arahant.

However, while I have the personal intuitive sense that Arahant Mahinda is indeed the Redactor of, to emphasize, the Buddhapājāva in Sinhala Buddhism, it is readily conceded that all I have for my findings is circumstantial evidence. To that extent they may have to be considered tentative, and left at the level of conjecture and Hypothesis, as I continue to stand on the ‘edge’ (see picture on the back page). It is my expectation, however, that my research will trigger a healthy debate, if only to prove me wrong.

Regardless of whether or not my research will stand the test of time, I hope that these pages will introduce you to perhaps the oldest ‘Homage to the Buddha’ ritual. If it introduces you to the historical Buddhist Lanka with a 2500 year history as well, it may also serve to challenge what seems to be a general assumption, both in the academy and Indian circles - that every development related to Buddhism, particularly if ancient, must be of Indian origin. Indeed if our findings have any validity, it adds another laurel to Sinhala Buddhism for its ingenuity and creativity, and to the historical role played by Sri Lanka in world Buddhism.

The Book ends with two Appendices. Appendix I is the total Text
of the *Buddhapūjāva*, in Pali, with a translation in English. Can we fail to note the irony that the Text that initially prompted me into my research ends up being a mere Appendix!

Given that the *Śīla* Trio also emerges in the context of the *Buddhapūjāva*, in Appendix II, I provide the full Text of the *Pañca-, Aṭṭhangika- and Dasa-Śīla*, again with an English translation.

I come to this study with both the advantage and the disadvantage of having done my formal academic studies in Buddhism in the West. It is an advantage since it has exposed me to a wider scope of research. The disadvantage is that, cut off from Sinhala Buddhist scholarship, with a history of over two millennia, I have not been able to benefit from the invaluable insights from these sources as well as of contemporary scholarship, much of it in Sinhala. These are treasures that can come only from the inside. And this is a pity particularly in view of the fact that I, as a student of Sinhala, Pali and Sanskrit, can be said to have paddled the waters at one time, though not swum in the ocean. Apparently, five decades overseas seems to have regrettably erased whatever treading skills I would have had.

If I began my research out of a sheer curiosity of secular scholarship, it is in spiritual joy (*aveccappasāda*) that I end it, the insights gained through the research bringing me closer to the Buddha’s profound Teachings and encouraging me further along in my personal practice.

Finally, it is my hope that you will enjoy reading the two essays as much as I have enjoyed writing them.

Wishing you the best in health and happiness!

Suwanda H J Sugunasiri
Forest Hill, Toronto
October 2012
FOREWORD I

Prof. Ananda W P Guruge

(Dean Emeritus of Academic Affairs,  
University of the West, California, USA)

I write these words prompted by my academic interest in the detailed study of Sri Lankan Buddhism and the Sri Lankan contribution to world Buddhism. When Dr. Sugunasiri sent me his two essays – Part I: “Buddhapūjakā in Sinhala Buddhism: Text and Critical Analysis” and Part II: “Arahant Mahinda as Redactor of the Buddhapūjakā and the Pañca-, Atthangika- and Dasa-sālas”, I was somewhat intrigued.

Sri Lanka has been the home for Buddhism longer than any other nation in the world in that for over twenty-three centuries the country played an incomparable role in preserving Buddhism especially by catering for the changing needs of the people. Every tradition of Buddhism had been introduced to the Island and, as testified to by archaeological evidence, they flourished side by side. They were simultaneously or otherwise patronized and supported by both monarchs and the people.

In such a context, the ritualistic aspects of current Buddhism was generally regarded as something that could have come into Sri Lankan Buddhism from the later developments usually associated with the Mahayana tradition. My own hunch was that the present form of Buddhapūjakā, with food and drinks being a centerpiece of the offerings, could have come into Buddhist practices after the unification of the Sangha of the three traditions during the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153-86).

But here was Sugunasiri looking into every aspect of the popular ritual to unravel its origin as well as to give us a detailed account of the practical ritualistic details of the Buddhapūjakā.

Devotional aspects of paying homage to the Buddha may have commenced in the time of the Buddha because we have accounts of the Ananda Bodhi in the Jetavana Monastery as a substitution for the
Buddha to receive such homage. Flowers, incense and lamps could have been associated in such worship. When and how were items of food and medicinal beverages included? Could they have been meaningful offerings until the Buddha image came into being? One cannot imagine food and drinks being offered to the Bodhi tree or to a Stupa. These and many more questions will come to a reader’s mind as he or she goes through the mass of textual and historical evidence that Sugunasiri has painstakingly gathered and discussed in these pages.

Referring to the Pali stanzas and formulae recited in the course of a Buddhapūjāva, Sugunasiri posits that Arahant Mahiṇḍa could have been the redactor of the liturgy. Redaction is the task of editing or revising and I realized that Sugunasiri’s use of the word is deliberate. When one takes a look at Khuddakapāṭha, which is the first book of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Suttapitaka, one sees that a kind of hymn book for use in worship had already existed in Buddhist circles even as the Tipitaka was finalized. So the liturgy that Sri Lanka uses in the Buddhapūjāva could well have been drawn from and adapted for the purpose.

Sugunasiri’s treatment of the subject objectively enhances the value of this book. One may not accept all of his conclusions. But he has certainly provided much food for thought. I recommend that this book be read with an open mind. One is bound to learn a great deal of the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and the devotional aspect of the ritual. I hope that others will re-examine the evidence and not only draw their own conclusions but also discover other aspects of Buddhism as practiced for further research. I profited a lot by reading it and I am sure others will, too.
This essay [Part II] demonstrates not simply curiosity, dedication, and scholarly acumen, but also honesty and integrity to his subject matter and thesis. “Arahant Mahinda as Redactor of the Buddhapūjāva and the Pañca-, Atthaṅghika- and Dasa-sīlas in Sinhala Buddhism” is, quite simply, a landmark in Sri Lankan and Buddhist scholarship.

The essay is an examination and investigation of the origins of the Buddhapūjāva. This Sri Lankan Buddhist ritual certainly has Indian influences, but [as demonstrated] … its practice arose from the indigenous conditions on the island during the early introduction of Buddhism to the populace. His thesis does not end with justifying this claim, for he engages the Buddhapūjāva directly, seeking to uncover and understand the intentions of the redactor who established the ritual. In his own words, “…the innovative genius of the Arahant Mahinda can be said to lie in coming up with the Buddhapūjāva, bringing the historical strands together in a creative way and in a particular relationship between and among the parts, as a handy spiritual tool for the pragmatic use by the people of Tambapanni…the case for a Sri Lankan origin and a Mahindian hand in the Buddhapūjāva has been made on the basis of internal evidence. But the Canonical and the post-Canonical literature encountered…seem to provide some external evidence, too” (p. 172)

Allow me then to turn not so much to the internal evidence that Prof. Sugunasiri discusses, but to the methodology that he has adopted. In many key ways, his approach mirrors the historical-critical method employed in Judeo-Christian Biblical scholarship, perhaps best exemplified in the contemporary writings of Prof. Bart D. Ehrman. Prof. Ehrman writes in Jesus, Interrupted (New York: Harper Collins, 2009), “To engage in a historical study of the text… requires that you read and compare the texts carefully, down to the
minute details” (Ehrman, 21). Prof. Sugunasiri, like every scholar, has certainly performed this part in his analysis of the Buddhapājāva. Yet he has dared to ask the question about the authorship of the ritual, and in that sense followed through with another important aspect of the historical-critical method: “This view insists that each author of the Bible [scripture or ritual, in this case] lived in his own time and place—not in ours. Each author had a set of cultural and religious assumptions that we ourselves may not share. The historical-critical method tried to understand what each of these authors may have meant in his original context. According to this view, each author must be allowed to have his own say” (Ehrman, 12). There is though a significant difference in Prof. Sugunasiri’s method, for unlike the Biblical scholarship, the author of the Buddhapājāva was not known; no name was ascribed as its creator per se. He asks, “What kind of evidence is there in the Buddhapājāva itself that will tell us just what kind of qualifications we should be looking for in the Redactor or Redactors?” (p. 126) Hence, Prof. Sugunasiri investigates the various components, soteriological and practical, that characterize the ritual. In doing so, he contends that there are 15 such qualities (p. 132-133), which culminate in the author needing to be an Authority Figure. This deduction ends with a focus on Arahant Mahinda (p. 132-133,145), who as a moral exemplar satisfies all of the criteria.

The essay then proceeds to open that space which will allow Mahinda “to have his own say.” This attempt though is fraught with hermeneutical issues due to the various ways a text can be engaged. Ehrman writes, “Of course when trying to understand these different points of view we need to engage in the work of interpretation [emphasis added]. Contrary to what some people assume, texts don’t speak for themselves. They must be interpreted. And this can never be done ‘objectively,’ as if we, the readers, were robots; texts are interpreted subjectively by humans. From a historical-critical perspective, though, each author of the New Testament [scripture or ritual] should be read and interpreted on his own terms without having some other author’s terms imposed on him” (Ehrman, 286). Prof. Sugunasiri explicitly and critically wrestles with these problems in his
final section entitled, “Some Methodological Concluding Remarks” (p. 177-188).

The reader comes away from this essay with a profound sense of not just the breadth and depth of scholarship demonstrated, but with an understanding of the inner workings and meanings of the *Buddhapūjāva*. Importantly, we should also recognize the quite understated significance of this essay’s contribution to scholarly methodology. Prof. Sugunasiri has herein pioneered a novel and effective means for uncovering and bringing to light the authors behind Buddhist (and religious) texts, scriptures and rituals.
ABSTRACT I

Buddhapūjāva in Sinhala Buddhism: Text and Critical Analysis

The Buddhapūjāva is a ritual ceremony of Sinhala Buddhism, although ironically, it is not in Sinhala but Pali. While it is performed collectively, it can be equally performed at the individual level. First listing, by way of an outline, the discrete items covering distinct functions entailed in the ritual, it is followed by an introduction to the ‘spiritual context’ as well as the ‘practical context’ of the ritual. Giving the full text in English, from the opening Homage (namaskāraya) to Homage to Parents and the optional Paritta and Meditation (bhāvanā), a critical study is made, seeking to understand the deeper underlying spiritual intent. Attention is paid as well to the effective use of both verbal communication (vacī viññatti) and bodily communication (kāya viññatti) in making a success of the ritual. This is followed by an analytical schema made up of four incremental stages: Faith (saddhā), Discipline (sīla), Social good (atthacariya) and Liberation (mokkha). A cetiya is seen as symbolically representing the four level structure. The analysis shows the Buddhapūjāva to be no mere haphazard listing, but a well-thought out, sophisticated spiritual tool.
ABSTRACT II

Arahant Mahinda as Redactor of the Buddhapūjāva and the Pañca-, Aṭṭhangika- and Dasa-sīlas in Sinhala Buddhism

Buddha Pūjā ‘Homage to the Buddha’ is a religious practice found in every Buddhist temple and many a Buddhist household around the world. Over the last two millennia or more, it has taken many a shape and turn. This treatment, however, relates to the Buddha Pūjā in the particular cultural context of Sinhala Buddhism, writing it as a single word, Buddhapūjāva (with a -va denoting the Sinhalizing suffix) to distinguish it from the ritual in other cultural contexts. It is as practiced in Sri Lanka, ironically, not in Sinhala but in Pali, Buddhism being introduced in the 3rd c. BCE by Arahant Mahinda during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa in the Anuradhapura period. It is not the Buddhapūjāva per se, however, that is the topic of this paper, but its authorship.

Finding no evidence of its authorship, or origin, in India, it comes to be located in Sri Lanka. Seeking evidence for its Redactor from within the ritual itself, we are led to none other than Arahant Mahinda who introduces the Buddhadhamma to the island. It is also established how, in the very process of creating the Buddhapūjāva, the pañca-, aṭṭhangika- and dasa-sīlas also come to be systematized into a coherent pattern. Two alternative dates for the possible launch of the ceremony are suggested, making it the oldest living Buddhapūjā ritual in the world.

In a concluding theoretical detour, a distinction is made between an Etic Buddha Pūjā and an Emic Buddha Pūjā.
## ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>BCE</td>
<td>Before Common Era</td>
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PART I

Buddhapūjāva in Sinhala Buddhism: Text and Critical Analysis

PART II

Arahant Mahinda as Redactor of the Buddhapūjāva and the Pañca-, Aṭṭhāngika- and Dasa-sīlas
PART I

Buddhapūjāva in Sinhala Buddhism:

Text and Critical Analysis

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A. THE CONTEXT OF THE BUDDHAPŪJĀVA

A.1 Introduction

Buddhapūjā, to write it the way it occurs in the Pali Canon, ‘Homage to the Buddha’ is a religious practice found in every Buddhist temple and many a Buddhist household around the world. But what it is called, how it is practiced and what it constitutes may vary from tradition to tradition, yānically, and from country to country within a given tradition (say Burma, Sri Lanka and Thailand in Theravada, or China and Tibet in Mahayana), ethnoculturally.

This treatment presents the Buddhapūjā in the Sinhala Buddhist culture of Sri Lanka, where Buddhism was introduced in the 3rd c. BCE during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa in the Anuradhapura period. The Sinhala people make up over 75% of the population, out of which over 90% are Buddhist.

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1 See later for a variant rendering, in a related different sense.
2 The reference here is to the different sects, or yānas - Ādiyāna (see Sugunasiri, 2005, for this term to replace the pejorative Hīnayāna ‘Lower vehicle’, the apologetic Srāvakayāna and the misleading Theravāda, Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna etc.
3 In this paper, we shall use ‘Sinhala’ as both Noun and Adjective, in preference to the anglicized ‘Sinhalese’, following the pattern in languages such as English, French or German in the western world and Hindi, Thai or Tamil in the Asian context. It is also to respect the emerging usage in contemporary Sri Lanka.
4 See de Silva, 1981; Rahula, 1956 for extensive treatments.
To keep us reminded that our discussion is on the Sinhala version of the Buddha Pūjā, the Sinhala rendering Buddhapūjāva (with a -va suffix), or simply budun vaendima ‘Homage to Buddha’, will be used, with their Pali equivalents where relevant.

While the overall structure of the Buddhapūjāva is universal to all Sinhala Buddhists, from the coastal areas to the hill country, there may be variations, with a deletion here or an addition there. This may be by region (low country / up county), city (town / village), nikāya (labeled Amarapura, Rāmaṇa and Siyaṇi), temple or even perhaps by individual member to member of the ordained Sangha. It also includes optional items, allowing for shorter and longer versions, without change, however, in the core (see later). The version presented here is an ideal-typical, drawing upon the version in the south, specifically of the area of Tangalla, a town with a hospital, post office,

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5 Pali (or Sanskrit) words with long -ā endings are Sinhalized with a -va ending, and those with a short vowel, say - schwa (-ə) or –i, with a –ya ending.

6 A budun vaendima ‘Homage to Buddha’ may not necessarily entail all that is included in a Buddhapūjāva, and indeed may be restricted to a literal simple one-line ‘Homage to Him the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Fully Awakened One’ (namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa) (see 1.2.1 in Appendix). But the phrase is used as a short hand.

7 This refers to the different sects of the Sangha, reflecting their historical origin. The Sinhala Sangha sasana, decimated by Indian / Hindu colonizers in the 11th c., and nearly eliminated under European / Christian colonial rule (Portuguese / Catholic, Dutch / Protestant and British / Anglican) (see de Silva, op. cit. for a discussion), comes to be purified, and the higher ordination, upasampadā, re-established, in the 18th-19th c., with help from Thailand and Burma (op.cit.: 249-250). While Siyam Nikaya ‘Nikaya from Siam’ draws upon the former name of Thailand, Amarapura and Rāmaṇa draw from locales in Burma. The sects also reflect a caste division, in contravention of the Buddha’s specific Teachings that ‘not by birth is a one a Vasala, but by action alone’, Siyam Nikaya being generally open only to the up-country-based goigama caste, with Amarapura to all.

8 The version is the one familiar to the author.
police station and a courthouse, and to that extent urban.9

The authorship and the origin of the Buddhapàjàva have been unknown, but our research has allowed us to now confidently adduce the authorship to none other than Arhat Mahinda who is recorded as having introduced Buddhism itself to the island, then called Tambapanni (see next essay, Part II, for details).

A.2 Buddhapàjàva in Outline

The Buddhapàjàva begins with the opener sā(d)hu ‘well said’ or ‘good indeed’ (see 1.1 in Appendix), repeated three times over by all. The congregation is next invited by the Bhante10 (or an elder in a home setting), who also joins in, to say the namaskàraya ‘Salutation (to the Buddha)’ (see 1.2). Thereafter, for much of the homage (see discussion for details), the Bhante maintains the primary role of Lead Hand for the congregants to follow. The pàjàva ends with homage to parents (3.5), and perhaps an optional meditation (4.1), the latter being a recent revival of a practice that had died out under a thousand years of colonial rule (Indian, Portuguese, Dutch and British) (as above). When done as a public event, in a home (such as e.g., following an alms giving, funeral, etc.), or temple setting, the Homage may include a Baõa ‘Homily’ delivered by a Sangha member (Lead Hand or otherwise).

To help us with our discussion, we provide an initial listing of the Buddhapàjàva in its sequential order:

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9 The establishment of a university (Sagara University) renders the town even more central today and thus urban.

10 ‘Bhante’ is the shorter from of ‘bhadante’, the term used by the disciples when addressing the Buddha. It will be noted that the term is intrinsic to the Buddhapàjàva as well, as e.g., when expressing consent to something said by the sangha member, with the words, āma bhante ‘Yes, Venerable Sir’ (see later).
i. Salutation to Buddha.
ii. Going for Refuge.
iii. Five-fold Training Principles.
iv. Reflections of the Buddha:
   Homage to the Cetiya Reliquary.
   Homage to the Bodhi Tree.
v. Offerings:
   Flowers, Light, Incense;
   Water, Food, Medicinal Drink.
vi. Transference of merit:
   To deities, sentient beings
   and all else in nature.
   To relatives.
vii. Seeking protection:
   For Teachings, Dispensation, Me and Others.
   For self, away from bad company,
   and for good company.

viii. Seeking Forgiveness.
ix. Personal Aspiration.
x. Paritta: Protection and Blessings (optional).
xii. Meditation (optional).
xiii Baṇa: Homily (optional / situational)

A.3 The Spiritual Context

We begin by pointing to a particular irony - that although the Buddhapūjāva under discussion is called the ‘Sinhala’ Buddhapūjāya, it is, in fact, not in Sinhala, the mothertongue of the devotees, but rather in Pali, the language in which the Buddha’s words came to be first committed to writing in Sri Lanka in the 1st c. BCE in Aluvihare. There is perhaps no better historical example of this preference by the

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11 But see later where Sinhala comes to be used within the context of the ritual, more at a personal level.
12 The Latin mass of the Catholics comes to one’s mind here.
Sinhalas\(^{13}\) for the ecclesiastical Pali over the secular Sinhala than the Sinhala bhikkhus agreeing to the suggestion of Ven. Buddhaghosa (5\(^{th}\) c. CE (Common Era)) to have the Sinhala commentaries translated into Pali (by him)\(^{14}\).

Another irony may lie in the fact that a ritual like the Budhapājāva is in apparent contravention of the Buddha’s Teaching that *sīlabbataparāmāsa*, i.e., the contagion of mere rule and ritual, the infatuation of good works, the delusion that they suffice, etc., (Vin i.184; M i.433; etc.) and that *sīlabbatupādāna* ‘grasping after works and rites’ (D ii.58) do not lead to liberation.

But it may also be pointed out that the *sentiment*, if not all of the specifics, contained in the Budhapājāva may be traced back to the Buddha’s *time*, though not necessarily to the Buddha himself. Notes

\(^{13}\) See Gombrich, 1988: 153-155 for a relevant discussion.

\(^{14}\) In Buddhaghosa’s own words, “I shall remove the Sinhala tongue, replacing it with the graceful language that confirms with scripture ..” (Nanamoli, 1975, xviii). While this has generally been understood to mean that the Sinhala commentaries were then destroyed, they “did not disappear as a result of their translation into Pali by Buddhaghosa, buddhadatta and Dhammapala. They were there and still accessible in the tenth century (that is, five hundred years after the translation) to King Mahinda V who quoted extracts from them in his Dhampiya Atuva Gaetapadayā [a work in Sinhala]. Around the same time or a little later, they also served as sources to the author of Vamsatthappakasini (Mahavamsa Tiika) to supplement the data in the Mahavamsa.” (Guruge, 2012, p.79).

The ready agreement of the Sinhala bhikkhus perhaps portrays two contrasting attitudes. On the one hand, it may be to retain an orthodoxy – i.e., to have an attachment, enthroning Pali: “the Great Monastery must have foreseen, after this affair [the reference being to King Vattagaminui Abhaya’s persecution of the Monastery established by Arahant Mahinda himself] that unless it could successfully compete with Sanskrit, it had small hope of holding its position” (Nanamoli, ibid.: xiii). Perhaps retaining the original Sinhala version may have been seen as having the potential to undermine the Pali rendition, and the study of Pali itself. On the other hand, it may be to practice a strong pietic *detachment*, even to one’s own language, attachment being the cause of suffering.
Kariyawasam (1995:3), “Although the canonical texts do not indicate that this devotional sensibility had yet come to expression in fully formed rituals\(^{15}\), it seems plausible that simple ritualistic observances giving vent to feelings of devotion had already begun to take shape even during the Buddha’s lifetime”. As a case in point, he notes how many a verse of the *Theragāthā* and the *Therigāthā* “…convey feelings of deep devotion and a high level of emotional elation”. Of course, entering the order itself calls for a sense of faith in the Buddha. The example of Sariputta, one of the two Chief Disciples, who became freed of the āsavas as he stood behind the Buddha, fanning him, and reflecting upon Dhamma the Buddha had just spoken to *Dīghanakha* (M 1.501) must surely speak to a faith element. In the *Sangīti Sutta* (D,33), as its translation ‘The Chanting together’ (Walsh, 1987:479 ff) makes clear, Sariputta, assigned the task by the Buddha to “think of a discourse on Dhamma” to give Vāseṭṭha and other Mallas, calls upon the monks, “So we should all recite together .. for the benefit, welfare and happiness of devas and humans” (ibid.:481). If here we see a ritualistic element, the Suttas that come to be included in *paritta* chanting today – *Karaniya Metta* (Sutta Nipata I.8), *Mahamangala* (Sutta Nipata II.4), *Ratana* (Sutta Nipata II.1), *Āṭānāṭiya* (D. 32), etc. (see Revata Dhamma, 1996; Lokuliyana, n.d. for extensive treatments), all come straight from the Canon. Even the style of chanting (as may be judged from today’s practice) comes with the approval of the Buddha: “I allow vowel intoning’ (*anujānāmi sarabhāṇanti*) (V.3.2). The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* identifies four holy sites relating to Buddha’s life to be fit for veneration (D ii 141)\(^{16}\). At the lay level, reliance on *kalyāṇamitta* ‘the good friend’ calls for an element of de-

\(^{15}\) We may note again, as above, that *silabbataparāmāsa* ‘delusion as to the efficacy of rite and ritual’ is listed as a *samyojana*, an impediment to liberation, and a form of clinging (*upādāna*). And, as as also noted in Kariyawasam, op cit., even devotion to the Buddha himself was discouraged, as in the case of Vakkali Thera (S.iii.120).

\(^{16}\) These are given as “where Tathagata was born, attained supreme Enlightenment, set in motion the wheel of Dhamma and attained the Nibbana element without remainder”.
votion and emotional attachment. Thus we see that there is indeed a devotional tenet that comes through in Canonical Buddhism.

So even though the Buddha himself would not find efficacy in ritual, notes Kariyawasam (ibid.) again, “Correctly observed, as means and not as ends, ritualistic practices can serve to generate wholesome states of mind, while certain other rituals collectively performed can serve as a means of strengthening social solidarity…”. A Canonical example of the first would be the offering of flowers to the Buddha, a practice not uncommon in Indian culture. And, “ceremonies and rituals, as external acts which complement inward contemplative exercises, cannot be called alien to or incompatible with Canoncial Buddhism.” Indeed it is thus that we find a ritualistic element in all schools of Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism perhaps being at the extreme end (see Wayman, 1973 for a treatment).

While the redactor(s) or the promoters of a ritual like the Buddhapājāva may not be unaware of the Buddha’s Teachings discouraging ritual and dogma, they may not be incognizant of the on-the-ground reality that the interest of a vast majority of people may not be liberation per se. As we read in the Dhammapada (85),

Few are they among humans
They who reach the shore beyond.
But these other folk, the many,
They only run along the [hither] bank.

Indeed even in Buddha’s time, there may not have been more than a thousand Arahants. So the Buddhapūjāva may have been redacted as a form of shelter, living within which one could benefit from the Buddha’s Teachings, and towards the sagga magga ‘Path to Heaven’. After all, many are the Teachings [note: provide brief list: Sigalovada, politics, economics, justice,…] that do help a people to live a moral life, regardless of an interest in liberation. So the Buddhapūjāva may even be thought of as a bridge to hold a population until the individuals constituting it decide, one by one, to cross to the other shore.

It is then as a case study that we explore the Buddhapūjāva in
Sinhala Buddhism as an act “performed for the acquisition of merit…”, although as we shall see, much more.

A.4 The Practical Context

The Buddhapājāva may be held in a temple or a home setting, as a collective event (family or other) or as an individual act. If at home, it could be both in the morning and the evening, although more likely in the evening only, given the work and schooling responsibilities of a given family. If at the temple, it is generally held in the evening, with more devotees attending on a full moon day than on other days of the month\(^{17}\). On a full moon day, or at any other special event (such as Wesak\(^{18}\), Poson\(^{19}\) or Kaṭhina\(^{20}\))\(^{21}\), it may be held several times of the day:

1. early morning, particularly when devotees observe aṭṭa sil (Pali: aṭṭhāṅgika sīla), i.e., seek to abide by the 8 Training Principles (sikkhāpada) (aka Precepts) (see later for details);

2. at the noon offering of meals to the Sangha; and / or

3. in the evening, offering gilampasa, literally meaning ‘medicinal drink’ (although it could be any liquid), solids not allowed for the ordained after midday under Vinaya rules.

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\(^{17}\) See Robertson (1971 / 1998, 1-7) for the significance of the Full Moon in Buddhism.

\(^{18}\) Re Wesak in North America, see Numerich, 1996; Turpie, 1981, and also the Canadian Multifaith Calendar where it is shown as one of the Buddhist days of significance.

\(^{19}\) Poson is the month that Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka by Ven. Mahinda. See Mahavamsa, ch. xiii.

\(^{20}\) Following the three months of Rains Retreat (vassāna), it is the custom that the ordained Sangha are offered new robes, and kaṭhina refers to this offering and the ceremony, which takes place around October/November.

\(^{21}\) Here is the list of Indian lunar months with their parallels in Sinhala:
Transposing our scenario to a temple setting, then, we note that, reminded by a temple bell (ghaṇṭā), devotees, generally in white\textsuperscript{22}, begin to make their way, and enter the temple premises, taking off footwear, if any\textsuperscript{23}, washing their hands at a fountain as might be available in a city setting. The Buddhapūjāva is held at the ‘Buddha House’ (buduge), one of three stations of veneration at a temple, the other two being a vehera (or vihāraya\textsuperscript{24}, also called a dāgæba\textsuperscript{25} and

\begin{itemize}
  \item White is the colour of purity in Buddhism, and hence worn not only for religious events but for funerals as well. If a flag is put out in an occasional Sinhalese home in honour of the deceased, it would be white, too.
  \item If in a village setting, few would be wearing footwear.
  \item It may be noted that the –ya in vihāraya serves the purpose of Sinhalizing the Pali term vihāra, ending in /-ə/. See fn. 5.
  \item A dāgæba, aka cetiya (see Fig. 2 for a visual representation), includes a
\end{itemize}
the bo-tree (bodhiya; bo maluwa).

Devotees assembled in the temple compound, outside of the Buddha House, may be led in a hevisi pūjāva ‘offering of drumming’ processional, with one or more drummers playing a standard hevisi tune on a singārama drum and a horanēva horn. The musicians would have no role thereafter, or in the ‘Buddha House’, except, of course, as devotees. The resident monk(s), leaving their living quarters (àvāsaya) located within the temple precincts, may, on a festival occasion in particular, be led in procession, ahead of the laity, to the cries of sād(h)u sād(h)u sād(h)u ‘good it is’ of the relic chamber (dhātugarbha > Sinh. dāgæba). But in a semantic expansion of the centrality of this chamber to a cetiya, the Sinhalese have come to call it a dāgæba.

26 There may also be a Hindu kovil in many a temple, to cater to the popular instincts of the devotees who may want to offer a prayer for success in something or the other. But this, always upon completion of homage, is clearly seen by the devotee as not being part of the Buddhist homage, even as they retain their belief in the efficacy of prayer.


28 Music and dance are not part of the religious life of a Buddhist (see Training Principle 8, footnote 82) of the aññhangika-sāla and the dasa-sāla. Indeed an injunction in the Dambadeni Katikavata, a religious Edict, of the 13th c., directed at the ordained Sangha, makes it clear in no uncertain terms: ‘The base arts of poetics, dramaturgy, etc. should neither be studied nor taught’ (kāvya nāṭakādi garhita vidyā nūgata yutu nūgaenviya yutu).

29 This is Pali āvāsa Sinhalaized with a –ya ending.

30 The aspirate in Pali (or Sanskrit) becomes inaspirate in Sinhala, universally. But in the triglossic context of Sinhala (see Sugunasiri, unpublished, 1968), the aspirate /dha/ occurs in formal religious contexts and the inaspirate in the spoken language. Thus the (h) in parenthesis in sād(h)u is to indicate that the aspirate is optional. While the average devotee might more likely be using the Sinhalaized sādu, the Sangha member, or the more educated congregant may prefer sād(h)u. Interestingly, sādu is also used as an epithet for the ordained, the Buddha coming to be called budu sādu, specially by children.

31 While the expression would be most commonly found in the religious context, it is not infrequent that one may see it used in secular contexts as well, to express one’s happiness at another’s success, when, e.g., one
tees, palms held together chest high, this more likely by women and children than by men.

In the Buddha House, the Buddha, in the centre, is often flanked by his two chief disciples Sariputta and Moggallana (see Nyapanonika & Hecker, 1997, for their life stories). The walls, and/or the ceiling, may be decorated with scenes from the Buddha’s life, and invariably of hells (niraya, apāya), as a constant and not-so-subtle prodding of devotees away from unskilled states (akusala) in mind, body and word (sīta, kaya, vacanaya), the three doors of morally relevant activity. The floor may be paved with marbles or decorative slabs. An occasional temple may show images of Sinhala Rulers who have been benefactors of Buddhism and the Sinhala people, Dutugemunu primary among them. An altar in front of the Buddha image would show, or allow space for, flowers (mal), oil lamp(s) (tel pahan) and incense sticks (hañdun kāru).

Inside the Buddha House, the devotees sit on the bare floor or on a mat or piece of cloth laid out, facing the Buddha, in a mixed congregation of men and women, palms held again chest high. At the front but onto

says ane sādu! Interestingly, it is also used to express ‘happiness’ at seeing someone inimical, or even jestingly at a friend, falling in trouble, as in sādu, hoñda vaede ‘Good! Just as well!’

32 Manodvāra, kāyadvāra, vacādvāra.
33 Dutugemunu was the ruler who united, and ruled over, all of Sri Lanka in the 2nd to 1st c. BCE, deposing the South Indian usurper, Elara, but building a mausoleum in his honour (Mahavamsa, xxv.72-74), built the mahāthāpa, now called Ruvanveli sæya (See Mahavamsa, xxix, for details).
34 The symbol - ŋ- in hañdun denotes that the nasal is part of the phoneme immediately following, namely –d-, and not a pure phoneme /n/.
35 Keeping the temple clean is a daily routine expected of the younger monks in particular, this rendering both the compound as well as the inside of buildings clean at all times.
36 In a home setting, sāmbrāni, a kind of resin, placed in a coconut shell, may be burnt by way of both warding off mosquitoes in the tropical land as well as to provide a good smelling environment, as if to remind that the Buddhapūjāva was something special, even though done everyday.
37 However, they may be clustered by family, friends, age, interest, etc. If there were to be 8-Preceptees in the congregation on a Full Moon Day, e.g.,
the side, so the congregation could see him, an ordained Sangha member38, ‘svāmin vahanse’39 (‘Bhante’ hereafter), also with palms chest-high, and facing the Buddha, sits on the floor as well, sitting cross-legged or with legs under the haunches.

To begin the Buddhapājāva, everyone bends over – though less so now in urban settings, paying homage by establishing a five-point touch (head, elbows, knees) (pasaṅga pihituvā), touching the ground with the forehead or resting the head on the face-up palms touching the ground.

The core of the Buddhapājāva consists of ‘Salutation to the Buddha’ (Namaskāraya) (see item i in the Outline above), ‘Going for Refuge’ (saraṇāgamanaṇaya) (ii) and the ‘Five-fold Training Principles’ (pañcasīla) (iii), with even ‘Reflection on the Buddha / Dhamma / Sangha’ (iv) sometimes deleted. While the total ritual could be over in only a few minutes, it could take up to an hour or more in a formal setting (temple, funeral40), particularly if paritta (x) and baṇa (Discourse) (xiii) are included.

then, of course, there would be gender separation as required by the Vinaya rules for the ordained.

38 While for a thousand or more years since the South Indian Cola invasion of the 11th c., there have only been male Sangha, now, since the revival of the bhikkhuni ordination in 1998 (see Yasodhara, vol. 14, no. 2 (no. 54), 1998, for a first-hand report), it may well be a woman Sangha. Only very rarely in a public context would the Buddhapājāva be led by a lay elder.

39 Hámoduruvo or Hámoduruvan vahanse are less formal alternative usages. ‘Vahanse’ is an honorific, appended to a title as a mark of respect. ‘Budun vahanse’ would be the parallel in relation to the Buddha, or even more respectfully ‘budurajānan vahanse’, meaning ‘Buddha-King respectful’. The honorific, however, is not limited to the religious domain. A King would be ‘rajjuruvan vahanse’, and mother would be ‘maṇiyan vahanse’ and father ‘piyānan vahanse’. As seen here, this linguistic variation constitutes the various levels of language usage in Sinhala, depending on the relationship of the speaker to the spoken to.

40 It is the custom that the Sangha is invited to lead in a service that includes the Buddhapājāva in a funeral setting, although incidentally, there is no role for the Sangha at a wedding.
B. THE TEXT

In this Chapter, we present the outline above in the form of the full text.

i. Salutation to Buddha

Indeed good! (Thrice)

Homage to Him the Fortunate One, the Worthy One, the Fully Awakened One. (Thrice)

ii. Going for Refuge

I seek refuge in the Buddha.
I seek refuge in the Dhamma.
I seek refuge in the Sangha.

For the second time I seek refuge in the Buddha.
For the second time I seek refuge in the Dhamma.
For the second time I seek refuge in the Sangha.

For the third time I seek refuge in the Buddha.
For the third time I seek refuge in the Dhamma.
For the third time I seek refuge in the Sangha.
Reflection on the Buddha

Such indeed is the Fortunate One,
the Worthy One, the Fully Awakened One,
Endowed with knowledge and virtues,
the Well-gone, the Knower of the world,
the Incomparable Charioteer in taming men,
the Teacher of deities and people,
the Awakened, the Fortunate.

To the Buddha for a lifetime of refuge I go.
Those Buddhas of the past,
Those Buddhas of the future,
Those Buddhas of the present, too,
I pay homage for ever.

There is no other refuge,
Buddha my noble refuge.
By these truthful words,
may blessings be unto me.

I pay homage with my crest limb
at the excellent and noble feet.
Oh Buddha, these my faltering errors,
may the Buddha forgive me.

Reflection on the Dhamma

Well-expounded is the Dhamma by the Fortunate One,
well-seen, timeless, a come and see,
to be known experientially by the wise.
To the Dhamma for a lifetime of refuge I go.
Those Dhammas of the past,
those Dhammas of the future,
those Dhammas of the present, too,
I pay homage for ever.

There is no other refuge,
Dhamma my noble refuge.
By these truthful words,
may blessings be unto me.

I pay homage with my crest limb,
the Dhamma is triply noble.
these my faltering errors vis-à-vis the Dhamma,
may the Dhamma forgive me.

Reflection on the Sangha

Well entered [the path] is the Sangha of the Fortunate One.
Upright is the Sangha of the Fortunate One.
Well into the method is the Sangha of the Fortunate One.
Into the correct course is the Sangha of the Fortunate One.

Such are these four pairs of men,
the eight individual persons,
this the collectivity of disciples of the Fortunate One,
worthy of offerings, worthy of hospitality,
worthy of gifts, worthy of salutation,
the incomparable fields of merit in the world.
To the Sangha for a lifetime of refuge I go.
Those Sangha of the past,
those Sangha of the future,
those Sangha of the present, too,
I pay homage for ever.

There is no other refuge,
Sangha my noble refuge.
By these truthful words,
may blessings be unto me.

I pay homage with my crest limb,
at the excellent and noble feet.
These my faltering errors vis-à-vis the Sangha,
may the Sangha forgive me.

iii. Five-fold Training Principles

I take to the Training Principle to abstain from taking life.
I take to the Training Principle to abstain from taking what is not given.
I take to the Training Principle to abstain from sexual misconduct.
I take to the Training Principle to abstain from speaking falsehood.
I take to the Training Principle to abstain from non-diligence in intoxicating drinks, wine and spirits.
iv. Reflections of the Buddha:

**Homage to the Cetiya Reliquary** (Thrice)

I pay homage to all cetiyas, well-grounded everywhere, these bodily relics of great Enlightenment, verily ever standing for the Buddha body.

**Homage to the Bodhi Tree** (Thrice)

Sitting under which (our) Guide gained victory over all foes; the Teacher came by omniscience, too.
I pay homage at the foot of that Bodhi (tree).

This Great Bodhi tree
was reverenced by the Lord of the World;
I, too, pay my respects to it.
May my respects to you be, Bodhi King.

v. Offerings:

**Flowers, Light, Fragrance** (Thrice each)

**Flowers**

Imbued with hue and fragrance,
this bouquet of flowers
I offer the Sage
at [His] noble lotus feet.
I venerate the Buddha with these many flowers. 
May release be [mine] by this merit, too. 
Flowers go to decay. [And] just as this body of mine [too], 
so goes to a state of destruction [everyone’s] body.

**Light**

By this camphor-kindled light 
is the dark cut through. 
To the Fully Awakened, Light of the three Worlds, 
the Dispeller of darkness, I offer this.

**Fragrance**

In these superfragrant words, 
the Fragrant One of infinite qualities, 
with this superfragrant incense, 
I pay homage to the Tathagata.

**Offerings:**

**Water, Food, Medicinal Drink** ⁴¹ (Thrice)

**Water**

May you partake of, Venerable Sir, 
the water respectfully offered. 
Out of compassion, 
may it be accepted, Noble One.

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⁴¹ In some contexts, there is also an optional offering of ‘betel’, using the same lines as for water, food and medicinal drink, but replacing each of them with ‘betel’ (tāmbulam). Betel chewing being a Sinhala village habit, its appearance suggests a Sri Lankan origin.
**Food**

May you partake of, Venerable Sir, this food specifically prepared [for you], out of compassion, may it be accepted, Noble One.

**Medicinal drink**

May you partake of, Venerable Sir, may it be accepted, Noble One, this medicinal drink, out of compassion may it be accepted, Noble One.

**Personal offering**

May this offering of flowers of mine, the offering of light, the offering of incense, the offering of water, the offering of food, as well as offering of medicinal items, for the first, second and third time to my respected Buddha-father be offered, be offered, be offered!
vi. Transference of Merit:

To deities, sentient beings and all else in nature

To the extent, by us
the set of merit acquired,
may it accrue to all shining ones,
towards their total happiness!

To the extent, by us
the set of merit acquired,
may it accrue to all sentient beings,
towards their total happiness!

To the extent, by us
the set of merit acquired,
may it accrue to all else in nature,
towards their total happiness!

To Relatives (Thrice)

May this [merit] be [accrued] to relatives.
May [my] relatives be in happiness!

vii. Seeking Protection:

For Teachings, Dispensation, Me and Others

Inhabiting space or earth,
Devas and Nagas of mighty power,
having gained this merit,
may they protect the Teachings for long!
.....may they protect the Dispensation for long!
.....may they protect me and others, too, for long!
For self, away from bad company, and for good company

By this meritorious act, may there be for me no association with fools. May there be association with the wise, until Nibbana attained.

viii. Seeking Forgiveness

In body, word or mind through non-diligence by me committed any transgressions, may I be forgiven, Oh Master, of extensive wisdom, Oh Tathagata.

ix. Personal Aspiration

By reason of the bundle of merits acquired, birth after birth, without any illness, sickness or suffering, to come by one of three Bodhiyas experienced by the Buddha, Pacceka Buddhas and the Great Arahants, may I be fortunate?

x. Paritta: Protection and Blessings (optional)

Mahamangala Sutta / Ratana Sutta / Karaniya Metta Sutta
xi. Homage to Parents

Mother *

Having borne [me] for ten months, 
[you] nourished [me] towards growth. 
May you have long life of a hundred years! 
I pay my respects at the feet of my mother.

Father

Having embraced for the purpose of growth, 
caressing [this] dear child, 
a well-grounded cetiya in the midst of royalty, 
I pay my respects at the feet of my father.

xii. Meditation (optional)

- Practice: Ānāpāṇa sati / Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta
- Sublingual Blessings:
  ‘May all sentient beings be dukkha-free, and ill-health-free, recover from illness and overcome dukkha, experience (literally, ‘see’) the Buddha and Nibbana’!

xiii. Homily (Baṇa) (optional / situational)

* The precedence of mother, here as elsewhere, and as in the Canon (e.g., mātāpitār), may be noted.
C. BUDDHAPŪJĀVA IN CRITICAL DETAIL

Next we look at the outline given in Section B in more detail and from a critical point of view, seeking to get behind the individual components of the Buddhapūjāva.

C.1 Opener

C.1.1 Expressing Joy (abhinandanā) \(^{42}\)

The Buddhapūjāva begins with the word sāḍ(h)u (1.1), said out loud by both the Bhante and the devotees, presumably expressing their joy (abhinandanaya) at being able to participate in this meritorious act. The word is repeated three times, rhythmically, but the third time ending with just the first syllable, sā, giving us sādu sādu sā. Everyone, including the Bhante leading the congregation, makes the five-point touch (although this traditional practice would be seen less

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\(^{42}\) We shall stick to the Pali in the titles, except the Sinhalized name of the ceremony, Buddhapūjāva.

\(^{43}\) Invited to report on Sinhalese music, it was the Indian music maestro Ratanjankar’s view that the only music in the Sinhala culture was contained in the paritta chanting. (See Kariyawasam, op. cit. for a brief introduction. For an auditory rendering, visit http://www.buddhanet.net/audio-chant.htm.) It is in the same rhythm that the Buddhapūjāva is conducted by the Bhantes. This may be to render the chanting pleasant to the ear, in the spirit of the Buddha encouraging a particular pleasant intonation (sarabhañña) (Vin, I.196). And/or it could be to keep the congregant in religious practice longer.
and less in the urban, and overseas, settings\textsuperscript{44}, or alternately, bend forward (or just bow with the head)\textsuperscript{45} with palms held chest-high, or at the head\textsuperscript{46}.

At this point, a senior in the group invites the Bhante that the Three Refuges and the Five Training Principles be administered: “With your permission, Bhante, I beseech that the discipline of the Three Refuges, along with the Five Training Principles be administered to us\textsuperscript{47}, out of compassion” (okāsamayam bhante tisaraṇena saddhiṃ paṇca sīlam yācami anuggahāṇi katvā sīlam detha no bhante).

C.1.2 Salutation to the Buddha (namaskāra)

The congregation is now invited by the Bhante, in Sinhala, to “Please say the namaskāra(ya)\textsuperscript{48} now”. The congregants now say the words, (1.2) ‘Homage to Him the Fortunate One, the Worthy One, the Fully Awakened One’ (namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhasa), repeated thrice. Some in the congregation might have their eyes closed as they chant this gāthā, and others may keep theirs down. Still others may focus their gaze at the Buddha image in front. The repetition of the words thrice, of course, can be seen to be suggestive of the greatest respect.

\textsuperscript{44} In overseas settings, and perhaps in urban settings as well, the five-point contact seem to be less and less prevalent, replaced by folding the palms together, held head high (the older or the more devoted) or chest high, facing in the direction of the image.

\textsuperscript{45} We find specific mention of this practice in the gāthā, ‘Homage to the Triple Gem’ (below): ‘I venerate with the crest limb’ (uttamaügena vandehaṇī) (Appendix 1.4.1.2).

\textsuperscript{46} This, too, finds mention in the same veneration (1.4.1.2): aṅjaliṅkaraṇīyo ‘putting the (ten) fingers [āṅjali] together and raising them to the head’ (Davids & Stede, 1979, 3).

\textsuperscript{47} While ‘me’ replaces ‘us’ in the case of the request being on behalf of an individual, chances are that this level of formality may not be seen in an individual setting.

\textsuperscript{48} The suffix –ya indicates the Sinhalization of the Pali namaskāra.
C.2 Refuge and the Triple Gems

C.2.1 Going for Refuge (saraṇāgamana)

Following this opener is ‘Going for Refuge’ (saraṇāgamana(ya)) (1.3 in Appendix), but literally ‘coming to the Refuges’ (saraṇa + āga-manana), the ‘Three Refuges’ (tisaraṇa) being Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, also referred to as the ‘Triple Gem’ (tunuruvan or rat(ā)na-traya) in Sinhala49).

To begin, the Bhante invites the congregants, rhythmically (here, as well as throughout the Buddhapājāva where the words are in Pali): ‘Please repeat after me’, literally, ‘That what I say, please50 repeat’51 (yamahañā vadāmi tañ vadetha) to which the congregants respond out loud, ‘Yes, Venerable Sir’ (āma bhante). Each of the following lines are then said out loud by the Bhante:

49 Since the paper is on the Buddhapājāva in Sinhala Buddhism, the primary terms used are the Sinhala renderings. But the term ratnatraya is Sanskritic not Pali or Sinhala. What this speaks to is the reality of not just diglossia but triglossia, in Sinhala (Sugunasiri, 1968), made up of as it is of three strands: a. the native variety, called elu- in its most pristine form, the best proponent being Kumaranatunga Munidasa, b. Pali-ized stream resulting from the introduction of Buddhism in the 3rd c. BCE, and c. Sanskritized Sinhala, following the Chola invasion of the 11th c. While each of them comes to be used in informal, non-formal and formal registers, it is not rare that all three may be used in a given context, reflective of flexibility of language usage.

50 While there is no specific word used that means ‘please’, it is implicit in the sing-song type invitation.

51 It needs to be noted that I have tended to be literal in my translations more than idiomatic to allow the reader to capture the spirit of the sense behind any given term or phrase.
I seek refuge in the Buddha.
(buddham saranaṃ gacchāmi.)
I seek refuge in the Dhamma.
(dhammaṃ saranaṃ gacchāmi.)
I seek refuge in the Sangha.
(saṅghaṃ saranaṃ gacchāmi.)

The Buddha is venerated as the Teacher, and the ‘Dhamma ’ (Sanskrit Dharma) is his Teachings. This dual veneration, of course, is in keeping with the Buddha’s words, “S/he who sees the Dhamma, sees me’ (yo dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati (S 3.120)). The Sangha, disciples who have left their homes to live a higher spiritual life, refers to the Bhikkhu (male) and Bhikkhuṇī (female) collectivity. And when respect is paid, while it may appear to be ostensibly to the one(s) present at a given event, it is however to the collectivity. Further, the veneration is to ‘noble disciples’ (ariya Sangha), meaning ‘stream-winners’ (sotāpanna) to Arahants, of the past, present and future.

The Bhante himself / herself does not join in This may be to avoid a possible ‘level’ confusion. To explain, while the third gem is constituted of the Sangha as a whole, the Bhante himself / herself would be one of them. So, would joining in with the laity to pay homage to the Sangha be seen as a paying homage to oneself? It is, then, perhaps as if to avoid the confusion in the minds of the congregation that s/he now begins to keep to the role of Lead Hand strictly (see

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52 In the same vein, an almsgiving (dāna) to the Sangha is referred to as the saṅghika dāna ‘alms to the Sangha collective’.
53 The Arahants are to be respected because they have successfully completed the process of the purification of the mind by eliminating the ‘cankers’ (āsava) and streamwinners have gone far enough on the Path never to look back, both thus epitomizing the Path.
54 The order of referring to the male first and then female is to reflect the historical fact that, even though there were both ordained men and women in the Buddha’s time, the first to receive ordination were the males.
55 However, it is a custom for junior Sangha to pay respects to the senior monks /nuns.
next step of the homage as well), even though there need be no issue of the Bhante joining in, given that, as noted, the veneration is to the noble disciples.

All three lines are repeated after the Bhante, ‘for the second time’ (dutiyampi) and ‘for the third time’ (tatiyampi), continuing the Canonical tradition, as if to affirm the Refuge seeking. The specific text in relation to the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha are, of course, straight from the Canon itself, including the refrain (‘for the second / third time.’).

This segment of the service is brought to an end with the words of the Bhante, still in Pali, ‘Going to the Three Refuges is now complete’ (tisaraṇa gamanaṁ sampuṇṇam) to which the congregants would again respond with an ‘Indeed, Venerable Sir’.

C.2.2 Reflection on the Triple Gem (tisaraṇānussati)56

Reflection (anussati) on the Triple Gem (teruvan sihikirīma in Sinhala) (Appendix 1.4) is an optional expansion of the Going for Refuge, in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, intended to strengthen the saddhā in the minds of the devotee by recalling their qualities. This expansion itself is made up of two parts, the latter part (1.4.1.2; 1.4.2.2; 1.4.3.2) being a refrain uttered in relation to all three with the relevant slight variation (see below).

In the Buddhānussati (buduguṇa sihikirīma) (1.4.1), the devotee first brings to mind the qualities of the Buddha, beginning with the words ‘Such indeed is the Fortunate One’ (itipi so bhagavā), followed by other qualities such as ‘One endowed with knowledge and virtues, Well-gone, Knower of the world, the Incomparable charioteer in taming men, Teacher of deities and humans’ (…vijjā-caraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū amuttaro purisadammaṣārathī satthā devamanussānam…).

56 Dhammananda (1991) lists this following the Training Principles; so the ordering seems flexible.  
57 The phrase itipi so bhagavā are also chanted by the Sinhala Buddhist (with or without the rest of the gāthā) in times of fear, stress, danger, etc. Cf.
The qualities of the Dhamma are then brought to mind: ‘well-explounded’ \((svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo)\), and ‘well-seen, timeless, a come and see, leading to Nibbana, to be known experientially by the wise’ \((sandīṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanaiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññāhūtī)\).

Finally are the qualities of the Sangha: ‘Well entered [the Path], … upright …., well into the method is the …and into the correct course’ \((supatipanno ..., ujupaṭipanno ..., nāyapaṭipanno ..., sāmīcīpaṭipanno ...)\). But the one quality that is indelibly marked in the mind of the devotee is that the Sangha is the ‘incomparable field of merit’ in the world \((anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ)\) and are therefore ‘Worthy of offerings, … hospitality, … gifts, … [and] salutation’ \((āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhineyyo aṅjalikaraṇīyo)\). It is indelible since it is homage, and offerings, to the Sangha that is seen as the hands-on avenue towards rebirth in heaven in the next life.

In part two, the devotee goes ‘for a lifetime’ \((jīvitapariyantāṃ)\) of Refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. The devotee, then, first pays homage to the “Buddhas of the past” \((ye ca buddhā atītā ca)\) and those of the future \((ye ca buddhā anāgatā)\), making up the multiple Buddhas allowed in the texts\(^{58}\). But following it, curiously enough, homage is paid to ‘those arisen Buddhas’ \((paccuppannā ca ye buddhā)\) (literally ‘Whoever Buddhas that, by contrast, happen to be born [at a given time]’) \(( above)\) (bold added).

A similar pattern prevails when it comes to the Dhamma, too, when homage is to the past and future Dhamma, followed by the present ‘arisen’ \((paccuppannā)\) Dhammas \((dhammā in the plural)\).

The plural ending in both Buddhā and paccuppannā \((1.4.1.2)\) \(( above)\) then makes one wonder why ‘present Buddhas’ are addressed, when the Buddhapūjāva (under discussion) itself is clearly in homage to the single ‘present’ Buddha. What accounts for this curious reference to not only ‘present Buddhas’ but also to ‘present Dhammas’? We may perhaps find the source for this in the homage

the parallel to *Hail Mary* in Christianity.

\(^{58}\) See Dhammananda (ibid.: 47 ff) for ‘Salutation to the Twenty Eight Buddhas’ \((aṭṭhavīsati Buddha vandanā)\).
to the Sangha (1.4.3.2), which has the lines ‘those Sangha of the past, .. future, [and] … present’. Of course, when it comes to Sangha, this makes eminent sense. The homage is to the Sangha that is with the devotees at the moment, representing every other living Sangha member, as well as those deceased (ye ca sanghā aṭṭhā ca) and those yet to be (ye ca sanghā anāgatā). So the reference to ‘present Buddhas’, and ‘present Dhammas’, then, may have resulted from ‘back formation’\(^{59}\). The reality relating to the Sangha linguistically generalized to the Buddha, and the Dhamma, out of saddhā no doubt, then, can be said to have generated the repetitive linguistic structure, but resulting in an unintentional semantic incongruence of multiple present Buddhas (as of course, multiple Dhammas\(^{60}\))! The need for repetition, as found throughout the Canon, as a mnemonic device in the oral tradition through which the Teachings were maintained\(^61\) may also have contributed. The repetition of the plural form, in relation to the present Buddhas and present Dhammas, may also have been for purposes of poetic alliteration.

But the next gāthā in relation to each of the Triple Gems sees a reversal back to the single (historical) Buddha: “There is no other Refuge, Buddha my noble Refuge” (natthi me saranāṃ aṭṭhā, buddho me saranaṃ varaṃ…). Likewise is the single Dhamma, and the single (collective) Sangha, as the only Noble Refuge with no other.

In the next line, the devotee expresses an aspiration: ‘May blessings be unto me’ (hotu me jayamangalam), ‘by [the power of] these

\(^{59}\) An example of this Linguistics concept would be the English plural ‘cherries’, a borrowing from the French ‘cerise’. The singular ‘cherry’, then, comes to be formed through a back formation from ‘cherries’, following the rules of English (i.e., singular < minus plural–s (as in fruits – fruit), and the –ie- reverting to –y).

\(^{60}\) Even if multiple Buddhas are original to the Canon, it is the same Dhamma that every single Buddha is said to teach. This makes the multiple, and varying Dhamma, problematic. This again seem to confirm the mechanism of back-formation at work.

\(^{61}\) See Analayo (2007a, 2008 and 2009) for a series that deals with the phenomenon.
truthful words’ (etena saccavajjena). Here we may appear to find a leaning towards a shamanic-like belief in the efficacy of truthful words: they bring blessings. However, the perhaps intended inferential association with the Four Noble Truths (caturariya sacca), in itself a confidence builder, cannot escape the psyche of the devotee. It may also be seen to be to encourage the devotee towards being truthful, in the context of ‘excellence in language’ (sammāvācā ) aspect of the Noble Eightfold Path.

Concluding the segment, the devotee pays homage with her/his ‘the crest limb’ (uttamangena), i.e., head, seeking forgiveness as well:

‘Oh Buddha, these my faltering errors.
May the Buddha forgive me’

(buddho yo khalito doso
buddho khamatu taṃ mamāṃ).

While in this context, taken literally, the question may be raised as to how the Buddha himself, no longer living, can forgive, there is at least the historical reality, and memory, of the Buddha, as noted by Kalupahana (1999:105), encouraging confession. But taken symbolically, it may be a carry over to the lay context of a Sangha practice, when at the the end of the Rains Retreat, the Community engages in a vinaya kamma in the form of confession of any transgressions of behaviour in mind, body or word, and seeks forgiveness, this by way of maintaining the cohesive and spiritual health of the group. So these lines in the Buddhapūjāva could well be to extend the practice for the benefit of the laity. The repetition of the word ‘Buddha’ can be seen to be for purposes of intensity, depicting a beseeching

The line next seeking forgiveness from the Sangha finds resonance with the reality of the Sangha serving as advisors and counsellors to the laity. But when forgiveness is asked of the Dhamma (dhammo

62 An English colloquial parallel may be ‘oh, pretty pretty please’.
khamatu \( \text{tam mamam} \) (1.4.2.2), what we see again is again a case of a back formation, and a systematization, as above. Seeking forgiveness from something intangible as the Dhamma may appear, from a purely secular, and logical, point of view, to be a stretch. It may also be seen to be tantamount to the bibliography of theistic religions\(^{63}\) where the religious texts are venerated not simply for the guidelines they provide but for its intrinsic holiness\(^{64}\). However, the Dhamma could also be understood as standing for the Buddha himself, the Buddha’s words “S/he who sees the Dhamma sees me” (above) providing the legitimacy.

This segment of the Homage now comes to a conclusion, as noted, with the words, in Pali, ‘Going to the Refuges is now complete’ (\( \text{saranaga\text{\text{amanam sampu\text{\text{ananam}}} } \) to an agreement of the congregation, ‘Indeed, Venerable Sir’.

C.3 Five-fold Training Principles (\( \text{pa\text{nchasila}} \))

In this segment, the Bhante recites the words of each of the Five-fold Training Principles\(^{65}\) (\( \text{pa\text{nchasila}} \)) (2.1.1), the congregation repeating after, in imitation\(^{66}\). As in relation to Going for Refuge, here, too, he refrains from joining the congregation in reciting them. The Sangha, as noted, is governed by a higher vinaya code and a higher quality of discipline, and to ‘commit’ oneself to the five Training Principles may be seen by the congregation as nullifying the ordination, ritu-

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\(^{63}\) Consider, e.g., the place of the Torah in Judaism or the Gurgranth in Sikhism.

\(^{64}\) While a similar tradition can be found in later Buddhism as well (cf Garland and Lotus Sutras), the material we are dealing with relates to early Buddhism.

\(^{65}\) I am indebted to Bhante Punnaji (formerly of the Toronto Mahavihara) for this rendering. See Punnaji, 2001, 3.21.

\(^{66}\) To accommodate the unfamiliar in the congregation - children, anyone new to Buddhism, etc., these lines, and others, may be broken down to smaller units.
ally speaking\textsuperscript{67}! The parallel comes from lay practice: if committing oneself to the Eight Training Principles (\textit{aṭṭa sil}; Pali: \textit{aññhangika sīla}) (see later for a discussion) on the Full Moon Day constitutes the higher level practice, reciting the Five marks the end, and reversal to the everyday five-fold practice.

As can be seen from a literal translation of the \textit{sikkhāpada} ‘Training Principle’ (TP hereafter), what the devotee is asked to commit to is \textit{not} a vow, or a promise, to an outside agent, but to a commitment to oneself. Hence the wording, “I take to…” (\textit{samādiyāmi}), literally ‘take in [well]’ (\textit{saṁ + ādā-}). There may also be an implicit call to do this ‘taking in’ with concentration, if we were to insight a connection between ‘\textit{samādi}’ in ‘\textit{samādiyāmi}’ and \textit{samādhī} ‘concentration’, even as they come from distinct roots, -dā ‘to give’, and -\textit{dhā} ‘to place’\textsuperscript{68}. What such a possible connection suggests is that in ‘taking in’ (\textit{samādā-}) a TP, it is to do be done with as much concentration as possible, so that it comes to be recorded strongly in the mind, for now and always.

What is reflected in taking personal responsibility is the Buddha’s words, “Be a lamp / island unto oneself” (\textit{atta dīpā viharatha}) (D II 100), relevant to both the ordained and the lay life. And the undertaking is to “abstain from..” (\textit{veramaṃśi}). It is thus that we opt for the translation ‘Training Principle’, over the term ‘Precept’ which has the connotation of an injunction imposed, with theistic connotations, as e.g., given in Webster’s: “a commandment..”, “a rule ..” and even a “writ” as in law. Our choice is intended to capture the two components of voluntariness as well as self-discipline.

Thus, in the first TP, one undertakes to abstain from “taking life” (\textit{pāṇātipātā}), by ‘life’ here meaning both human and animal, the

\textsuperscript{67} This, of course, does not suggest a violation of the Vinaya code, or a punishable behaviour, only that in the eyes of the congregation, this may be so.

\textsuperscript{68} The association could well be at the morphemic level (\textit{samādhiyāti} > \textit{samādiyati}; \textit{samādhī} > \textit{samādi}) rather that at the root level, the de-aspiration of \textit{dh-} to \textit{d-} being standard, as e.g., from Sanskrit to Pali. But the difference here is that the prakritization is within Pali itself.
two falling under the same phylogenetic scale as captured in the term *satta* (<-*ta* ‘state of’ *sat-* ‘being’), or idiomatically ‘sentience’, a term also found captured in the appellation ‘Bodhisatta’. It would not be uncommon, then, for a Sinhala villager to claim one’s religiosity in relation to the first TP with words to the effect, ‘Never in my life have I harmed even the tiniest of creatures’ (... *kavadāvat kurā kūmbiyekutā vaṭ hiṃsāvak karala nae*)\(^{69}\), well reflecting the words in the *Mettā bhāvanā* ‘May all beings be well’ (*sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhitattā*).

The next TP is to abstain from ‘taking what is not given’ (*adin-nādānā* < *adinna + ādānā*). It is interesting to note here that the word used is not ‘stealing’ (*cora*), a term that has a built in guilt. The wording ‘taking what is not given’ on the other hand implies a wider range than stealing. It would allow the inclusion of an action such as, e.g., forcing one’s love upon someone who doesn’t have similar feelings towards you\(^{70}\). Additionally, it may serve as a reminder as to exactly what is meant, not leaving any doubt in the mind of the practitioner as to what the TP entails. By not wanting to take what is not given, one’s greed may also be mitigated since there would be no pining after what another may have. Finally, noting that *dāna*, literally ‘giving’, or by extension, ‘generosity’ or ‘sharing’ is, linguistically, the opposite of *ādāna* ‘taking’, the TP can be said to implicitly encourage the associated sentiment of generosity which the Buddha teaches as the antidote to greed (*lobha*), and thirst (*tāṇhā*).

The third TP is to abstain from sexual misconduct (*kāmesu mic-chācarā*). To be noted here is that what is to be abstained from is *mis*behaviour, and not normal, healthy sexual relations, either for procreation for the continuity of species\(^{71}\), or recreation, serving

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\(^{69}\) This sentiment, originating in the Angulimala Discourse (M 86), of course, is shared by all schools of Buddhism. Anyone who has watched the film *Kumbun* will remember how the Tibetan devotee cringes as a worm is being cut by a spade.

\(^{70}\) The *Therigatha* provides many a good example, *Subhā Jīvakambavanikā* among them (*Therigatha*, 366-399).

\(^{71}\) See Sugunasiri, 2006, for some thoughts on this.
as a condition for a stable relationship\textsuperscript{72}. It may be noted that this is distinct from the requirement of \textbf{total abstinence} (\textit{brahmacariya}) for the ordained, and those who take to the Eight Training Principles (see later).

Even though it is only ‘untruthful language’ that is specifically identified under abstention from ‘speaking falsehood’ (\textit{musāvādā}), three others that come to be identified in the list of \textit{dasa akusala kiriya} ‘ten unskillful acts’ in the Canon (M 27) come to be meant here by association - malicious language (\textit{pisunsāvācā}), gossip (\textit{samphappalāpā}) and coarse language (\textit{pharusāvācā}).

Here, again, what we find is a nod to pragmatism, that an adherence to the last three in one’s daily living may be too much to expect. Speaking falsehood is also perhaps the most common, and so the one to watch, as we may note from a term like ‘white lie’ – as e.g., telling a youngster that the baby sister just born was brought by a stork. The expectation, then, appears to be that a strict adherence to one will bring along, through a sort of osmosis, a carry over sensitivity towards adherence to the others.

The orthodox view of the fifth and the last Training Principle, \textit{surāmerayamajja pamādaṭṭhānā veramaõã sikkhāpadañ samādiyāmi} is \textit{total} abstinence in liquor and related intake\textsuperscript{73}. But one may immediately wonder why the precept is not simply *\textit{surāmerayamajja ve-}

\textsuperscript{72} Whether homosexuality constitutes normal or abnormal behaviour is not clear from the texts. \textit{sadāraka brahmacariya} ‘noble behaviour with (one’s own) wife’, as contrasted with ‘not [being] satisfied with one’s own wife’ (\textit{sehi dārehi asantuññho}) (Sn 108) seems to suggest conjugal fidelity only, and undeniably applicable to heterosexual union. The line \textit{sadāraka kuṭumbha sammakṣaṇa}, with references to ‘with wife’ (\textit{sadāraka}) and wealth (\textit{kuṭumba}), seems to suggest that the critical factor is family.

It may also be noted in this connection that marriage in Buddhism, as in Sinhala and Theravada practice, entails no religious formalization, thus making it a ‘live-in’ arangement, with the blessings of the families concerned.\textsuperscript{73} This presumably is as interpred by the Sangha. If it is certainly true of the Sinhala Sangha, as personally discussed with them in overseas contexts, it is also the view of many an other Sangha elsewhere encountered by the writer.
ramañī ...\textsuperscript{74} (meaning ‘I abstain from liquor, intoxicants [etc.]’, minus the phrase pamādaṭṭhānā, as with numbers 1, 2 and 4 (pāñātipātā, adinnādānā, musāvādā)). So it appears to suggest that something other than a total ban may have been intended.

As translated here literally, the TP means abstaining from taking liquor ‘to an extent that leads to non-diligence’ (pamādaṭṭhānā), the opposite of appamāda ‘diligence’, as in the Buddha’s last words, appamādena sampādheta ‘strive with diligence’. The term thānā could also be taken to mean ‘condition’ (Davids & Stede, op. cit, 289), or perhaps ‘occasion’ or even ‘context’ (see below re meat eating) or ‘state’, relating to such non-diligence. In whatever sense it is taken, it may be noted that the reference is to the degree to which liquor, etc., should not be taken, i.e., to a degree of ‘non-diligence’.

In the above interpretation, thānā can be seen to be taken to mean ‘psychological place’. However, an alternative interpretation of thānā as a physical place seems feasible as well when taken in the context of the 8\textsuperscript{th} TP of the higher discipline. There, the commitment is to abstain from (= keeping away from) ‘place(s) of dance, singing, instrumental music, mime, garlands, perfume and ointments, and ornaments, finery and adornment’\textsuperscript{75} (italics added) (nacca gīta vādita visākadassana mālā gandha vilepana dhāraṇa maṇḍaṇa vibhūsanāṭṭhānā (bold added)). While the noun thānā (as the ablative of thāna) is singular, it obviously relates to each of nacca gīta vādita ..., etc., the phrase usually written together as a single compound. So we have naccaṭṭhānā (‘from a place of dancing’), gītaṭṭhānā, etc.. Interestingly, even the term majja (in surāmerayamajja...) has a meaning of ‘drinking place’ (= majjapānāgāra), in addition to the meaning of ‘intoxicant’ (Davids & Stede, op. cit.: 514).

\textsuperscript{74} The asterisk is a linguistic convention to indicate that what is shown does not occur in a language. Here, we have extended it to mean ‘doesn’t occur in texts’.

\textsuperscript{75} In the case of ‘perfume and ointments, and ornaments, finery and adornment’, it is possible that the intent is that they be not worn, rather than visiting such places, although the wording of the Training Principle makes no such distinction.
On the basis of this, then, the fifth TP may also be interpreted NOT as a total abstention but as ‘keeping away from places that lend to non-diligence’ in liquor and other mind-bending drinks.

This seems to have an implicit understanding that if one were to consume liquor in the privacy of the home (as seems to be allowed under this interpretation), the chances of going overboard would be less than in the context of a public place (i.e., unlike today, with easy, and inexpensive, availability). The variety of drinks and intoxicants available in a home setting may be less, too. The home context itself – wife, children, community, may serve as a deterrent to excesses.

That a total ban is not what is intended by the Buddha seems clear from a Mahamangala Sutta (Khuddka Nikaya) line as well, the Blessing being listed as ‘restraint in taking liquor’ (majjapānā ca saññamo).

Some circumstantial support for our interpretation stems from the practical position taken by the Buddha in relation to three other TP’s – those in relation to sex (TP 3), language (4) and meat eating (as an extension of 1). Buddha turns down the request by Devadatta to declare a total ban on meat, conscious of the reality that certain human communities may have to rely on some form of meat (e.g., mountainous Tibet, snow-packed Canada north, forest-covered parts of Africa, fish-circled Sri Lanka), not to mention the health needs of some individuals\(^76\). Even for monks, the Buddha says that “in three cases (or contexts) meat may be used (tīhi ... thānehi mamsām pa-righogam...): if it is not seen, heard, suspected (that it has been killed specifically for the monk) (adiṭṭham, asutam, aparisaṅkītam) (M 1.369). The reference to sexual mis-behaviour has already been made. As noted, while the dasa akusala talks about abandoning (as e.g., in M 1.180) false speech, malicious speech, gossip and harsh speech (musāvādā pisunāvācā sampapphalāpā pharusāvācā), it is only false speech that comes to be included in the fourth Training Principle. This seems to be in the obvious recognition that it is only a minimum that may be reasonably expected to be followed in daily living.

\(^76\) Indeed the Dalai Lama is known to have tried an exclusive veganism, but health beginning to be affected, switches back to his food eating habits of a lifetime (Dalai Lama, *Freedom in Exile*, 1990).
It may also be noted with interest that in the Vinaya, “in drinking fermented liquor and spirits”, there is only “an offence of expiation” (pácittiya) (Vin. I.110), a relatively minor offence of owning up to a lapse but entailing no expulsion.

So it appears, then, that the redactor of the Buddhapuja means to have wisely incorporated the proviso pamādaṭṭhānā ‘to a degree that leads to non-diligence’ into the fifth TP, undoubtedly for very good sociological reasons, but also in the Buddhian77 spirit suggested here.

In view of the above, it may be reasonable to take the TP regarding liquor NOT as a total ban but a moderation and common sense – something like abstinence from ‘alcohol and substance abuse’, the critical terms being ‘abuse’ (cf., sexual misconduct). Just as on the uposatha day of the higher discipline one keeps away from places of dance, music, etc., but enjoys them on other days, so in relation to liquor (i.e., still, however, to moderation). And the Training Principle can be thought to have sought merely to ensure no harm to oneself (e.g., health hazard, alcoholism) or to others (e.g., family and society)78, and not a total ban.

But why doesn’t the Training Principle, then, go the route of TP number 3, about sexual behaviour where we find a change of sīla expectations from ‘sexual misconduct’ (micchācāra) in the pañcasīla for daily use, but a total ‘abstinence’ (brahmacariya) in the aññhangika sīla? Thus e.g., one would expect to see the wording ‘abstinence from non-diligence in relation to liquor, etc.’ (surāmerayamaṃja pamāda-

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77 I use ther ‘Buddhian’ to specifically mean ‘in relation to the Buddha’, to be distinguished from ‘Buddhist’, or ‘Buddhistic’, which may include ideas and practices that have come to be developed over time in the name of Buddhism, but not necessarily intended by Him.

78 While the precept in our interpretation does suggest that there were places of liquor (as e.g., drinking festivals) in the Buddha’s time, the mushrooming of liquor outlets (wholesale or retail) today is surely a modern phenomenon, primarily introduced by the west and ably aped by the rest. And in such a context, our interpretation seems to make even more relevance. Red wine at a meal, e.g., is reported to have health benefits.
Pamādaṭṭhāna in the pañcasīla for daily life, but a total abstinence from any liquor, etc. at all (surāmerayamajjā veramaṇī) under the 8 TP’s.

One possible answer is that the phrase ‘pamādaṭṭhāna’ is indicative enough of the expectation in the Training Principle. Just as one is expected to not go to places of dance, music, etc., on the uposatha day, so in relation to liquor. The chances of drinking in the privacy of the home on that day is surely less than on any other day, given the commitment to a higher self-discipline. After all, the intention of the TP’s is not to keep the devotees in an iron grip but rather to guide them. So, by definition, making up one’s mind to take to the Eight TP’s on the Full Moon Day can be said to be enough of a self-discipline to keep one away from liquor, etc. during the 24 hours.

The critical look at the 5th TP, then, still allows us to translate it literally as ‘abstention from non-diligence (or negligence) in liquor, etc.’, allowing ‘non-diligence’ to be taken in its absolute or relative sense. The orthodox interpretation of a total ban may, then, be reflective of a well-intentioned attempt by the foreteachers79. Seemingly

79 By way of a footnote, judging by contemporary Sri Lanka, one can’t help wondering if the stricter interpretation itself may not have contributed to producing a result opposite to the one intended. As reported, and noted through personal observation, Sri Lanka appears to be drowned in liquor today, women, traditional non-drinkers, too, and the younger ones in particular, now taking to liquor, especially in an urban setting. So would it be preposterous to suggest that perhaps it is at least partially conditioned by the continuing imposition of the saṅga vinaya on the gihi vinaya? This possibility has come to be suggested to me by the example of sexual indiscipline, and promiscuity, in western society. Christianity teaches that sex is a sin. The contemporary penchant for unbridled sex may, then, be seen as a show of defiance in a secular society. In the case of Sri Lanka, a bourgeoning middle-class, free trade and the opening up of more and more bars (as reported) may certainly all be factors for the deluge in drinking in contemporary society. No less secular than the west, might it also be, then, indicative of an unconscious defiance against the fifth TP as interpreted by the Sangha? Interestingly, the irony seems to be not lost as one notes the phenomenon of how Sinhala liquor-takers always crack a joke about the Buddha requiring, as indeed
going beyond the expiatory nature of the rule in the Vinaya, this may have been to forestall the misery created by alcohol consumption in society, no less a problem then than it is today.

Having taken a look at the five TP’s, we may now wonder if there is a hierarchy among them? The first thing we note is that the first TP relates to preserving life itself, an evolutionary imperative, while the rest relates to preserving the quality of that life.

Looked from another point of view, the first does not ‘involve’ the other (human or animal) directly, except as passive subject. This again is the case in not taking what is not given (TP 2) In sexual misbehaviour (3), by contrast, the involvement of another is explicit. Language (4) being a social act, explicitly related is the ‘other’; misbehaviour in language impacts on not only a single person but a group as well. In relation to liquor, while the act involves no other, the impact of misbehaviour is wider – family, friends, workplace and the wider society. So the five Training Principles may be seen as being in a hierarchy from personal praxis to social praxis.

understood in this paper, that liquor is to be taken to moderation (mada pamanin ganney kiyala ne tiyenne?)!


81 Having argued for an objective understanding of the TP in relations to drinking, it behooves me as an ethical imperative to place on record that the writer is a life-time teetotaler. The scholarly and objective point of view in this paper is by no means an attempt to condone liquor-drinking behaviour. Indeed the writer regrets very much the alarming incidence of drinking in many a society, including Sri Lanka. In his personal capacity, he has indeed attempted to keep liquor out of public events (as e.g., events hosted by the Nalanda College of Buddhist Studies (Canada), directing a Sinhala play in Canada, etc.).

82 While it is the five Training Principles that serve as the daily guide for a Buddhist, there is an encouragement, in all Theravada countries (Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambuchea, Laos, Thailand and parts of Vietnam) to observe three additional Training Principles on uposatha day (Full Moon), constituting an atsa sil (Pali. aṭṭhāṅka-sīla) ‘Eightfold Discipline’. They are, abstaining
But beyond such detail, an overall litmus test in personal praxis entailed in these TP’s may perhaps be the conscious attempt to live by the Buddha’s personal example contained in the maxim “I say as I do, I do as I say” (yathāvādi tathākāri, yathākāri tathāvādi). Being aware of the TP’s can help us think twice before something is said or done.

To return to the ceremony now, this segment of ‘precept taking’ ends with an invitational summary statement from the Bhante to ‘live with diligence’, recalling the Buddha’s last words: ‘May you live with diligence, having well taken to the three Refuges along with the Five Training Principles’ (tisaranena saddhima pañcaśilam sādhukaṃ katvā appamādena sampādetha), the devotee responding in agreement of ‘Indeed, Venerable Sir’. As noted, at the beginning of the Going for Refuge, a more educated member of the congregation might have optionally requested of the Bhante, in Pali itself that the five Training Principles along with the Three Refuges be administered (see above for the full text)\(^8\). So the Bhante’s summary statement also may be seen as his/her reminder that the request of the congregation has now been met, and as an additional favour, as a reminder of the Buddha’s words, if also as an encouragement to follow the Training Principles.

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6. untimely eating (vikāla bhojanā ...)
7. high and comfortable beds (uccā sayana mahā sayanā ...), and
8. visiting places of dance, singing, instrumental music, mime, garlands, perfume and ointments, and ornaments, finery and adornment (nacca gīta vādita visūkadasana mālā gandha vilepana dhāraṇa maṇḍaṇa vibhūsanantaṭṭhānā ...). The commitment is taken for a full day, dawn to dawn (though it has come to be lax in both a Sri Lankan and overseas expatriate setting), devotees in general wearing white.

\(^8\) Revata Dhamma, 1996, reflecting the Burmese practice perhaps, shows the request as being made thrice.
C.4 Reflections of the Buddha (buddhānussati)

The next steps in the Buddhapūjāva fall under the name buddhānussati ‘reflection on the Buddha’, but as contrasted with 1.4, this time symbolically. It is made up of ‘Homage to the Cetiya’ (caitya vandanāva\(^{84}\)) and ‘Homage to the Bodhi Tree’ (bodhi vandanāva) (2.2.1 and 2.2.2), both standing in for the Buddha. If saddhā has been so far built through namaskāraya, Homage to the Three Gems and a commitment to a Five-fold self-discipline, this next twin Homage gives the devotee another opportunity at saddhā-building, by symbolically reflecting upon the Buddha’s qualities. And the twin Homage adds to the time the devotee is engaged in the religious activity, the longer the duration, the better and deeper the saddhā can likely be expected to sink in.

C.4.1 Homage to the Reliquary (cetiya vandanā)

The first opportunity towards Reflections of the Buddha is Homage to the Cetiya ‘Reliquary’ (2.2.1). While the Canonical phrase, as shown in the title, is cetiya vandanā, the contemporary Sinhala devotee refers to it as the Caitya vandanāva (as noted), Pali replaced by Sanskrit in many a usage since the time of the Chola invasion in the 11th c. The Homage is also known by its Sinhala version, vihāra (or vehera) vandanāva.

The ‘Cetiya’ (Skt. caitya) is a bell like structure\(^{85}\) that dots Buddhist Sri Lanka (and, of course, India), beginning with the 3rd / 2nd c. BCE\(^{86}\). Following the parinibbāna of the Buddha, it is recorded that his bones were distributed among 8 groups (Mahaparinibbana Sutta).

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\(^{84}\) While the term in Pali is cetiya vandanā, it is spoken of in a Sanskritized form, caitya vandanā(va).

\(^{85}\) Five other shapes are recognized in the literature (Suraweera, 1961, p. 66). See Longhurst, 1992, for a detailed study, and Schopen (1997) for comment.

\(^{86}\) Thuparamaya is the first to be built in Sri Lanka. See Mv xxix for a description.
They then come to be entombed in a ‘relic chamber’ (dhātugabbha)\(^87\), the core element in a cetiya. It is precisely for this reason that a cetiya comes to have a Sinhala cognate dāgaeba (with dāgaba as a variant), through a semantic expansion, when the core comes to name the totality. The wording used itself speaks to the reason for the Homage: ‘these bodily relics of great Enlightenment, verily ever standing for the Buddha-body’ (sāririka dhātu mahābodhiṃ buddharūpaṃ sakalam sadā) (2.2.1). While mahābodhi may be literally understood as the ‘Great Bodhi’ tree, a reference to the one in Buddhagaya under which the Buddha sat through the Enlightenment experience, it seems to be taken here in its metaphorical sense of ‘the Great Enlightenment’, as e.g., in the phrase bodhipākkhiya-dhammā (A III.70), literally, ‘Dhammas on the side of Enlightenment’. This seems intended to elevate the relics beyond the ordinary human bones, as if to say ‘even the bones are enlightened’\(^88\).

The cetiya being a symbol of the Buddha himself, the devotee pays homage to all cetiyas, “standing everywhere” (sabbathānesu patiṭṭhitam)\(^89\). And if that is more than enough reason to pay homage,

\(^{87}\) -garbha, in dhātugarbha, is another example of Sanskritization of Sinhala, the Pali term dhātugabbha, almost never used. But note the Sinhala dāgaeba.

\(^{88}\) This is a somewhat different understanding of the Pali line, sāririka dhātu mahābodhiṃ buddharūpaṃ sakalam sadā. Taking sāririka dhātu, mahābodhiṃ and buddharūpaṃ as separate items, Dhammananda identifies them as the “Three Main Objects of Veneration” (ibid.: 65; 67) – ‘the bodily relics’, the Great Bodhi’ and ‘all images of the Buddha’, even though the verse itself is recognized as ‘cetiya vandanā’. First it is not clear why the Great Bodhi should be here given that the next gāthā is specifically assigned to it (2.2.2). Nor is it clear why the ‘images of the Buddha’ should appear here. The confusion may have arisen with the appearance of mahābodhiṃ. But grammatically speaking, too, it is clear that mahābodhiṃ is in the same case (nominative) and number (singular) as buddharūpaṃ. And so, if taken as a single compound, sāririkadhātumahābodhiṃ, the meaning seems to be clear that what is intended are not three things.

\(^{89}\) This could well be taken as “well-grounded everywhere” (sabbaṭhāne supaṭiṭṭhitam).
its structure\(^{90}\), to a devotee, is also faith-inspiring\(^{91}\), if awe-inspiring as well, the way a structure like the Eiffel Tower in Paris or the CN Tower in Toronto would be in the contemporary era for an onlooker. Even if a cetiya in an average temple today comes nowhere close to those proportions, it is a tall and sturdy structure nevertheless, several times the height of a human devotee, and a symbol of stability. And occupying a central spot in the temple yard, it may well symbolize the spiritual heights one could aspire to!

Located in the compound of the temple, the cetiya allows for both individual and group homage without the limitations in terms of space as in the Buddha House (above). The four Buddha statues in each of the directions - East, West, North and South, and the altars, allow an additional opportunity at devotion as the devotee goes to each and offers incense, flowers, etc. (see later for this practice)\(^{92}\). And it is

\(^{90}\) To get a sense of the size of a cetiya built by the Sinhalese in early Sri Lanka, we may note that the foundation of the Abhayagiri Vehera was found to be 20 ft below ground level. The foundation of the Thuparama “were of rough stone trodden down by elephants” (Longhurst, op.cit.: 16), and its relic chamber big enough for its builder King Duṭṭhagāmanī to go into it carrying the relics (ibid).

\(^{91}\) E.g., when King Duṭṭhagāmanī (circa 101 to 77), the builder of the ‘Great Thūpa’ (Ruvanvelisāya), was dying, he was carried to the spot and laid on a carpet opposite the south entrance, where, after gazing with delight on the holy shrine, he breathed his last (Mv xxxii.8-74).

\(^{92}\) The cetiya has a particular resonance for the Sinhala Buddhist. The Buddha’s relics are said to have been brought from India to Sri Lanka, hidden in the hair of an escaping Princess (Hemamali), to safeguard it from hostile forces. So the relics being venerated are not some distant unknown ones, but real ones. And while not all cetiyas contain Buddha’s relics, they are symbolic enough for veneration, since some of them may be of Arahants, spiritual equals of the Buddha.

Another reason that the cetiya has a special place in the hearts of the Sinhala people is that they stand for the devotion of its Rulers. While Sinhalese to-be-Rulers were as ruthless and Machiavellian as any other in achieving power, once in power, they came to uphold Buddhism, and built monuments to facilitate its continuation, undoubtedly winning the hearts of the people.
these memories, then, that are brought together in the mind when the devotee repeats the words in the *cetiya vandanāvā*.

Having understood the significance of Homage to the Cetiya, we note that the Bhante, who has thus far played the role of non-participant leader, has now joined in personal veneration, to this symbol of the Buddha, bringing the palms together, the ritual still within the confines of the Buddha House, also known in the literature as Image House (*paṭimāghara*)93.

### C.4.2 Homage to the Bodhi (*bodhi vandanā*)

Tree worship, of course, was known in ancient India, where certain trees were thought of as being the abode of tree-deities (*vrksa devatā*). In fact, the Buddha receives his first meal after Enlightenment when Sujata, a householder, brings milkrice (*kiri piṇḍu*) to offer to the tree deity, only to be pleasantly surprised to see the deity *in persona*!

If Bodhi Homage is a continuation of this historical tradition, it takes new meaning in the context of the Buddha being under the tree seated at the critical point of his Awakening experience. To that extent, then, it is again symbolic of the Buddha himself. And so the homage is another reflection of the Buddha.

The *gāthā* itself speaks to the significance. First, it was sitting under this tree that ‘omniscience was gained’ (*patto sabbaññutām*) (2.2.2). So the Buddha is reverenced here for his omniscience94.

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93 *Patimāghara* is an essential component in any Buddhist Temple in Asia where there is minimally a Buddha image, with an altar in front. It may have other images – of Buddhas, Saints, historical figures, etc., and may depict paintings of Buddha’s life, past lives, hells, etc.

94 Even though the Buddha himself, of course, makes no claims to
And then the Bodhi tree was also ‘honoured by the Lord of the World’ (lokanāthena pūjitā), the reference being to the Buddha spending a week in a ‘steadfast gaze’ (animisalocanapūjāva), literally, ‘non-winking eye offering’ in gratitude (see Jayawickrama (tr.), 1990). So the Homage serves a dual goal - paying reverence to the Buddha as well as bringing to mind the value of gratitude (kataññutā), as emphasized by the Buddha (Mahamangala sutta).

Homage is due to the Buddha also because he ‘gained victory over all foes’ (sabbāri vijayaṃ akā) (2.2.2.1). The ‘foes’ destroyed here are, of course, the ‘defilements’ (āsava) - greed, aversion and ignorance (rāga, dosa, moha), khāṇāsava (< khāṇa- + -āsava) ‘one who has cut off defilements’ being an epithet for an Arahant, the Buddha himself being the first. And indeed one of the three knowledges (ñāṇa) gained as part of the Awakening experience is called ‘āsavakkhaya ñāṇa’.

Then, of course, Buddha is also the Teacher (satthā), remembering the epithet used for him as ‘Teacher of deities and humans’ earlier on (1.4.1.1).

But there is also an additional historical reason for the Sinhala Buddhists for the Bodhi veneration. When Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka by Arahant Mahinda during the time of King Devanampiya Tissa, his sister Arahant Sanghamitta arrives at the invitation of Queen Anula, bringing with her the southern branch of the original tree at Buddhagaya (Mahavamsa, xviii). The Bodhi trees in the rest of the country may not have a genetic connection to this tree that stands even today in Anuradhapura, but they would be all symbolic of both the southern branch in Anuradhapura as well as the original tree in Buddhagaya.

To return to the ritual, for the same reason as in relation to the Homage to the cetiya, the leading Bhante will be seen to participate ‘omniscience’, and that he only teaches dukkha and the elimination of it, tradition, beginning from the earliest times, endows him with the quality, that alone being what matters to the devotee. See Analayo, 2006, for a study. That the tradition is of scholarly doubt, of course, makes little difference to a devotee.
in the Homage to the Bodhi Tree\textsuperscript{96}.

C.5 ‘Offering to Buddha’ (\textit{buddha pūjā})

If up to now, the \textit{Buddhapūjāva} has been a mental activity, aimed at purification of the mind by bringing to mind the qualities of the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, and consciously committing oneself to the TP’s, this next step allows the devotee to show one’s \textit{saddhā} with a personal physical touch - offering of flowers, light, incense and food with one’s own hands.

It is the \textit{verbal} offering that takes place at this point in the ritual, but the \textit{physical} offering would have taken place at the very beginning of the \textit{pūjāva}, when the items being offered move from hand to hand (\textit{atin} \textit{ata}) to the altar, allowing for every congregant to make a personal offering of each item by touching it. To begin this process of \textit{ata gaēhīma} ‘hand-touching’, the congregants stand in a single row, or in two lines, face to face, across the stretch of the space, and in a circle accommodating a bigger congregation. A layperson, more likely a \textit{upāsikā} (female devotee) than an \textit{upāsaka} (male), picks up the first item from where they sit arranged, and passes on to the first devotee(s) in line, each taking hold of the item, as the congregation breaks into a \textit{sādu sādu sā}\textsuperscript{97}. The flowers, light, incense and food (solid / liquid) in that order (see 2.3.1-4), but with flexibility, are moved forward, hand to hand, eventually coming to be placed at the altar, usually by

\textsuperscript{96} Homage may, of course, be done at the Bodhi Tree itself, when oil lamps may be lit, and/or flowers offered. An additional practice is the bathing of the tree with milk, a practice that over time may, as have been commented by many a critical devotee, end up harming the tree itself. An associated ritual, though hardly practiced by all, is the hanging of small banners on its branches, this by way of keeping a vow (\textit{bārayak}) made at the tree for blessings to overcome an illness, gain success at an exam or in an important undertaking, etc.

\textsuperscript{97} More recently, in an overseas setting, the \textit{itipiso gāthā} (see Appendix 1.4.1.1 for the wordings) that speaks of the Buddha’s qualities, has come to be repeated over and over until the items are all placed at the altar.
a Sangha member, standing beside it. In the meantime, the congregation, beginning from the tail end, begin to take their place on the floor, the last members of the line and the Bhante joining them.

Perhaps because this is the only opportunity in the entire pūjāva for the Saddhā to be expressed physically, it should not be surprising that this segment itself comes to be called, in a semantic contraction, the Buddha Pūjā (2.3), written here as two words to indicate the narrower sense. Pūjā may be taken here either in the collective singular (feminine), or in the plural, given that the offerings are manifold. Conversely, the total homage under discussion in this paper may have originally come to be so called through a semantic expansion of this specific, and narrower, meaning (of physical offering), the term ‘pūjā’ in the singular, allowing for both mental and physical offering.

There is a very good reason, of course, why the Buddha Pūjā, in the narrower current sense, should hold an important place in the totality. Buddha teaches dāna ‘giving’ as the antidote to greed, and it becomes that much spiritually uplifting when the dāna is to the Buddha. If the Buddha Pūjā, then, is by way of honouring the Teacher, it is also to practice the virtue of generosity98.

Despite the naming significance, and the value of making offerings to the Buddha, not every Buddhapūjāva (in the wider sense) includes a Buddha Pūjā offering (in the narrower sense). This is for several reasons. One is that a post-noon offering allows only ‘medici-

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98 Indeed the practice of dāna finds its way into the daily life of the devotees in offering alms to the Sangha, ‘fields of merit’ (puṇṇakkhetta) (1.4.3.1) when they appear at the door on their midday alms rounds. But, with the practice of the ordained doing the alms round on the wane in Sri Lanka (though the practice continues in other Theravada countries like Burma and Thailand), the dāna now comes to be offered in the home of a devotee, a practice however, dating back to the time of the Buddha himself when he was first invited by father King Suddhodana to his palace on His first visit following Enlightenment. The practice of giving food to the ordained is so ingrained in the Sinhala Buddhist that today, specially in an overseas setting, offering dāna once a month or so has come to be just about the only religious activity that many though certainly not all come to be engaged in.
nal drinks’ (gilampasa) in keeping with the vinaya rules. Another may be that it would not be appropriate to offer meals, say, at a funeral which of necessity entails a Buddhapājā (in the wider sense). Thirdly, preparing a fresh meal for each of breakfast and noon entails far too much work for many a family, even though any effort put into an offering brings puñña ‘merit’. Yet another factor is that not all items to be offered, especially flowers, may be readily available for more than one offering.

C.5.1 Symbolic

C.5.1 Flower Offering (mal pūjāva99)

The Buddha Pūjā begins with a mal pūjāva (Pali: puppha pūjā) ‘flower offering’100 (2.3.1), flowers ‘imbued with hue and fragrance’ (vaṇṇagandha guṇopetam) offered at the ‘noble lotus feet’ (sirīpā-dasaroruhe) of ‘the Sage’. What we have here is an interesting visualization of actual flowers upon the symbolic ‘lotus flowers’, namely, the Buddha’s feet. And the symbolism of the lotus, of course, is not lost on the devotee. Not only does the lotus stand for purity, though steeped as it is in the mire, the nature of a drop of water sliding off the leaf would be so symbolic of the unskilled states of mind sliding away off a cultivating mind (Dhp. 336), the intended affect at a Buddhapūjāva. So while offering flowers to holy ones in India pre-dates the Buddha, what we see given here is a particular Buddhist twist. Perhaps even a Sinhala Buddhist one?

But the second gāthā takes the devotee deeper into Buddhist territory, strengthening the specificity of the twist: ‘Flowers go to decay’ (pupphaṃ milāyāti), [and] just as this body of mine (yathāyidam

99 While up to now the Pali terms have been used in the headings, the next four will show the Sinhala usage, the Pali usage rarely heard. See also Dhammananda, op. cit., who only uses English words, instead of the Pali elsewhere.

100 It may be noted, however, that the order of offering may be variable, showing flexibility.
\(<yathā + idaṁ\) me), ‘so goes to a state of destruction [everyone’s] body’ (kāyo tathā yāti vināsabhāvaṁ). The homage is indeed a reminder to the devotee of the reality of change (anicca) and decay (dukkha) in relation to oneself, two of the three fundamental characteristics of sentience as taught by the Buddha\(^{101}\). The detachment from, or the minimizing of attachment to, one’s body, encouraged here, may also be of a more material nature – a reference to the futility of decorating oneself with ornaments, perfume, etc., the point enshrined in the 8th Training Principle\(^{102}\) when at least for the day of the higher commitment, one abstains from them.\(^{103}\)

While the flower offering is done with actual flowers, it could well be ‘in absentia’, flowers being offered “in space” (ākāse)\(^{104}\). Explains Disanayaka (1993:23): “Since the purpose of offering flowers … is to induce the devotee to meditate on the impermanence of life, it is also possible to offer flowers without plucking them.”

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\(^{101}\) The third, of course, is anatta ‘asouility’ (see Sugunasiri, 2011, for this translation).

\(^{102}\) To remind ourselves, the TP reads as follows: Mālāgandha vilepana dhāraṇa mandana vibhūsāntīhānu veramaṇi sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi ‘I take up the TP to abstain from visiting places of garlands, scents, cosmetics and adorments’.

\(^{103}\) The 15th c. Poet monk, Vidagama Maitreya, captures this in his Loweda sangarawa (see Kalupahana, 1995 for a translation): kumaṭada kā bī niti serasenne / kotanada me kaya aragena yanne.

\(^{104}\) The gāthā (ibid.) is as follows:

| kusumāṇa phullitaṇa etaṁ phagghahetvāna aṁjaliṁ | These well-blossomed flowers Taken with folded hands
| Buddha seṭṭhamā saritvāna ākāsemapi pūjaye. | Recollecting the Noble Buddha I offer in space. |
C.5.2 Offering of Light (pahan pūjāvā)

Next is *pahan pūjāvā* (padīpa pūjā) ‘the offering of light’ (2.4.2)\(^{105}\), kindled with camphor (*ghanasārappadittena*). This homage clearly draws upon the Buddha’s very Awakening experience when he proclaims, ‘a light was born, an eye was born’ (*āloko udapādi, cakkhum udapādi*). Light clearly stands for the Buddha himself, the homage line seeing him as ‘the light of the three worlds’ (*tilokadāpaū*)\(^{106}\), if also ‘the Dispeller darkness’ (*tamonudaū*). And interestingly again, in this gāthā, Light that cuts through the dark (*tama dhamsinā*) is being offered to the Buddha who dispels darkness. So it is in recognition of the quality of the Buddha that homage is paid with Light.

So if the homage is another showing of respect to the Buddha, it is also an expression of one’s own hope of being able to cut through the darkness of ignorance, which, under the Conditioned Co-origination Theory, is at the root of birth (and rebirth / rebecoming\(^{107}\)): ‘conditioned by ignorance are the forces’ (*avijjà paccayā saṃkkārā*).

C.5.1.3 Offering of Fragrance (suwañña pūjāvā)

Next\(^{108}\) is the *suwañña pūjāvā* (*suganda pūjā*) ‘Offering of Incense’, when a joss-stick is lit, and the aroma begins to envelope the surroundings, the rising swirling smoke being symbolic of both the confusion in one’s mind but also the possibility of rising above it. If the offering here is ‘with superfragrant incense’ (*sugandhinā … gandhena*), it is also offered in ‘superfragrant words’ (*sugandhikāya vadanaṃ*) [that are] ‘possessed of innumerable fragrant qualities’ (*anantaguna-gandhinā*). The alliterative repetition of *gandha* ‘fragrance’ occurring

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105 This is shown in Dhammananda (op.cit) as the first item in the Buddha Pūjā, suggests flexibility of the order.
106 The reference is to the sense plane, form plane and formless plane (*kāmāvacara, rūpāvacara, arūpāvacara* respectively).
107 ‘Rebecoming’ is the literal meaning of the Pali term ‘punabbhava’.
108 Again, it needs to be noted that there is flexibility in this sequencing. E.g., one may begin with this offering of fragrance before offering flowers.
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four times, and the superlative su- twice) is as if to inundate the devotee’s mind with the fragrance of saddhā.

C.5.2 Food Offering (dāna)

The dāna (āhāra pūjā) ‘Food Offering’ (2.3.4), made up of three offerings, is, as noted, offered only at the morning and noon services. Thus, while a pre-noon offering includes both solids and liquids, the evening offering is limited to a ‘medicinal drink’ (gilampasa, P. gilānapaccaya) (3.3.4.3). Each type of food is offered separately with its own gāthā. And the food is removed from the altar within a reasonable time.

C.5.2.1 Offering of Water (pān pūjāva)

The food offering begins with an offering of water (pān pūjāva < pāniya pūjā) (2.3.4.1).

109 An alternative gāthā, in less flowery in language, is shown by Dhammananda (op. cit.) as follows:

| Gandhasambhāra yuttena dhūpenāham sugandhinā pūjaye pūjanīyantaṃ pūjābhājanamuttamaṃ. | With perfumed incense made from fragrant substances I honour the Exalted One, worthy of respect, who dispels the darkness (of ignorance). |

110 While the origins of offering water preceding the offering of food is unclear – it may have been for health reasons, we may note with interest the Sinhala custom of inviting guests with a glass of water. And a meal always ends with water, too, a practice Buddhologist Prof. A K Warder, of University of Toronto, notes with interest as being unique to the Sinhalas (personal communication).

An associated custom, as practiced by the Sangha at an alms offering is that no one washes their hands (rice being a ‘finger food’, and usually with a bowl of water made available) until every Sangha member has finished
The water in the Homage is ‘respectfully offered’ (upanāmitam) with the invitation that it be accepted ‘out of compassion’ (anukampapanam upādāya).

C.5.2.2 Solid food (kabalinkāhāra pūjā)

This refers to the offering of solid food, or kabalinkārāhāra (2.3.4.2). The gāthā for offering it, just called dāne, or āhāra in Sinhala, differs from the offering of water only in that the food (bhojanam) offered has been ‘specifically prepared’ (parikappita), even though, of course, it means only that it is the first scoop out of a given dish that is served into the bowl or plate that is to be placed at the altar. And, of course, the food offered, just as in the case of begging alms, could be anything, except that in general no meat or fish are offered. All the dishes prepared for the day, for consumption by the laity later, are included in the offering.

C.5.2.3 Medicinal drink (gilampasa pūjā)

Gilampasa (2.3.4.3) is the Sinhalized gilānapaccaya. The origin of this offering stems from the four requisites of the ordained Sangha, meaning what is allowed personally. Under the vinaya rules, they are robe, bowl, dwelling and medicinal requisites (cīvara pindapāta senāsana gilānapaccaya (V III.89), the last characterized in detail as ‘medicinal requisites for use in sickness’ (gilānapaccaya-bhesajja-parikkhāra) (V.III.89). Again to be accepted out of compassion, the only variation here is that there is no specific saddhā-inducing terms, eating. The custom is imitated by the laity when say, at a wedding table, everybody else waits until the seniormost person begins to wash his (yes, invariably a male) hands. This is both clearly out of respect for the senior(s) as well as out of table etiquette.

So, while it is difficult to know the direction – religious practice to social custom, or vice versa, it seems clear that the practice of offering water at the beginning of the food offering and the Sinhala practice of a guest being invited with water appear to be related.
as in the flower offering, characterizing it merely as ‘this medicinal drink’ (gilānapaccayam imaṁ)\textsuperscript{111}.

While gilampasa constitutes part of the morning and noon offering as well, it comes to be the only offering at the evening pūjāva, given that solids are not allowed after midday, although today it is no longer just medicinal drinks that are offered, but any beverage (except, of course, alcohol).

Each of water, food and medicinal drink is offered with the invitation to the Buddha, ‘May you partake of …., Venerable Sir’ (ad-hivāsetu no bhante) and ‘May it be accepted, Noble One’ (paṭīg(g) añhātumuttama).

If up to now in the Buddhapūjāva, the Bhante would only be leading, in in making offerings to the Buddha (Buddha Pūjā) the Bhante may be seen to join the congregants. This, of course, means that the devotees, no longer repeating after the Bhante, know the words, in Pali, themselves (as of course, most likely those for the earlier part, too) and would not thus be difficult for them to pay homage together along with the Bhante, out loud.

C.5.3 Personal Offering (puggalābhihāra)

To end the Buddha Pūjā (in the narrower, plural, sense), the devotee, as if to both render the offering personal, as well as to ensure oneself that what one was engaged in was not just a ritualistic offering in Pali but understood personally, now makes the quiet offering, in mind, making the five-point touch or simply raising the palms higher to

\textsuperscript{111} In addition to the gāthā shown in the Appendix (see 2.3.4.3.1) in offering water, the author has heard, and used, another that goes as follows:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|p{5cm}|p{10cm}|}
\hline
\textbf{sugandham sitalam kappam pasanna madhuram subham pāṇīyametaṁ bhagavā patigañhātumuttama.} & Good-smelling, cool and fitting, pleasant, good-tasting, auspicious, this drink, oh Fortunate One, please accept, the Noble One. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Here we may note the emotive terms such as ‘pleasant and ‘good-tasting’.
the ‘crest-limb’ (head), in Sinhala as follows: “May this offering of flowers of mine, the offering of light, incense, water, food, medicinal items, for the first, second and third time, to my respected Buddha-father be offered, be offered, be offered!” (māge me mal pūjāva da pahan pūjāva da suwaṇḍa pūjāva da paen pūjāva da āhāra pūjāva da gilampasa pūjāva da ek venuvat devanuvat tunvenuvat māge budupiyānanvahansēta pūjā vevā pūjā vevā pūjā vevā) (2.3.5.1).

C.6 Transference of Merit (puññānumodanā)

This is another transitional segment of the Buddhappājāva. Up to now, the devotee has cultivated her / his saddhā, through an initial Homage to the Triple Gem, a commitment to the Training Principles and an offering of alms to the Buddha, made all the more qualitative in that they were made within a mental framework of a heightened saddhā.

Now in that very process, the devotee has also come to accrue much merit, piṁ (pronounced ‘ping’) in Sinhala (Pali: puñña; Sanskrit puṇya), too. Now an interesting concept in the Teachings is that sharing merit with others brings added merit! So it would make for more dhammic happiness, psychological gain and meritorious advantage if the merit could now be shared, using the opportunity to practice generosity (dāna), the antidote to greed, as well. The benefit to the devotee begins with the intent of sharing itself, the Buddha proclaiming, “Intent, I say, is kamma” (cetanāhaü bhikkhave kammaü vadàmi). Then there is an emerging muditā ‘altruistic joy’ as well, one of the four Noble Abidings (brahmaviharaõa), derived from the hope, and the expectation even if not an immediate manifestation, of another sentient being benefiting from one’s own meritorious deeds.

The Bhante now calls upon the devotees to begin ‘to transfer merit’ (pin dīmañà). The term anumodanā (in puñña + anumodanā), literally ‘according to taste’, itself captures the psychological state of the

112 While the Buddha is referred to here as ‘father’, elsewhere in Sinhala Buddhism He comes to be called mother (see above), as in amā māniyān(vahanse) ‘(Honoured) Mother Nectar’ (Sinhala amā < Pali amata; Sanskrit amṛta).
devotees: ‘to find satisfaction’, ‘to rejoice in’, etc. (Davids & Stede, op. cit. 41). Indicating the change of activity, from gaining merit to transferring merit, the devotees now change the hand position, keeping their hands on the lap, with palms facing up.

C.6.1 To Deities, Sentient beings and All Else in Nature

The transference of merit is first to the deva ‘deities’, literally ‘shining ones’\textsuperscript{113}, meaning those beings who are waiting to be re-born as humans even as they enjoy the benefit of some puñña accrued in their past lives, until all is exhausted. The concept here indicates how the deva in Buddhism indeed depend on humans for their continuing welfare, and are not ‘creators’, rendering the more common translation of deva as ‘god’ misleading. But deva includes what I would label ‘Deity-like Others’, to convey the sense in the term devatāvun (3.1.1) in the Sinhala rendering, following devi ‘deity’. Devatā is merely the Pali term for the Sinhala devi, and literally means, ‘state of a deva’.

To be noted about the transference first is that it is ‘towards their total happiness’ (sabba sampatti siddhiyā) (3.1.1.1-3). Second, merit to be transferred is ‘to the extent accrued by us’ (ettavatā ca amhehi sambhatam), in the full recognition that one cannot give what one doesn’t already have. This principle may be seen as an encouragement towards acquiring more and more merit, given that humans, despite their greed and aversion, would like to see happiness in others, if only for the reason that it makes for their own happiness in a reverse cybernetic loop, as envisioned in the Buddha’s Theory of Conditioned Co-origination\textsuperscript{114}.

The next transference is to ‘sentient beings’ (sattā), literally meaning ‘the state (-tā) of being (sat-)’, allowing the inclusion of both humans and animals. To the more spiritually bent among the devotees,

\textsuperscript{113} ‘Deva’ and ‘satta’ (next) are not included in Dhammananda (op.cit.), suggesting variation within the tradition.

\textsuperscript{114} Among Buddha’s encouraging words in this context are “May happiness be yours” (sukhī attānam hotu).
the elaboration in the *karaṇīya metta sutta* would not be unfamiliar: extending one’s *mettā* to all beings, “feeble or strong, long or short, stout or medium, seen or unseen, dwelling near or far, born or yet to be born, without exception”.

Finally, merit is transferred to ‘all else in nature’ (*bhūta* <bhū-*to become*), literally ‘those that have become’. While the term *bhūta* also has, in the Sinhala culture, associations with ‘ghosts’ or ‘supernatural beings that bring harm’, Buddhaghosa, in his listing of seven meanings, includes the ‘vegetable kingdom’ and ‘animate nature as principle’ (Davids & Stede, op.cit., 507). It is to capture this range that it has been translated above, still perhaps poorly, as ‘all else in nature’, distinguishing it from ‘shining ones’ in the happier states, and humans and animals.

**C.6.2 To Relatives**

If the transference of merit above is to keep the unknown forces appeased, now merit is to be transferred to real people: ‘May this (merit) be to my relatives’ (*idam me nātīnaṁ hotu*), and further ‘May the relatives be well’ (*sukhitā hontu nātayo*) (3.1.2). While the general understanding here is that by ‘relatives’ are meant the departed ones, the text simply refers to ‘relatives’ (*nātīnaṁ, nātayo*), which may be taken to mean those both dead and alive.

When it comes to the ‘departed ones’ (*peta*), especially in the context of a funeral, or an alms giving, at home or at the temple, after seven days, one month, three months or one year, and annually thereafter following the death of a loved one, we may hear a set of two more *gāthā*:

> Just as overflowing rivers fill the ocean,  
> just so may the departed benefit  
> from what proceeds from here.
Just as water falling off a high ground
flows into the low ground
Just so may the departed benefit
from what proceeds from here\textsuperscript{115}.

If what we have here, then, is an expression of gratitude, it is also in the knowledge that in the cycle of rebirth, the relatives have been long term partners, merely changing roles – mother today an enemy in another life, and an enemy of another life, one’s spouse or child in this, and so on\textsuperscript{116}.

C.7 Seeking Protection (ārakkhāyācana)

C.7.1 For Teachings, Dispensation, Me and Others

In the next \textit{gāthā} (3.2.1), there is a yet another transference of merit, this time to \textit{nāgas} \textsuperscript{117}, again supernatural beings, with \textit{devas} thrown in for good measure, ‘inhabiting space or earth’ (ākāsāṭṭhā ca bhumaṭṭhā), this probably accommodating pre-Buddhistic cults in the island\textsuperscript{118}. But now, having done a favour, it is now the devotee’s turn to

\begin{footnotesize} \begin{verbatim}
\textsuperscript{115} Yathā vārī vahā pūrā paripūrenti sāgaraṃ
   Evameva ito dinnaṃ petānaṃ upakappatu.

Unna me udakaṃ vaṭṭaṃ, yathā ninnaṃ pavattati
   Evameva ito dinnaṃ petānaṃ upakappatu.
\end{verbatim} \end{footnotesize}

It may be noted that \textit{vārī vahā}, not shown in Davids & Stede, may be a corruption of \textit{vārīvāha}, meaning ‘cloud’ (A II.56), literally ‘water carrier’.

\begin{footnotesize} \begin{verbatim}
\textsuperscript{116} We may note with interest the research finding of Whitton & Fisher (1986) that we seem to be traveling in clusters.
\textsuperscript{117} We may note that it was a cobra that gives shelter to the Buddha following his Enlightenment as he sits under the bodhi tree. Perhaps it is in gratitude then?
\textsuperscript{118} “The belief that one’s life was affected by good and evil spirits….who needed to be propitiated by prayer and ritual” (de Silva, op. cit., 50). See Premasiri, 1991 for a critical study.
\end{verbatim} \end{footnotesize}
ask for a favour (ārakkhāyācana). As the line goes, ‘Having rejoiced in the endless merit’ (puññantam anumoditvā), may the devas and nagas ‘of mighty power’ (mahiddhikā) protect the ‘Teachings’ (desanaṃ). The irony that the Buddha’s Teachings need protection, of course, is lost on the devotee! To be noted is that the request is to protect ‘for long’ (ciraṃ), and not ‘for ever’ (sadā). What seems implicit here is the idea that the Dispensation of the present Buddha will eventually die out, with the next Buddha rolling the Dhamma Wheel again.

A repeat of the gāthā changes the last line to seek protection for the ‘Dispensation in the world’ (loka sāsanam) (3.2.1.2).

In the third repeat, the request in the changed last line is for protection of ‘myself’ (maṃ) (3.2.1.3). But in the very next word, in true Buddhist spirit, protection is for ‘others’ (param), too, presumably human others, as we see next.

C.7.2 For Self, Away from Bad Company, and for Good Company.

When above, ‘protection’ was sought for ‘me’, it was along with others, ‘me’ being one of four (‘Teachings, Dispensation, Me and Others’) (3.2.1), entailing a wider good, the protection being from supernatural beings (devā, nāgā, mahiddhikā).

But now the devotee seeks to be protected from humans. It is thus that s/he seeks to benefit from “this meritorious deed” (iminā puññakammena), with the wish, “Please keep me away from fools” (mā me bāla samāgamo), so that “I may be in the company of good ones” (sataṃ samāgamo hotu), this ‘until Nibbana come’ (yāva nibbānapattiyā).

The pleading can be seen as a personalizing of the Buddha’s words in the Dhammapda:

119 The reference here, of course, is to the past and future Buddhas.

120 loka sāsanam can be taken separately to mean ‘the world’ and ‘the Dispensation’ as well. But the order (loka appearing between desana and sāsana) seems to render this meaning less tenable.
Associate not with evil friends / ... people vile.
Associate [indeed] with good friends / noble^{121}.

Elsewhere, says the Buddha, “Others will have bad friends; we shall have good friends” (M I.43). The Pali term translated here as ‘good friend’ is ‘kalyāna mitta’. While the term kalyāna has the literal sense of ‘beautiful, charming, auspicious’ (Davids & Stede), the more relevant in the context of the Buddhapūjāva is ‘morally good’. So the wish here is to be in the company of good ones in society who could guide one morally.

But if that is at the literal level, it is relevant to note that the Buddha tells Ananda that, in the case of an ordained, ‘good friendship’ is [not half, as Ananda says] but the ‘entire holy life’ (S I.87). So ostensibly the search for the company of good ones can also be seen as relating to the spiritual life. Buddha, of course, is the spiritual friend par excellence, while an Arahant can act as such as well (S v.3). Thus, by extension, the devotee’s aspiration can be said to be for the guidance of the Buddha himself.

C.8 Seeking Forgiveness (khamāyācana)

Reference has already been made to the strict rules of the Vinaya by which the ordained are to be guided. Built into them are, however, ways of gaining absolution, total or partial, through confession^{122} of any digression. This gāthā for ‘seeking forgiveness’ (samāva yādīma) (3.3.2) for the laity is guided by the same principle, Buddha’s last words for the ordained, “Strive with diligence” (appamādaṇa sampādetha) equally applicable to the laity. Lay life is, with the best of intentions and efforts, beset with challenges in upholding the Training.

^{121} na bhaje pāpake mitte
na bhaje purisādhamena.
bhajetha mitte kalyāne
bhajetha purisuttame (Dh 78).

^{122} At a sīma, ideally, once a month.
Principles, given the deranged nature of humans (above). So the least a devotee can do is seek forgiveness: ‘May I be forgiven’ (accayam khama me), for any transgressions, in ‘body, word and mind’ (kāyena vācā cittena) committed ‘through non-deligience’ (pamādēna). And who else can one go to but the ‘Master of extensive wisdom’ (bhūripaṇṇa) himself?

The Buddha’s words, “Intent, I say, is kamma” reminds us that a thought alone would be enough to bring karmic consequences, even if nothing is actually said, or done physically. When it comes to ‘word’, the transgression would be to fail to abstain from false language, malicious language, gossip and coarse language (see above), or perhaps even not maintaining ‘noble silence’ (ariyo vā tuṇhībhāvo) when there is nothing of usefulness, to one and to another, can be said.

But we may see how the Buddhapājāva has successfully integrated both self-care and other-care (see more of this later), while also promoting saddhā. (But see below under Optional, for additional collective, and mutual, care).

C.9 Personal Aspiration

To bring the Buddhapājāva to a closure, the Bhante, now switching to Sinhala, brings to the attention of the devotee’s mind, in summation, just what each of them has been engaged in and what benefits have been accrued thus far: “May I, by reason of the bundle of merits acquired, be fortunate to come by, without any illness, sickness or discomfort, birth after birth, one of three ‘bodhiyas’ experienced by the Buddha, Pacceka Buddhas and the Great Arahants!” (see Appendix 3.3.3.1 for the wordings in Sinhala)\textsuperscript{123}. While, of course, the Homage being engaged in is to the historical Buddha, the aspiration for an alternative ‘awakening experience’ (bodhiya) of the Pacceka Buddha and Arahants, seems to be a form of an insurance just in case one is

\textsuperscript{123} It needs to be noted that this rendition follows the English word order and the original Sinhala (as can be read in the Appendix) is more convoluted in the placement of the concepts.
unable to make it to Buddhahood\textsuperscript{124}.

In acceptance, the devotees, going down to a five point contact, or with palms at the head, go \textit{sādhu sādhu sādhu sādhu}. If in a home setting, or a personal homage at a temple, the words may be said to oneself by each of the participants, without the prompting by a leader. In such a setting in particular, the elder may invoke yet another protection, as others listen respectfully, palms still held together:

To end the \textit{Buddhapūjāva}, both the Bhante and the congregation now make the five-point touch, or raise their palms to the head, and repeat the words, \textit{sādhu sādhu sā(dhu)}.

Coming out of the image house, there may be a drumming, allowing for the congregation to disperse and the Bhantes to return to the residence.

\textbf{C.10 \textit{Paritta: Protection & Blessings (Optional):}}

Before the Bhante and the congregants thus jointly bring the \textit{Buddhapūjāva} to a closure, the Bhante, or an elder in the family if in a home situation (with or without other members of the family joining in), may offer some ‘protections’, as the devotees listen. Dhammananda (op.cit., 116 ff.) gives the text of a whole slew of them, the first \textit{gāthā} being indicative:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textit{sabbe buddhābalappattā} & By the (protective) power of all the Buddhas, \\
\textit{paccekānañca yaṁ balaṁ} & Pacceka Buddhas and all Arahants, \\
\textit{arahantānañca tejena} & I bind [you] in protection for all time. \\
\textit{rakkhaṁ bandhāmi sabbaso} & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

As evidenced from the parenthetical ‘you’, the protection could,

\textsuperscript{124} It may be noted that this tripartite division, though still Canonical, is not of early, or what I call Buddhian Buddhism. See Analayo, 2010 for a comparative study of Paccekabuddhas.
of course, be for oneself or another, each listener having psychological access to the words being recited. And it is a vast source of power that is being drawn upon - of the Buddhas, Pacceka Buddhas and Arahants. No holier power could be envisaged!

Another set of chantings are the *paritta* ‘protections’¹²⁵ (3.4.1), the most common being the trio *Mahāmaṅgala, Ratana* and *Karaṇīya Metta* (ibid.) *Suttas*¹²⁶. The *Mahāmaṅgala* is basically a list of ‘blessings’ – qualities and values to be cultivated towards a happy personal and family living (see Phongsawasdi, 2007 for a contemporary treatment). The *Karaṇīya Metta*, as a literal translation ‘mētā to be done’ shows, is a guideline for extending lovingkindness, or friendliness, to all. The last, *Ratana Sutta* ‘Gem Discourse’, is unique in its specific aspiration, “May I be free” (vīpasamentu me), from the existential dukkha, everyday fears (bhaya) and illness (roga). This freedom is to be had by the [efficacy] of “these truthful words” (etena saccavajjena), as also noted in relation to ‘Reflection on the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha’ (1.4.1.2 – 1.4.3.2).

While in general, the congregants listen respectfully through the chant, perhaps the more knowledgeable and/or spiritually committed ones, may join in as well, but chanting silently so as not to overpower the chanting by the Bhante, now joined in by other Bhantes, if any, as well¹²⁷.

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¹²⁵ The earliest reference to the practice in Sri Lanka is in the reign of Aggabodhi IV (658-674 CE) (Rahula, op. cit, 276-7). The Buddha is said to have recited the *Ratana Sutta* when Vesali was was affected by a famine, and Ananda is said to have gone around the city sprinkling water from the Buddha’s alms-bowl (ibid.) See also Rahula, 278-280 for a detailed description of the practice of *paritta*.


¹²⁷ See Kariyawasam, 2010 for a detailed presentation.
C.11 Homage to Parents \((mātāpitū vandanā)\)

While the Buddhapūjāva ends following the optional or other activities as above, there is something very special that is part of the daily event in a Buddhist home. And that is Homage to the parents \((mātāpitū yan vāṇḍīma)\) \((mātāpitūvandanā)\) \((3.5)\), considered to be the first ‘two teachers’ \((deguru)\). Respect for parents is a call made in the Sigālovāda sutta \((D 31)\), which in particular outlines guidelines for family living. The Mahāmaṅgalā sutta also shows ‘attending to mother and father’ \((mātāpitū upaññhānaü)\) a ‘blessing’. And so, one could find no better context to pay homage to parents than when piety is at its highest\(^{128}\).

Noting the order of precedence as in \(mātāpitū\) above, mother comes to be paid homage to first, for ‘having borne me for ten months’ \((dasamāse urekatvā)\) \(\text{(by lunar calendar)}\), and is wished 100 years \((vassasatam)\). This wish for such a long life for mother could be explained as perhaps having more than one reason. An existential one is perhaps that the life-span of a woman at the time (at least two millennia ago) was likely shorter than that of a man’s. A Buddhist explanation may be the wish for having one’s mother live as long as possible as a steady source for one’s continuing emotional health, nourished by the memories of the loving care and the milk fed, taken from her own blood\(^{129}\). Then, of course, there is also the gratitude, for nourishing ‘towards growth’ \((posesi vuddhikāraṇam)\).

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\(^{128}\) How respect for parents is so ingrained in my generation at least may be shown with a personal example. When my father arrived in Toronto, I, at the age past forty, and married, seeing him after nearly 10 years, fell prostrate at his feet at the airport! It is with regret that one notes, however, that this laudable, and spiritual, practice, has practically died out in a western, or perhaps even in a contemporary Sri Lankan, setting.

\(^{129}\) An interesting extension of this idea of gratitude for the mother is the practice of a groom offering the new mother-in-law, immediately after the marriage, as a gracious thank you, a ‘kacci’ of cloth, symbolically enough to soak up all the milk given to to the daughter (Disanayaka, 1998, 85-86).
It is interesting that the father is paid respect for ‘embracing’ and ‘caressing’ (*alingitvā cumbitvā*), characteristics more in keeping with the mother than cerebral fathers, known in any culture generally not to express their emotions publicly. So is it that perhaps in ancient times, in Sinhala Buddhism, fathers expressed their emotions more openly? Or was it a prompt to fathers to be of such a nature? On the other hand, this may be a case of the foreteachers, i.e., the scribes, who were mainly male, seeking to elevate the father. Either way, the father is certainly seen as being equally worthy of respect for a Buddhist child.

Homage to parents is the last item in a home setting, which means that, although listed ahead of Meditation (next) in organizational terms, it follows Meditation when it constitutes part of the practice on a given occasion.

If one or both the parents are no longer living, then, the devotee may engage in bringing them to her/his mind at the end of the homage, independently, or at the time of the personal expression of universal kindness: *sīyalu sattvayo niduk vetvā nirogī vetvā suvapat vetvā dukin midetvā budun dakitvā nivan dakitvā* ‘May all beings be dukkha-free, illness-free, be healthy, be freed of dukkha, see the Buddha and experience Nibbana’.

**C.12 Meditation (*bhāvanā*) (Optional)**

Even though meditation in Sinhala Buddhism might have all but died out as a mainstream practice around the 12th c. CE under the South Indian Hindu invasion, there is no question that meditation had been very much part of the practice up to that time. Buddhism was introduced to the country by an Arahant (Mahinda), a meditator by definition, along with Sanghamitta (Mahinda’s sister), also an Arahant.

Foreign rule was to come to an end soon (see de Silva, op. cit. for details). But the outcome of the debate as to how best to preserve the Dhamma was a victory of the *grāmavāsin* (city dwellers) over the *araññavāsin* (forest-dwellers) (committed to meditation). Faced with the threat of extinction following the Hindu rule, what was critical, it was to be argued, was not meditation, conducive to personal libera-
tion, but retaining the Dhamma. This latter alone would help to ensure both the continuity of the Teachings (with personal Awakening not ruled out), as well as help rebuild community and society. This would have certainly served to undermine meditation practice.

If the next 400 years (up to the 15th c.) indeed showed the benefit to society of the victory of the city dwelling Sangha, 500 years of European rule beginning in the 16th c. had not provided better conditions for a revival of meditation. That is, up until very recently when meditation is said to be on the rise in the land, including among the younger generation.

This brief outline will, then, tell us how meditation had ceased to be part of the Sinhala Buddhapūjàva for the last ten centuries. It was, however, of no great consequence to the devotee, Theravada emphasizing gaining merit for a better re-birth, idealized in a birth in ‘heaven’ (sagga), rather than a liberation here and now (diṭṭha dhamma). But Numrich (op. cit.:xvii) notes that “… Buddhist modernism has popularized the practice of meditation”. Given the revival, both in a Sri Lankan as well as the overseas context, meditation comes to be included. This is because, as part of the same revival, individual lay Buddhist practitioners have taken to meditation seriously (personal knowledge), with liberation in this very life as a realistic goal, accepting the Buddha’s invitation to ‘come and see’ (ehi passika).

The meditation practiced most commonly by the Sinhala Buddhist is ‘Mindfulness of Breathing’ (anāpāṇa sati) (4.1.1.1), the very first step in the satipaṭṭhāna bhāvanā, the method specifically developed by the Buddha (M.10) (see Nyanaponika, 1954, Gunaratana, 2002, and Analayo (2007b) for comprehensive treatments). But the more serious practitioners go deeper, falling back on the entire satipaṭṭhāna bhāvanā (4.1.1.2).

In a home setting than in a temple setting, the personal sub-lingual’ meditation (4.2.1), done in silence, runs as follows: ‘May all sentient beings be dukkha-free, ill-health-free, recover from illness and overcome dukkha; [and] experience (literally, ‘see’130) the Buddha and

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130 The Sinhala term. dakitvā, translated here as ‘may … see’ is from
Nibbana\(^{131}\) (*siyala sattvayo niduk vetvā niroga vetvā suvapat vetvā dukin midetvā budun dakitvā nivan dakitvā*)\(^{132}\) (4.2.1.1).

Regardless of whether or not a formal meditation is undertaken, the *Buddhapūjāva* can be said to establish the devotee in both ‘mindfulness’ (*sati*) and ‘concentration’ (*samādhi*). Mindfulness here comes with the devotee being ‘with it’ as one says each *gāthā*, but also a given section. Thus, e.g., while water, food and medicinal drink are offered, mindfully of each item, there is also the mindfulness of the totality of the segment as being an offering of food (meaning here both solids and liquids). A similar mindfulness can be said to prevail throughout the totality of the ceremony.

This itself, of course, is a form of concentration, though not in the sharper, technical sense of ‘one-pointedness’ (*ekaggatā*). It is a concentration not only on the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, but on oneself, too, a collective *sati*, if it can be so characterized.

C.13 Homily (*Baṇa*)

A significant, though optional, conclusion to any Sinhala *Buddhapūjāva*, in a public setting – this could be at the temple or following an almsgiving in a home, is a discourse (*dhammānusāsanā, dhammadesanā*), more

\[dakinəwa < daki- \text{literally ‘to see’}. \text{But used in relation to dreams (hīnayak dakinəwa ‘having a dream’) in a sense close to physical seeing as well, it has the sense of ‘experiencing’ Nibbana (cf nivan dakitvā as in the line). By extension, then, while budun dakitvā never suggests or implies a belief that Buddha is still alive for one to be able to see, it does suggest seeing the Buddha in one’s mind’s eye, as a persona by whom to be inspired, or whose qualities to be emulated. But, noting that this is the *Metta bhāvanā*, the reference may well be to visualizing, and aspiring to be fortunate enough to be born in the time of Metteyya, the future Buddha of the Theravada tradition, Metteyya itself, of course, being a symbolization of *mettā.*

\(^{131}\) This may be chanted at other times, too: going to bed, waking up, whenever there is a free moment, or as a meditation on an Upasatha (Eight Training Principles) i.e., *sīl* day.

\(^{132}\) See also Disanayaka, 1993, for a related treatment on several aspects of the *Buddhapūjāva.*
commonly *bana*\textsuperscript{133}) given by a Bhante, perhaps the most learned in the group though not necessarily the seniormost, by ordination or rank. Often long than short, it would be on one or more topics, taken from the *Buddhapūjāva* itself, or the event associated with it (as e.g., death, pregnancy, housewarming, going away to school or a job, etc.). Given that it is in Sinhala, and in narrative form, this is the point when the devotee gets more of an understanding, and a better handle on one or more parts of the homage, all, as noted, in Pali. The Bhante may go into details of the topic chosen, with examples, and quotations from the Buddha himself, interspersed with stories from the commentaries and anecdotes drawn from everyday life, not rarely personalizing it to the patron(s) of the event. This, of course, is a practice identified in the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* as a blessing: ‘timely listening to the Dhamma’ (*kālena dhammasāvanaṃ*). Although there would be no ‘timely Dhamma discussion’ (*kālena dhammasaṅkaccāḥ*), the expectation would be that there would be follow up, formally or informally, following the event\textsuperscript{134}.

\textsuperscript{133} This is from Pali *bhañati* ‘to speak, tell, proclaim’ (Davids & Stede), and possibly a shortening of the nominal form *bhañana* ‘telling, speaking’, with the initial aspirate *bh*- inaspirated in speaking, as is the standard practice.

\textsuperscript{134} See also Maitreya, 1993 for some relevant essays.
D. ANALYTICAL SCHEMA OF THE BUDDHAPŪJĀVA: A SYMBOLIC UNDERSTANDING

D.1 Buddhapūjāva as Organized Praxis

If the above listing immediately points to a wide variety of activities that go to make up the Buddhapūjāva, it also leads us to the observation that it goes beyond a mere affective faith-based chanting or reciting, or a mere repetition of a phrase over and over again, as e.g., Namo amida butsu in the Japanese tradition or nama amita fo in the Chinese. It can be said to reflect a more balanced, and comprehensive one, incorporating both the affective and the cognitive. As for the former, we may see an example in the initial Homage (1.2.1; 1.3.1) and as for the cognitive, we may take the Training Principles (2.1.1). It also incorporates a balance in terms of both self-care (3.3.1.1) and other care (3.1.1.1).

A closer analysis would further show that the activities entailed in the ritual are not just a haphazard series but follow a specific pattern. Fig. 1 helps us understand just what this pattern may be, under three columns: Stage, Content and Activity:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>NO. IN LIST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I SADDHĀ ‘Faith’</td>
<td>1. Establishing in saddhā in the Triple Gem</td>
<td>1.1 Salutation to Buddha 1.2.1 Going for Refuge 1.2.2 Qualities of the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha</td>
<td>i ii ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II SĪLA ‘Discipline’</td>
<td>2.1. Establishing in Discipline</td>
<td>2.1.1 Five Training Principles</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2 Reflections on the Buddha</td>
<td>2.2.1 Homage to Cetiya Reliquary 2.2.2 Homage to Bodhi Tree</td>
<td>iv iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3 Offerings to Buddha</td>
<td>2.3.1 Flowers 2.3.2 Light 2.3.3 Incense 2.3.4 Food (solids/liquids)</td>
<td>v v v v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III ATTHA-CARIYA ‘Social good’</td>
<td>3.1 Other Care: Transference of Merit</td>
<td>3.1.1 To deities, sentient beings and all other beings 3.1.2 To relatives</td>
<td>vi vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2 Other-care: Seeking Protection</td>
<td>3.2.1 Seeking Protection for Teachings, Dispensation, Me &amp; Others 3.3.1 Seeking Protection for self 3.3.2 Seeking to be away from bad company &amp; seeking the good 3.3.3 Seeking forgiveness 3.3.4 Personal Aspiration 3.4.1 Paritta: Protection and Blessings</td>
<td>vii vii vii viii ix x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3 Self-care:</td>
<td>3.3.1 Seeking Protection for self 3.3.2 Seeking to be away from bad company &amp; seeking the good 3.3.3 Seeking forgiveness 3.3.4 Personal Aspiration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.4 Self-care &amp; Other-care</td>
<td>3.4.1 Paritta: Protection and Blessings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5 Homage to parents</td>
<td>3.5.1 Homage to mother 3.5.2 Homage to father</td>
<td>xi xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV MOKKHA ‘Liberation’</td>
<td>4.1 Self-care</td>
<td>4.1.1 Meditation (non-verbal - silent) 4.2.1 Meditation (verbal - silent) 4.3.1 Baṇa: Homily (optional / situational)</td>
<td>xii xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.2 Other-care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.3 Self-care/ Other-care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 1: The Organizational Structure of a Sinhala Buddhapūjāvā in terms of Stage, Content and Activity.
Column 1 shows the ‘Stages’ the devotee goes through, as envisioned the Buddhapâjâva, namely, I SADDHĀ ‘Faith’ II SĪLA ‘Discipline’, III ATTHACARIYĀ ‘Social good’ and IV MOKKHA ‘Liberation’. Column 2 shows the organizational ‘Content’, reflecting intent, under each. Column 3 ‘Activity’ shows the activities (one or more) towards each intent, drawn from the ‘Outline’ above (Section A.1.2), re-numbering them to be in tandem with the numbering under ‘Content’. Column 4 shows the item in its original numbering.

I Establishing SADDHĀ

All spiritual activity in the Buddha’s Teachings, for both the Sangha and the laity, is directed towards the eventual goal of Nibbāna. But the function of the Buddhapâjâva under discussion can be said to be to help the latter maintain a basic morality (sāla) even as one goes about living the everyday life, Nibbāna being only a remote goal in Sinhala, and Theravada, Buddhism. However, the preliminary requisite / pre-requisite for either laity or Sangha remains the same: sad-dhā, variably translated as ‘faith’ (Nanamoli & Bodhi, 1995; 2001; ‘faith’ or ‘devotion’ (Buddhadatta, 1949), ‘confidence’ (Saddhatissa, 1970) and ‘conviction’ (Thanissaro, 1996:39 ff.)

While the Sanskrit cognate is nirvāṇa, I avoid showing it as a parallel of nibbāna for one important reason. Nirvāṇa does indeed include the meaning of “absolute extinction … of … all desires and passions” (Monier-Williams, 1989/1993, p. 557), as in the Buddhist sense (cf., the epithet tanhakkhaya ‘extinction of thirst’). But it also has connotations that are distinctly non-Buddhist, i.e., Brahminic, as e.g., “… final emancipation from matter and re-union with the Supreme Spirit”. Thus, to show nirvāṇa side by side with nibbāna would be to suggest, instead of overlap, equivalency, in a sense that aka (‘also known as’) is used. As long as the two terms are posited side by side as parallels, there will be continuing confusion about the Buddhist term, and concept, nibbāna, a point I argue in more detail elsewhere (Sugunasiri, 2011).

The emphasis is on the acquisition of puññā ‘merit’, in the expectation of a better afterlife.

While there are other terms in Canonical literature, such as ‘reasoned
But we would like to understand it in a more literal sense. While Pali *saddhā* is from Vedic *śraddhā* meaning ‘faith’ (as above), entailing a belief in God as, e.g., in Brahminism, we may take its literal meaning of ‘being placed in the good’ (*sat*\(^{138}\) *dhā*) (the unvoiced final –t of *sat*- coming to be rendered voiced (>d) in the context of the voiced –d(h) that follows). We find an example of this sense of goodness in the *Buddhapurjāva* itself: *sataṃ*, as in the aspiration (3.3.1.1) *sataṃ samāgamo hotu* ‘May there be association of the mindful’ (=good). We have the same meaning in the term *saddhāma* < *sat + dhamma*, literally ‘Noble Teaching’, but more formally ‘doctrine of the good’ (Geiger, cited in Davids & Stede)\(^{139}\).

This literal meaning suggests other dimensions of *saddhā*. What state of mind, e.g., can a devotee ‘placed in the good’ be expected to bring? One certainly would be ‘veneration’ (*paṭissā*) (Nakamura, 1987: 84) for the Buddha. This suggests a devotee’s *total acceptance of the Buddha* as the *only guide*, as we have in the *Buddhapurjāva* line, *nattthi me saranāṃ aṇṇāṃ; Buddho me saranāṃ varam* ‘There is no other Refuge, the Buddha my noble Refuge’\(^{140}\) (see 1.4.1.2 (verse 2))\(^{141}\), in the thought of the Buddha being ‘the best among bipeds’

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\(^{138}\) *Sat* itself is from *sant*, but is irrelevant to our point.

\(^{139}\) It may be noted with interest that derivatives of *sat*- with the meaning of ‘goodness’ are contained in other religions as well. We may e.g., take the line in Hinduism, *asato mā sadgamaya* ‘Take me from the ungood (*asat*-) to the good (*sad*- <*sat*-)’. Or we may take the term, and concept, ‘saint’ in Christianity, ‘sant’ in Sikhism having the same meaning.

\(^{140}\) The line is repeated by replacing the Buddha with *Dhamma* and Sangha. Still they each can be as representatives of the Buddha. Says the Buddha, “S/he who respects dhamma respects me”.

\(^{141}\) Another *gāthā*, not included in the *Buddhapurjāva*, but often recited by an elder (as e.g., my father) in a home setting, or by monks at an alms giving (Dhammananda, op.cit., 136), draws upon the idea as well:
Implicit in the acceptance of the Buddha is also his Teachings, the Dhamma. It may even be, at the beginning, a mere openness to acceptance, even perhaps in a willing suspension of disbelief, as e.g., watching a movie or reading a work of fiction. But then, such initial ‘blind faith’ may turn one into ‘one with venerational respect’ (pañissāvin) (D. I.236) coming to realize that ‘well-explained is the Dhamma by the Buddha’ (svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo (1.4.2.1)) and that his Teachings are ‘to be known experientially’ (paccatām veditabbo), this perhaps in baby steps at first.

Having saddhā in the Buddha can then be said to usher in a joy (pasāda), a particularly Buddhist notion as Nakamura (op.cit., 85) notes. ‘Pleased in one’s consciousness’ (pasanna) (Davids & Stede), too, participating in the spiritual activity can then be said to bring a physical relaxation (kāya passaddhi) to the devotee along with a mental relaxation (citta passaddhi) as well, a smile, requiring fewer muscles than a frown, now adorning the face. For the Sinhala devotee in particular, such ‘happiness’ is one of literally ‘hanging on to the Buddha’ (buddhālambana prātiya), and metaphorically ‘the pleasure arising when meditating on the Buddha’ (Maitipe, 1994), the ‘respectful

\[\text{Yaṃ kiñci ratanāṁ loke,}\
\text{vijjati vividhā puthū.}\
\text{Ratanaṁ Buddha[Dhamma / Sangha] samaṁ natthi;}\
\text{tasmā sotthi bhavantu me/ te.}\
\]

‘Whatever gems, varied and widely spread, there may be in the world, nothing compares to the Buddha [Dhamma / Sangha]. May I / you, by that [truth], be well.’

- Mahā Jayamangala Gāthā

142 The analogy to ‘fiction’ indeed seems most appropriate, in that until one attains Nibbana, the masses are said to be deranged (sabbe puthujjanā ummattakā), and our understanding of reality may well be a fiction of our imagination. We may, e.g., think of the concept of soul in theistic religions.
mother of nectar (of Nibbana)\textsuperscript{143} (amā maeniyan vahanse) (D I.12), if also the ‘Buddha the respectful father’ (budu piyānan vahanse), and ‘Buddha the respectful king’ (budu rajānan vahanse). Now the sadhdhā may arrive, and settle down, in the mind of the devotee in a leap of faith, particularly over time.

Yet another quality of mind suggested by sat- is a state of peace, and calm, the Pali term santa bringing to the devotee’s mind the Buddha as the ‘King of Peace’ (sāmarāja), reminded as well that it was in search of the ‘incomparable noble tranquility’ (anuttarañ san-tivarapadāṇa) that Siddhartha leaves home (M 1.163).

Saddhā, in Sinhala Buddhism (as possibly in other Buddhisms as well) can then be understood as a composite, and complex, concept that incorporates a venerational, respectful, joyous and peaceful state of mind. Given this complexity of meaning, we shall, for the purposes of this paper, use the term saddhā, primarily because there does not seem to be an accurate term in English that captures its varied meanings. It is to be hoped that the English reader will get a feel for the term in time, and over time, just as for words like karma, Nirvana and samsara\textsuperscript{144}. Where a context requires the use of an English term, we shall use ‘faith’, siding with the translation of the three Sangha scholars (Bodhi 1995 / 2001, Buddhadatta (op.cit.) and Nanamoli (op. cit.)) who, living (or having lived) in Sri Lanka, can be considered to be closer to the pulse of the people.

This saddhā, however, is no ‘blind faith’ (amūlika saddhā), a concept attributed to people of religion, but as we shall see, one based in a knowledgeability.

There is no such thing as ‘blind’ faith, given that, first, every sentient being has some intelligence, as well as an intrinsic rational element, stemming from survival needs. The working of the rational mind may be shown as being captured in a sentence like, “If I don’t eat, I go hungry, and will eventually die”. Indeed no human activity,
from breathing to watching the sunset, is without its element of rationality. Breathing is driven by reason of the knowledge that if denied, one would no longer be alive, and watching the sunset provides food for the eyes. At a subtler level, there is the autonomous nervous system which e.g., kicks into action when the body loses its balance and restores it to allow us to return to functioning normally (homeostasis). The immune system attacks to ward off an invading virus. This, in fact, fits well with the Teaching of asoulity (anatta), since it is a process with no identifiable doer. Yet, the process is a perfectly rational one.

It is a similar rational element that keeps one in the Buddhapājāva. The thinking may go something like this: “It guides me in my daily living in ways that make me happy, and contended. It may even help me in my liberation.” As the autonomous nervous system comes to ‘know’ from experience how the Buddhapājāva brings happiness, the affective domain, now impacted upon, gives it the reason to welcome it.

Taken at the secular or the spiritual level, then, this is hardly to be ‘blind’. While the basis of rationality, or the understanding of what constitutes rationality, may vary from individual to individual, there is no gainsaying the fact that an element of rationality is something that needs to be given credit for in any given devotee in any religion. Although it would be difficult to quantify where a devotee of the Buddha may fall in terms of faith on a scale of 1 to 10, we could safely say that it would not be at either end. Their confidence in the Buddha can be said to be firm (acala), as characterized by Buddhaghosa, yet such confidence may not always be akin to the tight objectivity of the scientist, or go ‘beyond a shadow of doubt’ of the legalist, or even an ākāravatī saddhā of the Sangha or the avecca pasāda of the streamwinner (M 1.47). So the saddhā of the Sinhala devotee may be characterized as a ‘not-an-unreasoned-faith’ (ananākāravatī saddhā, to coin a term)\(^\text{145}\), or, to put in more canonical terms, not an amūlika

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\(^{145}\) The formation may be shown as follows: na- ‘not’ + na- ‘un-’ + ākāravatī ‘reasoned’, i.e., na + na + ākāravatī > na + anākāravatī > ananākāravatī.
Part I Buddhapājāva - Text and Critical Analysis

(‘baseless’) saddhā. In keeping with the concept of ‘asouility’ - that there is no doer of any action, but just the action alone\textsuperscript{146}, the process is to be seen as a cultivation of an instinct that is innate.

The importance of saddhā is not only that it is one of 37 ‘Dhammas on the side of Awakening’ (bodhipākṣhīya dhamma) but also that the opposite of, and antidote to it, vicikiccā ‘baseless doubt’, is an impediment (nīvaraṇa) to liberation (D 22). Further, should a devotee decide at some point in time to pursue the spiritual path seriously, the faith cultivated could put her on the path towards ‘liberation through faith’ (saddhā vimutti)\textsuperscript{147}. Thanissaro (1996:188) thus points out how the ‘faculty of conviction’ (saddhā indriya) “includes the total context for the practice of Buddha’s Teachings”.

Column 2 in Figure I, then, shows the Buddhapājāva at Stage I (Column 1) ‘establishing in saddhā’ in the Triple Gem – Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. Col. 3 shows the activities towards priming such saddhā: ‘Salutation to Buddha’, ‘Going for Refuge’ and ‘Homage to the Triple Gem’ (see the Outline above, or the Appendix below).

II Establishing in Sīla

Saddhā thus established through veneration, the Buddhapājāva now seeks to focus on the self-discipline (sīla) of the individual devotee, through the Training Principles (sīkkhāpada) (see below for this translation), (a.k.a. Precepts)\textsuperscript{148}. The centrality of sīkkhā ‘(self-)training’ in the Buddhist spiritual life cannot be emphasized enough. To understand its significance, we have to consider its place in the life of the ordained Sangha. “The complete spiritual development of the early Buddhist disciple who has voluntarily embarked on the life of brahmācariya [noble living] seems to have been covered under the

\textsuperscript{146} Consider the title of Epstein’s (1995) work, Thoughts without a Thinker.
\textsuperscript{147} The other type of liberation being ‘liberation through wisdom’ (paññā vimutti), texts talk of ‘liberation through both’ (ubhatobhāga vimutti) meaning both saddhā and paññā..
\textsuperscript{148} See Thich Nhat Hanh, 1993, for a comprehensive treatment, but with his own interpretation, and commentary by several western practitioners.
term sikkhā”, notes Dhirasekara (1964:43), in his study, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, the term meaning “culture, training, discipline and also study”. The point is made further that “All the rewards of monastic life, including the final goal of Arahantship, are the result of sikkhā ...” Similarly, the respect in which sikkhā is held by the disciples “… is considered a cardinal virtue of Buddhist monasticism”, contributing to a disciple’s “spiritual stability”.

Although the *Buddhapàjàva* under discussion is intended for the laity, the principle remains the same. It is intended towards the devotee’s “spiritual development” and “spiritual stability”, this done with five sikkhàpada, instead of the 225 (for Bhikkhus) / 304 (for Bhikkhu-nis) rules (see ibid.: 155-6, and Wijayaratna, 2000, for treatments).

This emphasis on self-discipline when it comes to the individual is very much in the spirit of the Noble Eightfold Path which in its classical three-fold division begins with sīla (discipline), to be followed by samādhi (concentration) and paññā (wisdom). It is towards such a self-discipline, in the mundane life, that the ‘Five Training Principles’ (pan sil, Pali pañca-sīla) (see also next), the ethical standard-bearer of the *Buddhapùjàva*, can be said to be introduced to the devotee.

Following this primary component of sīla comes the ‘Reflection on the Buddha’ (*buddhànussati*). While this is not a direct guideline for behaviour as are the Training Principles, it can be seen as being very much supportive, for what is being ‘reflected upon’ are the virtues of the Buddha: ‘Endowed with knowledge and virtues; Well-gone; the Knower of the world; Incomparable Charioteer in taming men; Teacher of deities and people; the Awakened, the Fortunate’ (1.4.1.1)). But now, as if to facilitate the reflection through a visual image, homage comes to be paid to the cetiya ‘Reliquary’ in which are enshrined relics, of the Buddha or another Arahant (given that the Buddha himself is the first Arahant). And indeed the ‘bodily relics of Great Enlightenment’ (*sàrãrikadhàtu mahàbodhim*) (2.2.1.1) are ‘verily ever stand for the Buddha-body itself’ (*sakalaü sadà*). Since the body is in a necessary relationship with the mind, as e.g., in the characterization of a human person as nàmarūpa, it is the totality of the mindbody of
the Buddha that comes to be reflected upon. It is in this sense, then, that the relics can be said to be of Great Enlightenment.

The next visualized homage in the *Buddhapujava* is to the Bodhi Tree (2.2.2), ‘sitting at the root of which victory was gained over all foes [of attachment, anger and ignorance (*raga, dosa, moha*)]’ and ‘came by Omniscience’. So, again it is not for reasons of animism the tree is venerated but for providing a facilitating condition for the Buddha’s Awakening. And so, it is as a reminder of the qualities of the Buddha, then, the tree comes to be venerated.

The next *gatha* serves as a direct reminder of another of Buddha’s qualities: gratitude (*kataññû, literally, ‘knowing what was done [for you]’). And so the bodhi tree is venerated because ‘it was venerated by the Lord of the World’ (*lokanāthena pūjitā*), the reference here being, as noted, to the legend of the Buddha gazing at the tree, in an ‘unbatting-eye offering’ (*animisalocana pūjā*), for a whole week following Enlightenment (Jayawickrema, 1990: 103)\(^{149}\).

Homage to the two visual embodiments of the Buddha’s virtues – the cetiya and the bodhi tree, can be seen as a collective reminder of another virtue, the value of ‘respecting those worthy of respect’ (*pūjā ca pūjanīyānaṃ*) as in the Mahamangala Sutta, which the devotee would hear at every *paritta* chanting, at a *Buddhapujava* (3.4.1), and throughout life (housewarming, following a funeral, at an almsgiving, etc.).

The next item under *sīla*, Offerings to Buddha (2.3), may again not be a direct guide to behaviour. Yet, in the offering of flowers, light, incense and food, at least two desirable qualities come to be panned out in the mind of the devotee. The obvious one, of course, is *dāna* ‘giving’ or ‘sharing’, touching perhaps on the 2nd TP, to abstain from taking (*ādāna*) what is not given (*adinna*). Another is a re-confirmation of the practice of respecting those worthy of respect.

Structurally speaking, the offerings can be seen as the bridge to the next step which involves transferring merit (3.1). Only merit that

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\(^{149}\) In contemporary terms, it may even be a reminder to respect Nature, through, and in, the persona of a tree, the Vinaya decreeing that the ordained refrain from wantonly damaging plant life.
has been accrued (samabhatam puñña sampadam) is being, and can be, transferred. And it is in making the offerings that merit comes to be accrued.

It may be worth noting how the sīla component, as symbolized by the TP’s, is sandwiched between two approaches to saddhā. Preceding the TP’s, it may be noted, are the Homage to Buddha and Dhamma embodied in the living Sangha. Following them are the non-human embodiments in the form of the cetiya and the bodhiya.

III Establishing the attacariyā

What we see in this next segment of the Buddhapatāva is a compendium of activities, providing benefit to both self and others, the devotee also encouraged by another Teaching, ‘May all beings be well’ (sabbe sattā sukhā hontu). While tradition has no specific name for this segment, we may call it, drawing directly from the Teachings the Social Good (atthacariyā). It is to be seen as being made up of ‘self-care’ and ‘other-care’ (attahita-parahita (D III.233) (also called attattha-parattha (S II.29)), the two in a mutual relationship, and well relating to the composite concept attacariyā.

The Buddha talks of four types of persons:

1. one who is devoted to one’s own welfare and the cultivation of virtues;
2. one who is not devoted to one’s own welfare or the cultivation of virtues but devoted to the welfare of others, causing them to cultivate virtues;
3. one who is neither devoted to one’s own welfare or to the cultivation of one’s own virtues, nor to another’s; and
4. one who is devoted to one’s own welfare and the cultivation of virtues, and at the same time devoted to the welfare of others, encouraging the cultivation of virtues.
He declares that the last is the best (A 2.98-99).

The series begins with ‘other care’, in a typical Buddhist way of putting the other first, in an apparent altruism, and compassion. Launching it is a transference of merit to all deities, sentient beings and other beings (3.1.1), and ‘relatives’ (3.1.2), but having first accrued merit through saddhā and sīla. This is in the knowledge, of course, that these other beings are dependent on human beings for their welfare, in addition to whatever merit they themselves may possess. If in transferring merit, protection is sought for ‘the Teachings, the Dispensation, Me and Others’ (3.2.1), an optional chanting of paritta (3.4.1) serves this purpose as well.

In the gāthā paying homage to the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha in the initial Saddhā component, the devotee ends with the words, “May blessings be unto me” (1.4.1.2). But this is only by way of a ‘bye the bye’, the primary intent being the homage. In this third Stage, however, we have the self being at the very centre, looking for atta hita ‘one’s own welfare’, atta suhkha ‘happiness of oneself’ and atta hetu ‘for one’s own sake’ (Davids & Stede, op. cit., 23). The inspiration comes from the Buddha himself who makes no bones about the need to look after oneself:

\[
\text{Visited have I all quarters with my mind,}
\text{anyone dearer to one than oneself I couldn’t find.}
\text{Of all things to all beings,}
\text{guess who is dearest. Oneself it is.}
\]

Ud. (p. 46)\(^{150}\)

Thus he advises, “If one knows oneself to be dear (to oneself), let one keep close watch upon oneself” (Dhp. 157)\(^ {151}\). Hence this self-care, the contemporary Sanskritized Sinhala term ātmārthakāmi, literally ‘desirous of the good of the self’, capturing the sense\(^ {152}\), as

\(^{150}\) See also attāhi attano nātho ‘One is one’s own master’ (Dhp, 160).
\(^{151}\) It is interesting to note that the Dhammapada assigns a whole segment, atta vagga (157 to 166), on self-caring.
\(^{152}\) However, it may be noted that the term is used today more in a negative sense of one being concerned about oneself to the exclusion of others.
contrasted with *parārthakāmī* ‘desirous of the good of the other’. It is sought via three routes: seeking deitic protection, seeking good company and seeking forgiveness (3.2.1.1, 3.3.1, 3.3.2), and through *paritta* chanting, again, by the Sangha (3.4.1).

**IV MOKKHA**

While the *Buddhapājāva* is intended to help the laity go about living their daily lives, the eventual goal of any Buddhist, of course, is liberation. So it would not be surprising that the ritual would end with meditation, even though it had come to lapse over time during the thousand years or more when the practice of Buddhism was at its lowest ebb. However, even when formal meditation was not in practice, a component of silent reflection came to be part of the ritual. It may be nothing more than a line like “May all beings be dukkha-free, and ill-health-free, recover from and overcome dukkha, overcome, and come to experience (literally ‘see’) the Buddha and Nibbana” (4.2.1.1). However, we may see how liberation was implicit in the *Buddhapājāva* even without a meditation component, given that its core is the *pañca-sīla*, *sīla* being the foundation to liberation as we have in the tripartite division of the Noble Eightfold Path – *sīla, samādhi, paññā*.

**D.2 A Symbolic Representation of the Buddhapājāva**

Figure 1 shows how the *Buddha Pūjā* (now understood generically, and not just as the Sinhala practice elaborated here) begins with *saddhā*, next moves on to establishing *sīla*, then *atthacariyā*, and finally to *mokkha*. In Fig. 2 (next), we seek a visual representation of the spiritual significance of this order by paralleling the *Buddha Pūjā* with a *cetiya*, inverting the order of the *Buddha Pūjā* to make it work ground up:
We begin by noting the four parts of the *cetiya*: foundation (padanama; Pali: *pādaka*), relic chamber (dāgaeba; dhātu-garbhya; P: *dhātu-gabbha*), square (devatā koṭīva) and the tee (kot kārēlla; P: *chatrāvaliya*, topped by a kota ‘pinnacle / crown’). We may also note how supporting the entire weight of the *cetiya* is the foundation, just as *saddhā* serves as the foundation for *sīla*. Again, just as the square is supported by the relic chamber in turn supported by the foundation, so is *atthacariyā* based in *sīla* based in *saddhā*.

We pause here to tap into the symbolism offered by the square,

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153 It is the Sanskritized form, -*gārpha*, not the Pali term *dhātu-gabbha*, that is in vogue in contemporary Sinhala.

154 This is called the ‘*harmika*’ in the Indian context (see *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol 8, entry under Stupa).

155 Literally ‘series of umbrellas’, reflecting the fact that in India religiosity is associated with the umbrella if also as ‘a symbol sovereignty’ (Longhurst, 1992: 1ff).
taking its non-technical Sinhala term, *hataræs koṭuva* (P: *caturas-sa*), helping us to understand the workings of *atthacariyā*. Fig. 3 represents the floor plan of the square (looking from above), and its four corners may be seen as suitably representing the components of the *atthacariyā* – self-care (*attahita*) and other care (*parahita*), and *dharma* in relation to the devotee¹⁵⁶.

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¹⁵⁶ In the traditional understanding, the square stands for the Four Noble Truths (see Robertson, 1971 / 1998, 78).
The devotee (‘self’ in the bottom ‘south’ corner) who, having accumulated merit, now transfers it (upward arrow) (see 3.1 in Appendix) to ‘deva’ (including ‘sattā’, ‘bhūtā’) (‘north’ corner). Reciprocity now kicking in, the devotee, in turn seeks, and (presumably) receives the protection of the devas, for himself / herself (‘me’ (3.2.1.3)) (downward arrow), the Dhamma (meaning the sāsana (Dispensation) and the desanā (Teachings) (‘west’ corner) (downward arrow to the left) and ‘others’ (paraṁ) (‘east’ corner) (downward arrow to the right).

Recipients of the merit transferred, the ‘powers’ may now be seen as responding favourably (thanks also to the secondary merit gained by transferring merit), by providing protection (left and right arrows going up). Benefiting from merit transfer, the devotee now receives additional protection from the Dhamma (down left arrow), as we have in the line Dhammo have rakkhati dhammacāriṁ ‘S/he who walks the Dhamma is indeed protected by the Dhamma’ (Theri. 303). In a less tangible sense, the devotee finds ‘protection’ from the Sāsana through its continuity through the ages, providing a facilitative environment for continuing practice. Protection for ‘Others’ also pleaded for, the path-walker receives further protection in turn from the kalyāṇa mitta ‘beautiful friend’ (down arrow on the right).

Finally, the arrows going up northeast and northwest indicate a similar reciprocity as the indifidual benefiting seeks to protect the ‘Dhamma’ as well as ‘Others’.

What the Hatarāskotuva square, then, represents may be seen as a ‘cybernetic loop of protection’, within which the merit accumulated by one benefits one and all in a mutual relationship of communication157. Hence both self-care and other-care.

From a theoretical perspective, this is nothing but an example of the theory of conditioned co-origination (paticcasamuppāda) at work: a given item serving as a condition for a second, which in turn serves as a condition for the first, but now a changed entity (anicca) by the very reality that everything that comes to be passes away (vaya dhammā saṃkhārā). At the same time, each of items 1 and 2 may

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157 See Gombrich, 1971, for a detailed study of merit transference.
serve as conditions for other conditions.

The path-walker, benefiting by being in this loop, can be said to come to be like ‘a rock in the wind’ (pabbato va selo) (Dhammapada), the dagaba in its entirety now being symbolic of a devotee firmly rooted in saddhā, sīla and atthacariyā.

To return to Fig. 2, just as the tee, now built into a cone (as in our figure), is supported by the foundation, the relic chamber and the square taken together, it can be said to stand for the final outcome of the serious commitment of a layperson to a life of saddhā and sīla towards release (mokkha). If bhāvanā (meditation) is the method towards it, the tip of the cone may be said to stand for ‘one-pointedness’ (ekaggatā) a practitioner cultivates towards a deeper insight.

Drawing upon the original structure of layered umbrellas in receding size, we may see the tee as symbolizing the process of going from the solid to the less tangible, as e.g., in the four foundations of the satipatthāna: body, feelings, mind and Dhamma, or the four stages of jhāna (‘a supercalm-in-awareness’ as I translate it): sense (kāmāvacara), form (rūpāvacara), non-form (arūpāvacara),) and ‘beyond (the world)’ (lokuttara). Further, the tee may be seen, again in its historical sense of being a series of seven umbrellas, as symbolizing the seven ‘wings of awakening’ (as poetically and symbolically translated by Thanissaro, op. cit.) (bojjhanga). The crest gem mounted at the top of the cetiya, of course, would be Nibbāna itself – the final goal of the devotee.

But the path as envisioned symbolically, it may be noted, is not for the devotee just going through the motion of the Buddhapūjāva, but for the one who is seriously committed to its practice. To use Balangoda Ananda Maitreya’s (1993:39-40) analogy, the one who is not committed to the practice is like the one who has bought a ticket in the knowledge that the bus does carry passengers, and the driver is skilled, but yet doesn’t board the bus!

It is hoped, then, that the symbolism as explored in relation to the

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158 These are mindfulness, analysis of Dhamma, effort, joy, relaxation, concentration and equanimity (see Analayo (2007b) or Nyanaponika (op. cit.)).
cetiya captures the underlying structure of the Sinhala *Buddhapūjāva*, showing that it is no mere haphazard series of activities but a well thought-out, and well planned ritual.
E. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The *Buddhapūjāva* may be considered, as noted by Kariyawasam (op. cit.), a collectively performed ritual as allowed for in the tradition. “Correctly observed, as means and not as ends, … to generate wholesome states of mind, … serv[ing] as a means of strengthening social solidarity…” Despite the fact that the Buddha, as he notes, did “encourage a devotional attitude”, it is equally true that he did not specify a specific regime, or ritual, for the laity the way it was done for the Sangha (e.g., *vinaya kamma*, *vassāna*, etc.). It was as if to fill this hiatus that the *Buddhapūjāva* seems to have emerged.

In this short study, having given an outline in brief, we first provide the ‘spiritual context’ as well as the ‘practical context’ of the ritual. Giving the full text in English next, we follow it up with a critical study, seeking to understand what is behind its different aspects, from the opening Homage (*namaskāraya*) to the closing Meditation. Next we provide an analytical schema that comes to be constituted of four incremental steps: Faith, Discipline, Social good and Liberation. A cetiya is then shown as presenting the four level structure symbolically.

In the Appendix below, we give the full text, in Pali, with a translation, organized along the four stages as above, and the content falling under each. Hopefully, it may be of use to the Sinhala Buddhist as a resource that helps them understand in detail what they have been participating in all their life.

On a comparative note, the text provides a basis to explore the similarities and dissimilarities in the the practice of the *Buddhapūjāva*
– both in other Theravada countries such as Burma\textsuperscript{159} and Thailand, as also its practice in their Chinese, Tibetan, Western, etc. versions.

Hopefully, our study will serve the academic both as raw material, a first hand account of a participant-observer practitioner, as well as a comparative basis, not just in relation to other varieties of Buddhism, but other religions as well.

\textsuperscript{159} The Burmese opening, e.g., is not ‘seeking refuge’ (saraṇaṁ gacchāmi) (in Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha), but ‘homage to’ (pūjemi) (http://www.thisismyanmar.com/nibbana/cbihara.html), showing early signs of objectivity giving way to a veneration, the shift that would eventually lead to Mahayana.
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NOTES
PART II

Arahant Mahinda as Redactor of the Buddhapūjāva and the Pañca-, Aṭṭhāṅgikā- and Dasa-sīlas in Sinhala Buddhism

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A. Introduction

*Buddha Pūjā* is a religious practice found in every Buddhist temple and many a Buddhist household around the world. But the term itself seems to generate some confusion, since it is used in three different senses.

1. The general sense of a “common form of worship in the Buddhist world” literally “honoring the Buddha” (as e.g., in the *Encyclopedia* entry by Kinnard, 2005: 4330).
2. As a short form for *Buddhassa Pūjā* as in Pali, in the narrower sense of a specific ‘Offering to the Buddha’, as e.g., of incense, light, food and medicinal drinks at a temple, or in a home setting.
3. A label for a *whole ritual* that includes the narrow, second sense of a specific offering, but, as will be seen, entails much more.

In a formulaic sense, the three may be shown in the following manner: Honouring the Buddha (1) > whole ritual (3) > a specific offering (2), the sign > meaning ‘wider than’. (See section E.1 later for a theoretical perspective.)

The distinction made here between 1 and 3 on the one hand and 2 on the other may be understood with the example of ‘foot ball’ vs ‘football’ (in the sense of international ‘soccer’, and NOT the North American). ‘Foot ball’ is a ball which is played with the foot, as opposed to, say, ‘tennis ball’, whereas ‘football’, written as one word, refers to a game (c.f., volleyball, baseball, basketball) played with the foot. Like every other organized endeavour, football has its own rules: e.g., allowed is ‘head ball’ (hitting the ball with the head) but not ‘hand ball’ (i.e., touching the ball with hands); a referee blows the
whistle to call foul play, etc.

To distinguish Meaning 3 (a complex ritual, as we shall see, with its own ‘rules’ and traditions) from the other two, then, we use, as in football, *Buddhapūjā* as a single word\(^1\). The *Sinhala Buddhist* version of it comes to be written as *Buddhapūjāva*, with -va denoting the Sinhalizing suffix. It is as practiced in Sri Lanka (Fahsien’s “simhala island” (see later)), Buddhism being introduced in the 3\(^{rd}\) c. BCE during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa in the Anuradhapura period\(^2\). It is not the *Buddhapūjāva* per se, however, that is the topic of this paper (see Part I, on this), but its *authorship*.

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\(^1\) While the single morphemic form, *Buddhapūjā*, is also what occurs in Buddhist texts (Canonical and post-canonical), please see Section E.1 for a discussion about how the two-word form (*Buddha Pājā*) and the single-word (*Buddhapūjāva*) carry differential semantic connotations.

\(^2\) See de Silva, 1981; Rahula, 1956 for extensive treatments.
B. The Indian Historical Record

Given that India is the home of Buddhism, and had come to earn the epithet Viśvaguru ‘Teacher of the World’, it is only but reasonable to envisage the origins of the buddhapūjā, too, in India. This is the direction that would be particularly suggested, given that the (Sinhala) Buddhapūjāva (better, Buddhapūjāva in Sinhala Buddhism) is rendered (both orally in the ritual as well as in writing) in Pali, not in Sinhala.

In search of such a possible origin in India, then, we consider four sources: (1) the Canon itself, (2) post-Canonical commentarial literature, (3) Art-historical analysis on Indian Buddhist sites, and (4) the accounts of Chinese pilgrims.

B.1 The Canon

The term buddhapūjā, by itself, occurs but in a single work of the Canon, namely, the Apadāna, where we hear Asanabodhiya Thera saying, “by whom this bodhi [tree] was planted, and a buddhapūjā duly conducted, him I shall proclaim. Listen to my words.” (yenāyam ropitā bodhi, buddhapūjā ca sakkatā; tamahaṃ kittayissāmi, suṇātha mama bhāsato) (KN Ap. 1 6 10). Elsewhere we come across the usage buddhapūjāyidam in the standard line buddhapūjāyidam phalam ‘this

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3 An important outcome of the Third Council was the dispatching of emissaries to several countries. Hence the claim (VRI Chaṭṭha sangāyanā CD, Introduction).
4 I am thankful to a peer reviewer for directing me towards the last two sources in particular.
the fruit of a / the buddhāpūjā’ (Ap. 1; Ap. 2)⁵. Two other variations, buddhāpūjam and buddhāpūjattham, occur as well.

We may immediately note that these occurrences are in the Khuddaka, the last of the five Nikayas, which “always remained open for additions” (Hinuber, 1996, p. 76, # 156). And in the Khuddaka, too, they are in the Apadāna, “the latest part” (Warder, 1970, p. 204), “if it was part...”. Confirming the later origins of the Apadāna, Perera (1966, p. 2-3) notes that “The reference in the Apadana to numerous Buddhas presupposes the legend of twenty-four previous Buddhas, which is only a later development of the older legend of six Buddhas contained in other parts of the canon such as the Digha Nikaya”. This late date for the Apadāna finds confirmation in its very text that “makes no attempt to teach the higher doctrines .... Its stories deal with the merits done by good people, laying much stress on the formal aspects of religion, pūjā, vandanā, dāna, etc. ...”. (ibid.) While, then, it would hardly be surprising to find the term buddhāpūjā occurring in it, it is relevant to note the general consensus that it was composed “during the 1st and 2nd century BCE”⁶. (See also Hinuber, 1996, p. 61, # 121)⁷.

So the occurrence of the term buddhāpūjā in the Apadāna does not, then, seem to encourage a view that the Buddhāpūjā, as understood in this paper, predates Mahinda’s introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka (3rd c. BCE). This conjecture seems to be strengthened by the fact that the “bodhi [tree] ... planted” referred to by Asanabodhiya Thera (above) in relation to the buddhāpūjā could be certainly none other⁸ than the one brought to Sri Lanka by Sanghamittā (Mv. ch. XVIII)⁹.

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⁵ The fruits are shown to be in relation to birth (not coming by a miserable birth, another birth or birth into a family of low descent), experiencing no shortage of food, etc.


⁷ This, of course, explains why there is no entry for buddhāpūjā in PED.

⁸ It may be noted that, for obvious reasons, the planting of the tree under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment, which would by definition be pre-Buddhian, or the identity of the planter, finds no significance in the literature.

⁹ See Section C later for some details.
B.2 Commentarial Literature

When it comes to the aññhakathà, the Commentarial literature, while there are no occurrences of buddhapùja, there are several occurrences of its grammatical variation buddhapùjañ in 5 books10. In the Dhammapadaññhakathà, e.g., the attendants of Visakha (visākhāya sahāyikayo) say “ayye, buddhapùjañ kātuκāmamhā ...” (Dhp-a III 101) ‘Respected One, we wish to do a buddhapùja ....’ In the Jātakaññhakathà, King Kosala’s wife says “dhamman vi sotum buddhapùjañ va kātuṃ dānaṃ va dātuṃ” (Ja I 381), i.e., that she wants to ‘listen to the Dhamma, do a Buddhapùja and offer alms’ in the thought ‘rare is the birth of a Buddha’. The temple referred to is the Jetavana, where, as in the text, Ananda Thera lives. A third occurrence, buddhapùjañ katvā, is in the Theraññhakathà (Th.a I 235).

There are other variants, too: buddhapùjâyidam (69 occurrences, 64 in The.a. and 5 in Thi.a), buddhapùjädīm (2 in 2 books), buddhapùjādíni (1), buddhapùjājaya (1), buddhapùjattham (1), buddhapùjādipu¤¤a (2 in 2) and buddhapùjādivasena (2 in 2)11.

When it comes to the ñãkà, while again there is no occurrence of buddhapùja, there are four variants: buddhapùjañ, buddhapùjampi, buddhapùjāya and buddhapùjāyapa¤ho.

Buddhapùja does occur in texts that fall under the category ‘Other texts’, namely the Visuddhimagga, the well-known work by Buddhagaha12, and in the commentary on it, Visuddhimagga mahãtiκa, as well as in the paramatthadãpanã by Dhammapala13.


11 VRI.

12 ...aparassa marañnasamaye ŋátaκā “ayaṃ tāta tavatthōya buddhapùjā karīyati cittaṃ pasādehi” ti ... ‘At the point of death, these are [your] friends, sirs. For your sake, do they do a buddhapa. Be happy in [your] mind.’ (VRI//digitalpalireader/vol 2. page 180 (section 625).

13 He is, of course, “the second important commentator after Buddhaghosa”
Nine other variants occur elsewhere. We may note again that, like the Apadāna itself, the three Commentaries – Dhammpadāṭṭhakathā, Jātakaṭṭhakathā and Therāṭṭhakathā are all post-Mahindian (see Adikaram, 1946 (1994), p. 1; 6-7). So, of course, is the Visuddhimagga (5th c.), as are all the rest in the sub-commentary category - mahāṭīkā, ūṭikā, anuṭīkā, nidānakathā. The same may be seen to hold in relation to the other texts (see footnote 15), such as, e.g., Milinda pañha of the 2nd c. BCE (Hinuber, 1996, 83.172). Kaccānabākaṇṇam and Saddanīti-pakaranāṇam, the other two works in which the term occurs, are not even included in Hinuber’s A Handbook of Pali Literature (op.cit.

(Hinuber, 1996, p. 136, # 272) (ibid.)

14 Including the Mahāvamsaṭṭhakathā (Mv-a, 29.16-17), they are buddhāpūjīmakārayi (1) (Mv aṭṭhakathā), buddhāpūjādīni (1) (Visuddhimagga nidānakathā), buddhāpūjājanamaththaṁ (1) Rasavāhinī), buddhāpūjāpattacīvarādīni (1) (Visuddhimagga mahāṭīkā) buddhāpūjāya (1) (Saddanītipakaranāṇam); buddhāpūjāyapañho (1) (Milinda pañha ūṭikā) buddhāpūjāyi (1) (Rasavāhinī), buddhāpūjāyidaṁ (1) (Rasavāhinī), buddhāpūjījena (1) (Kaccānabākaṇṇam)

15 The “Dhammpadāṭṭha-kathā, according to its introductory verses, is the Pali translation of an original Sinhala commentary.” (Adikaram, 1994, p. 6). The Jātakaṭṭhakathā is “based on the Mahavihara recension of the Jataka collection.” (p. 7). While “the chronology of Th / Thi has not attracted much attention”, and “it is generally accepted that verses may have been added up to and including the third council, the aṭṭhakathā to the Theragatha (Paramatthadhīpanī) is a work by Dhammapala (see Adikaram, 1994, p. 1)” (Hinuber, 1996, p. 53, # 106).

16 In relation to the age of Nīddesa, “the only commentary besides the Suttavibhanga… that has been included into the canon”, Hinuber (1996, p. 59, # 118) makes the observation that “a date after Aśoka does not seem unlikely”. Expanding it in a footnote (204), he quotes Norman’s observation that it “cannot be later than the date of the fixing of the canon”, adding the closure, “This means not later than the 1st c.” (ibid.).
The conclusion then has to be again that the occurrences in the Canonical and post-Canonical literature do not contribute to the possibility that the buddhapūjāya had pre-Mahindian and/or Indian origins.

However, the occurrence of buddhapūjāya in reference to King Aśoka in the Nidānakathā of the Pañcappakaraṇa-āṭṭhakathā of the Abhidhamma piṭakā seems to tease us. In part it reads as follows:

...sāsane paṭiladdhasaddho asoko dhammarājā divase divase buddhapūjāya satasahassam dhammapūjāya satasahassam sanghapūjāya satasahassam[.] attano ācariyassa nigrodhattherassa satasahassam[.] catūsu dvāresu bhesajjathāya satasahassanti pañcasatasahassāni pariccajanto sāsane uḷāram lābhasakkāraṃ pavattesi...18

We have here the term pūjāya not only in association with the Buddha (buddhapūjāya), but with the Dhamma and the Sangha (dhammapūjāya; sanghapūjāya) as well. The pūjā here thus seems to be in the sense of homage – in homage to the Buddha, in homage to the Dhamma, in homage to the Sangha. This seems to be confirmed when the pūjā of a hundred thousand (satasahassam) comes to be given in honour/homage of his teacher (attano ācariyassa nigrodhattherassa satasahassam), too. Further, a similar donation is made ‘for the purpose of medicine at the four doors’ (catūsu dvāresu bhesajjathāya), and all this is ‘for the glory of the sāsana...’ (sāsane uḷāram). It appears,

17 We use this as the watershed since it was Mahinda who introduced Buddhism to Sri Lanka formally.
18 ‘The Righteous King Asoka, with saddhā [confidence; respect] in the Dispensation, offers day in day out, a [total of] five hundred thousand [made up of] a hundred thousand in honour of the Buddha, a hundred thousand in honour of the Dhamma, a hundred thousand in honour of the Sangha, a hundred thousand for his teacher Nigrodha Thera, [and] a hundred thousand for the purpose of medicine at the four gates, for the great glory of the Dispensation’.
then, that in referring to Aśoka, the author is merely seeking to be historically relevant, but retrojecting, i.e., looking back from a later time, the Pañcappakaraṇa-āṭṭhakathā itself being a historical work (Hinuber, 1996., p. 153, # 322).

Two other teasers are the attendants of Visakha and King Kosala’s wife (above) wishing to do a buddhapūjā at the Jetavana. The Buddha is known to have not encouraged rituals in honour of him. So it would be doubtful if Ven. Ananda or Upasika Visakha would have encouraged or welcomed devotees to engage in such an activity within the precincts of the Jetavana. Venerating the Buddha, listening to the Dhamma and offering alms, of course, are well within the tradition. If this then suggests that the buddhapūjā in the texts merely refers to paying homage to the Buddha, the positioning of it in an Indian context of the Buddha’s time may again be an attempt by the author to be historically relevant. Indeed it is more than likely that the buddhapūjā in both contexts, in fact, refers to the Sinhala buddhapūjāva. (See more later (D.2).)

**B.3 Art-historical Analysis**

When it comes to art history, the literature is so vast\(^\text{19}\) that to survey it all would constitute a study in itself. Despite the vastness, a library search\(^\text{20}\) brought up only a single source containing the term Buddha Pūjā. And that was *The Encyclopedia of Religion*.

Interestingly, the entry under “Iconography: Buddhist Iconography” (Kinnard, 2005) in the Encyclopedia seemed to suggest

\(^{19}\) See <file:///C:/Documents and Settings/Compaq_Administrator/My Documents/The Buddhist Religion, Bibliography> for a highly informative source.

\(^{20}\) This was at the University of Toronto Robarts Library, under “Buddha Puja [dropping the diacritics, and the Sinhalizing suffix –va (see above)], “India history 1\(^{\text{st}}\) C. BC 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) C. BC and 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) C. BC”, the “earliest Buddhist carvings being of the 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) c. BCE” (Craven, 1976, p. 50 (Plate 25: Queen Maya’s Dream) and 61 (Plate 32, “King Vidudhabha visiting the Buddha”). See also Khosa, 1998.
an early presence of the *Buddha Pūjā* (shown as two words):

From the moment they appeared in the Buddhist world, visual images were intended to narrate aspects of the Buddha’s life and teachings, and therefore function on the ground as visual texts to be read. In addition, they were very much intended to be objects of ritual worship. A wide range of texts are available for making and consecrating Buddhist images.... Perhaps the most common form of worship in the Buddhist world is *Buddha Pūjā*, literally “honoring the Buddha”. This is a ritual that typically involves making some sort of offering to a Buddha image (or a relic or stupa), such as a flower, a small lamp, food, or even money (p. 4330).

Flowers, light and food (though not money\(^2\)) which are very much part of the Sinhala *Buddhapūjāva* (see later (C.2)), then, may seem to suggest the possibility of the presence of the ceremony from the earliest times.

Indeed,

Many images, particularly the stelae that are abundantly produced in the medieval Indian milieu – although this also is an iconographic theme on some of the very earliest Buddhist images, actually depict such worship as part of the sculpture... The iconography in such cases [with depictions usually “along the base of the image, at what would in a ritual context be eye-level for the worshipper ”], then, serves as a kind of visual guide to proper ritual action. (Kinnard, 2005, p. 4330) (bold added).

Further,

\(^2\) Money is not part of the Sinhala *Buddhapūjāva*, undoubtedly keeping to the Canon. The Buddha points out how he is venerated by the masses for the reason of, among others, abstaining from “accepting gold and silver” (*Brahmajala Sutta*, D I.10). Its inclusion seems to be indicative of a later practice.
Frequently, Buddhist iconography is intended to focus the mind of the worshipper on the Buddha and his teachings, serving as a visual aid and helping the practitioner to engage in buddha anusmrti, or “recollection of the Buddha”. This important form of meditation involves contemplating the Buddha’s magnificent qualities, and internalizing them, very often with the use of a sculpture or painting. The iconography of such images, then, serves a mimetic function in that the meditator is to emulate the iconographically presented Buddha. In the process, the practitioner creates a mental image by internalizing the external iconographic form, thereby becoming like the image, and like the Buddha himself.

Early iconography was concerned with the life of the Buddha, and scenes such as Birth, Enlightenment and Parinibbana, Buddha’s past lives, etc. Commenting on Sanchi, home of the earliest extant Buddhist art, Craven (n.d.), in *A Concise History of Indian Art*, notes how

… stupas were erected to memorialize such things as the Buddha’s enlightenment, miracles, death, or even a footprint, and to house the sacred texts, the ‘word body’ of the Buddha. Some stupas were solely objects of worship… (p. 38).

Discussing the Bharhut Stupa (2nd c. BCE), he refers to the “numerous birth stories of the Buddha’s previous existence (Jataka) and the significant events of his life as Shakyamuni” (p. 60). Further,

The Buddha figure never appears, however. He is always represented by one of a series of symbols that allude to major events in his life.

The symbolic vocabulary includes such signs as the wheel, representing the first sermon …; the Bodhi tree, representing the Enlightenment; and the stupa, representing the Buddha
Great Release or Parinirvana. A riderless horse recalls the departure of the young Buddha-to-be from his father’s royal house; a set of footprints displays the auspicious symbols of a spiritual Chakravartin…; a royal umbrella over a vacant space proclaims his holy presence. Each of these symbols established a focus for a pictorial event\textsuperscript{22}.

Two plates relating to our topic are well described in Craven. The first is the “outstanding relief” of a scene of King Vidudhaba visiting the Buddha (Plate 32, p. 61), featuring the ‘turning the wheel…’. To quote the sections relating to homage (pp. 61-2):

In a vaulted building with columns, upper railing and chaitya arches, four devotees pay homage to the preaching [of the] Buddha who is here represented as a giant wheel. … The Buddha’s throne is strewn with flowers, and his presence is further established by the umbrella festooned with flower garlands. …

… The occupant to the driver’s right appears to be the king, Vidudhabha. An honorific umbrella is held above his head, and he raises one hand in greeting…

The second is “Queen Maya’s Dream” (Plate 25, p. 50), where Queen Maya is shown “lying on a bed in the palace, attended by her ladies in waiting”. A figure on the top left shows a woman holding her two palms together chest high in a posture of respect.

Both these works of art are of the Shunga period, 2\textsuperscript{nd} C. BCE\textsuperscript{23}, Bharhut being “one of India’s earliest and most significant monuments” (p. 65).

A painting “from the Great Stupa at Amaravati, Andhra”, much later in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} c. CE, shows “women adoring the Buddha symbolized

\textsuperscript{22} See also Coomaraswamy, 1969, ch. 7.
\textsuperscript{23} BCE here stands for ‘Before the Common Era’, and CE (later) for ‘Common Era’
by a throne and footprints” (Craven, n.d., p. 77). Here we have not only female figures with palms held together in veneration, but another female figure as well, paying homage in the posture of a ‘five point touch’ (pasañga pihītuva as in the Sinhala practice) - knees, elbows and head24.

_Handbook of Indian Art (a chronicle of Paintings and Sculptures)_ by Sunil Khosa (1998), the other title that appeared in the Google search under ‘Indian Art History’, sheds no additional light on our area of research.

Out of the works of art referred to above, Sanchi, of course, is the only one that pre-dates Mahinda. But just as there is no occurrence, in the discussion, of the term or concept Buddha Pūjā, it does not occur in relation to the later works either. So in the end, art history provides no evidence to suggest an Indian origin to the Buddhapūjā per se.

### B.4 Accounts of Chinese Pilgrims

When it comes to the records of Chinese pilgrims, we are fortunate to find in them “meticulous accounts of the nature of Buddhist doctrines, rituals, and monastic institutions” (Sen, 2006, p. 24).

We begin with I-Tsing (Takakusu, Tr., 2006), also spelt Yijing (Sen, 2006) (635 -713 CE), the last of the three major pilgrims in Sen’s treatment, where we hit upon a gold mine of information on ceremonies and rituals. Three sections in particular stand out for their detail, and relevance: “Rules about the reception at the Upavasatha-day” (ch. ix), “Concerning the pravarana-day” (xv) and “The ceremony of chanting” (xxxii)25. In Sinhala Buddhism, these are three

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24 The carving does not actually show the head or the elbows touching, but the posture is indeed suggestive of it.

high profile ceremonies of which the *Buddhapūjāva* is an essential part.

The Upavasatha (*uposatha* in Pali) day is described as “the fast-day; it is a day of religious observance and celebration for laymen and priests”\(^{26}\), and is a weekly festival\(^{27}\) when laymen see a priest and take upon themselves the Upavasatha-vows, i.e., to keep the eight Silas during the day\(^{28}\) (Takakusu, 2006, p. 35, footnote 1). *Pavāraṇa* Day, using the Pali term here, of course, is the End of the *Vassāna* retreat for the ordained (see Takakusu, 2006, p. 86 ff for details).

At both *uposatha* and *pavāraṇa*, the offering consists of “lamps, incense and flowers” (153), the last two featuring as well in both washing or bathing an image (87) and at “The Ceremony of Chanting” (meaning *Paritta*) (pp. 152 ff).

Interestingly, “there is no religious ceremony after a meal” at the *uposatha* (or *pavāraṇa*) (41), this in Sinhala Buddhism being the occasion for the delivery of a sermon (*baṇa*), transferring of merit to the departed, etc.. The religious ceremony prior to offering meals to the Sangha, another occasion for a Sinhala *Buddhapūjāva*, relates to applauding “the power of the deity”, the deity being “Mahākāla or the great black deity”, “before which abundant offerings of food were made” (p. 39), and “All shouted ‘Good!’ and applauded the power of

bodily illness. xxviii. Rules on giving medicine. xxx. On turning to the right in worship. xxxi. Rules of decorum in cleansing the sacred object of worship. xxxiv. The method of learning in the west [India being west of China]. xxxv. The rule as to hair. xxxvi. The arrangement of affairs after death. xxxvii. The use of the common property of the sangha. xxxviii. The burning of the body is unlawful. xxxix. The bystanders become guilty. (Takakusu, Tr., 2006).

\(^{26}\) While the term ‘priests’ as in the original is retained, we may note that it is a misleading translation of Bhikkhu /Bhikkhuni.

\(^{27}\) It appears that in Sri Lanka today, the practice of *uposatha* on a weekly basis has now died out.

\(^{28}\) This should be understood as a full day of 24 hours, for the additional three Training Principles – abstaining from (6) taking solids, (7) high beds and (8) dance, music, etc., basically relate to night time.
that deity”.

We find I-Tsing providing minute details in other activities such as what a teacher and a young novice actually say to each other upon meeting… (enquiring after health, e.g.,) (116), how a monk worships (122), welcoming a visitor (124), the practice of pradakshina [Pali: padakkhinā] (140-146), bathing a Buddha image (149), etc.

In “the ceremony of chanting”, we have more details: the practice of repeating the Buddha’s name, “the custom of praising the Buddha by reciting his virtues”, which I’Tsing laments “has not been in practice” in “the Divine Land (China)” (152).

Following a padakkhinā of three rounds, and offering incense and flowers,

They all kneel down, and one of them who sings well begins to chant hymns describing the virtues of the Great Teacher with a melodious, pure, and sonorous, voice, and continues singing ten or twenty slokas.

Returning to the monastery,

A Sutra-reciter … reads a short Sutra. The Lion-seat of well-proportioned dimensions … is placed near the head priest.

Among the scriptures to be read on such an occasion is the “Service in three parts” – Triratana, selection [“by the venerable Ashvaghosa”] of the Buddha’s words, and “hymns of more than ten slokas… that express the wish to bring one’s good merit to maturity” (153).

Then there are details relating to the very process of honouring the Buddha: …knees resting on the ground (123), bhikkhus exclaiming “subhasita!”, and sometimes “‘sadhu’ … instead of the other”(153), etc.

The five and ten precepts find mention, too (157), as also the
ringing of the bell ‘ghanṭā’ (written as Ghanta) (147).

Having learned Sanskrit at Nalanda, we find I-Tsing explaining the meanings of terms: ārogya (115), upādhyāya (125), pradakṣhinā (140), etc.

For all the details we have from I-Tsing, and the ceremonies noted by him, the term Buddha Pājā itself finds no mention.

The records of Fa-hsien (see Legge, 2006, for details), the first of the three Pilgrims to have made it to India (399-414), who spends three years (in Patna) “learning Sanskrit books and the Sanskrit speech, and writing out the Vinaya rules” (ch. XXXVI), seem less helpful in our search. Perhaps because the story of his travels was written, not by himself but by a third party, what we find in the Records is more of an overall picture - of Buddhas, disciples – Bhikkhu/Bhikkhuni and lay, Buddha’s detractors, kings, people (clothing, language, etc.), cities, legends, mythology, monuments, etc. Accordingly, the record appears short on detail when it comes to ceremonies.

There are, of course, the many references to flowers and incense:

On the day mentioned, the monks and laity within the borders all come together; they have singers and skilful musicians; they pay their devotion with flowers and incense. (Ch. XXVII).

Likewise, a king, making “offerings with the flowers and incense”, also “lighted the lamps when the darkness began to come on” (Ch. XXIX).

We have a little more detail in relation to “a monastery called Gomati, of the mahayana school”:

Attached to it there are three thousand monks, who are called to their meals by the sound of a bell. When they enter the refectory, their demeanour is marked by a reverent gravity, and they take their seats in regular order, all maintaining a perfect silence. No sound is heard from their alms-bowls and other utensils. When any of these pure men require food, they are not allowed to call out (to the attendants) for it, but only
make signs with their hands (Ch III).

In relation to the ‘Festival of Buddha’s skull-bone’ (Ch. XIII),

Every day, after it has been brought forth, the keepers of the vihara ascend a high gallery, where they beat great drums, blow conches and clash their copper cymbals. When the king hears them, he goes to the vihara, and makes his offerings of flowers and incense.

Touching upon a legend – and there are many of them - we read,

Going on further for two days to the east, they came to the place where the Bodhisattva threw down his body to feed a starving tigress. In these two places also large topes have been built, both adorned with layers of all the precious substances. The kings, ministers, and peoples of the kingdoms around vie with one another in making offerings at them. The trains of those who come to scatter flowers and light lamps at them never cease (Ch. XI).

And then, there are the general statements:

The chiefs of the Vaisyas also make their offerings before they attend to their family affairs. Every day it is so, and there is no remissness in the observance of the custom (bold added, here as well in the next few quotes) (Ch. XIII).

In “simhala island” (Seng-ho-lo), also referred to as “‘Lion Island’ (Shih-tzu-chou)”29, Fa-hsien uses phrases and sentences such as “other rituals …”, “prescribed services” (ch. xxxviii), “…as the regular rules prescribed” (ch. xxxiv) and “the forms of ceremonial reverence are observed according to the rules”, and so on, all relating

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29 The country is identified by I-tsing by the same name, too (Takakusu, 2006)
to the ceremony surrounding Buddha’s Tooth Relic (Ch. XXXVIII)\textsuperscript{30}.

Elsewhere, “The regular business of the monks is to perform acts of meritorious virtue, and to recite their Sutras and sit rapt in meditation” (ch XVI).

Here is how visitors are looked after:

> When stranger monks arrive (at any monastery), the old residents meet and receive them, carry for them their clothes and alms-bowl, give them water to wash their feet, oil with which to anoint them, and the liquid food permitted out of the regular hours. When (the stranger) has enjoyed a very brief rest, they further ask the number of years that he has been a monk, after which he receives a sleeping apartment with its appurtenances, according to his regular order, and everything is done for him which the rules prescribe.

In another chapter we read, that

> From the nirvana of Buddha, the forms of ceremony, laws, and rules, practiced by the sacred communities, have been handed down from one generation to another without interruption.

Fa-hsien’s (or the scribe’s) attitude is perhaps reflected in the line, “The rules observed by the Sramans are remarkable, and too numerous to be mentioned in detail.” (ch. V).

But, as can be seen from the few excerpts from Fa-hsien, nothing more is added, in the context of India or “simhala island”, relating to

\textsuperscript{30} The fuller version regarding the last quote runs as follows:

> They burn incense, light lamps, and perform all the prescribed services, day and night without ceasing, till ninety days have been completed, when (the tooth) is returned to the vihara within the city. On fast-days the door of that vihara is opened, and the forms of ceremonial reverence are observed according to the rules. (Ch. XXXVIII).
Buddhapūja, and certainly not the term itself, this just as in the case of I-Tsing.

B.5 Interpretation of Data

It has been noted that all of the occurrences in the Canon, and the commentarial literature relate to a post-Mahindian period (i.e., 3rd c. BCE +). Writing on art history, the contemporary scholar Kinnard (2005) uses Buddha Pūjā as two words, in the literal sense of “honoring the Buddha”, and with no reference to a Buddhapūja ceremony. Pointing to the theme of homage to the Buddha in the images of “the medieval Indian milieu” (underline added), he notes that “this also is an iconographic theme on some of the very earliest Buddhist images” (underline added). But, except for Sanchi, the “very earliest” iconographic evidence does not pre-date the 2nd c. BCE31.

And, of course, the travels by the Chinese pilgrims take place in the fourth (Fa-hsien, 399 CE, “perhaps the oldest Chinese monk to travel to India.” (Sen, op.cit.)), and the seventh centuries (Xuanzang in 629 CE (Beal, Tr. 1884); I-Tsing in 670 CE (Takakusu, op.cit., xxvii)).

On the basis of the above32, then, it would be reasonable to adopt the position that the ‘buddhapūja’ as understood in our treatment, did not exist in India in the pre-Mahinda era. Even if a rudimentary form of it may have existed (see later for a discussion of this possibility), the buddhapūja(va) as in practice among Sinhala Buddhists of Sri Lanka, can be thought to have emerged in a Lankan milieu, holding it tentativly, of course, as we await further exploration. It is pursuant to this train of thought, then, that we now turn to explore the issue in the context of Sri Lanka.

If one may get the sense that the somewhat lengthy discussion

31 See e.g., Plate numbers 25 “Queen Maya’s Dream”, and 32 “King Vidudhaba visiting the Buddha”, both from “the Bharhut stupa, Shunga, 2nd C. BC” (Craven, n.d., pp. 50 and 61 respectively)).

32 We have left out references to Xuanzang, since the other two pilgrims, Fa-hsien and I-Tsing, provide sufficient and relevant information to which Xuanzang adds nothing more.
of the historical sources that argues for the absence of a buddhapūjā in pre-Mahindian times could have been dispensed with, replaced by a shorter treatment, the details can be seen to play a valuable role. They establish how, not only in early times, but even in later times, a buddhapūjā, in its comprehensiveness as in the Sinhala buddhapūjā(va), never did materialize in the Indian milieu. Additionally, the research provides a valuable contrastive basis for a theoretical discussion later (see Section E).
C. Seeking Origins of Buddhapūjāva in the Sri Lankan Milieu

C.1 The Sri Lankan context

The Mahavamsa tells us that King Devanampiya Tissa ‘came unto the (three) Refuges’ (saranesu patiṭṭhahi) at the end of Arahant Mahinda’s first Discourse (Mv xiv.23). On the thirteenth day of the arrival of Mahinda, Mahāriṣṭha, the King’s nephew, seeks pabbajjā ‘ordination’, and comes to be duly ordained, along with 55 elder and younger brothers (Mv xvi. 10-11). Told by Arahant Mahinda that “It is not allowed to us, O great king, to bestow the pabbajjā on women” (Mv xiv.20-21), sub-Queen Anula, consort of his younger brother, “takes to the ten precepts … (wearing) the yellow robe, waiting for the pabbajjā” (xviii, 9-10). There is even mention of upasampadā (Mv xvi.16). But nowhere in all the details about Arahant Mahinda and the conversion of Tambapanni (as Sri Lanka is referred to) is there mention of a Buddhapūjā.

We may assume, then, that either no such ceremony occurred, or that author Mahanama made no mention of it for some reason. Leaving for later a discussion on Mahanama’s silence (see Section C.6), we pursue the thought that the Buddhapūjāva, in the form we have in Lanka today, was not part of the spiritual toolbox brought with him to Lanka by Arahant Mahinda, or at least not in the shape or form it would come to be. This also provides an additional basis to consider that the ritual that is so much part of Sinhala Buddhist life today did not originate in India but on Lankan soil.
But then the question is when, by whom and within what context did it make its appearance within the Lankan milieu?

There is no Sri Lankan paleographic evidence (see Wickremasinghe, 1912, and Paranavitana, 1970) of the term buddhapūjā occurring in the earliest centuries. The term pūjā occurs in the inscription of Kirti Nissanka Malla (1189-1198 CE), which says that he “celebrated a great pūjā at the cost of seven lakhs of money” (Wickremasinghe, 1912: 135). Pujæ (with an æ ending) occurs in the slab inscription of Kassapa V (929-939 CE) which records that the king “caused Abhidhamma discourses to be transcribed on plates of gold [and therewith] made a great offering” (p. 50). ([T]unruvanat) puja ‘offerings to the (Triple Gem)’ occurs in the slab inscription of Mahinda IV (956-72). But, as can be seen, none of these occurrences relate to the ritual under discussion, directing us to seek its origin elsewhere and in other contexts.

It would be reasonable to assume that what we consider to be a novel ritual like the Buddhapūjāva, noting the Sinhalizing –va ending, could likely emerge only in the context of a heightened period of religious renaissance. A period of such heightened spiritual vigour, just recovering from the South Indian Cola invasion of the 11th c. (see de Silva, 1981, pp. 60-61), can be said to be when Parakramabahu I (1153-1186) came to be successful in “achieving purification and unity” (Mv vxxviii.27) of the three sectarian temples that had come to exist by that time - Mahavihara, Abhayagiri and Jetavana. But while this was certainly a high point, it still related to purifying the Sasana when the undesirable elements in all three temples were got ridden of (Mv vxxviii.12-30). If there is, then, no mention of the Buddhapūjāva in the Mv description of the reign of King Parakramabahu I, it is totally understandable. Developing a spiritual tool for use by the laity in particular does not seem to fit in as a priority of the King whose primary concern was the unity of the Sangha.

Working backwards from the end of the Anuradhapura period

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33 We use the term ‘novel’ to capture two notions. One is that it was new, given no occurrence in the Canon. Secondly it points to a creativity.
(11th c.) (going past the paleographic and the inscriptionsal records researched as above) then, the next highest point of religious activity could be said to be the time of Buddhaghosa (5th c. CE), when the Commentarial works in Sinhala came to be translated into Pali. So, was the *Buddhapājāva* born at that time? If so, it would be surprising that there is no mention of it in the *Cūlavamsa* in its reference to Buddhaghosa (Cv. xxxvii.226-246). Indeed there is reference to his composing a commentary on the *Paritta* while still in India (Cv. xxxvii.226). Given that *Paritta* falls within the category of ritual, it might have come as no surprise if indeed the *Buddhapājāva* had come to be composed while in Sri Lanka. But here, Buddhaghosa’s total effort seems to have been in translating the Sinhala Commentaries. Most tellingly, that there is indeed a reference to the *Buddhapājā* in the *Visuddhimagga* (as noted above) indubitably rules out the hand of Buddhaghosa.

Moving further back in history, then, the next contending time period with enough spiritual creative energy, and suitable conditions, would be that of the writing of the Tipitaka (1st c. BCE). However, the committing to writing of the Canon was “in order that the true doctrine will endure” (*ciraṭṭhitam dhammassa*) (Mv. Xxxiii, 100-101), this in the face of the advance of Sanskrit Buddhist literature in India, making advances in Lanka as well. So it was the threat to the continuity of the Dhamma that was uppermost in the minds of the scribes of the Tipitaka. The underlying associated issue was the continuity of the (Sangha) *sāsana*, the living guardian of the

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34 The appearance of the term in the *Visuddhimagga mahāṭīkā*, and in the *paramatthadīpanī* by Dhammapala (as above) confirms that by this time, the ritual was indeed already in vogue.

35 By ‘creative’ here is not meant going against tradition but the creative juices to undertake such a venture.

36 “Sensing insecurity” as a result of “… the founding of the Abhayagiri Monastery, its secession and the schism”, the Great Monastery took the precaution to commit the Tripitaka for the first time to writing, doing it “in the provinces”, away from the hostile “King Vattagamini Abhaya’s (104-88 BCE) presence” (Nanamoli, 1975, xii).
Dhamma. A ritual like the *Buddhapūjāva*, intended primarily for the laity, may have been the furthest in their minds. Even more tangible is the fact that the term *Pañcasīla* (connected as we shall see with the *Buddhapūjāva*) does occur, as we have seen, in the *Apadana* (e.g., KN 10.26), a post-Mahindian work (1st and 2nd c. BCE). What it suggests is that it was already in vogue by that time.

Indeed conditions were such that a new ritual like the *Buddhapūjāva* might not have even found universal acceptance by the lay community under the conditions that had come to prevailed. The schism in the Sangha during this period (as between Abhayagiri and Mahavihara) would have likely resulted in a loss of cohesiveness within the lay community itself. The hostility of the ruler (the compilation of the Tipitaka being done secretively, away from the capital (see fn. 36)), can be expected to serve as yet another condition to render the lay community disunited, not wanting to be seen taking sides, in fear of earning royal wrath. Under such less-than-optimal religio-political conditions, the laity could hardly be expected to be in an optimum ethical mind-set either.

This, then, pushes us further back in time in search of a heightened spiritual environment. We seem to find it with King Dutugaemunu who brings the country under one rule for the first time (Mv. xv.75). And it is with interest that we note in this context a possible reference to the actual *Buddhapūjā* itself, in the phrase *buddhapūjāpayogena* (xxix.16-17). Saying that “tomorrow I shall have the foundation-stone laid for the Great Cetiya”, the King invites the “entire Sangha, intent on the welfare of the people” (*mahājanahitatthiko*) (xxix.15-16), to assemble “for conducting a ceremony in homage of the Buddha” (italics added) (Guruge (tran.), 1990,175-6). Instead of the paraphrase, ‘a ceremony in homage of the Buddha’, we could simply say ‘*Buddhapūjā*’, as allowed for in the Mahavamsa original (*buddhapūjāpayogena*), and as also preferred by Wimalajothi (Ed.)

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37 In this section we fall back on the more recent translation of Mahavamsa by Guruge (1990) since it seems to be more accurate and more culture-sensitive, Geiger (1912; 1950: p. 192) translating it as ‘to the end that a festival may be held.”
Arahant Mahinda - Redactor of the Buddhapūjāva in Sinhala Buddhism


The King calls upon the people as well: “Let the people, having observed the Uposatha Precepts [uposathiko], take incense, garlands and so on.” (gandhamālādi)38.

The association of the term ‘buddhapūjā’ with the offerings of incense and garlands [of flowers] seems to make it reasonably clear that the reference is to the ritual under discussion here, namely, the Buddhapūjāva. To explore this further, it was for ‘the welfare of the people’ that the Sangha had been invited to conduct a ceremony. So what kind of ceremony might the Sangha have conducted? And if it was not a Buddhapūjāva, what would the people have done with their flowers and incense? At the end of the ceremony, Arahant Piyadassi preaches Dhamma to the King, and the sermon, which “was [again] to the benefit of the people” (… janassāhosi sāthikā) (65-66). So did the people benefit simply by listening to the Dhamma? Or was it by watching the bricks being laid by the King and his Ministers? Or indeed watching the King pay homage with incense and flowers to the Sangha, “circumambulating them thrice” (48)?

The welfare of the people, in a religious context such as here, can be expected to entail enhancing their saddhā in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. An active personal participation alone can be said to be promotive of such saddhā. A more likely scenario, therefore, may be outlined as follows:

1. The King shows his respects to the Sangha, standing “around the site of the Great Cetiya leaving in the middle an open space for the King” (46).

2. A Sangha leader, possibly Arahant Piyadassi himself, or one deputized by him, administers the Three Refuges, and the Five TP’s to all assembled – the King, and the public (excluding those who had already taken to the Eight TP’s (uposatha)).

38 ‘So on’ (ādi) here likely meaning anything else, in addition to fragrance and flowers, people may choose to pay homage with, such as, possibly, oil lamp, as e.g., we have it today at a Buddhapūjāva, and noted by Fa-hsien in early post-Buddhist India (see above).
3. The King and the Ministers lay the bricks, to a roaring *sādhu sādhu sādhu* of the laity, and possibly the chanting of *Paritta* (see 3.4.1, Fig. 1 below) by the assembled Sangha.

4. Following the brick laying, the public (all or some) place their flowers and incense at each of the eight bricks, as the Sangha continues to chant Paritta.

5. Placement of offerings done, the laity return to where they were (behind the Sangha), and the *gāthā* offering incense and flowers (see 2.3.1 and 2.3.3 in Fig. 1), and likely light (as possibly falling under ‘so on’) (2.3.2), too, come to be administered, with everyone - Sangha, King, the Uposathika and the public, participating in the Homage. Merit gained, the *Buddhapūjāva* continues through ‘Transference of Merit (3.1 in Fig. 1), ‘Seeking protection’ (3.2.1), ‘Seeking forgiveness’ (3.3.3), etc.

It could now be truly said that the welfare of the people has been looked after, not just materially as with “bath-attendants, barbers, hairdressers….and food” (Mv 20-21), but also spiritually, which is why the Sangha had been invited.

Whether or not the scenario took place exactly as described here, the fact of the Sangha being invited to conduct a *Buddhapūjā* and/or the public being asked to bring incence and flowers “in preparation for a *Buddhapūjā*” (as above) indeed seems to suggest having a ceremony. This then speaks to the real possibility that the *Buddhapūjāva* as in the sense used in the paper, was already in vogue by the time of Dutugaemunu.

This then pushes us back in search of the origin of the *Buddhapūjāva* still further in time...

Might this point in time, then, be the very point of introduction of the Buddha’s Teachings itself to the land by Arahant Mahinda (Mv xiii)?

But we have noted above how the historical record related to the event makes no mention of the ritual, nor provide any other clues. So, given the absence of any historical evidence, we have found it useful to try a different tack. And that is, instead of going the route of
historical evidence, to look for some *internal evidence*, relating to the possible redactor / author.

Might the *Buddhapājāva* itself provide any such internal evidence? It is to this we now turn.

**C.2 Seeking Evidence of Origin from Within the *Buddhapājāva***

What kind of evidence is there in the *Buddhapājāva* itself that will tell us just what kind of qualifications we should be looking for in the Redactor or Redactors? To help us answer the question, we begin with an outline of the ceremony as it has come to be:

i. Salutation to Buddha.

ii. Going for Refuge.

iii. Five-fold Training Principles.

iv. Reflections of the Buddha:
   - Homage to the Cetiya Reliquary.
   - Homage to the Bodhi Tree.

v. Offerings:
   - Flowers, Light, Incense.
   - Water, Food, Medicinal Drink.

vi. Transference of merit:
   - To deities, sentient beings and all else in nature.
   - To relatives.

vii. Seeking protection:
   - For Teachings, Dispensation, Me and Others.
   - For self, away from bad company, and for good company.

viii. Seeking Forgiveness.

ix. Personal Aspiration.

x. *Paritta*: Protection and Blessings (optional).

xi. Homage to Parents.

xii. Meditation (optional).

xiii. *Bañña*: Homily (optional / situational)\(^{39}\).

\(^{39}\) While the details may vary, from region to region or temple to temple.
Part II  Arahant Mahinda as Redactor

(see Dhammananda, 1991; Narada, 1963, for details, and Part I, for a detailed treatment.)

To begin with, as can be seen from the outline, many of the concepts and the practices that constitute *Buddhapūjāva* are drawn directly from the Pali Canon. Examples would be Salutation, Refuge, Training Principles (i-iii), Offerings (v) (though only of flowers, and food (Water, Food, Medicinal Drink), Transference of merit (vi), Seeking Forgiveness (viii) (as part of the Vinaya kamma of the Sangha at the end of the Rains Retreat), *Paritta* (x), Meditation (xii) and *Bañña ‘Homily’* (xiii). But the Redactor(s) can be seen to extend the Canonical material into the ritual domain. Examples would be Reflections of the Buddha (i.e., Homage to Cetiya and the Bodhi) (iv), extending the Offerings to include Light and Incense (v), Seeking protection (For Teachings, Dispensation, Me and Others) (vii), Personal Aspiration (ix), etc.

So we may consider the first qualification of the Redactor(s) to be (1) possessing a deep knowledge of the Doctrine, as in the Canon and the Commentaries.

A second feature stems from the ethical nature of the *Buddhapūjāva*, as primarily reflected in the *sīla* component, the Five-fold Training Principles40 (iii) (TP’s hereafter), reminding us of the tripartite division of the Noble Eightfold Path, *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā*. However, it is not a mere knowledge of, but a commitment to a personal practice of *sīla*. This then suggests a second criterion: (2)

or teacher to teacher, the outline can be said to be pretty universal, except perhaps for xi and xii, the latter on the rise in contemporary Sri Lanka and the former perhaps losing ground.

40 We use this literal translation of *sikkhāpada* (with thanks to Bhante Punnaji, 2001), in preference to the more common term ‘Precepts’, since it captures the concept, and intent, of a self-discipline and a voluntariness, better. While there is indeed an *āmisa* component (offering flowers, food, etc.) to the *Buddhapūjāva*, it is optional, as e.g., when doing a homage retiring to bed or just waking up, as a devout practitioner is wont to do, or in a school setting at a social level, when an assembly may begin with a Homage. Thus it is the TP’s that can be said to constitute the core.
one who has personally taken to the disciplined life - a commitment to walk the talk\textsuperscript{41}, so to speak.

Given that the Buddhapūjāva also includes meditation (xii), one can expect that the Redactor(s) would have to know the importance of meditation for a disciplined life. This suggests that s/he would also have to be, at least ideally, (3) a Meditator:

The Buddhapūjāva, as will be seen, is clearly a reformational instrument intended for the laity. So, the Redactor(s) would also have to be (4) a Visionary, with a missionary zeal, for cultivating a spiritually healthy[ier] community.

If these would be some of the critical personal skills that the Redactor(s) can be said to have brought to composing the Buddhapūjāva, there also seems to be reflected a sensitivity to the existing religio-cultural practices and ethos of the people for whom it was intended. We could count ‘transference of merit’ (vi) among them, not only to ‘sentient beings (sattā) (including the departed relatives) but to devas and ‘all else in nature’ (bhūta), too. There is in turn a seeking of protection for ‘Teachings, Dispensation, Me and Others’ and for ‘self, away from bad company’(vii), this ‘from the powerful (mahiddhikā) devas and nāgas (see Part I, for such details as being shown here and elsewhere) throwing of a safety net around themselves.

While all this goes beyond the Canon, it may be seen as an accommodation to the religio-spiritual practices of a people, likely distinct from those of the mainland though with possible overlap, for whom the ritual was intended. What this, then, calls for in the Redactor(s) is (5) an ‘Anthropologist’\textsuperscript{42} and (6) a ‘Sociologist’, both labels, of course, understood in their informal sense.

But such a socio-religious sensitivity also shows a combined ‘Psychologist’\textsuperscript{(7) cum ‘Educator’\textsuperscript{(8)} who, ‘psyching out’ the mind-set

\textsuperscript{41} The reference here is to the Buddha’s personal example ‘I do as I say; I say as I do’ \textit{(yathāvādā tathākārāl yathākārī tathāvādī)} (D II.224).

\textsuperscript{42} We may note in this connection how the religious aspect of a culture comes to be studied under Anthropology. See e.g., Ruth Benedict, 1934, Patterns of Culture.
of the intended audience, goes beyond meeting their psycho-spiritual wants to meeting their psycho-spiritual needs. One dimension of this is adapting the existing religio-spiritual practices of veneration of non-humans, extending it to the veneration of the more tangible humans. This comes to be done by bringing to mind the qualities of the Buddha (buddhānussatī) by way of a model. Symbolically, this is through Homage to the Cetiya (iv), ‘verily like the Buddha body’ (buddharūpam sakalāṃ sadā), and then to the Bodhi tree sitting under which ‘victory was won over all enemies’ (sabbāri vijayaṃ akā). Here the participants are given the opportunity to earn merit (puñña), not to mention muditā ‘joy in other’s happiness’, as the recipients benefit from the merit. Paying homage to parents (mātāpitaro as in the Canon) (xi) can be seen as a way of meeting both the psychological need for love and the physical need for comfort.

Perhaps the most critical way the Buddhapājāva continues to provide for the not-yet–perceived psycho-spiritual needs is through the incorporation of the TP’s (iii) towards self-discipline, introducing a brand new praxic dimension. Weaving the Doctrine, and all these other dimensions into the ritual, effectively, of course, is also where we see the hand of the Educator.

The Buddhapājāva also shows attention to detail. One such is the use of hand positions to signal a change in the activity, serving also as a reminder of the new activity (see Part I, for details). While, e.g., the Homage begins with a ‘five point touch’ (pasaṅga pihituvā, in Sinhala), the two palms are clasped at the head in offering flowers (v). But signaling transference of merit (vi), the devotee can be seen to have their open palms resting on the lap.

Then there is, with each transition, the verbal intervention, in Sinhala and/or Pali, of the Bhante, the Sangha Lead-hand, with words such as e.g., “You may now say the Opening Homage (namskāraya)” at the beginning (i), or “Completed is the going for the Refuge” (tisaraṇa gamanaṃ sampuṇṇam) (end of ii). And then there is the response of the congregation with the words of acceptance ‘Yes, Venerable Sir’ (āma bhante). If all this is to be cognizant of the mind, body and word as the three doors ( mano dvāra kāya dvāra vacī dvāra)
doctrinally, it would also be to pay attention to detail strategically. In light of this, we may now be looking at, in the Redactor(s), an Educator turned Strategic Planner (9) who pays attention to detail, giving that little extra touch.

Responding to the Bhante verbally, changing hand positions, etc. are also indicative of the good Educator, taking the participants towards learning by doing. This would also be (10) an efficient Communicator, kinesics being a dimension of good communication.

While the thirteen items of the Buddhāpujāva as above may be seen as a mere list, we may also note in it a systematic organization as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>NO. IN LIST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I SADDHĀ ‘Faith’</td>
<td>1. Establishing in saddhā in the Triple Gem</td>
<td>1.1 Salutation to Buddha 1.2.1 Going for Refuge 1.2.2 Qualities of the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha</td>
<td>i ii ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II SĪLA ‘Discipline’</td>
<td>2.1. Establishing in Discipline</td>
<td>2.1.1 Five Training Principles</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2 Reflections on the Buddha</td>
<td>2.2.1 Homage to Cetiya Reliquary 2.2.2 Homage to Bodhi Tree</td>
<td>iv iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3 Offerings to Buddha</td>
<td>2.3.1 Flowers 2.3.2 Light 2.3.3 Incense 2.3.4 Food (solids/liquids)</td>
<td>v v v v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIATTHA-CARIYA ‘Social good’</td>
<td>3.1 Other Care: Transference of Merit</td>
<td>3.1.1 To deities, sentient beings and all other beings 3.1.2 To relatives</td>
<td>vi vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2 Other-care: Seeking Protection</td>
<td>3.2.1 Seeking Protection for Teachings, Dispensation, Me &amp; Others 3.3.1 Seeking Protection for self 3.3.2 Seeking to be away from bad company &amp; seeking the good 3.3.3 Seeking forgiveness 3.3.4 Personal Aspiration 3.4.1 Paritta: Protection and Blessings</td>
<td>vii vii vii vii vii x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3 Self-care:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.4 Self-care &amp; Other-care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.5 Homage to parents</td>
<td>3.5.1 Homage to mother 3.5.2 Homage to father</td>
<td>xi xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV MOKKHA ‘Liberation’</td>
<td>4.1 Self-care 4.2 Other-care 4.3 Self-care/ Other-care</td>
<td>4.1.1 Meditation (non-verbal - silent) 4.2.1 Meditation (verbal - silent) 4.3.1 Bana: Homily (optional / situational)</td>
<td>xii xiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 1: The Organizational Structure of a Sinhala Buddhapūjāva in terms of Stage, Content and Activity (excerpted from Part I.)
If Columns 3 and 4 of the figure should be self-explanatory, the four-stage organization (Col. 1) of the Buddhapūjāva shows its structure. While all the steps - sadhā ‘faith’ and sīla ‘discipline’, atthacariya ‘social good’ and mokkha ‘Liberation’ are Canonical, what the structure clearly shows is the hand of a (11) good Conceptualizer, with a clarity of mind.

Given that, as may be seen from the above organizational chart, the Buddhapūjāva is comprehensive as a schema while also retaining the ethos of the Teachings, our Redactor can be said to be (12) an effective Dhamma Messenger (dhammadāta) as well.

While the Buddhapūjāva is an efficient, and intelligent, spiritual tool, it is also brief. Judging from how it is practiced today, it could take as little as a quarter of an hour in a home setting, though up to an hour or more in a formal temple or public setting. Not too cumbersome, it is obviously long enough to make a psychological impact on the participants. What this gives us, then, in the Redactor(s) is (13) a Pragmatist who is fully cognizant of the reality of the busy householder who can allow only so much time for the spiritual life, particularly when intended as a daily activity.

If the Buddhapūjāva is an innovation to meet a certain need, what we also see is the hand of (14) a Go-getter, who will somehow make things happen.

Finally, for the same reason, we are also looking at (15) an Authority Figure who would not have to be concerned about ruffling feathers, if any, in an ecclesiastical task. Equally importantly, it should also be a figure with enough authority to win the confidence, and respect, too. Such alone would ensure the chance of acceptance of the new ritual by the intended users.

To make a summary list, then, what the internal criteria drawn from the Buddhapūjāva suggests is that we would be looking for a Redactor (or Redactors) who (1) has a deep Knowledge of the Doctrine, (2) has personally taken to the Disciplined life and is (3) a Meditator, (4) a Visionary, (5) an Anthropologist, (6) a Sociologist, (7) a Psychologist, (8) a strategic Planner, (9) a good Educator, (10) an efficient Communicator, (11) a clear-headed Conceptualizer,
C.3 Arahant Mahinda as the Redactor of the *Buddhapūjāva*

Daunting as it may be even to think that there would be anyone with such a wide range of qualifications, the criteria generated by the *Buddhapūjāva* seem to lead us in a definitive direction. This becomes immediately evident when we take the last criterion (15), *an Authority Figure*. We have identified above the likely time frame for the initial appearance of the *Buddhapūjāva* to be the time of the introduction of the Buddhadhamma to the island itself. Could there be anyone – a single historical persona, with more authority at this point in time than Arahant Mahinda himself?

His source of authority, of course, stems first, and primarily, from being a member of the Sangha. Being an Arahant elevates him, beyond a ‘conventional monk’ (*sammutithera*), or even a mere ‘elder monk’ (*jātithera*), to a ‘dhammathera’, i.e., one with moral attainments (D III.218). Mahinda may not have been unaware either that the Pali term *ràjà*, meaning ‘king’, but derivable from the root *ranj-* ‘to make happy’, was used by the Buddha, as Kalupahana (1999: 66-67) points out, to infuse the idea of “one who delights others with morality” (*dhammena pare ranjati* (D iii.93)). He may also have been fully cognizant of the point in the *Sigalovada Sutta* (M III. 264) that one of the six duties of a monk towards the laity is “to show the way to heaven” (*saggassa maggam äcikkhati*) (Rahula, 1956, p. 251), *sagga* itself being translatable as “a state of happiness” (footnote 5).

Secondly, he has already earned the respect of the King himself, and of the Royal Household. They had listened to his sermons and had liked them enough to embrace the new faith immediately. Strengthening this political clout is that he had as well the blessing of his father, King Aśoka, who had specifically sent him to spread the Dhamma. One with more authority to formulate and introduce a new spiritual activity like the *Buddhapūjāva* would be hard to come by.

As for *a Vision for a healthier community and having a...*
missionary zeal (4), the inspiration certainly comes straight from the Buddha himself who sends his first 60 disciples to take the message ‘for the good of the many, for the comfort of the many, and in compassion for the world’ (*bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya*) (D III.211).

As for Arahant Mahinda’s zeal, we may note the hectic schedule he was to pursue in the period of the first 26 days before retiring for the Rains Retreat: “During this period, things moved rapidly and great changes took place” (Rahula, 1956, p. 56). He delivers a number of sermons, accepts the Mahamegha Park (Mv xv.25), identifies places suitable for a cetiya, bodhi tree, bathing tank for the ordained, etc. (xv.27-55), suggests that sister *Sanghamittā* be invited to facilitate the establishment of the Bhikkhuni ordination, arranges for the branch of the Bodhi Tree at Buddhagaya to be brought, suggests the idea of having a cetiya built (xvii.1ff) and arranges to bring the right collar bone for enshrining (ibid., 19-21). He wins over not only the King and the women of the Royal household, but also the masses (see later).

And his eyes are also, as we shall see, set on the entire island (Mv. xiv.35). When, after donating Mahameghavanna, the King asks if the *Sāsana* has been established, and further, “When will the roots go deep?”, Mahinda says that it will be established only “when a son is born in *Tambapannidīpa*, of *Tambapannidīpa* parents, [and] becomes a monk in *Tambapannidīpa*, studies the Vinaya in *Tambapannidīpa* and recites it in *Tambapannidīpa*, then the roots of the *Sāsana* are deep set” (cited in Rahula, 1956, p. 54). Clearly, it was the next generation that Arahant Mahinda had in mind. So only by spreading the Dhamma among the masses far and wide would then be the only way of ensuring that many a son of the soil would come to the *Sāsana*. Paranavitana (1970, cii) speaks to the success of his mission: “The chronicles, as well as other early literature of Ceylon, indicate that the success of the missionaries led by Saint Mahinda was not confined to the capital city of Anuradhapura, but that the Dhamma

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43 That is, if we were to accept the answer given in the *Samantapāśādikā*, Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Vinaya.
was propagated throughout the length and breadth of the island.”

Again, having arrived in the island at age 32, Mahinda continues to live there until the age of eighty when he dies. Need we say more of Mahinda’s Vision and missionary zeal?

Now to go back to the first three criteria, we see how Mahinda seems to fit the bill to a tee. As for deep knowledge of the Doctrine (1), he comes to the island fresh from the Third Council at Pataliputra (Rahula, 1956, 12-13), carrying the Buddhadhamma (not yet committed to writing) with him, in his memory. The first 26 days in the island is emblazoned with Discourses (Mv xii and xiv).

As an Arahant, he would be, by definition, a Meditator (3). But we get an internal hint that confirms this as well. The Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta sets up atāpī ‘being ardent’, sampājāna ‘clearly comprehending’ and satimā ‘being mindful’(M I 56) as watchtowers to ensure that the practitioner is well kept on the path. Establishing the devotee in the path of Saddhā may then be seen as the parallel frame of mind in relation to the Buddhāpūjā. It is the devotion to Buddha that keeps the devotee mindful at each step of the exercise. The comprehension built into the Buddhāpūjā may be considered the parallel to ‘clearly comprehending’. Although nothing specifically speaks for being ‘ardent’, it would be obvious that it would be only a continuous practice day in day out that will help keep the devotee mindful of the TP’s. The presence of the three features, then, confirms the candidacy of Mahinda, the knowledgeable practitioner, with a life-long commitment to walking the Dhamma of a Disciplined life, guided by a strict Sangha Vinaya Code.

As recorded, following the initial teaching to King Devanampiya Tissa and the Royal Household, Mahinda opts to retreat to the bush, and continues to live there, in a place which has now come to be identified as the Mahinda Cave (mihiṇdu kutiya in Sinhala), at the edge of a cliff, obviously to find space (psychological and physical) for meditation. In his earliest sermons, Rahula (1956, p. 52) notes how Mahinda introduces a new theme: “emphasis.. on the moral side of religion as a requisite for a happy life”. Buddhāpūjā, then, with the Pañca-sīla at its core, seems to be his attempt to incorporate the
same ethical emphasis as entailed in meditation.

While there is indeed an āmisa pūjā ‘offering through donation (of alms)’ component (offering flowers, food, etc.) in the Buddhápūjāva (2.3.1 in Fig. 1), the centrality of sīla renders it more of a paṭipatti pūjā ‘offering through conduct’. Coming with the experience of seeing the benefits of self-discipline - peace and harmony within oneself, and among the Sangha, Arahant Mahinda seems to build in the self-discipline component as the answer, and the way, to a healthy society. So he can be said to come to the task not only with a knowledgeability about the Dhamma, but also a commitment to walk the talk, in emulation of the Buddha (see above). And the Buddhápūjāva can be seen as his way of taking that ethical emphasis to the masses, attending by now in increasingly large numbers to listen to his Discourses.

As for the Anthropologist (5) and the Sociologist (6) in him, we see it immediately in his choice of the Petavatthu and the Vimānavatthu as the Discourse to be given to the women of the Royal Household (Mv xiv 58), texts that deal with the spirits of the dead in the peta-world and in the deva-loka (heavenly world) according to their past karma. “This must have appealed to the audience already possessing faith in the spirits of the dead.” (Rahula, 1956, p. 51). Thus we find e.g., the devotee in the Buddhápūjāva transferring merit to not only devas and sentient beings (3.1.1 in chart), but as noted, to bhūtas as well. While the term, literally meaning ‘that which has come to be’ (as in e.g., yathābhūta), interestingly has the meanings of both ‘animate nature’ and ‘inanimate nature’, giving us ‘All else in nature’ as in the Chart, it also has the meaning of ‘ghosts’ (amanussa). Even though bhūtavijjā ‘ghost lore’ (or ‘sorcery’, literally ‘the science (or art) of the ghosts’), is considered a ‘base art’ for the ordained (D I.9), it is with the linguistic dexterity of the communicator and the savvy of the Educator / Anthropologist, then, that the term comes to be used as a double entendre, in the knowledge that the life of the occult is very much part of the belief system of the intended audience.

Another example of Mahinda the Anthropologist is when protection is sought for ‘the dispensation, me and others’ (3.2.1 in Fig.
Part II  Arahant Mahinda as Redactor

1) from not only the ‘powerful devas’ but ‘powerful nāgas’ (devā nāgā mahiddhikā) as well. This may well be drawn upon another local belief - of the ‘nāga king Aravāla of wondrous powers’ (mahiddhiko aravālo nāgarājā) (Mv 12. 9), who ‘at that time did cause the rain called ‘Hail’ to pour down upon the ripe crops’, and ‘cruelly’ overwhelming ‘everything with a flood’\(^{44}\). So why not protection from a powerful force? The association of a Naga providing shelter to the Buddha following Enlightenment may have been a consideration as well.

It may also be noted with interest how the Educator in him leaves out the yakhas, even though yakkha cult worship was also part of the belief system of the people (see Rahula, 1956, pp. 34-42). They, too, designate “certain supernatural beings”. But, in the context of Lanka, it is relevant to note that “the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon are frequently called Yakkha” (Mahavamsa, Geiger (trans.), 1912, 297). Indeed, upon arrival in Lanka, Vijaya takes yakkhini Kuvaõõã as his spouse (Mv vii.29). How would you take the exclusion of yakhas in the Buddhapājàva ritual other than as a shrewdness of an Anthropologist / Sociologist showing sensitivity to history and culture?

But, then, it would be legitimate to wonder how the newcomer Mahinda would have known what the belief system of the people was in the country he has just set his foot on? We may remember that joining Mahinda into the Vassa period was Mahā Ariṭṭha, the Minister in the Devanampiya Tissa government, and 55 of his brothers. So we may say that Mahinda, participant observer par excellence, was to have a rich resource for his fieldwork, in his very backyard, so to speak! Indeed Maha Ariṭṭha may well have been his research assistant!! During the Vassa, Mahinda was also to have contact with the king (Mv xviii.2). So we may consider that he had a full three months for his research. If, indeed, there were by this time Buddhist monks in the island who had arrived from India (Adikaram, 1994),

\(^{44}\) It may not be insignificant that the context of the quote is North India (Kasmira and Gandhara). Vijaya, the progenitor of the Sinhalas, hails from that region of India, arriving about two centuries earlier.
they may have brought their insights as well if indeed contact had been made with them, the Mahavamsa being silent on it.

Mahinda the Psychologist (7), of course, comes to the task based in the knowledge of the general condition of sentience - bhava tañhā ‘thirst for existence’. Everybody loves life. Nobody wants to let go of it. Sentient beings are also happiness-loving (puriso ... sukhañkāma (M I 315)), this emanating from the ‘thirst for sense-pleasure’ (kāma tañhā). Buddha tells us that ‘Happiness is the greatest wealth’ (santuññhā paramañ dhanañ). In selecting the Discourses, for the King (Cūlahathipadopama), Queen Anula (Petavatthu; Vimānavatthu) and the masses (devadūta suttanta), we see Arahant Mahinda making ample use of both his psychological skills and doctrinal knowledge. In selecting the Discourse dealing with spirits and devas, e.g., for his female listeners as noted, he was undoubtedly drawing upon his psychological insight that women as nurturers would be more effectively impacted upon in the affective domain, of the right brain hemisphere. But in adding the Discourse dealing with the Four Noble Truths, he is clearly drawing upon their reason and intelligence as well, the left brain hemisphere. In the Devadūta suttanta, the masses would hear about the results of good and bad action, the misery that awaits criminals and the descriptions of the tortures in hell45.

Including a paritta component in the Buddhapūjāva46 speaks to another psychological insight on the part of Mahinda. While the rest of the Buddhapūjāva may rely heavily on mim-mem, i.e., mimicry-memorization as in second language learning, if also on the meaning of words, the additional value of the paritta is that it adds a joyous

45 The Canonical characterization of an Arahant includes ‘higher insight’ (abhiññā), one of them being the skill to know others’ minds (paracittavijñānañña). So while Mahinda can be said to have been a psychologist in this super-sense as well, we limit ourselves to the historical evidence.

46 The paritta is shown as being optional as in today’s practice, but there is nothing to say that it was not part of the original Buddhapūjāva. It is entirely possible that the optionality is an accommodation to the time constraints of contemporary life, urban or rural.
dimension, calming the senses with its ‘vowel intoning’ (sarabhāṉa (V.3.2)) (see Part I, for details). This, of course, would be another example of the deep knowledge of the Teachings on the part of the Redactor, given that paritta does not constitute a primary doctrine.

In picking the different Discourses for the differential audiences - different strokes for different blokes, so to speak, what we find is the Psychologist combined with the Educator (9) the Communicator (10) and the Strategist (8). In the context of the Buddhāpūjāva, e.g., we may note how it begins with a preparatory saddhā, making the activity a happy event right off the bat. The level of happiness would be rendered even higher when reflections upon the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha serve as models to emulate. This is when we also see the good Educator in Mahinda who would well know that a happy and elevating mindset and environment would make for better learning.

There could perhaps be no better indicator of the good Educator than linking happiness to a moral life, as noted above. And in this connection, we see him enthusiastically drawing upon the Training Principles, digging into his doctrinal strengths.

We may also remind ourselves in this connection how Educator Mahinda organizes the Buddhāpūjāva entailing self-learning in a manner to ensure that the devotees are not lost on the way during the ritual, and their saddhā is maintained throughout. This is done by placing a Bhante not only in the leading role but, as noted, in an interventional one at each transition with lines such as ‘Please repeat after me’ (yamahaṁ vadāmi tamä vadetha), ‘Completed is Going for Refuge’ (as above), and with audience participation when one member (often self-appointed, such as the father if in a family setting, or a chief benefactor in a public setting) acknowledges with the words, “Yes, Sir” (āma bhante).

Then there are the directions in Sinhala: “Now, please say the (opening) Homage” (namaskāraya kiyanna), ‘We may now transfer merits’ (deviyanta piṁ denna) preceding each relevant segment of the homage, etc. The smooth transitions, again as noted, are personalized as well through the changing hand positions (holding palms together at the head or the chest in veneration of the Triple Gem; keeping hands
on the lap in transferring merit), body postures (falling prostrate in a five-point touch, sitting on haunches or cross-legged), etc.

Continuing, at the end of the offering of alms, is the personal offering in Sinhala: “May my offering of flowers, light, incense, water, food and medicinal drinks be offered to my noble Buddha the father, for the first, second and third times” (māge me mal pūjavada pahan pūjavada suwaṇḍa pūjavada pən pūjavada āhara pūjavada gilampasa pūjavada māge budupiyānanvahanseta ekvenuvat devenuvat tunvenuvat pūja vevā pūja vevā pūja vevā) (see Appendix in Part I).

If this is to maximize audience involvement, and generate saddhā in the devotee, one may even see the women devotees, particularly in a rural context, bringing their palms together when during a Dhamma discourse that may follow, the very mention of the word Buddha brings out a sādhu. It is as if to say, in their own way, ‘How wonderful’, ‘How fortunate I am to have you as my Teacher’, ‘How happy I become even at the mention of your very name’, etc.

As in the Organizational Structure of the Buddhapūjavā (Fig. 1), an intended final goal of the Buddhapūjavā is to lead towards liberation (mokkha) (IV). While this would be openly evident in the silent meditation (4.1.1), it is the ingenuity of Mahinda to help the devotee take the first informal step in this direction at the point of ‘Seeking Protection for Self’ (3.3.1). Here, one wishes to be kept away from the company of fools (bāla) (3.3.2), and to be in the company of ‘good ones’ (satam < instrumental of sat-). It surely is not accidental that sat- ‘good ones’ has associations with the term kalyāṇamitta ‘morally good friend’. Not only is such an association considered, for a Bhikkhu, one of the things conducive to his welfare (D III.212), it is also “the sign that the Bhikkhu will realize the seven bhojjhangas [aspects conducive to liberation’]” (S v.78). And “it is to be expected that” a Bhikkhu who has a ‘good friend’ “will develop and cultivate the Noble Eightfold Path “ (S I. 88). Can it be different for the laity?

The inclusion of aspiration to an association with good ones can then be seen as a subtle way of incorporating a liberative element in the life of the lay devotee, even as s/he seeks the social good entailing
both the self-good and the other good. The intent of the Arahant seems indubitable when this protection for ‘me’ comes to be sought a second time, this time exclusively (3.3.1), when already earlier, ‘me’ had been included in seeking protection (3.2.1). It can be seen to be confirmed when the protection sought is ‘until Nibbana come’ (yāva nibbāna pattiyā).

If the above speaks to the attention to detail in terms of content, Educator Mahinda ensures that the devotee is kept in the realm of knowledge, too, though not too far removed from saddhā. We find him, e.g., giving a Discourse after accepting alms (Mv xv.197)\(^47\). By way of following his example, a typical practice today would be for a Buddhappājava to be followed by a Discourse (baṇa) (4.1.3), during which one or another Teaching comes to be explained.

And, of course, we get a sense of the Educator in Arahant Mahinda even outside of the Buddhappājava when he puts the King to the test with what Rahula (1956, p. 50) calls “the first intelligence test recorded in history”. It is this field research that would help him tailor his first Teaching in the new land in such a way that it doesn’t go over the head of the host. And then he chooses carefully. His pick for the initial delivery, Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta (M I, 185), includes all the components he likes to see gotten across to his new audience (see below as well). Like any good teacher, he seeks to be comprehensive without overwhelming the audience.

We get evidence of the Arahant’s attention to detail (as Strategic Planner (8)) when, going around identifying where in the Mahamegha Park the different facilities (thūpa, mālaka, etc.) were to be located, he identifies a place that “will be the tank with the room for warm baths (jantāghara)” (Mv xv.31) for the Sangha. Who says that hot tubs are a modern invention!

Perhaps a good example of the strategist Mahinda at work, combining the Educator and the Communicator, is the careful way he works his way down from the King to the masses. There is no

\(^{47}\) This was the Gomayapindī-sutta ‘the Discourse on the clod of cow-dung’ (S III, p.143 ff).
more evidence needed to show that his strategy worked when at each level, we find more and more people asking to go for Refuge and seek ordination (see later for details).

If the Cūlāhatthipadopama Sutta gives a clear idea of the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, all the principal Teachings such as the Four Noble Truths, another part of it describes the life of a Bhikkhu and how to become one. The strategic significance of this should be obvious. As noted above, there would be no establishment of the Dispensation without the personal recluseship of local Tambapannians. Thus we find the master strategist arriving with four other ordained, to ensure that the pabbajjā ‘ordination’ requiring five ordained members, may be authentically offered, if, as he was sure it would be, requested.

If we needed any more evidence for his strategic skills, let us take the timing of his arrival in Lanka. It begins when he “pondered over the fitting time” (Mv xiii 2), arriving in the month of Jeññha (May-June, in what Sinhala Buddhists know as Poson), one month following the month of Vesākha (Vesak in Sinhala, in May), Buddha’s Enlightenment. Looking into the future, this would, of course, become significant, since a grateful people will come to the celebration of the event of the arrival immediately following a month of spiritual fervour48.

Still strategically, we find that he comes not only with four other theras, but also a layperson in the person of Bhāṇḍuka, “son of a daughter of [Mahinda’s mother] Devi’s sister”. Though he was one who had “obtained the reward of one who shall return no more unto life [= anāgamin]” (Mv xiii. 17), he comes to be ordained (having the requisite number of 5) the night of the first sermon, in the very presence of the King (Mv xiv.28). We may see a threefold strategy here. First, the Tambapannians get to see an ordination first-hand. If it would undoubtedly be (a) an inspiring experience, it would also (b) help to ‘de-alienize’, if I may be allowed to coin a term, the men

48 Indeed today, Wesak is the greatest time of celebration when the major cities raise ‘pandals’ (torana), offer free food in dansælas (<dāna sālā), observe the 8 Training Principles, etc.
in an unfamiliar attire\textsuperscript{49}, and reduce the distance between himself in robes and the host community. And (c), it could also serve as a model to be emulated, as indeed we see Maha-Ariṣṭha and his brothers, and Anula, seeking \textit{pabbajjā}. We also see Mahinda rendering his model inspiring, when he retreats to the bush, declining the King’s invitation for an evening meal (Mv xiv.24), showing the self-discipline and the ‘little wanting’ (\textit{appiccha}) of an Ordained.

Another strategy seems intended as a confidence-builder for the King. Told by Mahinda following the first Discourse that he and his retinue would be retiring to the bush for the night, the King asks to at least keep with him Bhaṅḍuka, the layman who had accompanied the Theras to the island. Saying that he is one who “shall return no more unto life” (see above), he comes to be, as noted, ordained the very first night of their arrival. But before the ordination, the King “took Bhaṅḍu aside and asked him what the Theras intended (to do). And he told the king all….. And now the King, whose fear had left him because Bhaṅḍu was a layman, knew that these were human beings.” (Mv xiv.31). Again, the strategy worked.

In a continuing strategy, Mahinda retires for \textit{Vassa} on the 27\textsuperscript{th} day. But before he does so, he ensures that, following the hectic schedule, the fires of enthusiasm are set ablaze, among the royalty and the masses alike. Not only are many a Discourse given to increasing numbers\textsuperscript{50}, but he helps the King lay out the future City of Anuradhapura (as noted). It would not be unknown to him that his unavailability for three months could only but crank up the enthusiasm, propelling an aura of mystery around the Arahant as word about him

\textsuperscript{49} Even though, as noted by Adikaram (1994.), there may have been Bhikkhus in the island by this time, having come over from India on their own. And as for providing a model, we may assume that they, as individual seekers, likely living in rural, if not forest, settings, the sight of one or more of them in robes may not necessarily have been a familiar one for the general public, any more than for the royalty.

\textsuperscript{50} While the rounded numbers given in the Mahavamsa – 500, 1000, 40000, etc., may lack credibility as representing actual figures, there is no doubt that they reflect an increasing interest.
and other Theras begin to make the rounds. But he ensures that he maintains contact with the community as well, going on his alms rounds during the Retreat (xvi.13). If this was by way of following the Vinaya rules, it was also presumably to help maintain the level of *saddhā* among the people. Additionally, it was to keep the people reminded of his presence (just a phone call away, as we might put today) and what he stood for and what the Saddhamma had to offer. It was also undoubtedly to provide a living model for potential recruits what the life of a Bhikkhu / Bhikkhuni would be.

Offering a spiritually hungry Anula\(^{51}\) hope of ordination can be said to be another aspect of his careful strategy. It is surely not the case that Sanghamittā could not have joined him in coming to Lanka. But arriving by invitation would not only be to be respectful of tradition, namely offering only if asked, but also would make the *Bhikkhunuī* mission that much more in demand, and exciting (from the point of view of the hosts).

If all of this speaks to the quality of the Arahant as a strategist, limiting the comprehensive and sophisticated event of the *Buddhapūjāva* to no more than a quarter of an hour in its very basic version speaks to his *pragmatism* (13). If brevity allows for the busiest household to engage in it regularly as part of the daily life, in a home setting, it also provides the spiritual opportunity for the family to come together. In a temple setting, it helps bring the community together in a regular happy common cause, with the duration of the ritual varying from occasion to occasion. Here then we see his successful attempt to serve both the family and the community at the same time, showing the hand of the pragmatist and the strategist.

Having a good product, of course, is one thing, but getting it to the market, to put it in contemporary though perhaps spiritually crass terms, is another. But we see Arahant Mahinda more than ready for the challenge, being not only a planner, but a real a go-getter (14) as well. Divested of the “miracles, myths, poetic embellishments and

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\(^{51}\) Out of all the women in the Royal household, it is Anula that King Devanampiya-Tissa summons in particular. This surely must speak to her spiritual orientation and commitment to the religious life.
exaggerations” of the chronicles, we see Mahinda going around in the Mahameghavana along with Devanampiya Tissa locating the sites “for a mālaka for Acts of the Sangha, for a tank with a room for warm baths... for the planting of the Bo-tree for the Uposatha Hall of the Sangha for a place where gifts offered to the Sangha would be divided for a refectory for the brotherhood and for the Maha thupa” (Rahula, 1956, p. 53).

We see, then, that Arahant Mahinda is clearly an effective Dhamma Messenger (12). Of course he had a good model, his father, King Ašoka, who was a ‘Resourceful organizer and psychologist himself” (Rahula, 1956, p. 54). Indeed there is nothing to say that he himself was not behind his father’s attempts – as instigator, and/or perhaps even as ghost writer, at bringing happiness to his people. Mahinda may, then, only have been an improvement on his father, with the additional benefit of the experience of being an Arahant.

We have then seen how the Arahant more than meets the criteria generated by the internal structure of the Buddhapājāva. Rahula’s (1956, p. 53) characterization of Mahinda may be instructive here:

There was no one at the time in Ceylon better educated, cultured and refined, more widely travelled and better informed than Mahinda himself. He had lived in large cities, like Pātalīputra, the magnificent capital of the Magadhan empire; he had seen great monasteries like Asokārāma built by his father and Cetiyagiri (modern Sāñchi) in Vidisa built by his mother.

So is he not that rare person who comes with inspiration towards spiritual uplift not only from father but also from mother?

It is with some sense of confidence, then, that we could conjecture that Arahant Mahinda indeed may well be accredited with the authorship of the Buddhapājāva in Sinhala Buddhism. In this he had a model: his own father’s listing of seven “Dharma texts” that the “largest number of bhikkhus and bhikkunis should constantly listen to and reflect on” (MRE 1, cited in Guruge, 1993, 551). His
inspiration could well have been the *Khuddakapāṭha* itself, if it is not post-Mahindian\(^{52}\). However, neither Asoka’s nor the Khuddaka listing can be said to be anywhere close to Arahant Mahinda’s *Buddhapājāva* in complexity, comprehensiveness and sophistication.

Needless to say, the other four members of the Sangha of his retinue, would have had their input as well. This is not to forget the inspiration of Ven. Moggaliputtatissa, the Head of the Council following which Mahinda arrives in Lanka.

### C.4 The Context of Emergence

#### C.4.1 ‘Stirring masses at the palace-gates’ and Queen Anula as Joint Catalysts for the *Buddhapājāva*

We have found above (Section A) external evidence to situate the origins of the *Buddhapājāva* in Lanka, and not in India. There were several contextual supportive conditions as well. The closely knit community of the small island could be said to have provided a fertile soil for conscious community building through the Dhamma. First, while there were in pre-Mahindian Lanka followers of just about all the religious communities – Brahmmins, Nighanṭhas, Saivaites, Paribbajaks, Ajivikas and Tapasas, and practices such as cult worship (Rahula, 1956, 43-47), “there is no evidence that any of them was so systematically organized” (47). By contrast, the demand for Buddhadhamma came to be now nearly universal across social class and gender. If the conversion of King Devanampiya Tissa ensured that the citizenry would be united in their religious fervour, the arrival of Sanghamitta, following Mahinda, and the ordination of Queen Anula, meant that the women were brought into the fold as well. All this meant that if the involvement in the new religion was initially

\(^{52}\) I am thankful to Dr Guruge for drawing my attention to this. *Khuddakapāṭha*, the first book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Suttapitaka*, is also, as captured in the title itself, a collection of short nine pieces gleaned from the Canon and “put together most probably for practical purposes as a kind of handbook” (Hinuber, 1996, p. 44).
limited to the Royal family and the citizens attending his Discourses, the community of believers now came to be, potentially at least, total – men and women, ruler and subject, and indeed whole families.

But what was the specific catalyst that might have moved Mahinda, assuming that he is the likely Redactor, to compose the Buddhapújāva?

At the point of introducing the Buddhadhamma to the island, Arahant Mahinda, along with his retinue of four, served as the only spiritual guides to the community. But soon, it would become a challenge. In addition to the “40,000” who were with the King at his initial encounter (Mv xiv. 2) (while the rounded figure may be an exaggeration, there is no doubt that what it suggests is a large number) and the women of the royal household who had come to listen to him (xiv.46 ff.), there came to be an increasing interest in the Buddhadhamma among the masses. On the second day itself of his arrival, e.g., we are told that “the many people from the city, hearing from persons who had seen them the day before, of the virtues of the Theras, came together desirous to see the Theras and made a great stir at the palace-gates” (xiv.59-60) (italics and bold added). While the elephant’s hall was enough to accommodate them initially (xiv.61), the next day, the venue comes to be moved to the Nandana-garden (xv.1-2). On the fifth day, Mahinda preaches “to a great multitude of people” (xv.196). And within seven days, “he had brought eight thousand five hundred persons to conversion” (xv.201).

Even after discounting the rounded numbers and the exaggerations, there is no question that increasing numbers were coming in search of the Buddhadhamma. He had never seen such an enthusiasm, not even under his father King Aśoka. And so it was becoming clear that, having struck a chord, he and his retinue of four would not be able to meet the spiritual needs of the increasing numbers single-handedly. Of course, there were the 56 local sangha led by Mahārīṭṭha. But the task was beginning to be too much even for a total

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53 All the women of the royal household, e.g., is said to have attained to first stage of sanctification upon hearing the first sermon.
of 62 Bhikkhus, the majority of them still rookies, meaning novices.

And it was also clear that the dhammadāta eyes of Mahinda were set on the entirety of the island. When, e.g., asked to “announce... the time of preaching the Dhamma” (Mv xiv.34) the day following the arrival, Sāmañera Sumana asks, “How far, Sir, shall I make the time to be heard when I announce it?” (xiv.35), “Over all Tambapanni” comes the answer. It may be at this point - in response to this perceived, and actual, need, that it would have occurred to the Arahant, or the thought would have come to crystallize in him, then, that only a spiritual tool that could be available personally to one and all, with or without the presence of a Sangha member, would be the answer. Now we may see the germ of the Buddhapājāva coming to reside in the mind of the clear-minded strategist.

But, strategist that he was, it is possible that he was not totally unprepared for it. Even in planning his visit, the possibility of the need for a ritual may have entered his mind, but he had likely decided to see the reality on the ground before he would proceed with it. The Psychologist-Educator-Communicator in him would have wanted to make sure that such a ritual was as meaningful, and relevant, as possible to the populace. So it would make sense to wait until he hit the ground and come to see the reality first hand.

C.4.2 Emergence of the Pañca-, Aṭṭhangika- and Dasa- Śīla

In the context of what he had been charged with by his father and Moggaliputtatissa Thera (Mv xii.7), and of his own vision of the spread of the Dhamma over the whole island (as above), it would not have been difficult for Arahant Mahinda, with his clarity of mind – this by definition of an Arahant, free of defilements (kilesa), to figure out what would best serve the needs of the masses. Not only were the people not living an easy life, not all of them would be of high intelligence either. So what was needed would be something the masses could find solace in on a regular basis amidst their daily life struggle but which would also help bring them happiness, held by the Buddha to be the paramount wealth (santuṭṭhī paramaññ dhanan). Thus we
have the *Buddhapūjāva* incorporating the *pañca-sīla* component, seeking to ensure, just as in his early sermons to the increasing royal audiences, that the basis for a happy life was living the moral life.

He would come to see the functionality of the *Buddhapūjāva* in the light of another phenomenon – the increasing number who were taking to the robes. By the time of the arrival of relics (three months later, at the end of *pavāraṇa*) (xvii.1), e.g., there had come to be thirty thousand Bhikkhus “from within and without the city” (xvii.61). Soon there would be 500 Bhikkhus as well, Queen Anula and her retinue receiving *pabbajjā* (xv.65) upon the arrival of Sanghamittā. But, of course, these Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis were themselves new to their responsibilities, and did not have the vast knowledge of the Dhamma that Arahant Mahinda had. So a spiritual tool like the *Buddhapūjāva*, one that could be readily used with the laity, would be a handy blessing in their new vocation.

The fact that it was also a ritual would make it even more valuable and functional, given the pre-Buddhist rituals the populace had been used to. If the newly ordained were, as novices, not yet well versed in the Teachings – a task that would entail learning Pali, studying the texts, etc., they would at least have something spiritual to be shared with devotees, or the inquisitive, who might come to them simply out of curiosity if nothing else, seeing them in their yellow robes. The ritual would give the masses something meaningful, and something to take home, so to speak. It would also ensure continuing Dhammic contact between the Sangha and the laity, helping build a *parisad* ‘collective’ of *saddhāvat upāsaka upāsikā* (to use a phrase in Sinhala), ‘faithful male and female devotees’, now complementing the *parisad* of Bhikkhu Bhikkhunī who had already come to be. There could be no better way of ensuring the building of the *catuparīsad* ‘the four-fold collective’, and the continuity of the Śāsana.

In addition to being a spiritual tool for use by the masses on a daily basis, and for the Sangha as a handy guide, it appears that Arahant Mahinda had come to see in the *Buddhapūjāva* a context within which to meet a yet higher level spiritual need as well.

Upon their very first encounter, we see the women of the royal
household attaining to “the first stage of sanctification” (xiv.5), Queen Anula herself coming by the second stage a little while later (xv.18). Soon a thousand women of noble families would also attain to the first level of sanctification (xv.5). While the Five Training Principles may be all that the average person living a daily life could handle, women like Anula, and other men yet to appear, are likely to look for a more rigorous practice of sīla. Indeed we note Queen Anula putting on the yellow robe, “waiting for the pabbajjā” (xviii, 9-11).

So what could he offer such spiritual seekers while they awaited their ordination? We may find the possible answer in the context of Anula. It is “having taken to” (samādāya) the Dasasīla (10 TP’s) that she comes to wear the robes (ibid.). But, of course, there is no such practice in the Canon (see later for a discussion). So we may conjecture that Mahinda had come to see the Buddhapājāva as an instrument within which the Dasasīla could be incorporated as well. This is indeed today’s practice, the Buddhapājāva providing the foundational text and context not only for the dasa-sīla, but judging from contemporary practice, the Atthangika-sīla (8 TP’s) (again see later) as well. So it was the genius of Arahant Mahinda that he came to see the Buddhapājāva as a catch-all tool, meeting the spiritual needs of not only the masses but of the more serious seekers among them as well. We may see in all this a Hierarchy of Training Principles, as captured below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>TYPE OF SĪLA</th>
<th>DURATION/FREQUENCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dasasīla</td>
<td>Lifetime / long-term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘10 Training Principles’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Atthangika-sīla</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘8 Training Principles’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pañcasīla</td>
<td>Daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘5 Training Principles’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 2: Hierarchy of Sīla for the Laity, in terms of the number of ‘Training Principles’
We see here that while the *pañca-sīla* ‘Five Training Principles’ is the standard everyday ritual, the *Aṭṭhangikasīla* ‘Eight Training Principles’ (see later for its make-up), is the next step up\(^{54}\). But while this would still be a temporary practice, taken up just for a day once a week as noted in the context of India by I-Tsing (see above, B.4), or once a month as it is today – although it may be taken for three days, Mahinda may have figured that that would not still meet the needs of the even more faithful and committed individuals like Anula. It is thus that we have the *Dasasīla* ‘Ten Training Principles’, as the highest for the laity, and to be taken as a life-time vow, with or without eventually going for ordination.

If the thinking behind the need to build in a Hierarchy of Training Principles in the context of the new community seems logical enough, the content of the three levels is, of course, not original to the Arahant. A study of the three levels of *sīla* will show that all of the basic ingredients of the *pañcasīla, Aṭṭhangikasīla* and the *Dasasīla* are clearly drawn from the Canon.

The *pañca-sīla*, it may be noted, exists in the Canon under the different name *pañca-dhammā* (A III.203). “Without a special title, they are mentioned in connection with the ‘saranaṃ gata’ formula” (Davids & Stede, 1979, 712). So the novelty is that it gets re-named as *pañca-sīla*, serving as the foundational basis, as we shall see, for the next two levels. It may also be noted that in some Suttas, as e.g., Brahmajala (D.1.10), the fifth TP finds no mention.

As regards the eightfold *sīla*, again, it does not occur in the Canon under the name *sīlas* or *sikkhāpada*, but as *aṭṭhanga-samannāgata* (or *Aṭṭhangika*) *uposatha* (‘the fast day with its eight constituents’) (Davids & Stede, 1979, 713). But, at the organizational hands and the conceptual mind of Mahinda, it gets the name *Aṭṭhangika-sīla*,

\(^{54}\) The Eight TP’s may have been to meet the needs of perhaps some of the women of the Royal Household, and other men and women among the masses who were more serious about their spiritual life beyond the Five TP’s, but could not, for one reason or another – family responsibilities, personal health, etc., take to a lifelong vow of the Ten TP’s.
becoming also the next level with the addition of three more TP’s\(^\text{55}\).

The innovation regarding the \textit{Dasasīla} is deeper. As we shall see, it comes to be the outcome of a series of changes, modifications and additions. Unlike the first two levels, the concept of \textit{dasa-sīla}, in relation to the laity, does not occur in the Canon (see PED, under \textit{sīla}). But what does occur is \textit{dasa-kusala} ‘10 skillfuls’, which are not identical to the constituents of the \textit{dasa-sīla}. So on the model of that, the Arahant creates the \textit{dasa-sīla}, dividing the 8\textsuperscript{th} Training Principle (see [a] and [b] in footnote 55) of the \textit{aṭṭhangika-sīla}, as in the Canon itself (D.1) - abstaining from the visual, namely, (8) dance, singing, instrumental music, mime (\textit{nacca gīta vādita visūkaddassanaṭṭhānā}), and the personal, namely, (9) garlands, perfume and ointments, and ornaments, finery and adornment (\textit{mālā gandha vilepana dhāraṇa mandaṇa vibhūsanaṭṭhānā}), making it nine now. The list is completed by adding an abstention, listed in the Canon for the Sangha, namely, [10] from handling of money (\textit{jātarāparajatapaṭṭiggahānā}), as we see in the \textit{Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta}. This is as if to build the bridge between lay life and ordination.

\textbf{C.4.3 Concluding Discussion}

From our discussion, then, it appears to be clear that both the \textit{Buddhapūjāva} on the one hand, and the three levels of \textit{sīla}, are the result of the Arahant Mahinda’s creative thinking. So we may credit Arahant Mahinda the Educator for cooking up, with apologies for the mundane metaphor, and systematizing all three of them within the \textit{Buddhapūjāva}, entirely afresh. That is the creativity and the originality, as would be of a good cook who brings the available

\[\text{\textsuperscript{55} The additional three are: ... abstaining from (6). untimely intake of food, (7). high and comfortable beds and dance etc. and (8). [a] dance, singing, instrumental music, mime, [b] garlands, perfume and ointments, and ornaments, finery and adornment. There is also a variation in the third of the first Five TP’s, this as in the Canon, from abstinence from ‘sexual misconduct’ (\textit{kāmesu micchācārā}) to a total abstinence in sex (\textit{ab(b) rahmacariyā}).}\]
ingredients together in a novel fashion to create a new dish, adding to, or elevating, the culinary experience.

The ‘Palace gates’ (rājadvāra) in the title (C.4.1) refers to the location where the masses initially would throng and make “a great stir” (mahāsaddam akaruṟ) (Mv xiv.59-60). But the ‘gates’ could well stand for symbolically, though perhaps not intended by Mahanama, the gates to Saddhamma itself, of the ‘Respected King the Buddha’ (budurājanan vahanse), as in Sinhala Buddhism. It could also well mean ‘gates to Nibbana’ itself. In that sense, what we may surmise by ‘gate’ is a yearning for the Saddhamma on the part of the public, both for spiritual as well as pragmatic reasons. So with Anula and her retinue, not to mention the King himself.

And so we may, then, see *Queen Anula and the Masses as the joint Catalysts for the Buddhapatjāva*.

If this discussion, then, serves as another possible confirmation of Arhat Mahinda’s authorship of the *Buddhapatjāva*, it also argues for the concomitant emergence of the *Paṇca-, Aṭṭhāṅgika-* and *Dasa-Sīlas* at his hands.

It was noted that, following the first Discourse itself, King Devanampiya Tissa comes unto “the Refuges”, but without any mention of *Paṇca-sīla*56. However, a reference to *Dasasīla* is made in reference to Anula (Mv xviii.9-10), this in the context of receiving

56 It may be noted that, in a different context, we do find in the Mahavamsa, the phrase *saranesu ca sīlesu thītā* (Mv i.32, fn. 6), literally ‘established in the Refuges and the sīlas’, this being a clear reference to *paṇca sīla* ‘Five Training Principles’. But that is in connection with the Visit of the Tathagata, predating the arrival of Mahinda. But if this were to be taken as historical fact, then, at least one aspect of our hypothesis would fall by the wayside, for it suggests that the Five TP’s (if also the Refuges) were in vogue in Sri Lanka in pre-Mahindian times. However, that would contradict Mahavamsa’s own claim that it was Mahinda who introduced Buddhism to the land! It would also fail to explain why King Devanampiya Tissa was administered only the Three Refuges and not the Five TP’s, as is the standard practice today that signals conversion. So we will have to assume that coming unto the ‘precepts of duty’ was again a retrojection on the part of Mahanama.
the Bodhi tree (Mv xvii.1), well over three months after the arrival of Mahinda. What this then seem to suggest is that the emergence of the Dasasila comes to be some time between the time of arrival of Mahinda and the arrival of the Bodhi tree.

If any evidence is needed for Arahant Mahinda’s vision of two millennia ago, in creating the Buddhapājāva, one only has to note how deeply the Five, Eight and Ten Training Principles have taken root in the Sinhala Buddhist psyche, and religious practice today. The orthodoxy of Theravada, and the strict Vinaya Code, spearheaded by the Mahavihara in ancient times, and now maintained by the Sangha, have ensured that tradition endures, with only some changes in the details, while the core remains as it has been historically practiced.

C.5 Launching of the Buddhapājāva and the Sīla Trio

It is in describing the arrival of Sanghamittà and her retinue, this in the context of receiving the Bodhi Tree (Mv xviii, 1ff.), that queen Anula is said to have taken to the Dasasīla. But there is no indication as to when exactly Anula had taken to it. There is, e.g., no suggestion by Mahinda to her, at the point when she beseeches ordination, that she take to the Dasasīla in the interim. The term samādāya ‘taken to’ (translated by Geiger as ‘has accepted’, and by Guruge’s (1990, 117)

57 Heard over the radio and TV on a daily basis, the Pañcasīla ‘Five TP’s’ are standard practice at all public events, such as temple services, funerals, alms givings, parittas, etc., not to mention personal and individual homage in a home setting. While those who take to the Ten are rare, for the primary reason that family life doesn’t allow for the practice of the strict code, aṭṭasīl (atṭhāngika sīla) is a practice followed regularly on Full Moon Days, not just in the country but in overseas settings as well –London, Los Angeles, Melbourn, Toronto, etc., where there is a temple. Of significance is that children, too, come to take to it, indicating how strongly it is embedded in the culture. This, of course, is not to mention its practice in other Theravada countries such as Burma and Thailand.

58 Begging for alms would be a living example, as is also the practice of the laity offering alms to Sangha. The Rains Retreat (Vassāna) and Kathina (offering of new robes) following the Retreat would be other examples.
as ‘observed’) seems ambiguous. Are we to understand it as meaning ‘self-administered’ or as ‘other-administered’?

Regarding ambiguity, even though no other details are given regarding Mahārīṭṭha receiving his pabbajjā ‘ordination’ either, we are specifically told that it was administered by Arahant Mahinda. But since there is no mention of at whose hands Dasāsīla had been received by Anula, could it be that it was self-administered by the highly enthusiastic Anula, with no tradition to live up to? As noted by Geiger (Mv tr., 1912, 122-3, footnote 3), “there are frequent references [in the Canon] to the five or eight pledges which one may take oneself” (italics added). This is equally true even today, certainly when it comes to the Pañcasīla (Five Training Principles), although not, at least formally, regarding the Āṭṭhangikasīla (Eight Training Principles)\(^{59}\).

But, several points argue against a self-administration by Anula. It is not, of course, that the TP’s are inherently non-self-administrable.\(^{60}\) After all, they are self-directed abstentions. But, in the case of Anula, things were different. To begin with, it was the ten pledges, and not the five or the eight, that were being committed to. It is not only the highest available to a layperson, and the most austere, but also a life-long vow, to be replaceable only by the higher vow of ordination itself. And judging by today’s practice, in the Sinhala Theravāda tradition,

\(^{59}\) But, of course, as in today’s practice, there is nothing to stop a devotee, on a poya (Full Moon) or other day, committing oneself to a day of serious practice in a home setting, self-administering the eight TP’s in the presence of a Buddha statue.

\(^{60}\) Even putting on robes by oneself happens today (personal knowledge in the context of Canada, and in relation to Korean, and Anglo-Saxon ethnicity). We may in this context note a Canonical characterization that seems to allow for it: ‘A householder or householder’s son or one born in some other clan hears that Dhamma. On hearing the Dhamma he acquires faith in the Tathāgata. Possessing that faith, he [the householder] considers thus: ‘Household life is crowded and dusty; life gone forth is wide open. It is not easy, while living in a home, to lead the holy life utterly perfect and pure as a polished shell. Suppose I shave off my hair and beard, put on the yellow robe, and go forth from the home life into homelessness.’ (M 17.179).
it is certainly never self-administered. And contemporary practice in itself may be taken as strong evidence of the historical, Theravada by definition and practice being of the orientation of orthodoxy, meaning, retaining tradition as closely as possible.

Secondly, however trendsetting Anula may have been, as she certainly appears to be, to be able to self-administer, she would have to have been conversant with the contents of the Dasasīla in the first place. But this would have been highly unlikely. Unlike today, when the TP’s are known within the community (or at least among the more spiritually bent) having being part of the culture for two millennia, they were an unknown at the time. Anula’s first encounter with Buddhism was on the second day of the arrival of Mahinda. It was on the fourth day she asks for ordination. And she had not been present either at Mahinda’s very first discourse to King Devanampiya Tissa, Cūḷahatthipadopama suttas61, which indeed included references to the TP’s. But even if she had been present, the Discourse refers only to dasa-kusala – skills that ‘should be cultivated’ (sevitabbo), and not to a specific ready-made ‘dasa-sīla’. To make matters even muddier, the abstentions talked about in the Sutta, incidentally going beyond the ten, are in relation to an ordained and not the laity. Additionally, there would have been not enough time for anyone attending the first Discourse – everyone being new to the Teachings, to master them and pass them along to Anula.

The difficulty is not overcome even if we were to take the term ‘samādāya’ (given in the context of the arrival of the Bodhi tree, three months after the arrival of Mahinda (xviii, 9-10)) to mean not a repetition of the TP’s verbatim, after a leader as is the practice today, but simply an understanding of its intent. The task would have been rendered particularly challenging, given that the pledges were, even

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61 The women of the royal household “hearing from the king the virtues of the Theras, desired to see them…” (Mv xiv, 46). Thus, following the meal offered by the King the next day, “he … sent for Anula … who dwelt in the royal palace.” (55-56). It was at this point that Mahinda delivered the Petavatthu, Vimānavatthu and the Sacca-samyutta to the women (Anula and her retinue) (58-59).
as they stand today, in Pali, and not in Sinhala (i.e., ‘language of the island’ (dīpa bhāsāya). The closeness between the two languages, as has been noted by many a scholar, could have rendered things a bit easier, but it still doesn’t make someone new to both the religion and the language able to master the TP’s in the original, in so short a period as three days, on one’s own, nothing to say of having a grasp of the implications. So it is highly unlikely that Anula would have self-administered it, upon hearing that she would have to wait for Sanghamitta.

Finally, there had been no model of self-administration, both the Triple-gem in relation to the King, and the Ordination in relation to Bhanduka, being administered by Mahinda.

So what we see is the good possibility that the Dasasīla was **indeed administered by Arahant Mahinda himself**, even though there is no mention of it in the Mahavamsa description.

But we still don’t have a clue as to when the Buddhappājāva itself might have had its initial launch, nor the Five- and the Eight-sīla. Might it have been at this very point in time that the Dasasīla was administered to Anula?

As for the Aṭṭhangika sīla, the middle step of the series, we know that the practice was already in existence by the time of King Dutugaemunu (as above). To review it briefly, in preparation for the ceremony of laying the foundation bricks for the Great Cetiya, the people are invited to come, “having observed the Uposatha Precepts” (uposathiko).

So if it was already there 150 or so years after Mahinda, when did the practice emerge?

Moving backward again, we are told in the Mahavamsa that Anula was “with five hundred maidens and five hundred women of the royal harem” (Mv xviii.9-10), when she had taken to the ‘ten precepts’. The text says that these thousand women, too, had accepted the Ten TP’s along with her. The reference to a ‘Vihara of the Lay Sisters’ (Upasikāvihāra) (Mv xviii.12), so labelled, because it comes to be “inhabited by these lay sisters”, indeed seems to confirm that there was more than Anula who had taken to the Ten TP’s.
But in addition to the likelihood that the rounded number simply refers to a fairly large number, it is highly unlikely that all thousand, to a woman, would have taken to a life-long vow, which the \textit{Dasasālā} entails. The more likelihood is that while some of the most fervent in her retinue joined Anula in the lifelong vow, a good number, perhaps the majority, may have taken to the \textit{Aṭṭhāṅgikāsālā}, the Eight TP’s, entailing only a 24-hour long vow. After all, the nunnery had to be maintained, and the needs of Anula and the community had to be met. Taking the Eight, rather than the Ten, then, seems likely to have been the more probable route to go for most. And so it might have been to meet the needs of Anula’s retinue who were not yet ready for the Ten that the Eight \textit{Sīlā} might have been introduced at the same event.

So when exactly, then, were all this can be said to have been launched?

Following the \textit{pavāraṇa} ceremony upon the completion of the Rains Retreat, Mahinda and his 61-strong cadre of monks\textsuperscript{62} return (MV xvii.1). And present with the King to welcome them\textsuperscript{63} undoubtedly would have been, although there is no mention of it, Anula and her retinue. And there would also have been a multitude of citizens as well. Mahinda could have found no more of a golden opportunity to introduce the new ritual of the \textit{Buddhapūjāva}. Here was a willing lay community, already taken to the Refuges, who could be expected to be more than happy to receive, with the greatest of \textit{saddhā}, a handy gift of Dhamma that could help them, guide them, in their daily living. Happier would they be to find one, as they would discover over time,

\textsuperscript{62} It is interesting that the total number of the initial cadre of Sangha, at the point of vassana, in addition to Mahinda, and the local leader Maharittha, turns out to be 60 – 4 from the original Indian contingent, Bhanduka – the lay person ordained on the first night in Lanka, plus Maharittha’s brothers (55 – a rather odd number) who join him in \textit{pabbajjā}. Given that Buddha also initially had 60 disciples, one is given to wonder whether the number was concocted by author Mahanama to add additional sanctity to Mahinda’s mission.

\textsuperscript{63} It may be noted that while the \textit{pavāraṇa} ceremony is limited to the retreatants, we are told, in the same line, that “he spoke … to the king”.

that could be self-administered, even in the absence of a Bhikkhu / Bhikkhuni, particularly at a time when the ordained were still in short supply.

And if we were to conjecture an actual date, then, it would have to be at the end of Vassāna, and to be exact, the day FOLLOWING the FULL MOON day of KATTIKA [Oct-Nov\textsuperscript{64}] (xvii.1), in the year 247 BCE.

The year here has been arrived on the following basis:

- Third Council: 248 BCE (ibid., lvi) (ending in October (ibid. lvii)) - 17\textsuperscript{th} year of King Aśoka (Mv 5.280) (Geiger Introduction lvii); 265-17 = 248); Mahinda 12 years as a monk (Mv xiii.1).
- Mahinda’s Arrival in Tambapanni: 247 BCE, Jeṭṭha [June] uposatha day (Mv xiii.18)\textsuperscript{66}, this clearly immediately following the Council in 248 BCE; Mahinda spending 6 months visiting kinsfolk (Mv xiii.5); so, arrival has to be the following year.

As for the date, the calculation would be as follows:

1. Mahinda arrives in Tamnbapanni on Full Moon Day of Jeṭṭha (Poson in Sinhala).
2. In Anuradhapura, 26 days (Mv. xvi.2), Mahinda retreats for Vassāna on the 27\textsuperscript{th} day.

\textsuperscript{64} Calculated in the current year, 2012, it happens to be October 1.
\textsuperscript{65} It may be noted here that we have opted for the dating by Guruge, which is one year earlier than the Geiger date (264 BCE) (Geiger Mv. Trans, xlvi).
\textsuperscript{66} “Thera Moggaliputta …had beheld the founding of the religion in adjacent countries.. in the month of Kattika” (Mv xii.1-3).
3. **Vassāna** begins on Āsālha (Esala) Full Moon Day.
4. End of **Vassāna**: Kattika (Il) Full Moon Day.
5. Day following\(^\text{67}\).

Given that the *Dasasāla* is embedded within the *Buddhapūjāva*, this would also, then, have been the date when the newly minted *Dasasāla* saw the light of day as well, Anula being the first recipient.

But what about the *Pañca*- and the *Āṭṭhanga*-? Following the first Discourse itself, King Devanampiya Tissa comes unto “the Refuges”, but with no mention of *Pañcasāla*. However, as noted, there is the reference to Anula, along with five hundred of her retinue, “having come to take to the ten precepts” (*dasasālam samādāya*), this in the context of receiving the bodhi tree, following the end of the *pavāraṇa* ceremony (Mv xvii.1), i.e., well over three months after the arrival of Mahinda. What this, then, suggests is that the emergence of both the *Pañca*- and the *Āṭṭhanga*-sāla (the middle step of the sāla series) comes to be sometimes between the time of arrival of Mahinda and the arrival of the bodhi tree. **This, then, allows the possibility of the launch date of the *Pañcasāla* (Five-TP’s) and the *Āṭṭhanga* (Eight-TP’s), too, simultaneously with the *Dasasāla* and the *Buddhapūjāva*, given that the *Dasasāla* is an expansion upon the *Pañcasāla*.

However, it is also possible that the sāla trio and the *Buddhapūjāva*, may have been introduced even earlier, in fact 42 days earlier.

The first reference to Anula as having taken to the *Dasasāla* comes after the reference, a mere 10 verses earlier, to “a certain day in the rain-season” when the King, remembering “the words spoken by the Thera”, entrusts “his own nephew, his Minister named Ariṭṭha, with this business” (Mv xviii.1-2) to send a message to King Aśoka to invite Sanghamittā over. And we are also told that the King “was sitting in his own city with the Thera”, the Ministers in attendance.

\(^\text{67}\) Calculated again for the current year, 2260 years later \([247 \text{ BCE} + 2012\) (counting by the Lunar Year, Full Moon falling on on Sept 30)\, the actual dates for items 1 to 5 would be as follows: (1) June 4, 2012; (2) July 1, 2012; (3) July 3, 2012; (4) Sept. 30, 2012; (5) Oct 1, 2012.
Showing up among the laity during the Vassa retreat is not a general practice of the Sangha. So Mahinda coming to be in the company of the King on this day, then, suggests that it must have been a very special occasion. Is it possible, then, that this was for the purpose of administering the Dasasīla to Anula? Given that administering the Dasasīla is in the context of Homage to the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, not to mention offerings that may have come with it, this would also have been the date when the Buddhapūjāva sees the light of day, with the Royal retinue being its first participants and beneficiaries, this despite the fact, as noted earlier, that ‘nowhere in all the details about Arahant Mahinda and the conversion of Tambapanni … is there mention of a Buddhapūjā’\(^68\). And then it may have been introduced to the masses following the pavāraṇa.

And if we were to now conjecture an actual revised time and date, it may have been the morning of the FIRST DAY of the BRIGHT HALF \(\text{\textit{sukkapakkha} (Mv. xviii.7)}\) of the month of ASSAYUJA \(\text{\textit{vap} in Sinhala}\) \(\text{\textit{September-October}}, 247\) BCE.

This date has been arrived at on the basis that Mahāriññha leaves (to fetch Sanghamittā) on the second day “of the bright half of the month of Assayuja” \(\text{\textit{op.cit.}, 7)}\)\(^69\). It is most likely that it was the morning when the King came to be “sitting in his own city with the Thera” \(\text{\textit{above}},\) since it would allow a dāna, the only meal of the day, to be offered to the Theras.

We have noted that the Buddhapūjāva in all its comprehensiveness

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\(^{68}\) See later re Mahanama’s silence (C.6).

\(^{69}\) Again, as a rough indicator in 2012, the calculation would be as follows:

- Assayuja \(\text{\textit{Vap}}\) Full Moon Aug. 31, 2012
- Maharittha leaves on 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) day of ‘Bright half’ of Assayuja Aug. 19, 2012
- Day before Maharittha leaves Aug. 18, 2012.

So on this basis, the equivalent Launch Day this year would be Aug. 18, 2012.
may not have been part of Arahant Mahinda’s tool box at the point of arrival. But if it is this earlier day that it comes to be introduced – a mere 42 days or so into Vassana, we may conjecture that he had already had the doctrinal framework (see Column 1 of Fig. 1) for it in his mind before he arrived. Indeed it has practically the same components as we find in the Culahatthipadopama Sutta which begins with saddhā, to be followed by sīla. Its last two components, samādhi ‘concentration’ and paññā ‘wisdom’, together fall under the 4th component of the Buddhapūjāva, namely mokkha\textsuperscript{70}. So, upon arrival, all that was needed was to fill in the details (last two columns), a task that could be accomplished by an erudite Arahant without much difficulty within 42 days.

\section*{C.6 Mahanama’s Silence}

But why is the Mahavamsa author silent on Buddhapūjā in the context of the advent of Mahinda\textsuperscript{71}, in particular in relation to the King being established in the Three Refuges and the context of Anula taking to the Ten TP’s, or the ordination itself? In the case of Anula – we will come to the King momentarily, was it some patriarchal Sangha bias perhaps, giving not much importance to a woman’s spiritual life that explains Mahanama’s silence, given that, as conjectured here, the ritual comes to be launched in relation to Anula?

This clearly doesn’t appear to be the case. For we have a detailed outline of events relating to Anula - being summoned by the King to be present at the first alms-giving to Arahant Mahinda and his retinue, to her asking for pabbajjā, to taking to the Ten Training Principles to donning the yellow robes to living in a nunnery, to listening to the Suttas delivered to the women of the royal household (Mv xiv.55-58), to receiving pabbajjā eventually from Sanghamittā (Mv xix. 65). We

\textsuperscript{70} It is possible that Mahinda would have benefited from father Aśoka’s attempts in establishing a Dharma Rajya ‘Just Society’ (see Part I, for a detailed treatment).

\textsuperscript{71} But, of course, as noted above (C.1) the term appears in the later context of Dutugaemunu.
are even told of her spiritual attainments, from the “first stage of sanctification” (xiv. 58) to Arahantship (xix. 65). Author Mahanama gives some mundane detail as well: “When the queen Anula had come with five hundred women and had bowed down and made offerings to the theras, she stepped to one side” (xiv. 57). So patriarchy can be ruled out as having had a hand in the omission of details relating to ‘taking to the Dasasila’.

Perhaps Mahanama is saying nothing more of the Dasasila (or Pañcasila) context for the same reason that nothing more is said of the pabbajjā, the male ordination either, as e.g., at the point of Mahāriññha receiving ordination, or the upasampadā. It needs be noted that there is no elaboration either when King Devanampiya-Tissa ‘came unto the (three) refuges’ (saranesu pattiṭthahi) at the end of Mahinda’s first Discourse (see Mv xiv.23). So what then is that reason?

Both the pabbajjā for males or females (in the Vinaya), and the content that later comes to constitute Dasasīla for the laity, come, as noted, from the Canon, and were, in situ, well-known at the time of the writing the Mahavamsa (5th c. CE), eight centuries later. It was a sine qua non that it needed hardly be mentioned. To make a rather mundane analogy, when a child takes the first steps, the parents are likely to excitedly announce to neighbours, friends and relatives, “Johnny took his first steps today”. But when Sarah begins to run, the parents will say nothing of her beginning to walk. To extrapolate from the media as another analogy, not “all the news that’s fit to print”, ‘fit to print’ also meaning “only the news that are not repeats”.

Thus Mahanama can be said to be silent on the Buddhāpājāva in the context of Anula because it was, by his time, implicit in the context of taking to the Dasasiļa. It was no longer news! But he mentions the Dasasila since that was the news ‘fit to print’, so to

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72 Of course, it is entirely possible that he was unaware that it was an innovation, and may even have assumed it to have been routine in India and was simply brought over, like the Tipitaka itself. This would hardly be surprising in a generally conservative tradition. Indeed the authorship of the ritual may not even have been of any concern to him, just as it is the case today.
speak. She was not only the first woman, but also the first one ever, male or female, to take to it, and it was the highest of the three.

Mahanama’s focus seems to have been the establishment of the Dispensation, and any details not directly relevant may well have been ignored. We know of at least one well-known development that finds no mention in the Mahavamsa, or indeed in any other Sinhala source, but well retained in the Chinese sources. And that is the momentous event of the Sinhala Bhikkhuni Devasāra taking the pabbajjā to China, accompanied by enough Bhikkhunis, to make up the complement required for a valid women’s ordination.

Be that as it may, his silence about the Pañcasīla and the Buddhapūjāva in the context of the King’s conversion may be explained by way of a yet different reason, namely, there being no such ritual at that time, both emerging, as we have sought to establish, a few months later.

Even though there may be no reference to Pañcasīla or the Buddhapūjā in the context of the King and Anula, it is, of course, not as if either one of them is unknown to Mahanama. There is the reference to Pañcasīla in relation to the first visit of the Tathagata to the island (see footnote 56). The single but clear reference to Buddhapūjā in the Mahavamsa has been noted above, in the context of King Dutugaemunu inviting the citizens with incense, flowers, etc., ‘in preparation for a Buddhapūjā’ (buddhapūjāpayogena).
D. Sinhala *Buddhapūjāva*

as the Culmination of a Process

D.1 The Sociological Context

The historical record, as we have seen, shows no development of a formalized *Buddhapūjā* in an Indian context *even in the post-Mahindian era*, our enquiry extending up to the sixth century. The failure may perhaps be explained in terms of the historical time period. The main concern of the Sangha upon the Buddha’s *Parinibbāna* was the retention of the Dhamma in its purity, a concern that continues, as we can see from the three Councils, up to the time of Aśoka.

An associated preoccupation of the Sangha was the minimizing of the impact of schisms, if indeed they could not be totally avoided. There were enough members of the Sangha itself giving different interpretations of the Teachings. The threat of competing spiritual expressions (see e.g., Brahmajala Sutta), and the associated ongoing debates, meant a focus not only on maintaining purity, but also on ensuring the maintenance of high standards pertaining to the Vinaya.

In the lay, social context, there would have been the conflicts arising within castes or social classes as more and more among Brahmins and Kshatriyas sought *pabbajjā* ordination. Not insignificant were the conflicts even within families, as e.g., we know from the case of Buddha’s benefactress Visakha, whose husband, and father Migara, were “firm adherents of naked ascetics”\(^73\).

All this, then, meant a continuing emphasis on the Buddha,

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\(^73\) See Obeysekere, 2001:92 for her interesting story as it appears in a work in a Sinhala work of the 13\(^{th}\) c., *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*. 
Dhamma and Sangha, in the context of which cultivating a ‘Buddhist community’ may not have been in the plans of the Elders. Nor might there have been suitable conditions. While, of course, there were any number of individuals who continued to be attracted to the Teachings, from near and far, there may not have existed an identifiable, and cohesive, and solid lay ‘community’ of ‘Buddhists’, in any given part of India. Fa-hsien e.g., notes how Kapilavastu, “where stood the old palace of king Suddhodana”, is “a great scene of empty desolation” where “inhabitants are few and far between. On the roads people have to be on their guard against white elephants and lions, and should not travel incautiously” (Ch. XXII). Again, in the city of Kusinagara, “the inhabitants are few and far between, comprising only the families belonging to the (different) societies of monks.” (Ch. XXIV).

Even if any ‘solid’ lay communities did exist, there may not have been a Sangha leader who had any interest other than in the Canonical Teachings themselves. The Buddha’s words, “Be a lamp unto yourself” and his advice to “strive with diligence” might still have been the exclusive message in those early years when the Sangha saw their responsibility as explaining the Dhamma towards such an end, and not so much as towards forming strong Buddhist social entities.

However, despite the absence of a formalized Buddhapājā as per above, it would be remiss not to grant that there could well have existed even in the pre-Mahindian Indian context many an aspect of what constitutes the Buddhapājāva in Sinhala Buddhism. There is, e.g., the concept of anussati (Sk. anusmṛti (as in Kinnard (op. cit.) above) fr. anu + smṛti (Pali sati)), literally, ‘remembrance’, ‘recollection’, ‘thinking of’ and / or ‘mindfulness’ (PED74). This is in relation to the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha (as in buddhānussati, dhammānussati, sanghānussati), implying also as it does ‘reverence’ and ‘faith’, or even a sentiment such as ‘reflections on the Buddha…’75. So is even the concept of receiving merit from an act of merit, as

74 It is also accessible on URL: <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.0:1:1197.pali>

75 A late list of subjects to be kept in mind comprises six anussati-ṭṭhānāni, viz. Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha, dāna, cāga, devatā (D III.250, 280),
the Buddha tells Aggivessana⁷⁶. Of course, the term pûjâ itself is no stranger to the Canon, this in the sense of ‘honour’⁷⁷.

But we could also retroject the features identified in the Historical Record (Section B above) – Canonical and post-Canonical literature, observations of the Chinese pilgrims and the iconographic evidence. In addition to honouring the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, we may recall the offering of alms, paying veneration at a thupa, offering of flowers, incense and lamps and chanting paritta, among others.

However, the focus, and emphasis, during these early centuries of Indian Buddhism appears to have been on the pûjâ dimension in the literal sense of ‘honouring’ (as in Buddha Pûjâ in the Encyclopedia expanded to ten subjects elsewhere: the above plus ānāpâṇa- sati, maraṇa- sati, kâyagatâ-sati, upasamânuñcattati) (A I.30, 42).

⁷⁶ As translated by Ānāmoli & Bodhi (1995, 331), the full quote is as follows:

“Master Gotama, may the merit and the great meritorious fruits of this act of giving be for the happiness of the givers [here meaning the Lichhavis who had given him food to be offered to the Buddha].”

“Whatever comes about from giving to a recipient such as yourself - one who is not free from lust, not free from hate, not free from delusion - that will be for the givers. And whatever comes about from giving to a recipient such as myself - one who is free from lust, free from hate, free from delusion - that will be for you.”

“yamidam, bho gotama, dâne puññañâna puññamahâca taṁ dâyakânâṁ sukhâya hotî tî.”

“yam kho, aggivessana, tâdisam dakkhiṇeyyam âgamma avîtarâgaṁ avîtadosam avîtamoham, taṁ dâyakânâṁ bhâvissati. yam kho, aggivessana, mâdisam dakkhiṇeyyam âgamma viṭarâgaṁ viṭadosam viṭamoham, taṁ tuyhaṁ bhâvissatî tî.” (Cûlasaccaka sutta, M 35).

I thank Bryan Levin for this reference.

⁷⁷ This is as e.g., in relation to other families (parakulesu) (Dhammapada 73). Pûjaye and pûjanâ, derivatives of pûjâ, come to be used in the same sense of ‘honor, reverence, devotion’, too (Dhammapada, 106-7). Further, “The Samyutta, the Anguttara and the Khuddaka Nikayas of the Pali canon refer to the different derivatives of the word puja such as pujita, pujaniya.” (Saibaba, 2005).
of Religion entry (meaning 1 above)) and exclusively so. This focus on pūjā can be seen to be captured grammatically in a phrase like buddhassa pūjā ‘honour / offering to the Buddha’, as e.g., in the namaskāraya, opening homage (in the Sinhala Buddhapājāva as elsewhere), i.e., namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. Buddhassa pūjā is an adjectival phrase (noun turned adj + N), with the primary accent, in pronouncing it, falling on pūjā (the noun), the adjectival buddhassa ‘of the Buddha’ being implicit. But in the Sinhala compound morpheme Buddhapājāva, by contrast, the primary accent may be seen as falling on ‘Buddha’.

The position of the accent, however, is no mere grammatical nicety. What the primary accent on ‘Buddha’ implies is that what is meant is not simply the persona of the Buddha, as in the literal meaning of honouring (or veneration or homage). It captures the whole gamut of what the Buddha stands for, and his Teachings in their comprehensiveness, as captured in saddhā ‘faith’, sīla, ‘(self-) discipline’, attha-cariyā ‘social good’ and mokkha, ‘Liberation’ as in the Buddhapājāva (see Fig. 1).

The focus on the pūjā dimension in early Buddhism can be said to fall under the first of the four dimensions of the Buddhapājāva, namely, saddhā. Thus it comes to be only a fragment of the Buddhapājāva of Sinhala Buddhism in which sīla comes to occupy a position of centrality. This is, as e.g., in the Noble Eightfold Path, with sīla leading the way in the tri-fold division, to be followed by samādhi and paññā. Both ‘liberation’ and the ‘social good’ also come to be based in sīla.

If in early Buddhism the emphasis was still on retaining the purity of the Dhamma, and pūjā, the goal encouraged for the devotees as for disciples remained the ‘path to liberation’ (mokkha magga). But with King Aśoka we see a second emphasis, the sagga

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78 It may be noted, however, that in Sinhala, it makes no semantic difference whether the two words are written together or separately, but the emphasis on ‘buddha’ is not lost on either graphemic manifestation.

79 ‘Accent’ is not a semantic feature in Sinhala. Its use here is for the benefit of the English reader. However, emphasis does play a role in Sinhala.
magga ‘path to heaven’ (see next para), to be understood as life on earth or the realm to be born into after death. This is to be lived through the *application* of the Teachings towards behavioural change, i.e., orthopraxis, individually as well as collectively, that would be good for both self and the other (atta-hita para-hita), as is the ideal advocated by the Buddha (D. III. 233).

One of his edicts, e.g., bears testimony to this. In RE XIII, characterized as “the most moving document of any dynastic history” (van Buitenen, 1977, cited in Guruge, 1993, p. 161), Asoka’s directive to his progeny (as to everyone else in other inscriptions), runs as follows: “Conquest by righteousness is for both this world and the next” (yo dhramavijayo so hidalokiko paralokiko) (165). Indeed, recommending to “both the elite and [the] commonfolk” the continuation of their effort (pakama) towards a righteous life, he postulates “the attainment of great heaven as the goal” (vipule svage ārādhetave). Encouraging his subjects, in more than one inscription, to direct their energies towards inculcating ‘virtuous qualities’ (dhammamagna), they come to be listed as (as e.g., in MRE II),

- “obeying mother and father”, and “elders”;
- Being “steadfast towards living beings”;
- “Adher[ing] to the truth”;
- “Teacher should be honoured by the pupil”;
- “Proper behaviour …. towards relatives” (Guruge, 1993, 167)\(^80\).

While “Asoka felt that he had succeeded in bringing about a moral regeneration among the people” (Guruge, 1993, 167), still lacking was a ready-made, and handy, instrument that the Buddhist citizenry could carry in one’s shirt pocket, so to speak. And it was this niche, then, that Arahant Mahinda, arriving in Sri Lanka, could be said to have filled. This could well have been in Mahinda’s mind, the

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\(^80\) Even though these values were not uncommon in the Indian culture, there is no question that they are very much contained in the Buddha’s Teachings, too, dots 1, 4 and 5 clearly attributable to the Sigalovada Sutta.
context of the new milieu in Sri Lanka serving as the trigger under which the Buddhapājāva would have emerged.

And the conditions were right, too -- a single solid community under a single ruler, a supportive royalty, an equally enthusiastic public, the possible presence of Buddhism itself (Adikaram, 1994, 46)\(^81\) (even if by individual practitioners), the absence of any widespread or deeply rooted spiritual system in competition\(^82\), and a good role model in the person and persona of Arahant Mahinda in terms of both spiritual and praxic leadership\(^83\). Here, then, he can be said to have found a splendid opportunity to build ground up, to get those who had newly embraced the Teaching on the *sagga magga* - a path to heaven, without undermining the *mokkha magga* ‘path to liberation’.

If father Aśoka sought to inculcate virtues through royal edict\(^84\), Arahant Mahinda could be said to have attempted it through an internalization at the hands of individuals themselves, in a good

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\(^81\) Commenting on the tradition of the Buddha visiting Lanka, Adikaram (ibid.) notes that it “may probably have arisen from the arrival, before the advent of Mahinda, of some Buddhist missionaries from India and also from the existence in Ceylon of a considerable number of Buddhists among the earlier inhabitants, namely, the Yakkhas and Nagas”. It is also pointed out that “long before Mahinda’s day, there were at least a few Buddhist monks in Ceylon”.

\(^82\) Offering “a general idea of the pre-Buddhist religious beliefs in Ceylon”, Adikaram (1994, 43) notes, “the religions practiced by the inhabitants were mainly Brahminism – if we may use this inclusive though somewhat inaccurate term, worship of Yaksas and tree-deities, Jainism and a few other cults. It is, however, likely that the new colonists could not devote themselves much to religious pursuits as their time must have been fully occupied in making habitable and improving their newly acquired territory…”.

\(^83\) Can we fail to see that Arahant Mahinda was no mere holy person, but an animated provocateur and main actor in a high spiritual drama?

\(^84\) The possibility of Mahinda’s hand behind the Edicts should not be ruled out. Even if this were not the case, there is little doubt about his involvement in furthering the King’s intent. And as a district ruler, he may have had enough experience insighting what would and wouldn’t work when it came to providing leadership to the masses, particularly in the area of spirituality.
fit with the Buddha’s last words, ‘Strive with diligence’. This approach could be characterized as an attempt at a ‘self-discipline’ over a ‘decreed discipline’. It surely is of symbolic importance that Mahinda, arriving by air (presumably using the iddhibala), lands on the silakūṭa ‘sila peak’ of the Mihintale mountain (Mv XIII.20), sīla, of course, meaning ‘discipline’. The kind of citizen Mahinda would have wanted to see emerge in the land of his father’s esteemed friend interestingly is perhaps well exemplified by Fa-hsien himself in relation to a Buddhist monk:

On one occasion he was cutting rice with a score or two of his fellow-disciples, when some hungry thieves came upon them to take away their grain by force. The other Sramaneras all fled, but our young hero stood his ground, and said to the thieves, “If you must have the grain, take what you please. But, Sirs, it was your former neglect of charity which brought you to your present state of destitution; and now, again, you wish to rob others. I am afraid that in the coming ages you will have still greater poverty and distress; I am sorry for you beforehand.” With these words he followed his companions into the monastery, while the thieves left the grain and went away, all the monks, of whom there were several hundred, doing homage to his conduct and courage.

(in Legge’s ‘1 Introduction’, para 485).

85 <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2124/2124-h/2124-h.htm>

The fact that the single politico-spiritual kingdom that Aśoka sought to develop came to be disintegrated within a short period after his death can be said to be indicative of some foresight on the part of Mahinda in thinking up a better strategy.

The other-caring attitude can be said to extend to the natural world as well reflected in the counsel given by Arahant Mahinda to King Devanampiya Tissa:

*Oh great king, the birds of the air and the beasts have as equal a right to live and move about in any part of this land as thou. The land*
We may, then, conclude this overview by saying that the Sinhala Buddhapājāva is emblematic of a culmination of a process that had roots in India. There may have been in the India of the three centuries between the Buddha and Arahant Mahinda, the many strands of what have eventually come to constitute the Sinhala Buddhapājāva. But the innovative genius of the Arahant Mahinda can be said to lie in coming up with the Buddhapājāva, bringing the historical strands together in a creative way and in a particular relationship between and among the parts, as a handy spiritual tool for the pragmatic use by the people of Tambapanni.

This, of course, only confirms that everything is conditioned, as in the Buddha’s Principle of Conditioned Co-origination (paticcasamuppāda). But once there comes to be ‘something’, resulting from the many things (conditions) that were once disparate, it is no longer simply many things just hanging loose on a string, but a cohesive composite. Bricks and mortar and wood go to make a house, but a house is not simply some bricks and mortar and wood sitting around. Buddhapājāva in Sinhala Buddhism can then said to be such a house, composite and well-built (see again Part I, for its sophisticated structure).

D.2 The Textual Context

Thus far, the case for a Sri Lankan origin and a Mahindian hand in the Buddhapājāva has been made on the basis of internal evidence. But the Canonical and the post-Canonical literature encountered above seems to provide some external evidence, too.

First, let us consider the fact that the term buddhapājā and its variants all occur in texts that are post-Mahindian. These texts are also most likely of Lankan origin. Notes Rahula (1966, xxv):

The Sinhalese commentaries did not remain static in the same form; they began in the 3rd c. BC, but kept on growing belongs to the people and thou art only the guardian of it.
and accumulating new material as they passed through the centuries. … The newly added material was, naturally enough, drawn from local incidents and social and religious life of the people of the Island. ..

But since they all come to be committed to writing by the 1st c. BCE, these texts seem to point to the time period of the origin of the formalized ceremony as under discussion, namely the period between the 3rd and the 1st c. BCE.

Certain references in such texts seem to provide evidence for the presence of the ceremony by that time. There is, e.g., the intriguing reference to a buddhapūjā that comes to be performed for the sake of a dying person, by the relatives: ‘Following death, these relatives will have a buddhapūjā performed, sir, for your sake. Be happy in [your] mind.’ (aparassa maraṇasamaye ṇātakā ayam, tāta, tavaṭṭhāya buddhapūjā karāyati, cittam pasādehi (Vibh. a. 227), the same line, as noted, appearing in the Visuddhimagga. Mention is also made in this connection to items such as, e.g., flowers, flags, incense, sweet drinks, musical instruments, etc., and listening to the Dhamma, these identified in relation to the senses.

What is interesting in this example is that the practice of having a buddhapūjāva done – in full or in part, for the benefit of a dying (or ill) relative is so much of the practice in contemporary Sinhala Buddhist homes. This would be either for the patient to listen to, or even perhaps to touch the offerings prior to being placed on an altar. And, of course, it is done by ‘relatives’ as in the post-Canonical reference above, and the patient would invariably have been told that it is ‘for your sake’.

In the grammatical treatise86 Saddanīttippakarana, the author writes a gāthā (gāthārācanā) to explain their meaning (tesamaṭṭhānaṁ sādhikā):

86 Anya byākaraṇa ganthasamgaho saddanīttippakaraṇaṁ (padamālā) 3. Pakinṇakavinicchaya.
imāya buddhapūjāya, bhavantu sukhitā pajā
bhave ’hañca sukhappatto, sāmacco saha ñātibhi.
‘By this offering, may the community be well. May I, too, be
of happy countenance, as well as friends, along with relatives.’

Again, the transference of merit, following Homage to Buddha
and the Training Principles, is an essential component of the Sinhala
buddhapūjāva even today (see Fig. 1, 3.1).

‘May all beings benefit from / rejoice in (anumodantu) the
merits thus accrued by us’

Likewise the benefit to both self and others (see 3.1 to 3.4 in
Fig. 1). This is clear in another line in the Sinhala ceremony, where,
as noted, the ‘devā nāgā mahiddhikā’ are invoked to protect the
‘Teaching, Dispensation, me and others’ (desanāṁ sāsanaṁ maṁ
paraṁ), having benefited from the Merits (puññantaṁ anumoditvā)

Of course, the Grammarian is not talking about the buddhapūjāva
per se as a ceremony, but simply making a grammatical point. However,
it is apparent that he is drawing upon a contemporary practice, drawing
upon a sentiment of bringing good health (sukhappatto), benefiting
from merit, to the community (pajā), ‘me, too’ (bhave ’hañca), and
friends and relatives (sāmacco saha ñātibhi).

In the Jātakaṭṭhakathā, King Kosala’s wife seeks to ‘listen to the
Dhamma, do a buddhapūjā and offer alms’. Interestingly, this sounds
very much like what a devotee might do in a temple setting even
today, participating in a morning activity, particularly on an Uposatha

87 In full it reads:
ētāvatāca amhehi, sambhatam puñña sampadam
sabbe sattā anumodantu sabba sampatti siddhiyā.
(See Part I for this, and the next fn.)

88 In full it reads,
ākāsatthāca bhummaṭṭhā, devā nāgā mahiddhikā
puññantaṁ anumoditvā ciraṁ rakkhantu desanāṁ
sāsanaṁ maṁ paraṁ tī.
The only Canonical occurrence in the Apadāna (see above) also seems to provide some external evidence when we note that Asanabodhiya, talking about a tree, is not talking about a ‘bodhipūjā’, veneration to the Bodhi Tree that has come to gain a contemporary high profile, but the Buddhapūjāva itself of which the Bodhipūjā is very much part of.

The buddhapūjā and its variants as in these contexts, and other texts discussed above – Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Jātakaṭṭhakathā, Theraṭṭhakathā, Visuddhimagga, Visuddhimagga mahāṭṭikā, Paramatthadīpanī; Milindapanha, Kaccānabyākaraṇam and Saddanītipakaraṇam, Nidānakathā of the Pañcappakaraṇa atṭhakathā of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, etc., may then well be the actual Sinhala Buddhapūjāva, newly minted and apparently still fresh in the Buddhist milieu and in the minds of the Commentators and the scribes. Again, a third c. BCE origin for the ceremony thus seems to be within the range of distinct possibility.

This early timing may also explain why Buddhapūjā finds no mention in the account of Fa-hsien (fifth century), even in the context of “simhala island”. The ceremony can be said to have come to be so ordinary by that time, and such a regular event, that it did not call for special mention. It was everywhere! The same was noted in relation to the silence of Mahanama in the Mahāvamsa as well, when it does not find mention in the description of events relating to the introduction of the Buddhadhāmma itself.

This may, then, be seen as some textual evidence that corroborates

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89 The alms offering ends with the participating devotees themselves partaking of the meal.
90 See Gombrich & Obeyesekere (1988, 384-410) for a detailed description of a more recent manifestation of it.
the evidence as to the origin of the *buddhapūjāva* as indeed the work of Mahinda in the 3rd c. BCE.

However, to repeat, this need not suggest that the entirety of the *Buddhapūjāva* exactly as we have it today was minted in all its details at that point in time. E.g., the ritual entails homage to the Bodhi Tree. While at this point in time, the branch of the tree had not yet arrived, there was the original tree in India. So it is reasonable to think that the homage to the Bodhi tree would have been part of the original *Buddhapūjāva*. But the ritual also entails homage to the cetiya. Clearly at this point in time, the cetiya had not emerged even in India, the earliest Bharhut Stupa being of the 2nd C. BC., even though the idea of relics already occurs in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* itself. So it is possible that the homage to the cetiyas “standing everywhere” (*sabbaṭṭhānesupatiṭṭhitam*) (as in the Sinhala *Buddhapūjāva*) would most likely have been added later. Within any given temple precincts today, as it was already by the fifteenth c. (as e.g., in the *Maha Saman Devalaya Sannasa*, cited in Ilangasingha, 1992:223), the devotee pays homage at three different locations, called ‘tumbodhi’ or in Sinhala, ‘tunbo’, the third, in addition to the Bodhi tree and the cetiya, being the ‘image house’ (*buduge*). Clearly there was no image house at the point of Mahinda’s introduction either, the earliest images in India again, as noted, being post-Mahindian. However, homage to parents at the end of the ritual might well have been part of the original *Buddhapūjāva*, respect for parents being of Canonical origin. The Sinhala wording in the *Buddhapūjāva* (see C.3 for examples) is the most likely to have undergone change, Prakrit Sinhala of ancient times giving way to contemporary usage of a given later period.

So, just as the Sinhala *Buddhapūjāva* was, as noted, a culmination of a process in relation to India, it should hardly be surprising that the process would continue. However, what needs to be noted is that all such additions occurred within the broad framework provided for by Arahant Mahinda as postulated in Fig. 1 above.
E. Some Methodological Concluding Remarks

E.1 Etic Buddha Pūjā and Emic Buddha Pūjā: a Theoretical Detour

In our discussion above, we have come to make a distinction between Buddhapūjāva and Buddha Pūjā, though both with the intent of “honouring the Buddha”. To establish the distinction firmly, we take a theoretical detour, introducing a binary division, Emic Buddha Pūjā and Etic Buddha Pūjā. Given that the ‘emic/etic’ distinction has its origins in Linguistics, we can begin by noting that a given language is systematic, following certain rules of order and hierarchy, and with specific meanings (as

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91 This discussion is drawn upon Anthropology, as introduced by Kenneth Pike (1954) and supported by Marvin Harris (see Lett, http://faculty.irsc.edu/... for a discussion), itself is drawn on Linguistics (the earliest linguist being Panini (see Cardona, 1988, for a study)). In relation to a language, phonetic sounds constitute a range universally available to human beings (as e.g., shown in the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) (see Gleason, 1955, 254)) while phonemic sounds are specific to a given language constituted of phonemes specific to the language.

92 “In contrast to the etic approach, an emic one is in essence valid for only one language (or one culture) at a time; it is an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of that particular pattern, rather than an attempt to describe them in reference to a general classification derived in advance of the study of that particular culture.” (Pike, 1954. i. ii. 8/1).
arrived at tacitly), in the context of a given population\(^9^3\). A language is comprehensive, meaning that it allows for the expression of whatever idea a speaker wishes to express (borrowing, if necessary, from another language, but nativising it).

It is in this same sense, then, that the Sinhala Buddhapājāva (-va being the marker) qualifies as an Emic Buddha Pūjā. As noted, it is comprehensive, and meets the spiritual needs of the devotees, in a systematic way, beginning with saddhā, followed by sīla followed by attha-cariyā before being invited to the realm of mokkha. In terms of intent, and strategy, it first helps prepare the mind of the devotee by evoking faith and confidence in the Buddha, helping her to be initiated into a self-discipline. It is this mindset, then, that is intended to help the devotee to look for mundane benefits (such as e.g., seeking protection for oneself as well as others (see Fig 1 for details)). Then only, on the basis of merits accrued and the mind purified, that the devotee is directed towards liberation.

Recalling that phonemes find meaning in the context of a specific community of speakers, Buddhapājāva can be said to find its

\(^9^3\) For the benefit of scholars of Religion who may not be familiar with the theoretical domain of Linguistics, we revisit, with apologies, some relevant basic concepts of Linguistics, which the knowledgeable scholar may dispense with. A phoneme (from which -eme is extracted, and of which Emic is an extension), is defined as ‘a minimum meaningful unit of sound’, and is identifiable only in a specific linguistic context following definite rules. Thus e.g., the aspirate alveolar sound -th- comes to be identified as a phoneme in Pali., because its presence gives the particular meaning of the word. The ‘minimal pair’ atta ‘soul’ and attha ‘meaning’ would be an example. The ‘rule’ at the phonemic level in this context is that –th in attha cannot precede –t (for etymological reasons, -t being a replacement for Sanskrit –r, as in artha.), and never vice versa. Likewise, taking atthacariya (see Fig. 1) at the next, morphemic, level, cariya cannot, for semantic reasons, precede attha. (It can’t be *’cariya-attha’, the asterisk indicating ‘does not occur’). Similarly at the syntactic level. In namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa, e.g., namo ‘homage’ (implying the longer form namassāmi ‘I pay homage’), the ‘subject’ precedes tassa, sammāsambuddhassa (in the dative), etc., the ‘object’.
‘meaning’ (and purpose) also in the context of the given population (Sinhala). Despite the fact that the language of the ceremony is Pali, the devotee gets a sense of the meaning, particularly since the homage includes, in addition to ‘oral communication’ (vacī viññatti), ‘body communication’ (kāya viññatti)\(^{94}\) - change of hand position (as e.g., palms at the chest for homage, palms on the lap in transferring merit), and postures (sitting up or falling prostrate ‘establishing a five-point contact’ (pasaṅga pihituvā)).

As an example of detail in the ordering of items within a given section, saddhā, homage to the tiratana (i.e., Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha) cannot precede the namaskāraya ‘Homage to the Buddha’, given that there would be no tiratana if not for the Buddha.

So we may then define an Emic Buddha Pūjā as ‘a systematized participatory activity in the context of a given community of Buddhists with the specific intent of ‘honouring the Buddha’’. Buddhapūjāva in Sinhala Buddhism (written as a single morpheme), then, constituted of the four elements of saddhā, sīla, atthacariya and mokkha, can be said to be an example, a case study, of an Emic Buddha Pūjā.

By contrast, an Etic Buddha pūjā would be literally any practice that is intended to honour the Buddha. As retrojected from our historical records, e.g., we have seen that several of the practices in the Sinhala Buddhapūjāva were present in early India, including the Buddha’s time. But there was nothing like a systematized ritual, at the level of complexity as we have seen, in the context of a given community. It is in this sense, then, we may call those individual, multiple or collective rituals of that early India as examples of an Etic Buddha Pūjā. This is in the sense as defined by Kinnard (op. cit) above: “… a ritual that typically involves making some sort of offering to a Buddha image (or a relic or stupa), such as a flower, a small lamp, food, or even money”. The casual, unsystematic nature of all such Etic varieties is well captured in the words “some sort of”. These were an eclectic series of devotional practices, not necessarily in relation

\(^{94}\) kāya viññatti can be said to be expanded into proxemics, kinesics and oculesics in modern linguistic theory (see Gleason, 1961).
to any particular given community but as an available universal wellspring, to be appropriated, or adopted, by any individual or group or community, once or any number of times.

Such an Etic *Buddha Pūjā* may appear even in contexts outside of a religious ritual, even though the intent remains the same - ‘honouring the Buddha’. A case in point is the Tovil, an exorcistic dance ceremony of Sri Lanka (see Kapferer, 1991, for a study). While the ceremony is to expel evil forces afflicting a sick person, this in Sinhala Buddhism having nothing to do with ‘religion’, just about each segment of the Tovil begins with homage to the Buddha. E.g., notes Sauris Silva (1970, 12), the exorcist, taking some *dummala* powder in hand (to be thrown at the ‘hand-torches’ (*pandama*) in the other hand), “first pays homage to the Buddha”, with the words, “*buddho pūja saranānam*”.

Returning to the distinction between the emic and the etic *Buddha Pūjā*, we now seek to capture the discussion thus far in chart form:

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95 “The Sinhalese exorcism rituals are perhaps the most complex and the most magnificent in performance still extant. … the techniques of healing in Sri Lanka and the aesthetics of this healing cannot be reduced to Western psychoanalytic or psychotherapeutic terms, and develops new and original approaches to ritual and the aesthetic in general.” Publisher blurb (http://www.bergpublishers.com/?tabid=1692).

96 He is the pioneer who committed to writing the oral tradition of Tovil (personal knowledge). See Silva, 1966; 1970.

97 Of course, for the folk healer, it little matters that the grammar may not be all that accurate!
This chart shows the presence (+) or absence (-) of selected items (Col. 1), under each of Etic (a1 to a4) and Emic categories, drawn upon the four sources discussed above - Fa-hsien, I-Tsing, Maya’s Dream (Plate 25) and King Vidudabha’s visit to the Buddha (Plate 32). They are shown in relation to the different ‘intents’ – saddhā, sīla, atthacariya, mokkha.
attacariya, mokkha, to use the categories of the framework of the Sinhala Buddhapūjāva. Though admittedly selective, and limited, each of the items can be said to represent instances of an Etic Buddha Pūjā, individual communities picking and choosing from among them, perhaps with overlap, but with no necessary consistency. In the Emic Buddhapūjāva (Col. b), by contrast, all are part of a cohesive practice, in a particular order, with a particular intent, in relation to a particular community, the meaning understood by the given community.

This characterization suggests that over time, there may have perhaps emerged many an Emic Buddha Pūjā. In the context of 6th c. India, e.g., judging by the detailed descriptions of I-Tsing (B.4), the Mahakala cult could have been an integral part of one such. Another Emic Buddha Pūjā may seem to be in the Tibetan context which entails, as e.g., 10,000 bow downs, and includes the cult of Tara. These examples are intended to suggest that any particular formalized ritual, with the intent of Homage of the Buddha, in the context of any given cultural community – Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Western, etc., or sub-community, would qualify as an Emic Buddha Pūjā. Indeed it may have a specific cultural name, such as nembutsu ‘bathing of the Baby Buddha’ or repeated chanting of ‘amitafo (Chinese) or ‘namo amidabutsu’ (Japanese) as the visible marker.

E.2 Methodology Overview

It was with some frustration that we set out on this phase of the research that has resulted in this paper. A close scrutiny of the text of the Buddhapūjāva I had completed earlier (see Part I) showed it to be a sophisticated instrument (see Fig. 1), rich and extensive. So how is it that the authorship of such a widespread practice as the Buddhapūjāva could be unknown?

I started out with two related hunches. One was that the Buddhapūjāva is of some antiquity, this based on both my experience

98 We had made some informal enquiries as to the authorship of the Buddhapūjāva, from many a Pali and Buddhist scholar, both lay and ordained, in Sri Lanka and overseas but to no avail.
as a practitioner since my childhood in the context of Sri Lanka, as well my observations in Canada, in my Buddhist Community leadership role. And two, that it must be of Sri Lankan origin, although with nary a clue as to what that origin might be.

However, my beginning source of enquiry was the Canon, given its imprint all over the ritual as I had come to see in my analysis. But it was not a comprehensive study of the Canon in relation to every single item in the ritual. Rather it was a limited one, checking to see if the term *Buddha Pâjā*, as one or two words, occurred in it. I was to find no evidence of it.

So I wondered, if it is post-Canonical, is it, then, of Indian origin, given that the (Sinhala) *Buddha Pūjāva* is in Pali? But we saw no suitable conditions for a ritual like it to emerge in an Indian context.

One of the main reasons may be that, in Brahmanical India, there appears to have been no given single cohesive community who was seeking to soak in the Saddhamma. We have a story like that of Buddha’s desciple Puṇṇa converting a large number of people in his hometown of Sunāparanta (S IV.63), a “morally backward country, notorious for its wicked people”. But there is no evidence that there was to be a continued enthusiasm, even though the Buddha himself was to visit it later. Needless to say, in the community would have been as well people of the several other faiths alive and kicking in the time of the Buddha.

Of course, there were many individuals who had sought out the Buddha – like Angulimala, Patacara, Ambapali and others. And there were many Kings, too. But, the Buddha being an ‘itinerant bhikkhu’, traveling from place to place, there was no well-established single community in a given locale where all members were united in seeking out the Buddha. Not even at Savatthi where the Buddha spent the last 26 years of his life can this said to have happened, because India of the Buddha’s time was fertile soil for a diversity of spiritual expression.

99 This was on the basis of an informal sense I had, having never encountered anything as comprehensive and rich in any other tradition, as I had come to know in my 30 years of community leadership in the context of Canada (see Hori & McLellan, 2010, for a study).
Not only were there the eighteen Teachers of the Samana persuasion (D I), there was also the dominant Brahmanism, each again with its own branches – as e.g., Digambara and Svetambara within Jainism (Samana) and Vaishnavism and Saivism within Brahmanism, etc. The outcome of the presence of differential spiritual teachings was that within a given community, there would have been followers of any number of gurus.

Buddha’s challenge in his lifetime was primarily to establish his Teachings as being both distinct from all others, and as making more sense. Thus we find him engaged in many a dialogue with any number of spiritual seekers who either sought to outsmart him or try to sort out in their heads the many claims being made by the different gurus. So we find him explaining his Teachings again and again, in many a varied form, depending on the audience. Again, rituals were not to be part of his Teachings either, his exercise being to bring to the people the discoveries he had made relating to reality in terms of Truths (as e.g., Four Noble Truths). Rituals, entailing a belief system, would not find a comfortable place in his chosen agenda.

So for reasons such as the above, the Buddha can be said to have not been so much into ‘community building’. The only conscious community building he was engaged in, of course, was establishing the Sangha as a well-disciplined body worthy of respect. And so a good part of his life was also spent on this task.

If this explains why the Buddha Pājāva did not originate in the time of the Buddha, the period following provided no better conditions. While now the Sangha continued with the work of the Buddha, namely the teaching of the Dhamma, there were beginning to be internal dissension in the interpretation of his Teachings. This was exacerbated by the inroads made by Brahmanism, sort of fighting back to regain ground lost to Buddhism. The result again was the absence of any given solid community that was united in seeking out the Saddhamma.

This is not to say that the sensibilities relating to the Buddha Pājāva may not have been present in a sentiment such as ‘Reflections on the Buddha’ (Buddhānussati). Even if a rudimentary form of
Buddha Pājā may have existed (as we have seen), the Buddha Pājāva as in practice among Sinhala Buddhists of Sri Lanka did not, then, seem to be present in the context of India.

Turning our eyes back to Sri Lanka, then, the next source we were to search was the archeological in relation to Sri Lanka (see under C.1 for some details). Again, no light was to be shed.

Frustrated again, my next source was the Mahavamsa, the ‘Great Chronicle’. But again, a standard literary reading of it, in English (Geiger’s translation), gave no clues.

Continuing, however, in the thought that the origin of the ritual must be in Lanka, I continued to look for a heightened period of religious renaissance that might have given rise to it.

Working backwards, then, from the end of the Anuradhapura period (11th c.) to which belonged the paleographic sources examined by me, the highest point of religious activity could be said to be the time of Buddhaghosa (5th c. ACE), when the Commentarial works in Sinhala came to be translated into Pali. The next was the time of the writing of the Tipitaka (1st c. BCE) (see for details above C.1).

Still finding no external clues as to authorship or origin in any of the sources examined, it was then that it dawned upon me to abandon the standard research paradigm – of seeking external evidence, and to explore if any internal evidence would be found.

The sophisticated nature of the Sinhala Buddhist ceremony had told me that it could not have emerged haphazardly or unintentionally (see C.2). What I suspected was an active hand behind it. So just whose hand could it be? This was the question that led to the breakthrough (see C.3) that nudged us towards the hypothesis of an authorship by Arahant Mahinda.

But this was still at a logical level. Unorthodox as the method may have been, it was still theoretical. Having now come to the tentative determination of the authorship, arrived at internally, it was my next attempt to look again for any possible external validation.

It was in this context that I was next directed to look again at a wider Indian scene – Canonical, Post-Canonical literature, Art History and Travels of the Chinese Pilgrims (B.1 to B.4).
But finding no evidence again, I was to return to the Sri Lankan scene again, this time reading the Mahavamsa in consultation with the Pali original. Were there any hidden clues that were missed?

And it was to my pleasant surprise, then, that I would find that indeed there was at least one clue that I had missed, as a result of reading the text only in English translation. And this was an actual occurrence of the term Buddhapūjā, this in the context of Dutugaemunu.

It had been there all along for all to see. Yet my reading eyes had not been critical, exploratory or intuitive enough, to see it. “Beauty lies in the eye of the beholder”, has it not been said? It is, then, this re-reading, with a particular hypothesis in mind, that helped dig out the evidence. While it came out painstakingly, the steps would pan out as follows:

1. Even though the term Buddhapūjā had not occurred in the Mv description in relation to the introduction of Buddhism by Mahinda (Chap. xiv), the single but clear reference to it – buddhapūjāpayogena (Mv xxix.16) ‘in preparation for a Buddhapūjā’. In the context of King Dutugaemunu (101 -77 BCE.) having the ‘Great Thupa’ built unequivocally established the presence of the ritual by the second c. BCE. This being a mere century

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100 In an extended sense, this view reminds us as well of the Buddha’s analysis of perception, which requires not only an object but a ‘working eye’. In this case, while my eye was working alright in the ordinary sense, it was not ‘working’ at a critical, deeper level. So it is that the ‘object’ – the information that would eventually come to be gleaned out, was, in a sense, ‘not available’ either. It is intriguing in this context to note that indeed this can be said in relation to any discovery, including the Buddha’s. Before the night of Enlightenment, the Four Noble Truths were obviously ‘there’, but his mind’s eyes had not seen it. Hence he calls his Enlightenment experience a ‘discovery’.

101 Geiger’s translation here, “to the end that a festival may be held for the Buddha” was not helpful.

102 It was towards the very end of our research, it may be noted, that this single occurrence came to find its full significance.
and a half after the arrival of Mahinda (as noted above, 247 BCE (Mv xiii.18))\textsuperscript{103}, the window of opportunity for the emergence of the sophisticated instrument now came to be narrowed. This immediately took us back to the most heightened period of spirituality prior to the period, namely the very point of introduction of Buddhism.

2. According to that account, King Devanampiya Tissa comes by the \textbf{Three Refuges} (xiv.23) after the very first Sermon by Mahinda. But there is no mention of the Five Training Principles (\textit{pañcasīla}), the standard practice today of one coming to conversion, and also a key ingredient of the \textit{Buddhapājāva}. Yet, three months later, Queen Anula comes to take the Ten Training Principles (\textit{Dasasīla}).

3. A closer scrutiny of the \textit{Dasasīla} led to the finding that there is no such thing in the Canon, the exploration leading to a similar finding in relation to both the \textit{Pañca-} and the \textit{Āṭṭhangikasīla}.

4. This triggered the question in my mind whether they might all have been then newly minted, explaining as well why there was no mention of the \textit{pañcasīla} being administered to the King\textsuperscript{104}.

5. This then provided us with some credence as to the possibility of the hand of Mahinda, which our earlier study had determined to be versatile, erudite and pragmatic. The \textit{Buddhapājāva} being an initiative of Mahinda now gained more credibility, given that each of the \textit{sīla} trio

\textsuperscript{103} This seems to confirm our explanation why Mahanama makes no mention of the \textit{buddhapājā} in connection with the introduction of Buddhism. By the 5\textsuperscript{th} c. CE, it was so widespread in Sinhala society that it attracted no particular attention.

\textsuperscript{104} An initial thought was that the absence of mention of \textit{pañcasīla} was for the same reasons that \textit{buddhapājā} finds no mention, namely that it had come to be so taken for granted by the time of Mahanama. But that came to be dismissed in light of the next two points.
finds a place within the ritual, to meet the needs of the differential clientele.

6. If this then firmed up a tentative authorship, it led us to the issue of the launching of the *sīla* trio as well as the *Buddhapūjā*. This led us back to point number 2 (above), narrowing down the window to a period of three months.

7. Looking closer at the Mahavamsa accounts, the presence of Arahant Mahinda in the company of the King during the *vassana* season (Mv xviii.1-2) suggested the possible earliest date for the launch.

It is in following the above steps that we came to ascribe, with some confidence, the authorship to none other than Arahant Mahinda who introduces the Buddhadhamma to the island.

But, of course, our conclusion as to authorship may still have to be considered conjectural, since all we have is circumstantial evidence.

The great difficulty in this kind of research, in arriving at any firmer evidence, of course, is that many a source relating to the topic, in both India and Sri Lanka, may still not be located, or indeed have been destroyed. Another daunting challenge is reading every source available that may even be remotely associated with our topic.

Thus we may point to a major methodological shortcoming of this study. For one, the entire Canon has not been checked against each item of the ritual to see their Canonical origins. For another, the entirety of the Sinhala sources – both religious and literary, have not been examined either.

**E.3 Mahinda, Asoka and Adam Smith**

If our finding holds, the *Buddhapūjāva* could be seen as the single most valuable inheritance left behind by Arahant Mahinda to the Buddhist world. While the immediate, and direct, beneficiary of his creativity was certainly the Sinhala Buddhist, other Theravada countries such as Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand have come to be the beneficiaries as well. But, judging from a Google search,
it appears that it has come to be widespread, at least as a concept, though not necessarily in the cohesive sense of the Sinhala ritual, with its make up, and interpretation, possibly even going beyond the intent and understanding brought to it by its Redactor. This would hardly be surprising given the twists and turns the Buddha’s Teachings themselves have gone through over time and territory.

Arahant Mahinda’s systematization and centralization of the elements into a single cohesive Buddhapūjāva could be seen as the Dhammic parallel to what father Aśoka had done in the field of politics: bringing together the different political elements, scattered both geographically and historically, under one umbrella.

An interesting 18th C. economic parallel here may be Adam Smith (1723-1790), “widely cited as the father of modern economics and capitalism,” and “founder of free market economics” \(^\text{105}\). His *magnum opus*, *The Wealth of Nations*, is considered the first modern work of economics. But it is not that the aspects and dimensions of his systematization had not existed in any number of human populations, or had not been dealt with by other scholars whom he had met on his European tour \(^\text{106}\). His concept of unproductive labour, e.g., had been a “French insight”, but he expanded on it by proposing that “productive labor should be made even more productive by deepening the division of labor”. He had studied moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow, and “shared closer intellectual and personal bonds” with David Hume. Alan Greenspan points out that, while Smith did not coin the term *laissez-faire*, “it was left to Adam Smith to identify the more-general set of principles that brought conceptual clarity to the seeming chaos of market transactions”.

So it is not that Smith came out with his principles of capitalism *in vacuo*. But what he did was to organize the concepts making the intellectual circles of the time into a cohesive system, taking ten years to do so.

And this is precisely what can be said of what may be called


\(^{106}\) Such as Benjamin Franklin, Turgot, Jean D’Alembert, André Morellet, Helvétius and, “in particular, François Quesnay”.
Arahant Mahinda’s *magnum opus*, the *Buddhapājāva*, too. It is not that he came out with it in a vacuum. But what he did was to organize the concepts, mostly from the Canon, and the several dimensions of praxis making the spiritual circles in the Indian Buddhist milieu (ordained and lay), into a cohesive system with meaningfulness to the potential users. Theoretically put, what is entailed is a conceptual clarity (*sammā diṭṭhi* ‘right view’) arrived at in his own mind, resulting in a ‘right conceptualization’ (*sammā saṁkappa*)\(^{107}\).

And, as noted by Rahula (1956: 54), Arahant Mahinda is no shy patsy (as above), when it comes to boldness in creating something new and fresh. Asked by King Devanampiya Tissa, “When will the [Buddhist] roots go deep?”, “Mahinda’s answer is most remarkable”:

> When a son born in Ceylon (Tambapannidīpa) of Ceylonese parents, becomes a monk in Ceylon, studies the Vinaya in

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\(^{107}\) ‘Intent’ comes to be the more common translation of *samkappa* (see PED). While there was indeed good intent on the part of Mahinda, I see in this case the step following ‘Right View’ as being one of praxis, though still in the thought domain. This understanding finds some support from the fact that the next three steps of the Noble Eightfold Path are all in the physical praxic domain: *vācā, kammanta, ājīva* (word, conduct, livelihood). My interpretation of *samkappa* here as ‘conceptualization’ stems from an understanding generated by linguistic analysis. In speaking, before a word is uttered (*vācā*), there is conceptualization both in content and structure (e.g., statement or question, intonation and stress, which vocabulary items best express, etc.). (It needs to be noted here, of course, that ‘before’ needs to be understood in terms of mindmoments, as in Buddhist *Abhidhamma* (see Bodhi, Gen. Ed., 1993, 1999, for a treatment), or nanoseconds as in western science, and also with reciprocal causality (as in *Conditioned Co-origination* (see Rahula 1956, for a discussion) in mind, where it would be futile to look for a first cause.) But preceding (still as in the above sense) such conceptualization, however, is the ‘view’ that is going to be expressed, though, of course, this view has no necessary spiritual, philosophical or truth dimension as in Right View. This interpretation of *samkappa* as ‘conceptualization’ seems to find support in the Commentaries, where it is defined in the DhsA 124 as “*(cetaso) abhiniropanā*, i.e., application of the mind” (PED, under *saṁkappa*).
Ceylon and recites it in Ceylon, the roots of the Sàsana are deeply set.

On what authority Mahinda made this bold statement we do not know….

And we have no difficulty agreeing that “His sole concern was that the religion of the Buddha should secure a firm hold in the Island and continue to develop for the benefit of the people.” (Rahula).

Further, “If his achievement could be called a conquest, it was only a moral, spiritual and cultural conquest of the highest order conceivable.” The Buddhapūjāva created for the people of Tambapanni could, then, be considered the definitive instrument through which Mahinda sought to achieve his goal.

If father Aśoka’s kingdom lasted no more than a hundred years after his demise (see Guruge, 1993, 506-508 in his “definitive study” and 482 – 506 for his “Place in History”), and Smith’s economic kingdom two centuries old and counting, it is to Arahant Mahinda’s credit that it has lasted (by our calculation) 2260 years, and is still counting, at least in the Sinhala Buddhist tradition for which it was originally intended. In this sense, then, Arahant Mahinda stands in the annals of history as an innovator par excellence, alongside his father in the political domain and Adam Smith in the economic domain.

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108 Even if, as seen from our historical evidence, the Buddhapūjāva of the Sinhala type may not have caught on in the context of India, as it has in the context of Theravada countries such as Burma and Thailand, it is to be noted that the Five, Eight and Ten Silas had found their way to India, as early as the time of I-Tsing (7th c.) (see footnote 30).
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Samyutta Nikaya.


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NOTES
I. Arahant Mahinda’s

BUDDHAPŪJĀVA
(Text in Pali with English Translation)

II. Arahant Mahinda’s

SĪLA TRIO –
Pañca-, Aṭṭhangika- and Dasa Sīla
(Text in Pali with English Translation)
APPENDIX I

Arahant Mahinda’s

BUDDHAPŪJĀVA

(Text in Pali, with English Translation)
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<th>STAGE</th>
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<th>TEXT IN PALI (or SINHALA)</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| I. SADDHĀ ‘Faith’ | 1. Establishing Saddhā in the Triple Gem | 1.1 Opener  
abhinandanaya  
(abhinandana) | 1.1.1 sād(h)u. | 1.1.1 Indeed good! |

1.2 Salutation to the Buddha:  
namaskāraya  
(namaskāra) | 1.2.1 Namo tassa bhagavato  
arahato sammāsambuddhassa. | 1.2.1 Homage to Him the Fortunate One, the Worthy One, the Fully Awakened One. |

1.3 Going for Refuge:  
saraṇāgamanaya  
(saraṇāgamana) | 1.3.1 Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.  
Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.  
Sanghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi. | 1.3.1 I seek refuge in the Buddha.  
I seek refuge in the Dhamma.  
I seek refuge in the Sangha. |

1.3.2 Dutiyampi  
Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.  
Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.  
Sanghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi. | 1.3.2 For the second time,  
I seek refuge in the Buddha.  
I seek refuge in the Dhamma.  
I seek refuge in the Sangha. |

1.3.3 Tatiyampi  
Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.  
Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.  
Sanghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi. | 1.3.3 For the third time,  
I seek refuge in the Buddha.  
I seek refuge in the Dhamma.  
I seek refuge in the Sangha. |
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<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Establishing Saddhā in the Triple Gem</td>
<td>1.4 Reflection on the Triple Gem: teruvan sihikirīma (tisaranānussati)</td>
<td>1.4.1.1 <em>Iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadamma sārathī satthā devamanussānanaṃ buddho bhagavāti.</em></td>
<td>1.4.1.1 Such indeed is the Fortunate One, Worthy One, Fully Awakened One, Endowed with knowledge and virtues, Well-gone, Knower of the world, Incomparable charioteer in taming men, Teacher of deities and people, the Awakened, the Fortunate.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.4.1</td>
<td>Establishing Saddhā in the Triple Gem</td>
<td>1.4.1 Reflection on the Buddha: buduguna sihikirīma (buddhānussati)</td>
<td>1.4.1.2 <em>Buddhaṃ jīvita pariyantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi ye ca buddhā aṭṭā ca ye ca buddhā anāgata paccuppanna ca ye buddhā ahaṃ vandāmi sabbadā.</em></td>
<td>1.4.1.2 To the Buddha for a lifetime of refuge I go. Those Buddhas of the past, Those Buddhas of the future, Those Buddhas of the present, too, I pay homage for ever.</td>
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<td>I. SADDHĀ ‘Faith’</td>
<td>1. Establishing Saddhā in the Triple Gem</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.4.2</td>
<td>Reflection on the Dhamma: daham sihikirīma (dhammānussati)</td>
<td>Natthi me saraṇaṁ aññām buddho me saraṇaṁ varaṁ etena saccavajjena hotu me jayamangalaṁ. Uttamaṁgena vandehaṁ pādapaṁ suvaruttamaṁ buddho yo khalito doso buddho khamatu taṁ mamaṁ.</td>
<td>There is no other refuge, Buddha my noble refuge. By these truthful words, may blessings be unto me.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.4.2.1</td>
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<td>Svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanaiko paccattāṁ veditabbo viññūhīti.</td>
<td>I pay homage with my crest limb, at the excellent and noble feet. Oh Buddha, these my faltering errors, may the Buddha forgive me.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.4.2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dhammaṁ jīvita pariyantaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi ye ca dhammā atītā ca ye ca dhammā anāgatā paccuppannā ca ye dhammā ahaṁ vandāmi sabbadā.</td>
<td>Well-expounded is the Dhamma by the Fortunate One Well-seen, timeless, a come and see, leading to Nibbana, to be known experientially by the wise.</td>
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<td>1.4.2.2</td>
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<td>To the Dhamma for a lifetime of refuge I go; those Dhammas of the past, those Dhammas of the future, those Dhammas of the present, too, I pay homage for ever.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I. SADDHĀ ‘Faith’</td>
<td>1. Establishing Saddhā in the Triple Gem</td>
<td>1.4.3 Reflection on the Sangha: saṅgagguna sihikirīma (saṅghānussati)</td>
<td>Natthi me saraṇāṃ ānāṃ dhammo me saraṇāṃ varaṇ enta saccavajjena hotu me jayamangalani. Uttamaṇgena vandehaṃ dhammaṃ ca tividhaṃ varaṇ dhamme yo khalito doso dhammo khamatu taṇi mamaṇi. 1.4.3.1 Supaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakasamgho ujupaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakasamgho nāyapaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakasamgho sāmicapaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakasamgho yadidam cattāri purisa yugāni aṭṭhapurisa puggalā esa bhagavato sāvakasamgho</td>
<td>There is no other refuge, Dhamma my noble refuge. By these truthful words, may blessings be unto me. I pay homage with my crest limb, Dhamma is triply noble. These my faltering errors vis-à-vis the Dhamma, may the Dhamma forgive me. 1.4.3.1 Well entered [the path] is the collectivity of disciples of the Fortunate One Upright is the collectivity of disciples of the Fortunate One Well into the method is the collectivity of disciples of the Fortunate One Into the correct course is the collectivity of disciples of the Fortunate One. Such are these four pairs of men, the eight individual persons. This is the collectivity of disciples of the Fortunate One,</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.  SADDHĀ ‘Faith’</td>
<td>1. Establishing Saddhā in the Triple Gem</td>
<td>1.4.3 Reflection on the Sangha (contd.): saṅgūṇa vaṅḍīma (sangha vandanā)</td>
<td>āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇīyo anuttaraṃ puññaḥkhettaṃ lokasāti.</td>
<td>worthy of offerings, worthy of hospitality, worthy of gifts, worthy of salutation, incomparable field of merit in the world.</td>
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<td>1.4.3.2 Saṅghaṃ jīvita pariyanṭaṃ saṇṇaṃ gacchāmi ye ca saṅgha atīṭa ca ye ca saṅgha anāgata paccuppanna ca ye saṅgha ahaṃ vaṇḍāmi sabbadā.</td>
<td>To the sangha for a lifetime of refuge I go, those Sangha of the past, those Sangha of the future, those Sangha of the present. I pay homage for ever.</td>
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<td>Natthi me saṇṇaṃ aṁñena... saṅgho me saṇṇaṃ varaṃ etena saccavajjena hotu me jayamangalam.</td>
<td>There is no other refuge, Sangha my noble refuge. By these truthful words, may blessings be unto me.</td>
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<td>Uttamaṃgena vandeheṃ saṅghaṃ ca tividheṃ varaṃ saṅgho yo khalito doso saṅgho khamatu taṃ mamāṃ.</td>
<td>I pay homage with my crest limb, Sangha is triply noble. These my faltering errors vis-à-vis the Sangha, may the Sangha forgive me.</td>
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<td>2. SILA ‘Discipline’</td>
<td>2.1 Establishing in the Discipline</td>
<td>2.1.1</td>
<td>Five-fold Training Principles: pansil (pañca sīla)</td>
<td>2.1.1.1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2.1.1.1</td>
<td>Pāññātipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadāṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from taking what is not given.</td>
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<td>Adinnādānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadāṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from sexual misconduct.</td>
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<td>Kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī sikkhāpadāṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from speaking falsehood.</td>
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<td>Musāvādā veramaṇī sikkhāpadāṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from non-diligence in liquor, wine &amp; spirits.</td>
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<td>Surāmeraya majjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadāṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
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<td>2.2.1</td>
<td>Homage to the Cetiya Reliquary:</td>
<td>caitya vandanāva (cetiya vandanā)</td>
<td>2.2.1.1 Vandāmi cetiyaṃ sabhaṃ sabbaṭhāne su patiṭhitam sārīrika dhātu mahābodhiṃ buddharūpaṃ sakalam sadā.</td>
<td>I pay homage to all cetiyas, standing everywhere. These bodily relics of Great Enlightenment, verily ever stand for the Buddha body itself!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2</td>
<td>Homage to the Bodhi Tree:</td>
<td>bodhi vandanāva (bodhi vandanā)</td>
<td>2.2.2.1 Yassa mūle nisisnnovā sabbāri vijayaṃ akā patto sabaññutaṃ satthā vande taṃ bodhi pādapaṃ. Ime ete mahābodhi lokanāthena pūjitā ahampi te namassāmi bodhirājā namatthu te!</td>
<td>Sitting at the root of which was gained victory over all foes, [Our] Guide came by omniscience. I pay homage at the foot of that Bodhi (tree). This great Bodhi tree was reverenced by the Lord of the World; I, too, pay my respects to it. My respects to you, Bodhi King!</td>
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</table>

2. SILA ‘Discipline’

2.2 Symbolic Reflections on the Buddha
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<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Offerings to the Buddha:</td>
<td>2.3.1.1</td>
<td><em>Vaṇṇa gandha guṇopetam</em> etam kusuma santatim pūjayāmi munindassirīpāda saroruhe.</td>
<td>Imbued with hue and fragrance, this bouquet of flowers I offer the Sage at [His] noble lotus feet.</td>
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<td>buddha pūjāva (buddha pūjā)</td>
<td>2.3.1.2</td>
<td><em>Pūjemi buddhaṃ kusumenanena puññenametena ca hotu mokkhaṃ pupphaṃ milāyāti yathāyidammey tathā yāti vināsabhāvaṃ.</em></td>
<td>I venerate Buddha with these many flowers. May release be [mine] by this merit, too. Flowers go to decay; [just] as this body of mine [too], so goes to a state of decay everyone’s body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2</td>
<td>Offering of Light:</td>
<td>2.3.2.1</td>
<td><em>Ghanasārappadittena dipena tama dhamsinā tilokadiṃpaṃ sambuddhaṃ pūjayāmi tamonudāṃ.</em></td>
<td>By this camphor-kindled light is the dark cut through. To the Fully Awakened, Light of the three Worlds, the Dispeller of darkness, I offer this [light].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2. Offerings to Buddha</td>
<td>2.3.1</td>
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2. SILA ‘Discipline’
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<tr>
<td>2.3.3 Offering of Incense: suwaṇḍa pūjāva (sugandha pūjā)</td>
<td>2.3.3.1 sugandhikāya vadanam ananta guna gandhinam sugandhināham gandhena pūjayāmi tathāgataṁ.</td>
<td>2.3.3.1 With these superfragrant words, the Fragrant One with inumerable qualities, with this superfragrant incense, I pay homage to the Tathāgata.</td>
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<td>2.3.4 Dāna (food): paen pūjāva (pāṇīya pūjā)</td>
<td>2.3.4.1 adhvīṣetu no bhante pāṇīyam upānāmitaṁ anukampaṁ upādāya patigaṁhātumuttama.</td>
<td>2.3.4.1.1 May you partake of, Sir, the water respectfully offered. Out of compassion may it be accepted, Noble One.</td>
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<td>2.3.4.2 Offering of Food: āhāra pūjāva (āhāra pūjā)</td>
<td>2.3.4.2.1 adhvīṣetu no bhante bhojanam parikappitaṁ anukampaṁ upādāya patigaṁhātumuttama.</td>
<td>2.3.4.2.1 May you partake of, Sir, this food specifically prepared [for you]. Out of compassion may it be accepted, Noble One.</td>
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<td>2.3.4.3 Offering of Medicinal drinks: gilampasa pūjāva (gilampasa pūjā)</td>
<td>2.3.4.3.1 adhvīṣetu no bhante gilānapaccayaṁ imaṁ anukampaṁ upādāya patigaṁhātumuttama.</td>
<td>2.3.4.3.1 May you partake of, Sir, this medicinal drink. Out of compassion may it be accepted, Noble One.</td>
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<td>2.3.5</td>
<td>Personal Offering:</td>
<td>Pudgala abhihāraya (puggalābhihāra)</td>
<td><strong>2.3.5.1</strong> Māge me mal pūjāva da pahan pūjāva da suwaṁda pūjāva da paen pūjāva da āhāra pūjāva da gilampasa pūjāva da ek venuvat devanuvat tunvenuvat māge budupiyānanvahanseta pūjā vevā pūjā vevā pūjā vevā!</td>
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2. SILA ‘Discipline’

2.3 Offerings to Buddha
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<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Transference of Merit:</td>
<td>3.1.1.1</td>
<td>Ettāvatā ca amhehi sambhataṃ puñña sampadaṃ sabbe devā anumodantu sabba sampatti siddhiyā!</td>
<td>To the extent, by us the set of merit acquired, may it accrue to all shining ones, towards their total happiness!</td>
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<td>pin dīma (puññānumodanā)</td>
<td>3.1.1.2</td>
<td>Ettāvatā ca amhehi sambhataṃ puñña sampadaṃ sabbe sattā anumodantu sabba sampatti siddhiyā!</td>
<td>To the extent, by us the set of merit acquired, may it accrue to all sentient beings, towards their total happiness!</td>
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<td>3.1.1.3</td>
<td>Ettāvatā ca amhehi sambhataṃ puñña sampadaṃ sabbe bhūtā anumodantu sabba sampatti siddhiyā!</td>
<td>To the extent, by us the set of merit acquired, may it accrue to all else in nature, towards their total happiness!</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Other care: Transference of Merit</td>
<td>3.1.2 To relatives: ñātīna (ñāti)</td>
<td>3.1.2.1 Idam me ñatīnaṁ hotu sukhitā hontu ñatayo!</td>
<td>May this [merit] accrue to relatives. May relatives be in happiness!</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.2</td>
<td>Other-care: Seeking Protection</td>
<td>3.2.1 Seeking protection: ārakṣāva paetuṁa (ārakkhāyācana)</td>
<td>3.2.1.1 Ākāsaṁ ca bhummaṁ ca devāṁ nāgāṁ mahiddhikā puññantaṁ anumoditvā ciraṁ rakkhantu desānāṁ!</td>
<td>Inhabiting space or earth, Devas and Nagas of mighty power, having gained this merit, may they protect the Teachings for long!</td>
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<td>3.2.1.2</td>
<td>Ākāsaṁ ca bhummaṁ ca devāṁ nāgāṁ mahiddhikā puññantaṁ anumoditvā ciraṁ rakkhantu loka sāsānāṁ!</td>
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<td>3.2.1.3</td>
<td>Ākāsaṁ ca bhummaṁ ca devāṁ nāgāṁ mahiddhikā puññantaṁ anumoditvā ciraṁ rakkhantu maṁ paraṁti!</td>
<td>Inhabiting space or earth, Devas and Nagas of mighty power, having gained this merit, may they protect me &amp; others, too, for long!</td>
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### 3.3 Self-care: Seeking Protection, Forgiveness, etc.

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<tr>
<td>3.3.1</td>
<td>Seeking protection for self:</td>
<td>ārakṣāva paetīma (ārakkhāyācana)</td>
<td>3.3.1.1 Iminā puñña kammena mā me bāla samāgamo sataṁ samāgamo hotu yāva nibbāna pattiyā.</td>
<td>By this meritorious act, may there be no association with fools. May there be association with the mindful, until Nibbana attained.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2</td>
<td>Seeking forgiveness:</td>
<td>samāva yaedīma (khamāyācana)</td>
<td>3.3.2.1 Kāyena vācā cittena pamādēna maya katam accayaṁ khama maye bhante bhuripāṇaṁ tathāgata.</td>
<td>3.3.2.1 In body, word or mind, committed by me through non-diligence, any transgressions, may I be forgiven, Oh Master, of extensive wisdom, Oh Tathagata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3</td>
<td>Personal Aspiration:</td>
<td>pudgala prārthanāva (puggala patthanā)</td>
<td>3.3.3.1 Me karaṇa laddāvū puṇya sambhāraya hetukoṇaṇa, upadīnā upadīnā jāti kisidu roga vyādhi pīḷāvāk nomaetiva, budu pasebudu maharahaṇa vahanśālā anudaṇa vadāla tuntarā bodhiyē ekatarā bodhiyakaṇa paemiṇīmaṇa hetu vāsanā vevā!</td>
<td>3.3.3.1 By reason of the bundle of merits acquired, birth after birth, without any illness, sickness or suffering, to come by one of three bodhiyas experienced by the Buddha, Pacceka Buddhas and the Great Arhants, may I be fortunate!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAGE</td>
<td>CONTENT</td>
<td>ACTIVITY</td>
<td>TEXT IN PALI (or SINHALA)</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.4.1</td>
<td>Paritta: Protection &amp; Blessings</td>
<td>3.4.1.1 Pirit (paritta): Mahāmangala Sutta; Karaṇīya Metta Sutta; Ratana Sutta.</td>
<td>3.4.1.1 Paritta: Mahāmangala Sutta; Karaṇīya Metta Sutta; Ratana Sutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5.1</td>
<td>Homage to Parents: To mother:</td>
<td>3.5.1.1 Dasamāse ure katvā posesi vuddhikāranaṃ āyu dighaṃ vassa satāṃ mātu pādaṃ namāmyaḥam.</td>
<td>3.5.1.1 Having borne [me] for ten months, [you] nourished me towards growth. May you have long life for a hundred years! I pay my respects at the feet of my mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5.2</td>
<td>To Father:</td>
<td>3.5.2.1 Vuddhikāro alingitvā cumbitrīvī piya puttakaṃ rāja majjhaṃ suppatīthaṃ pītupādaṃ namāmyaḥam.</td>
<td>3.5.2.1 Having embraced for the purpose of growth, caressing [this] dear child, well-grounded in the midst of royalty, I pay my respects at the feet of my father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAGE</td>
<td>CONTENT</td>
<td>ACTIVITY</td>
<td>TEXT IN PALI</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Self-care</td>
<td>Meditation</td>
<td>4.1.1</td>
<td>Ānāpāṇa sati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bhāvanāva (bhāvanā)</td>
<td>4.1.1.1</td>
<td>Satipaṭṭhāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Other-care</td>
<td>Sub-lingual Blessing: nihaṅda paetuma (tunhī patthanā)</td>
<td>4.2.1.1</td>
<td>May all sentient beings be dukkha-free, ill-health-free, recover from illness, overcome dukkha, and come to experience (literally ‘see’) the Buddha and Nibbana!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Self-care/Other-care</td>
<td>Baṇa ‘Homily’ (optional / situational)</td>
<td>4.3.1</td>
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APPENDIX II

Arahant Mahinda’s

SīLA TRIO –
Pañca-, Aṭṭhangika- and Dasa Sīla

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<th>Neti kusala pāramīva pādavāyami.</th>
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<td>Paññātipātā</td>
<td>veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adinnādānā</td>
<td>veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kāmesu micchācārā</td>
<td>veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Musāvādā</td>
<td>veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Surāmeraya majja pamādaṭṭhānā</td>
<td>veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
</tr>
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I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from taking life.
I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from taking what is not given.
I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from sexual misconduct.
I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from speaking falsehood.
I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from non-diligence in liquor, wine & spirits.
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<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Paṇātipāta veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from taking life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adinnādāna veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from taking what is not given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abrahmacariyā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from all sexual relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Musāvāda veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from speaking falsehood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Surāmeraya majja pamādatthāna veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from non-diligence in liquor, wine &amp; spirits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Vikālabhojanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from untimely meals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Uccāsayana mahāsayanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from high beds and big beds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nacca gīta vādita visīkadassana mālāgandhavilepana dhārana manḍana vibhūsanaṭṭhāna veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from dance, singing, instrumental music &amp; mime, and garlands, perfume and ointments, and ornaments, finery and adornment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from taking life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adinādānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from taking what is not given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abrahmacariyā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from all sexual relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Musāvādā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from speaking falsehood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Surāmeraya maja pamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from non-diligence in liquor, wine &amp; spirits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Vikālabhojanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from untimely meals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Uccāsayana mahāsayanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from high beds and big beds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nacca gīta vādīta visūkadarasanaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from dance, singing, instrumental music &amp; mime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mālā gandha vilepana dhūraṇa mandaṇa vibhūsanaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from garlands, perfume and ointments, and ornaments, finery and adornment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Jātarāparajatapatīgghanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.</td>
<td>I take to the Training Principle of abstaining from handling gold and silver.</td>
</tr>
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Arahant Mahinda - Redactor of the Buddhapājāva in Sinhala Buddhism
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