

general assembly of monks, said to have been seven hundred Arahants, could not come to a settlement regarding the ten controversial points, they finally decided to hand it over to a committee to resolve it. Eight well-qualified elders, four each to represent the two regional groupings of the then Saṅgha, were selected by them to find a solution. These eight Elders, with a ninth as the provider of facilities, withdrew to the quietness of the Vālikārāma and, led by the two Elders Sabbakāmi and Revata, examined each controversial point in the light of the accepted rules of discipline and finally resolved the legal dispute. Nine of the ten points were totally rejected and only one was partially accepted. The final solution was then put to the full assembly and was unanimously accepted.

#### References

- <sup>3</sup> *Book of the Discipline, PTS*, Vol. V. 128 f  
<sup>2</sup> *ibid* Vol. VI. p. 317

#### C. Witanachchi.

UDĀNA stands literally for “breathing out” and thus, in an applied sense, for an “in-spired saying” or a “solemn utterance”. Such inspired utterances occur repeatedly in various discourses.<sup>1</sup> The term *udāna* also features in a listing of altogether nine *aṅgas* of early Buddhist texts (e.g. *M. I*, 133; see also *ANĠA*). According to the commentarial explanation, *udāna* here stands for the textual collection known as the *Udāna*, found as the third book in the fifth *Nikāya* of the Pāli canon (*MA. II*, 106; see also *KHUDDAKA-NIKĀYA*). It is with this textual collection that the present article is concerned.

The Pāli text of this textual collection has been edited by Steinthal,<sup>2</sup> and has been translated into the following European languages: into English by Strong, Woodward, Ireland and Masefield;<sup>3</sup> into German by Seidenstücker and Schäfer;<sup>4</sup> into Italian by Filippani-Ronconi; and into Spanish by Dragonetti.<sup>5</sup> The commentary on the *Udāna* by Dhammapāla, which forms part of the *Paramatthadīpanī*, has been edited by Woodward and translated by Masefield.<sup>6</sup>

#### The Verses in the Pāli *Udāna* Collection

Each of the discourses contained in the *Udāna* collection contains a prose section that leads up to

and provides the background to the actual *udāna*. This *udāna* is invariably introduced by the statement that the Blessed One, in relation to the significance of the particular event or occasion under discussion, “breathed forth” or gave expression to an inspired utterance, *imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi*. The commentator Dhammapāla explains that just as oil might overflow when a container is too small to hold its quantity, or as water may overflow a reservoir, so an *udāna* is the overflowing of joy in the heart (*Udā. 2*).

The *Udāna* collection comprises eight chapters, each of which contains ten discourses, thus amounting to altogether eighty discourses. This count differs from the description of the *Udāna* collection given by Buddhaghosa, according to whom the *Udāna* contains altogether eighty-two discourses, *soma-nassaṅ āṇamayikagāthāpaṭisaṃyuttā dve-asīti suttantā ‘udānan’ ti veditabbā* (*MA. II*, 106). Not only does the count not fit the actual collection, but the *udānas* are also not all in verse, hence Buddhaghosa’s qualification of the *udāna* discourses as being accompanied by *gāthās* would not be appropriate for all of them. A case in point are the first four *udānas* in the eighth chapter. These are not in verse, being more of the nature of doctrinal statements on the nature of *Nibbāna*. Notably, one of these *udānas* (8.3) recurs in the *Itivuttaka* as part of a prose introduction that is followed by a set of verses spoken by the Buddha (*It. 37*). While the verses have not been included in the *Udāna* collection at all, the corresponding prose statement on the nature of *Nibbāna* is treated as an *udāna* in its own right.

The first chapter of the *Udāna* collection, the *Bodhivagga*, starts off with three discourses that describe how the recently awakened Buddha contemplated dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*). By placing these verses at its beginning, the *Udāna* sets out with what, both chronologically and doctrinally, forms the very foundation of Buddhism. The theme of awakening recurs towards the conclusion of the same first chapter, whose last discourse reports how the non-Buddhist wanderer Bāhiya attained instantaneous full awakening after receiving an enigmatic instruction by the Buddha. This enigmatic instruction to some extent reminds one of the types of instruction given later in the Zen traditions. Other discourses in this chapter, however, do not bear any apparent relation to the chapter heading *bodhi*, such

as the tale of a *yakkha* who tried to frighten the Buddha (1.7). The chapter headings in the remainder of the *Udāna* collection also do not reflect the theme of the respective chapter, but are mostly taken from a particular discourse. This is often the first in the chapter,<sup>7</sup> while the title of the seventh chapter appears to be an expression of its comparatively small size, the *Cūla Vagga*.

Though the prose sections in the first chapter of the *Udāna* collection do not treat the same theme, the verses are closely related to each other, as they all refer to a “Brahmin”. Not only does the word *brāhmaṇa* occur in each of the verses in the first chapter, but often verses of successive discourses are also related to each other by sharing other words in common. Apart from the case of the first three discourses, whose verses are nearly identical, the verses of the fourth and fifth discourse share a reference to *dhamma*, and the verses of the fifth and the sixth discourse have references to *khīṇa* in common. The verses of the sixth and seventh discourses refer to “not another”, *anaññā*, and to “one’s own”, *saka*, respectively. The verses of the ninth and tenth discourses share a reference to “water”, (*udaka* and *āpo*). This indicates the existence of ‘concatenation’, a phenomena where a series of textual items to be memorized are arranged in such a manner that a word found in the preceding item also occurs in the following item, thereby facilitating recall in proper sequence.<sup>8</sup>

Such concatenation, however, would have its full effect only when the verses are memorized on their own, without the prose sections. Thus the existence of concatenation between the verses of the first chapter of the *Udāna* collection suggests that at an earlier point of time only the verses were in existence, to which the prose sections were added subsequently. This is, in fact, the position taken by most scholars, who comment that the verses in the *Udāna* probably belong to an earlier textual strata, whereas the prose would have been added later in the form of a commentary on the verses.<sup>9</sup> Here it is also noteworthy that the first chapter ends with the remark “this inspired utterance was also spoken by the Blessed One, so I heard”, *ayam pi udāno vutto bhagavatā, iti me sutam*, a remark not found elsewhere in the *Udāna* collection. This remark could be a remnant from a time when the *uddānas* still followed each other

directly and were set apart from each other with the help of such a re-mark.<sup>10</sup>

In the second chapter, the *Mucalinda Vagga*, the connecting theme of the verses is “happiness”, *sukha*, found in each verse except one (2.7). How this theme has influenced the structure of this chapter can be seen with the first discourse, which describes an occasion when the *nāga*-king Mucalinda protected the recently awakened Buddha from rain. In the *Vinaya*, this discourse follows right after the four discourses that in the *Udāna* collection stand at the beginning of the *Bodhi Vagga* (*Vin.* I, 3). Thus for the discourse on Mucalinda to be separated from this set and placed in a different chapter of the *Udāna* collection would be due to the fact that its verse does not refer to a *brāhmaṇa* and thus could not become part of the assembly of verses in the first chapter.

Several verses in the *Mucalinda Vagga* are also related by concatenation, as the first three verses share a reference to *kāma*, which unites otherwise quite different discourses that, in addition to the Mucalinda tale, depict a group of monks engaged in worldly talk and some youths maltreating a snake (2.2 and 2.3). Half of the verses of the fifth and sixth discourses are identical, whereas the respective stories differ considerably, the former being about a layman too busy to visit the Buddha and the latter about a wanderer who tries to get oil for his pregnant wife (2.5 and 2.6). The verses of the seventh and eighth discourses share a reference to *piyarūpa*. Here the respective stories are also related by content, both being on the theme of a son (2.7 and 2.8).

The theme that holds together the verses in the third chapter, the *Nanda Vagga*, is the *bhikkhu*. Here, too, verses belonging to rather different stories are related to each other by concatenation. Thus the verses to the second and third story share references to the *kāmakapṭaka* and have the same concluding line. The corresponding tales related differ, the former narrating how the Buddha promised his cousin Nanda heavenly nymphs in order to convince him to continue living the monastic life, while the latter reports how a group of noisy monks were sent away from the Buddha’s presence (3.2 and 3.3; though a similar element in both cases is that Nanda as well as the noisy monks in the end become *arahants*). The verses of the third and fourth discourses are connected by *pabbata*, and the

fourth and fifth by *upaṭṭhita*. The seventh and eighth verses are nearly identical, and in this case the stories are also related, both taking up the topic of begging alms (3.7 and 3.8).

The verses in the fourth chapter, the *Meghiya Vagga*, all refer to the "mind", *citta/cetasa*. Here the second and third verses are related to each other by sharing *micchā*, though the respective stories have little in common, being about garrulous monks and about a cowherd killed right after having offered a meal to the Buddha (4.2 and 4.3). The third and fourth verses both refer to hatred or anger, *vera/kopa*. In the case of the ninth and tenth discourses the verses share a reference to *santacitta* and to *vikkhīṇo jātisamsāro*.

With the remaining chapters, a theme that holds together the verses is less apparent, though closer inspection suggests that in the case of the fifth chapter, the *Sona Vagga*, the connecting theme could be "evil", *pāpa*, which is found in several verses (5.3; 5.4; 5.6; 5.8). In the sixth chapter, the *Jaccandha Vagga*, several verses refer to "vision" or "views", *dassana/diṭṭhi* (6.4; 6.6; 6.8; 6.9; 6.10). The verses of the seventh chapter, the *Cūḷa Vagga*, relate in various ways to the theme water (7.1: *ogha*; 7.2: *saritā*; 7.3: *ogha*; 7.4: *maccha*; 7.5: *sota*; 7.9: *āpa*). Finally the theme that holds together almost all of the verses in the last chapter of the *Udāna* collection is *Nibbāna*, referred to in various ways (except for 8.7).

Thus the themes that hold together the verses in the *Udāna* collection appear to be *brāhmaṇa*, *sukha*, *bhikkhu*, *citta*, *pāpa*, *dassana*, *udaka* (and related terms), and *nibbāna*. These themes do in fact form distinct chapters in the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection, which contains a *Brāhmaṇa Varga* (33); a *Sukha Varga* (30); a *Bhikṣu Varga* (32); a *Citta Varga* (31); a *Pāpa Varga* (28); a *Paśya Varga* (27); an *Udaka Varga* (17); and a *Nirvāṇa Varga* (26). Notably, the *Brāhmaṇa Varga*, the *Sukha Varga*, the *Bhikṣu Varga* and the *Citta Varga* do indeed contain a considerable number of the parallels to the verses in the corresponding chapters of the Pāli *Udāna* collection.<sup>11</sup> Before, however, turning in more detail to *Udāna* collections preserved in other languages, the prose section of the Pāli *Udāna* collection needs to be examined.

In sum, while in the case of the first four chapters the relationship between the verses appears to be

comparatively strong, as they nearly all share the same theme and are often interrelated by concatenation, in the case of the final four chapters the verses are less interrelated.

### The Prose of the Pāli *Udāna* Collection

Conversely, while in the earlier chapters similar stories are often separated from each other, in the later chapters similar stories are treated together. Examples for similar stories that occur separately are the reports of how Kassapa goes begging (1.6 and 3.7); how monks chatter on trivial things (2.2 and 3.8);<sup>12</sup> how children harm an animal (2.3 and 5.4); how other recluses receive less gains than the Buddha and his monks (2.4; 4.8 and 6.10); and how Sāriputta sits in meditation (4.7 and 4.10).

In contrast, in the later chapters similar stories are often grouped together, thus three consecutive discourses in the sixth chapter have almost the same narration (6.4; 6.5 and 6.6), except that the first of these three delivers the famous simile of the blind men and the elephant and that the views mentioned in them differ. The first two discourses in the seventh chapter both report how the Buddha witnesses Sāriputta instructing Bhaddiya (7.1 and 7.2), and the third and fourth discourses depict the attachment to sensuality of the inhabitants of Sāvattihī in the same terms (7.3 and 7.4). The prose of the first four discourses of the eighth chapter is the same (8.1; 8.2; 8.3 and 8.4), and the narration of the last discourse in this chapter is but a repetition of the previous one (8.9 and 8.10).

Thus the relationship between the prose narrations of the earlier four chapters and the later four chapters appears to be the exact opposite to the relationship between the corresponding verses. That is, for the structure of the earlier chapters of the *Udāna* collection the verses seem to have played a prominent role, whereas in regard to the later chapters of the same collection the prose narrations appear to have exerted a stronger influence.

The themes broached in the prose narrations in the *Udāna* collection reflect what form the early Buddhists considered as inspiring enough to be the occasion for an inspired utterance, an *udāna*. Notably here the most prominent event is when someone is seated in

meditation. Altogether twelve occurrences of monks seated in meditation and another seven instances of the Buddha seated in meditation are the background to *udānas*, accounting for nearly one quarter of the inspiring instances recorded in the entire *Udāna* collection. This impressive percentage documents the importance of sitting meditation practice in early Buddhism.<sup>13</sup>

Other themes treated regularly are apparently inspiring because they provide a contrast rather than an example to be emulated. One such theme is wrong behaviour by monks. Several discourses depict monks engaging in unsuitable types of conversation (2.2; 3.8; 3.9); being chatty (4.2); noisy (3.3); or employing offensive language (3.6). Other instances of inappropriate behaviour are when Nanda wants to disrobe (3.2); when the monks Meghiya and Nāgasamāla, though being the Buddha's attendants, leave against the Buddha's will (4.1 and 8.7); when the presence of an immoral monk stops the Buddha from reciting the *pātimokkha* on the observance day (5.5); and when Devadatta announces his schismatic intentions to Ānanda (5.8).

A theme of nearly similar frequency is related to outside wanderers and ascetics. Their tendency to dispute is mentioned repeatedly (6.4; 6.5; 6.6), as well as their jealousy of the success of the Buddhist order (2.4 and 4.8), which in one instance even motivated them to kill the female wanderer Sundarī and hide her corpse in Jeta's grove in order to defame the Buddhist monks. Other discourses depict their fruitless ascetic practices (1.9) or show them from their ridiculous side, such as when a wanderer gets into trouble when trying to get oil for his pregnant female companion (2.6), or when a whole group of them turn out to be spies employed by the king (6.2).

Other themes are the various problems to be encountered predominantly in lay life, which involve the pains of pregnancy (2.8), or being subject to the king's decision (2.9). Lay people appear to be so encumbered by worldly affairs that they cannot even find the time to visit the Buddha (2.5), to say nothing of making up their mind to go forth (5.6). Instead, laypeople appear to be often under the influence of sensual lust (7.3 and 7.4), so much so that a group of people even come to blows over a courtesan, inflicting injury and death on each other (6.8). Violence among

laity also manifests when a cowherd is killed after listening to a discourse by the Buddha (4.3), or when Queen Sāmāvati and her five hundred companions are killed in a fire which, according to the commentary, was the work of another jealous queen (7.10 and *UdA.* 383). Thus while even as a king one has to be constantly surrounded by bodyguards in order to avoid becoming the victim of violence, once the same person becomes a monk he can live free and at ease (2.10). This particular story could be pointing to the theme that underlies this particular set of prose stories, in that the depiction of the disadvantages of lay life and society serve as an inspiration for living a monastic life.

Another source of inspiration are events from the Buddha's life, such as when he gave up his life force (6.1); when he took his last meal (8.5); or the fact that his mother died soon after giving birth (5.2). A related source of inspiration are the Buddha's miraculous abilities, such as when a well or a river become clean of their own accord for the Buddha to drink from them (7.9 and 8.5), or when the Buddha crosses a river by supernormal means (8.6). Inspiring backgrounds for *udānas* are also his teachings on the final goal (8.1; 8.2; 8.3; 8.4), and their potential to lead to the instant awakening of an outsider (1.10).

In sum, then, the topics that are particularly prominent in the narrations of the *Udāna* collection are meditation practice undertaken by monks or the Buddha; misbehaviour of monks and the foolishness of outside wanderers; the predicaments of lay life; the life and power of the Buddha; and the final goal of liberation. This choice of topics suggests that the *Udāna* collection would have had a more restricted purpose than the *Dhammapada*, which broaches a wider range of topics of a more general interest. The focus in the *Udāna* collection, in contrast, appears to be predominantly on what would inspire the monastic disciple. For this reason basic teachings on morality, such as found repeatedly in the *Dhammapada*, are not prominent in the *Udāna* collection. Due to its emphasis on the theme of inspiration, doctrinal themes are also not treated in the same detail as elsewhere in the *Nikāyas*, except for the final goal, since in as much as the nature of *Nibbāna* is concerned, the *Udāna* collection stands out for the depth with which it treats this subject. This is not surprising, in view of the fact that to arouse inspiration for the final goal would be a

central purpose of the material assembled in the *Udāna* collection.

Several of the narrations preserved in the *Udāna* collection seem to draw on ancient material, in fact some of the tales recur elsewhere in the four *Nikāyas*.<sup>14</sup> A considerable number of parallels to *Udāna* narrations are found in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* and in the *Vinaya*.<sup>15</sup> A comparison of such parallels indicates that at times the *Udāna* narrations could be the earlier version.

This is, for example, the case for the first three discourses in the *Udāna* collection (1.1-3), which describe how the recently awakened Buddha contemplated dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*. This set of three discourses is found similarly at the beginning of the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya* (*Vin.* I, 1-3). The respective narrations differ in so far as according to the *Udāna* collection the Buddha contemplated dependent arising in forward order during the first watch of the night, in backward order during the middle of the night, and in both directions during the last watch of the night. In contrast in the *Vinaya* account, he contemplated in both directions during each of the three watches of the night. The verses that accompany these three discourses in the *Udāna* collection and in the *Vinaya*, however, fit the *Udāna* account, as the first verse refers to the forward order, *yato pajānāti sahetudhammaṃ*, while the second verse refers to the backward order, *yato khayam paccayānaṃ avedī*.<sup>16</sup>

Another case where the *Udāna* narration seems to be the earlier version can be seen in the account of the Buddha's last meal taken at Cunda's place, which is found in the *Udāna* collection as well as in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (8.5 and *D.* II, 126). The two narrations differ in so far as the *Mahā-pari-nibbāna Sutta* also records the episode with Pukkusa, who is converted after hearing how the Buddha once sat in such deep meditation that he did not even hear a great storm that killed several people (*D.* II, 131). Here the *Udāna* account, which does not record this episode, could well be the comparatively earlier version.<sup>17</sup>

Other narrations found in the *Udāna* collection, however, appear to show signs of lateness. One such sign appear to be magical events that in this form are not attested to elsewhere in the early discourses.

Though it is standard in the four *Nikāyas* that the Buddha or monks endowed with meditative proficiency are able to transfer themselves to a heavenly world, the *Udāna* collection seems to be the only instance where the Buddha transports someone else to a heavenly world (3.2). Another unique instance is the selfcremation of the monk Dabba Mallaputta through attaining the fire element (8.9 and 8.10). Though tradition holds that the monk Bakkula passed away in the same manner, this is not reported in the *Bakkula Sutta* itself, but only in its commentary (*M.* III, 128 and *MA.* IV, 196).

Another possible sign of lateness is the reference to the craft of writing, *lekhā*, (3.9), a craft that otherwise appears to be mentioned only in the *Vinaya* (*Vin.* IV, 7). Another instance could be the streamentry of Suppabuddha. The attainment of streamentry during a discourse given by the Buddha is elsewhere often preceded by a gradual talk given by the Buddha. The account of the streamentry of Suppabuddha is unique in so far as it depicts that the Buddha, before giving the gradual talk, surveyed the assembly in order to discern if anyone present was capable of understanding the *Dhamma* (5.3). Such surveying of the audience is usually described only in the commentaries.

Though these are merely nuances suggestive of the presence of later elements in the prose sections, at times the background narrations in the *Udāna* collection do not really fit the corresponding verses, which further supports the impression that the prose could have been added to the verses at a later time. A case in point is the background narration to the following verse (7.9):

*Kiṃ kayirā udapānena,  
āpā ce sabbadā siyuṃ?  
Taṇhāya mūlato chetvā,  
kissa pariyesanaṃ care?*

“What is the use of a well,  
If water is there all the time?  
Having cut craving at its root,  
What would one go about searching for?”

The background narration to this verse then reports an occasion when Brahmins of a particular village blocked a well with chaff in order to prevent the

Buddhist monks from drinking. When the Buddha requested Ānanda to fetch some water from this well, the well by itself threw up all chaff and became filled with clean water up to the brim. As Pande remarks, “the author of the prose ... seems to have grossly misunderstood the final verse, which intends ‘water’ in no more than a merely figurative sense”.<sup>18</sup> The counter-part to this discourse in the Chinese *Udāna* collection does in fact not mention the above event at all and instead accompanies its version of this verse with an interpretation of the well imagery (T. IV, 707c20).<sup>19</sup>

Another relevant case is the report of how a group of ascetics turn out to be spies employed by the king (6.2). The same story recurs in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, where it is, however, followed by verses that are entirely different from the *udāna* related to this tale in the *Udāna* collection (S. I, 79). The same is the case for an *udāna* that the Buddha is said to have made when seeing the monk Lakuṇ-ṭa-bhaddiya (7.5), which differs considerably from the two verses that according to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* were spoken by the Buddha on what appears to be the same occasion (S. II, 279). These cases indicate that the relationship between verse and prose in the *Udāna* collection is probably not always an original one.

In sum, the prose of the *Udāna* collection could be similar in kind to the narrative material provided in the *Vinaya*. In both cases an early text, the *udāna* verses or the *pātimokkha*, is imbedded in a later narration of a more commentarial nature that, however, has also incorporated early material.

#### The Sanskrit *Udāna* Collection.

The Sanskrit counterpart to the Pāli *Udāna* collection is generally referred to as the *Udānavarga*, though the proper title of this work seems to just be *Udāna*.<sup>20</sup> The Sanskrit *Udāna* collection appears to have developed from a similar starting point as the Pāli collection, to which subsequently a number of other verses that have their counterpart mainly in the *Dhammapada/Dharmapada* collections were added.<sup>21</sup> Tradition attributes this compilation to Dharmatrāta. As a result of this process of expansion, the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection now consists of altogether thirty three chapters that contain over a thousand verses. Unlike the Pāli *Udāna* collection, the verses in the

Sanskrit collection are not introduced by prose. This further supports the suggestion made above that the Pāli *Udāna* collection may have originally been a mere verse collection, to which prose was added only at a subsequent stage.

For the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection to incorporate a considerable number of verses that are otherwise found in *Dhammapada/Dharmapada* collections is not surprising in view of the related nature of the verses collected under these two headings. In fact, the Pāli commentator Dhammapāla explains that, in addition to being assembled in the *Udāna* collection, *udānas* spoken by the Buddha were also collected by the reciting elders in the *Dhammapada* (*UdA.* 3). This indicates that from the perspective of later traditions the dividing line between these two collections was not a clearcut one. The same can also be seen in the fact that several works preserved in Chinese refer to the *Udāna* collection as a *Dharmapada*.<sup>22</sup>

Thus from an original nucleus of *udānas* two lines of development can be discerned, one of which leads to the *Udāna* now preserved in Pāli by adding a prose commentary to the *udānas*, while the other incorporated *udānas* from the *Dhammapada/Dharmapada* collections, resulting in the *Udāna* collection preserved in Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit *Udāna* collection has been edited by Bernhard based on fragments found in Central Asia,<sup>23</sup> and has been translated into German by Hahn.<sup>24</sup> In a detailed study of this edition, Schmit-hausen has been able to show that the manuscripts belong to two different versions or ‘recensions’ of the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection.<sup>25</sup> The first of these two corresponds to the version that is quoted in the *Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa Sūtra*. The second corresponds to the version that is quoted in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, in the (*Mūla*-)*Sarvāstivāda Prāti-mokṣa Sūtra* and *Vinaya*, and in the *Divyāvadāna*.

#### *Udāna* Collections in Other Languages.

The second version also corresponds to the *Udāna* collection preserved in Tibetan, translated by Vidyaprabhākara probably in the ninth century. The Tibetan *Udāna* collection has been edited by Beckh and Zongtse,<sup>26</sup> and translated into English by Iyer, Rockhill and Sparham.<sup>27</sup> A commentary on the *Udāna*

collection has also been preserved in Tibetan, the *Udānavargavivarāṇa* by Prajñāvarman. This commentary, which has been edited by Balk,<sup>28</sup> offers background narrations and explanations of the verses in the *Udāna* collection. Both works were also translated into Mongolian as part of the translation of the Tibetan canon undertaken in the seventeenth century.

A similar collection of *udānas* has also been translated into Chinese by Zhu Fo-nian in the fourth century under the title *Chu-yao jing*, the *Udāna Sūtra*, (Taishō no. 212, *T. IV*, 609b-776a). Similar to the Pāli *Udāna* collection, this Chinese version introduces its verses with prose narration. Another Chinese *Udāna* translation was undertaken towards the close of the tenth century by Tian-xi-zai under the title *Fa-ji-yao-song jing*, (Taishō no. 213, *T. IV*, 777a-799b).<sup>29</sup> Similar to the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Udāna* collections, this later translation contains no prose introduction, having only verses. This Chinese *Udāna* collection has been translated into English by Willemen.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to these two *Udāna* translations, the Chinese canon has also preserved two *Dharmapada* translations (See also DHAMMAPADA).<sup>31</sup> Due to the close relationship and considerable overlap between the non-Pāli *Udāna* collections and the *Dharmapada* collections,<sup>32</sup> these two translations need to also be briefly mentioned. The first of these two translations was already undertaken during the early parts of the third century by Zhu Jiang-yan under the title *Fa-ju jing*, *Dharmapada Sūtra*, (Taishō no. 210, *T. IV*, 559a-575b). Similar to the Pāli *Dhammapada* collection, as well as to the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* and the Patna *Dharmapada*,<sup>33</sup> this Chinese *Dharmapada* collection is entirely in verse. The nucleus of this work are twenty-six chapters that appear to be very close to the Pāli *Dhammapada* collection, to which at a later point another thirteen chapters were added. According to Willemen, these additional thirteen chapters with considerable probability derive from the *Udāna* collection,<sup>34</sup> which further reinforces the impression of the close relationship between *Dharmapada* and *Udāna* material. The more original twenty-six chapters of this Chinese collection have been translated into English by Dhammajoti.<sup>35</sup>

The second *Dharmapada* translation was undertaken towards the turn of the third to the fourth century by Fa-ju and Fa-li under the title *Fa-ju-pi-yu jing*, (*Dharmapada Avadāna Sūtra*, Taishō no. 211, *T. IV*, 575b-609b). This work combines a selection of verses from the *Dharmapada Sūtra* with prose narrations. An English translation of this *Dharmapada* collection has been undertaken by Willemen.<sup>36</sup>

In the final count, then, the Chinese canon has preserved two main works, an *Udāna* collection and a *Dharmapada* collection, and in each case there is one translation of the respective collection that contains only the verses, and another translation where the verses are embedded in a prose commentary.

Several verses of the *Udāna* collection have, moreover, been preserved in Tocharian and in Uighur.<sup>38</sup> In addition, parts of a commentary on the *Udāna*, the *Udānālamkāra* by Dharmasoma, have also been found among Tocharian fragments.<sup>39</sup>

The broad range of versions of the *Udāna* collections preserved in different languages testifies to the degree to which the 'inspired utterances' did serve their function as an inspiration for successive Buddhist generations, so much so that the basic set of verses was expanded in various ways, either by incorporating other verses or by imbedding the *udānas* in a prose commentary. In this sense, then, the *Udāna* collections contain indeed 'inspired' as well as 'inspiring' utterances, able to succinctly convey key aspects of the teaching in a poetic and thereby easily remembered manner.

Anālayo

#### References

1. *Udānas* spoken by the Buddha occur at *D. II*, 89 (= *Ud.* 90); *D. II*, 107 (= *Ud.* 64); *D. II*, 136 (= *Ud.* 85); *M. I*, 508; *S. III*, 55; *S. V*, 262 (= *Ud.* 64); *S. V*, 424; *A. IV*, 311 (= *Ud.* 64). *Udānas* spoken by gods occur at *D. II*, 288; *D. III*, 218; *S. I*, 20-21; *S. I*, 27-28; *A. III*, 202; *udānas* by kings at *D. I*, 47; *D. I*, 50; *D. I*, 92; *D. II*, 186; *M. II*, 112; *S. I*, 82; by Brahmins at *M. I*, 177; *M. II*, 140; *M. II*, 209; *S. I*, 160; *A. I*, 67; *A. III*, 238; by

- a warrior at *A. III*, 76; by a monk at *M. II*, 104; and by a wanderer at *M. II*, 40 (only listing instances that are explicitly identified as *udānas*).
2. Steinthal: *Udāna*, London 1885.
  3. Strong: *The Udāna or the solemn utterances of the Buddha*, London 1902; Woodward: *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon Part II*, London 1935; Ireland: *The Udāna, In-spired Utterances of the Buddha*, Kandy: 1990; Masefield: *The Udāna*, London: 1994.
  4. Seidenstücker: *Udāna, Das Buch der feierlichen Wörter des Erhabenen*, Augsburg 1920; Schäfer: *Verse zum Aufatmen, die Sammlung Udāna*, Stammbach 2004.
  5. Filippini-Ronconi: *Canone Buddhista I, Discorsi brevi*, Torino 1968: 149-254; Dragon-etti: *Udāna, La Palabra del Buda*, Buenos Aires 2002.
  6. Woodward: *Paramattha-Dīpanī Udānatthakathā*, Oxford 1926; Masefield: *The Udāna Com-mentary*, Oxford 1994/1995 (2 vols.).
  7. Variations from this pattern are the title of the *Nanda Vagga* (III), which is taken from its second discourse; the title of the *Sona Vagga* (V), taken from its sixth discourse; and the title of the *Jaccandha Vagga* (VI), taken from its fourth discourse.
  8. For an example of concatenation in *pātimokkha* rules see von Hinüber: *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Delhi 1997: 12.
  9. Abeynayake: *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikaya*, Colombo 1984: 66; Ānandajoti: *Udāna, Exalted Utterances*, 2006: 10 ([www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net](http://www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net)); Ireland op. cit. 1990: 7; Nakamura: *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi 1999: 43; Norman: *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden 1983: 61; Pande: *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad 1957: 72; Seidenstücker: *Über das Udāna*, Leipzig 1913: 87; von Hinüber op. cit. 1997: 46; Win-ternitz: *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1968: 67; Woodward op. cit. 1935: V.
  10. Seidenstücker op. cit. 1920: XVI.
  11. The *Brāhmaṇa Varga* has counterparts to the Pāli *Udāna* verses 1.1; 1.2; 1.3; 1.4; 1.5; 1.6; 1.7; 1.8; and 1.9. The *Sukha Varga* to 2.1; 2.2; 2.3; 2.4; 2.5; 2.6; 2.9; and 2.10. The *Bhikṣuvarga* to 3.1; 3.2; 3.3; 3.4; 3.7; 3.8; 3.9; and 3.10. The *Citta Varga* to 4.1; 4.2; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5; and 4.6.
- The *Pāpa Varga*, however, has only three counterparts, namely to 5.3; 5.6; and 5.8; the *Paśya Varga* has only two counterparts, 6.6 and 6.8; and the *Udaka Varga* has only a single counterpart to 7.9. This is in fact the only verse in the seventh chapter of the Pāli *Udāna* collection that employs the word water (though as *āpa* instead of *udaka*), while other verses in the same chapter only mention related terms such as *ogha*, *saritā*, *mac-cha*, *sota*. The *Nirvāṇa Varga* then has counterparts to 8.1; 8.2; 8.3; 8.4; and 8.9.
12. 3.8 is, however, followed by another discourse on the same theme, 3.9.
  13. A monk seated in meditation is described in 3.1; 3.4; 3.5; 4.4; 4.6; 4.7; 4.10; 5.7; 5.10; 6.7; 7.6; and 7.8. The Buddha seated in meditation is described in 1.1; 1.2; 1.3; 1.4; 2.1; 6.3; and 7.7.
  14. The narration of *Udāna* discourse 4.1 recurs at *A. IV*, 354; 5.1 at *S. I*, 75; 5.5 at *A. IV*, 204; 6.1 at *S. V*, 259 and *A. IV*, 308; 6.2 at *S. I*, 77; and 7.5 at *S. II*, 279 (slightly different).
  15. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* parallels are the narration of *Udāna* discourse 6.1, which recurs at *D. II*, 102; 8.5 at *D. II*, 126; and 8.6 at *D. II*, 84. The narration of *Udāna* discourse 1.1-4 re-curs at *Vin. I*, 1-3; 2.1 at *Vin. I*, 3; 2.10 at *Vin. II*, 183; 4.5 at *Vin. I*, 352; 5.5 at *Vin. II*, 236; 5.6 at *Vin. I*, 194; 5.8 at *Vin. II*, 198; and 8.6 at *Vin. I*, 226. The relationship between the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* and the *Vinaya* is probably best understood in the light of the suggestion by Frauwallner: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome 1956: 42, who suggests that the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* may have originally been part of a continuous account of the history of the *Saṅgha*, whose other parts are still found in the *Vinaya*.
  16. Seidenstücker op. cit. 1913: 64.
  17. Seidenstücker op. cit. 1913: 68.
  18. Pande op. cit. 1957: 75.
  19. The verse also occurs in Divy 56 in relation to the Buddha's crossing of the river Ganges.
  20. Bernhard: "Zum Titel des sogenannten 'Udānavarga'", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen-ländischen Gesellschaft*, 1969: 872-881; see also the discussion in Willemen: *The Chinese Udnavaṅga*, Bruxelles 1978: XXV and Dhammajoti: *The Chinese Version of Dharmapada*, Colombo 1995: 39.



21. Hinüber op. cit. 1997: 45 explains that “the Udānavarga originally was a text corresponding to the Pāli Udāna. By adding verses from the Dhp. it was transformed into a Dhp. parallel in course of time”. Bernhard op. cit. 1969: 881 notes that while all the eighty verses of the Pāli Udāna collection are found in the Sanskrit collection, the same collection does not have counter-parts to about 8 % of the verses in the Pāli Dhammapada, moreover of verses that are missing in some of the recensions of the Sanskrit Udānacollection, over 72 % have a parallel in the Pāli Dhammapada, while none has a parallel in the Pāli Udāna collection. This indicates that the nucleus of the Sanskrit Udāna collection corresponds to the Pāli Udāna collection, to which subsequently other verses were added; cf. also Nakatani: “Remarques sur la transmission des Dharmapadas”, in *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes*, vol. 2, 1984: 139.
22. For references see Dhammajoti: op. cit. 1995: 18 and Willemen: op. cit. 1978: XXII-XXIII.
23. Bernhard: *Udānavarga*, vol. 1, Göttingen 1965. The first publication of Udāna fragment material was by Pischel: “Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dhammapada”, *Sitzungsbericht der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 39, 1908: 968-985; followed by de la Vallée Poussin: “Documents sanscrits de la seconde collection M. Stein, Fragments de l'Udānavarga de Dharmatrāta”, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912: 355-377. In the same year a detailed study of the thirty-third chapter was published by Lévi: “Documents de l'Asie centrale (Mission Pelliot). L'Apramādvarga”, *Journal Asiatique* 1912: 203-294. An edition of the fragments of the Pelliot mission together with a translation was then under-taken by Chakravarti: *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit*, Paris 1930; followed by publications by Pauly: “Fragments sanscrits de Haute Asie (Mission Pelliot)”, *Journal Asiatique* 1960: 213-258, 1961: 333-410. A recent publication is Nakatani: *Udānavarga de Subasi*, Paris 1987. Several relevant fragments have also been published subsequent to Bernhard's edition in the series *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Wiesbaden, see esp. VI (1989): 1274, 1293, 1470; VII (1995): 1680, 1715, 1786, 1795; VIII (2000): 1993; IX (2004): 2007, 2039, 2046, 2074R, 2077, 2078, 2079V, 2116, 2129, 2198, 2328c+d, 2483, 2484, 2489, 2496, 2499, 2500, 2505, 2510, 2528, 2547a+b, 2548, 2559, 2561, 2563, 2564, 2574, 2599, 2612, 2642, 2652, 2655, 2675, 2701, 2791, 2796, 2842, 2849, 2851, 2855, 2859, 2863, 2873, 2963 and 3013.
24. Hahn: *Vom rechten Leben, Buddhistische Lehren aus Indien und Tibet*, Frankfurt 2007 (in print).
25. Schmithausen: “Zu den Rezensionen des Udānavarga”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, vol. 14, 1970: 47-124.
26. Beckh: *Udānavarga*, Berlin 1911; Zongtse: *Udānavarga*, Göttingen 1990.
27. Iyer: *The Dhammapada with the Udānavarga*, New York 1986: 231-388; Rockhill: *Udāna---varga*, London 1883; Sparham: *The Tibetan Dharmapada*, Delhi 1983 (the title could be misleading, as the translation is of the Udānavarga, there being no Dharmapada in the Tibetan canon).
28. Balk: *Prajñāvarman's Udānavargavivaraṇa*, Bonn 1984. This edition was the basis for a detailed study of several udānas in Balk: *Untersuchungen zum Udānavarga*, Bonn 1988.
29. Nanjio: *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Delhi 1989: 318 reconstructs the title of this work as \**Dharmasaṅgraha-mahārthagāthā-sūtra*; Willemen op. cit. 1978: XVII as \**Udānavarga [Sūtra]*, while according to Dhammajoti op. cit. 1995: 39 the title is simply a free rendering of \**Udāna [Sūtra]*.
30. Willemen op. cit. 1978.
31. In addition to these two, another apparently apocryphal \**Dharmapada Sūtra* has been preserved in Chinese (*T. LXXXV*, 1432b), together with its commentary (*T. LXXXV*, 1435c).
32. A concordance of the Sanskrit Udāna collection with the altogether four extant Chinese Udāna/Dharmapada translation and with the Pāli Dhammapada has been compiled by Wille---men: *Dharmapada, a Concordance to Udānavarga, Dhammapada and the Chinese Dharmapada Literature*, Bruxelles 1974. An early concordance of the Sanskrit Udāna with Pāli texts was published by de la Vallée Poussin: “Essai d'Identification des Gāthas et des Udānas en Prose de l'Udānavarga de Dharmatrāta”, *Journal Asiatique*, 1912: 311-330. A survey of

- the structure of the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan *Udāna* collection has been undertaken by Mukherjee: "The Dhammapada and the Udānavarga", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 11, 1939: 741-760 (esp. 750-751). A comprehensive concordance of the Sanskrit *Udāna* collection with other relevant Indic texts can be found in Bernhard: *Udānavarga*, vol. 2, Göttingen, 1968: 217-280.
33. Brough: *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London: 1962; Cone: "Patna Dharmapada", *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, vol. 13, 1989: 101-217, or else Roth: "Text of the Patna Dharmapada", *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980: 93-135.
34. Willemen: "The Prefaces to the Chinese Dharmapadas", *T'oung Pao*, vol. 59, 1973: 210.
35. Dhammajoti op. cit. 1995.
36. Willemen: *The Scriptural Text: Verses of the Doctrine, with Parables*, Berkeley 1999.
37. Lévi: *Fragments de Textes Koutchéens*, Paris 1933: 41-56; Sieg: "Udānavarga-Ueber-setzun-gen in 'Kucischer Sprache'", *Bulletin of the School of Ori-ental Studies*, vol. 6, 1931: 483-499; Thomas: *Bilinguale Udānavarga-Texte der Sammlung Hoernle*, Wiesbaden 1971; Thomas: "Nachtrag zur Sanskrit-Udānavarga-Ausgabe", *Zeit-schrift für vergleichende Sprach--for-schung*, vol. 93, 1979: 242-246.
38. Gabain: *Türkische Turfan Texte VIII*, Berlin, 1954: 23-24 and 38-44.
39. Lévi op. cit. 1933: 72-77; Sieg: "Bruchstück eines Udānavarga-Kommentars (Udānāḷaṅ-kāra?) im Tocharischen", *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz*, Leipzig 1933: 167-173; Sieg: *To-charische Sprachreste, Sprache B, Die Udānāḷaṅkāra-Fragmente*, Göttingen 1949.

#### UDĀNATTHAKATHĀ See PARAMATTHA-DĪPANĪ

**UDĀNAVARGA.** *Udānavarga* known also sometimes simply as *Udāna*, it is the Sarvāstivāda version of the *Dharmapada* ( s.v *Dhammapada*). Commenting on the name, John Brough<sup>1</sup> states; " In its design and contents, the work is in every respect a *Dharmapada*, and we can hardly determine whether the title of *Udāna*

is here the result of a genuine confusion between the two *Kṣudraka* titles in the school in question, or whether it was adopted of set intention, merely by way of rivalry with other sects". He continues to add that there is no reason to doubt that the text was the canonical (or paracanonical) text of the Sarvāstivādins and may well have been recognized so by various sub-sects into which the school was divided.

However some other scholars seem to indicate that the title *Udāna* is the older of the two names later changed to *Dharmapada* for some reason. The *Mahāprajñā Pāramitā Śāstra* has given three explanations to the term *Udāna*. Bhikkhu Dhammajoti<sup>2</sup> sums up these as follows. i. A spontaneous utterance by the Buddha, ii. a spiritually inspired exclamation and, iii. the poetical compilation of the Sarvāstivāda school in particular and any such compilation of 'wonderful things' in general. To go into little more detail regarding the relevant number, iii. Here, Nāgārjuna states, that after the Buddha's Nirvāna, disciples compiled the important stanzas. They put together, for instance, all stanzas on impermanence and made up the *Anityavarga*, and so on up to all the stanzas on the *brāhmaṇa* put together as the *Brāhmanavarga*. This compilation is called the *Udāna*. In addition all compilations on wonderful things is also called *Udāna*. Commenting further on this, Bhikkhu Dhammajoti sees in this a possible indication of the word *udāna* becoming a general appellation of all poetic compilations with a 'dharmic significance' in the northern tradition, though it refers in particular to the Sarvāstivāda version of the *Dharmapada*. It is significant that in one of the Chinese translations of the *Udānavarga*, the word *udāna*, in the introductory stanza, is rendered as 'dharma-stanza?'. Following an idea expressed by Yin Shun of the possibility of other *Vibhajyavāda* schools also using the appellation *Udāna*, Dhammajoti thinks that, in the development of the text, schools other than Sarvāstivāda changed the title to *Dharmapada* to correspond directly to the stanzas already recognized as *dharma-padāni*. It is also significant that in Yin Shun's opinion it is due to a later editorial effort that the Pāli *Khuddaka Nikāya* came to contain the *Dhammapada* in addition to the ' Spontaneous Utterances'— *Udāna*, divided into eight chapters and appended with introductory episodes. He concludes " It is inappropriate to take the Spontaneous Utterances of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* as the *Udāna* of

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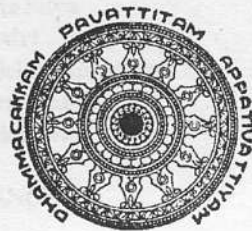
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