



SRI LANKA

AT THE CROSSROADS OF HISTORY

EDITED BY ZOLTÁN BIEDERMANN
AND ALAN STRATHERN

UCLPRESS

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Alan Strathern

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A Pāli cosmopolis? Sri Lanka and the Theravāda Buddhist ecumene, c. 500–1500

Tilman Frasch

If nothing else, Pollock's concept of a Sanskrit cosmopolis has provided a useful prism through which to observe and analyse the interactions between states, societies and cultures, which complements other analytical tools such as 'transculturalism', 'ecumene' or even 'empire'.¹ While Pollock offered a welcome framework, his approach has been and still is open to criticism, notably for the way he has tried to separate the aesthetics of the Sanskrit language from its potential to become politically powerful, as well as his indifference to the Brahmins as the ones who control it.² Ultimately, if reduced to its very core, the concept of the Sanskrit cosmopolis appears to be an updated and modified version of the old theory of an 'Indianization' (or 'Hinduization') of Southeast Asia with all its open or hidden forms of Indian cultural dominance.

This hierarchy – or rather its deconstruction – forms the starting point for the reflections presented here. Instead of being subsumed by and subjected to a Sanskrit cosmopolis, Sri Lankans might prefer to locate themselves within (and possibly at the heart of) an alternative cultural system, which can be termed a Theravāda or Pāli cosmopolis.³ In fact, many Sri Lankans, from the ancient chroniclers to modern scholars, have done exactly that. Noticing that the Theravāda canon and, more importantly, the Pāli language, both originated on the island before moving across the Bay of Bengal to make Theravāda the mass religion of mainland Southeast Asia, they perceived and portrayed the island as the fountain and centre of a transnational cultural system. This notion was informed by the belief in Lanka being the 'chosen land of Buddhism' (*dharmadīpa*), which was based on the claim that the Pāli canon, compiled on the island, preserved the Buddha's teachings (*dhamma*) better than any other Buddhist tradition. Over the centuries, interaction within this Theravāda cosmopolis loosened and intensified over time and eventually provided a backbone for the pan-Asian cooperations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries⁴ – in fact until the present day, when the Buddhist nationalists of the Sinhale Urumaya and the 696 movement in Myanmar announced their plan to work together.⁵

Focusing on the period before c. 1500 CE, this chapter will reinvestigate Sri Lanka's position in the Pāli-Theravāda cosmopolis from its inception on the island around the first centuries CE, when possibly both the Pāli language and a standardized, exclusive Theravāda canon took shape. This chapter will identify the factors that may have contributed to this process, the ways in which the Theravāda 'school' was transmitted to areas outside Lanka, and how Lanka acquired and retained a central position within this cosmopolis. It will be argued that Lanka's pre-eminence was not a given, as by the early thirteenth century, the religious and intellectual centre began to shift towards Bagan in Myanmar. But the sudden decline of Bagan after the Mongol conquest at the end of the thirteenth century prevented the completion of Theravāda's 'great translocation' to Southeast Asia.⁶ The forming Theravāda communities at Sukhodaya or Chiang Mai turned to Sri Lanka and not to Myanmar for valid ordinations lineages, scriptures and other material sources such as relics or images. As a result, Sri Lanka's position as the bedrock of Theravāda, which had been effectively challenged since the end of the first millennium CE, was reconfirmed and revalidated.

There is, however, a second aspect to be considered here, which has a more immediate consequence for the concept of Theravādin cosmopolitanism. It refers to the transmission and preservation of textual traditions. As has been argued here, Theravāda Buddhism owed its existence to a set of scriptures – the Buddha's teachings, mnemonic and other learning aids, grammars and commentaries – all written in a specific language, Pāli. The transmission and preservation of these texts had been entrusted to the order of monks (Sangha). As Buddhism spread across the Indian subcontinent and beyond, this task of preserving the precise wording and meaning of the Buddha's teachings (which were transmitted orally anyway) became increasingly difficult, and inevitably schools of interpretation began to form, one of which emerged in Sri Lanka. But even there, in a relatively small Buddhist community (if compared to India), the preservation of the true texts became problematic, not only because of factionalism within the Sangha, but more so because of the frequent disruptions and destruction caused by foreign invaders (notably from South India). Spreading the *dhamma* beyond the island, as described below, not only created the Pāli cosmopolis explored here, but also a common textual archive that supported and complemented the individual traditions of each of its parts. On several occasions down to the eighteenth century, canonical and collateral scriptures were reimported to the island from Buddhist communities in India and Southeast Asia. In this respect, the Pāli cosmopolis can be compared to an extended memory board, which provided back-ups in case of a loss of data.⁷

The making of the Pāli cosmopolis

A persistent bias that has dominated both the self-perception of the Theravādins (and the view of many scholars of Theravāda Buddhism) is that their lineage and

textual tradition can be referred back to Gautama Buddha himself, and that they succeeded to preserve his teachings with so much accuracy to make it the most reliable of all Buddhist canonical collections.⁸ A collateral of this view is the belief that Pāli – now seen as a language rather than as a set of texts – was similar or at least closely related to the language in which the Buddha had preached.

However, since the publication of works by scholars such as Steven Collins, this traditionalist view of Theravāda and Pāli can hardly be repeated any longer. Collins has convincingly argued that the Theravāda ‘school’ has not existed from the time of the Buddha but formed in a certain political and intellectual environment in third–fifth-century Sri Lanka. Part of this formative process was the canonization of their collection of scriptures.⁹ The context Collins refers to was the competition between two major monasteries at Anurādhapura, the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra, and the standing they enjoyed under various kings.¹⁰ For Collins, the conflict came to a head in the mid-fifth century under king Mahānāma, through whose support the pendulum seemed to swing in favour of the Abhayagirivihāra, but whose reign was also marked by the arrival of Buddhaghosa and the revival of the Mahāvihāra.

Collins is certainly correct in placing the formation of the Mahāvihāra–Theravāda tradition in the context of the sectarian struggle between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra. However, his reference to king Mahānāma is unconvincing as the conflict had entered its most intensive phase already a century earlier, under King Mahāsenā, who attempted to close down and destroy the Mahāvihāra altogether by preventing potential supporters to make donations to it.¹¹ He also violated the monastery’s boundary (*sīmā*) by removing building materials and establishing a new monastery, the Jetavanavihāra, inside the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra.¹² The monastery survived because (as its chronicler claimed) some of the Mahāvihārins had hidden in an underground chamber for nine years. The price of survival was the loss of religious and ritual pre-eminence, as the Tooth Relic and its procession were controlled by the kings and became associated with the Abhayagirivihāra.¹³ It was only another fifty years later that the Mahāvihāra regained some of its former glory when it provided a home and study for Buddhaghosa. Yet even this regaining of scholarly importance did not seem to increase its attractiveness, as the Chinese visitor Fa Hsien (Fa Xian) noted in the late sixth century. He counted 5,000 monks dwelling at the Abhayagiri monastery and only 3,000 at the Mahāvihāra.¹⁴

Still, the survival of the Mahāvihāra cannot gloss over the fact that the crisis of the monastery during the reign of King Mahāsenā had been existential, bringing the royal embargo, the destruction of its buildings and finally the infringement of its *sīmā*. The chronicler of the Mahāvihāra is suspiciously curt about the reasons for the king’s assault, merely hinting at a dispute concerning the monastic code of conduct (Vinaya).¹⁵ Given the seriousness and size of the royal response, this justification sounds rather thin, the more so since Vinaya rules regulate individual behaviour but can hardly be applied to a whole chapter (*gaṇa*), unless all of its monks are found guilty of one of the four grave offences (*pārājika*) – stealing,

lying, intercourse with women and doing magic. As a group, a chapter would have to cause the split of the order (*saṅghabhedā*) to warrant excommunication.

Accusing the Mahāvihārins of the first two *parajikas* is obviously unsubstantiated. Having intercourse with women could have been closer to the point as fully ordained nuns still existed at the time and moreover had residences inside the Mahāvihāra compound.¹⁶ Their very existence or their cohabitation with male monks inside the Mahāvihāra may have become an issue then, as illustrated by the Buddha's famous (although possibly later added) remark, which held nuns responsible for a quicker decline of the *sāsanā*. In the preparations for the end of the first millennium of the Buddhist Era in 456 CE and the decline this event would herald, such misogyny would have made sense.¹⁷ But this is no more than a speculation.

This also holds for the last of the *pārājikas*, the pretension of possessing supernatural power, which can potentially include occultism and the possession of secret texts or teachings. At first glance, accusing the Mahāvihārins of owning non-standard texts would seem far-fetched, not least because they themselves insisted on having preserved and transmitted the scriptures better than any of the other Buddhist 'schools' existing at the time. But crucially, if the version of the scriptures kept at the Mahāvihāra had become 'canonized' in the sense of becoming an exclusive, closed set of texts,¹⁸ they had also been recorded in a language only the few monks of the Mahāvihāra were conversant in. Although the origins of Pāli are still a contentious matter, it seems certain that the language was widely used in the Mahāvihāra and received its final recognition as a canonical language through Buddhaghosa, who used Pāli for his works throughout.¹⁹

The imminent destruction and eventual survival of their monastery must have welded the Mahāvihārins together and reinforced their belief in their own righteousness and exclusiveness. Their obstinacy in keeping separate from the other fraternities, which also meant carrying on as a minority, their 'scripturalist' insistence on a defined set of texts that was not to be altered, and their resorting to an artificial language incomprehensible to outsiders bear all the hallmarks of a fundamentalist movement.²⁰ In addition to this, the Mahāvihārins displayed a certain missionary zeal through attempts to disseminate the 'canonized' version of the scriptures in order to find allies for moral and perhaps material support.²¹ Extracts from the Pāli canon written on gold foils and encased in the stūpas of Sri Ksetra (Myanmar) have been dated to the fifth–sixth century CE,²² and roughly contemporary to these are the earliest short Pāli inscriptions coming from the Dvarāvati kingdom in what is now Thailand.²³ Given the proximity of and close interaction with South India, Pāli texts will also have been spread in South India, mainly in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.²⁴ It must be added, however, that this dissemination was neither a given nor a straightforward triumphal march as the Mahāvihārins remained a numerically small group while at the same time their opponents, the monks from the Abhayagirivihāra and other Mahāyānists,²⁵ apparently spread their texts in Southeast Asia with similar success. Around 1000 CE, Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhists lived side-by-side in various Southeast

Asian regions.²⁶ The eventual rise of the Theravāda tradition there was less due to the missionary efforts of Mahāvihāra monks than to a coincidence, which provided the ongoing translocation of Buddhism from South to Southeast Asia with a fresh momentum.

The 'great translocation' and the Theravāda cosmopolis in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries

By the time the Mahāvihārins struggled to maintain what they regarded as the true words of the Buddha, Buddhism entered a slow but steady decline in its Indian homeland; a process that would eventually see it disappear almost completely from its place of origin. This process – the outcome of which was by no means predetermined – was complex, drawn out, and affected various regions of India to a differing degree. Its major component was the revival of Hinduism through individual devotion to a Hindu god (*bhakti*). The *bhakti* movement started around the seventh century in South India, from where it expanded across the subcontinent.²⁷ As the people and more so the ruling families of India opted for this new form of Hinduism, support for Buddhist monasteries and monks waned, leading to their gradual disappearance. By 1200 CE, Buddhist communities and institutions in India either existed as pockets within a predominantly Hinduist environment or had been pushed into peripheral regions of India such as Ladakh or East Bengal. The latter region suffered further from the Islamic conquerors who invaded the Ganges valley and established the sultanates of Delhi.

Around 1000 CE, the future of Buddhism in Sri Lanka came into danger as well, as the South Indian Cōlas under the kings Rājarāja and Rājendra set out to not only conquer the island and its capital Anurādhapura, but also made it a province of the Cōla Empire for most of the eleventh century. Despite being separated from the mainland, the Anurādhapura kingdom had always been part of the political structure of South India and had experienced invasions from the mainland on several occasions. The latest Cōla conquest was a particular disaster, as it first resulted in the plunder and destruction of the capital and then the integration of the island into the Cōla empire, with Poḷonnaruva becoming the capital of the new province.²⁸ More importantly, the destruction and plundering of the capital terminated the hitherto uninterrupted lineage of the Mahāvihāra. Never again mentioned in the chronicles, it continued to exist only as a notion, while relics (and especially the Tooth Relic) took the monastery's place as a central religious site.²⁹ The relics were salvaged by monks, who had managed to escape to Rohana, the island's southern region.³⁰ It also was in Rohana that a resistance movement formed under Vijaya Bāhu I, which eventually succeeded to restore the former Sinhala kingdom in the north and push the Cōlas back to India. But before this, by the mid-eleventh century, Theravāda Buddhism seemed set to become extinguished on the island.

At that moment, the Burmese ruler Anawrahta (Aniruddha) unintentionally saved the Theravāda tradition by making it the 'state religion' of the nascent

Bagan kingdom. The reason for this royal measure is anything but clear as the available evidence comes from Burmese chronicles and records written long after the actual event.³¹ According to them, the king carried out the reform in two steps, the first being his conquest of the city of Thaton in Lower Burma, from where he abducted the royal family and the leading members of the Sangha headed by Shin Arahan. With the help of that monk, the king then purged the Sangha at Bagan of monks who disobeyed the Vinaya, notably the Aris.³² The royal purification of the Sangha cemented the leading role of the Theravāda tradition over all competing Buddhist (and other religious) groups and set Bagan on the path to become its foremost intellectual and ceremonial centre.

This new status became manifest soon after, when the Sinhalese king Vijaya Bāhu I (r. 1070–1112), the liberator of the island, required the help of monks from Bagan to restore the Sangha of Lanka.³³ This event initiated a series of encounters between the Buddhists of Lanka and Burma, which comprised royal missions and individual pilgrimages and included the exchange of canonical texts and relics as well as holding joint recitations (*saṅgīti*) and ordination ceremonies.³⁴ The encounters at Bagan intensified after 1200, when the Buddhist institutions and sites of India were overrun by the troops of the sultan of Delhi and Sri Lanka entered another phase of civil war and outside invasions.³⁵ Poḷonnaruva, which had replaced Anurādhapura as capital, had to be evacuated twice and was ultimately abandoned in favour of Gampola in the 1270s.³⁶ Amid this overall political instability, however, Buddhism continued to flourish on the island, as attested by both a substantial number of religious treatises,³⁷ although frequent religious convocations resulting in royal edicts to regulate the behaviour of monks also illustrate a degree of decay affecting the Sangha.³⁸

In the light of all this, Poḷonnaruva fell back behind Bagan, which at the same time attracted Buddhist scholars from all over Asia. This can be seen in the city's composite settlement pattern and population as well as the widespread use of Pāli as a *lingua franca*. As mentioned, numerous Mons from Lower Burma had been resettled there in the mid-eleventh century, and thereafter Bagan provided a safe haven for Bengali artists and Sinhalese monks who fled the turmoil of their respective countries. Recent research has also shown that the presence of Cambodians at the city increased markedly after around 1230. A Cambodian monk even participated in a purification of the Sangha (*saṅghavisuddhi*) held around 1248.³⁹ The various foreign communities at Bagan seem to have preferred to stay together in clusters sometimes centred on a Buddhist temple or monastery. The Mons brought in from Lower Burma were apparently resettled in the Myinkaba village south of the citadel of Bagan, where a temple still bears the name of their ruler, Manuha. The village may also have catered for the small South Indian community, as the only Tamil/Sanskrit inscription of the period was found there,⁴⁰ and more recently an inscription mentioning a 'headman of the *kaliññ*', probably Kalingans, has been retrieved from a mound south of the village.⁴¹ Further south towards the Dhammayazika stūpa were the monasteries of the Sinhalese, of which the Tamani complex was the most important. Its image house – a temple

curiously shaped like a stūpa – houses a statue of the seated Buddha in the meditation gesture (*dhyāna mudra*), which is very common for images from the island but exceptional at Bagan.⁴² Although the outer enclosure of the Tamani complex cannot be established precisely any more, it appears to have been an extensive institution, including several monastic dwellings, buildings for the study and a tank, providing space for a sizeable number of monks.⁴³ Still further south, now in the middle of New Bagan Town, is another small compound where Bodhiramsi Thera ‘from Sinhala’ resided with his two disciples.⁴⁴ This set of monasteries with links to Lanka may have stretched as far south as the Setana stūpa, one of the largest stūpas at Bagan with unmistakably Sinhalese features such as a semi-global dome and a square *harmika* above it. Sculpted elephants in frontal view bear the platform on which the stūpa is erected.⁴⁵

This cosmopolitan cohabitation and interaction of monks whose mother tongues included Burmese, Mon, Sinhala, Bengali (or others of the emerging regional languages of India), Cambodian and perhaps even Chinese or Tibetan required a *lingua franca* to communicate in. That this language was in all likelihood Pāli becomes clear from the numerous Pāli inscriptions that record donations made to or involving foreign monks as well as events important for the Bagan Sangha as a whole. Bagan has produced a relatively large number of Pāli inscriptions ranging from brief prayers scribbled on the back of a clay votive tablet to at least twelve stone inscriptions of ten or more lines. The use of Pāli began under king Anawrahta (Aniruddha), who signed the tables he left at Buddhist sites across the country with the declaration that he had made the image with his own hands,⁴⁶ while the writing of long inscriptions in Pāli began in the early twelfth century. These include Prince Rājakumār’s Myazedi inscription (which is written in Pyu, Mon and Burmese as well as Pāli), King Alaungsithu’s poetic Shwegugyi inscription, and a fragmentary record possibly attributable to King Saw Lu.⁴⁷

More importantly, there is now a set of three inscriptions (two of them discovered quite recently), which sheds further light on the cooperation of the monks staying at the Pāli cosmopolis of Bagan. Around 1248, they assembled for a joint ceremony which resulted in a ‘purification’ (*saṅgham visodhaya*). The leading monk on that occasion was Subhucanda, who had Cambodian roots.⁴⁸ One of the newly found inscriptions, probably dating from the 1270s, singles out the monk Ananda, who had been to Cambodia and northern Malaya before coming to Bagan.⁴⁹ He was very likely the same person who was praised in a Pāli verse as the thera ‘who had sprung from the line of Mahinda and constantly strove to stay true to it’.⁵⁰ The donor of the former record was a certain Amaṅga – clearly not a Burmese name – who also gave a bronze bell to the monk Tamalinda, the monk from whom the Tamani monastery derived its name.⁵¹ This brief selection of examples shows that Pāli was used at Bagan whenever non-Burmese-speaking monks were concerned or involved in donations and religious activities. Turned the other way, we may also assume that whenever Pāli was used for an inscription (which sometimes was only a short passage), the record was addressed to a monk from outside the Burmese heartland.

What this brief survey of religious activities and exchanges at Bagan also illustrates is that the intellectual and ceremonial centre of Theravāda Buddhism was gradually shifting towards Southeast Asia, particularly to Bagan. This does not mean that the earlier centres in Lanka (which in the twelfth–thirteenth centuries would have been at Poḷonnaruva and probably in the region of Rohana) ceased to function entirely: the leading chronicle, the *Cūlavamsa*, notes that in the thirteenth-century kings sponsored the copying of the Pāli canon and oversaw purifications of the Sangha,⁵² and the literary production of the period was still impressive.⁵³ But Bagan was catching up, notably in the area of Pāli studies and literary production. Obviously, many of the works produced at the Bagan period were grammatical studies and aids, which helped monks to solidify their knowledge of the Pāli language as a prerequisite for further studies and compositions.⁵⁴ But at the same time, full sets of the Tipitaka were frequently listed in donative inscriptions,⁵⁵ and some monasteries had substantial holdings. One of the largest libraries on record was given in 1223 and consisted of more than 30 volumes of grammatical works, chronicles and of course canonical works.⁵⁶ These comprehensive literary activities illustrate that the Buddhists at Bagan were increasingly able to reproduce, comment on and interpret the Buddha's teachings without external input. Rather than their reconfirming the accuracy of their versions of the canon by obtaining 'approved' texts from Lanka, they attracted monks from the island and other parts of the Theravāda ecumene to come to Bagan and share their knowledge there. The perception of Sinhalese monks being the ultimate authority for the correct wording of the canon and therefore dominating the activities within the Theravāda cosmopolis, which is still current in the works of scholars representing a Sinhala nationalist school of interpretation,⁵⁷ will have to be replaced with a notion of Sri Lankan monks playing a less dominant and prominent role.⁵⁸

However, this shift of the centre from South to Southeast Asia, from Poḷonnaruva to Bagan, remained unfinished, as the invasion of the Mongols and their occupation of Bagan at the end of the thirteenth century brought the transition to an abrupt halt. The royal court and many monks fled the city, and when the Mongols withdrew, both its political status and its sanctity had gone. In fact, some of the larger monastic complexes at Bagan continued to exist and receive donations well into the fourteenth century,⁵⁹ but the city's outreach and attractiveness had decreased in dramatic fashion. When the polities of the Mon and Thai rulers of modern-day Thailand began to establish themselves, they also adhered to Theravāda Buddhism but validated their ordination lineages through missions sent to Lanka rather than to Bagan.

The reconfiguration of the Pāli cosmopolis

Although the decline of Bagan as a political capital was not accompanied by a similar decline as a religious centre, the city had to compete with other Buddhist

places of learning emerging elsewhere on the Southeast Asian mainland. In Upper Burma, those new centres developed in the vicinity of Pinya and Ava (which became the new capital in 1364) on the one hand, and in the lower Chindwin region – then known as Aneint and Amyint – on the other. This latter region, which had been associated with the movement of the forest monks (*araññavāsi*) since the Bagan period,⁶⁰ served as the single most important centre of traditional Buddhist scholarship and education in Burma until the nineteenth century.⁶¹ But even though Bagan lost its former importance and fell behind these new local and regional centres, the city did not disappear completely from the mental map of the Theravādins in Southeast Asia, as it was occasionally visited during the fourteenth century by Buddhists from elsewhere on the mainland.⁶² They were driven by curiosity and, in the case of King Indrāditya, by the hope of gaining skilled craftsmen and their know-how, but apparently not by an interest in acquiring religious scriptures, let alone ordination lineages. For these, the Buddhists of the upcoming polities turned to Sri Lanka instead. This contact had had a double outcome: while introducing the oldest and purest ordination lineage to their respective realms, it re-established and reconfirmed the position of Sri Lanka as a Therāvada mainstay that it had seemed to have lost to Bagan.

The inclination towards Lanka is most obvious in the cases of the Mon and Thai polities of Sukhodaya, Chiang Mai and Lamphun, and to a degree in the ‘Mon-land’ of Lower Burma as well. The latter area was a peculiar case as much of the overseas traffic to and from Sri Lanka went through its ports, for instance Bassein (Kusumiya) or Martaban (Muttama). This may date as far back as the fourth–fifth centuries, when (as argued above) the Pāli canon was transmitted, and persisted throughout the Bagan period. Unsurprisingly, this transit left a kind of trail in the form of Pāli inscriptions, two of which dating from the Bagan period have been found there.⁶³ Opening into the Bay of Bengal but still being accessible from the central mainland, these ports subsequently served Buddhist travellers as gateways for Lanka, who preferred them over the long and potentially dangerous journey around the Malayan peninsula.

But it was the rulers of Sukhodaya who played a crucial role in linking their monastic institutions and lineages to the perceived Mahāvihāra tradition of Sri Lanka. A series of missions between the 1330s and the 1360s, often with royal support, resulted in the transfer of a Sinhalese ordination lineage, the *araññavāsi* tradition, and of course tangible items such as texts and a branch of the Bōdhi tree.⁶⁴ A Pāli eulogy from 1361, written by a mahāthera in praise of the ruler of Sukhodaya is usually seen as proof for the presence (if not dominance) of the Theravāda tradition, but even before that record, Pāli had been used for recording passages from the scriptures (including the ‘*ye dhamma...*’ formula).⁶⁵ The contacts between Sukhodaya and Lanka by and large coincided with the rise of Ayudhya, whose rulers established their own link with the island.

All these efforts culminated in the 1420s, when a large delegation of monks from various Southeast Asian regions travelled to Lanka to receive higher ordination according to the Sinhalese tradition.⁶⁶ This convention, reports of which

had a sedimentation in several historiographic traditions of Southeast Asia, will have to be seen in the light of the imminent end of the second Buddhist millennium in 1456.⁶⁷ As predicted by the Buddha and explained by Buddhaghosa, the first signs of the decline of the *sāsanā* were becoming visible, but by then Theravāda Buddhists had realized that the decline could be prevented through a set of measures, which aimed first and foremost at the purification of the Sangha, the spread of the scriptures, and the conservation of its sacred places. All through the fifteenth century, Buddhist rulers and communities of Southeast Asia copied the buildings (notably the Mahābodhi temple) and texts that monks sent to Lanka and India had brought back, held recitations and ordination ceremonies, sent monks to frontier districts, adopted the Buddhist calendar and wrote histories to link their own local branch of Theravāda to the broader stream modelled by the Lankan chronicles. Once again, it was a Pāli cosmopolis: it was informed by the belief in the decline of the *sāsanā* and the advent of a future Buddha Metteyya, built on a shared, canonized set of scriptures and their interpretations written in Pāli, and united in the ceremonies and activities that promised to avert decline and preserve the canon in its pristine form. This Pāli cosmopolis of the fifteenth century was both a perceived community comprising all Buddhists who shared that textual foundation (and probably beyond, given that the scriptures were copied on several occasions and spread further across Asia)⁶⁸ as well as a place, when it brought Buddhists together at Kōtṭe, Chiang Mai, Pegu and elsewhere. This also makes clear that it became only temporarily manifest, while at other times the Buddhists who belonged to it were at war with each other.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to draw an outline of the Pāli cosmopolis during the second millennium of the Buddhist Era and determine the position of Sri Lanka/Sri Lankan Theravāda in it. It has been argued that the language that lent its name to the cosmopolis appears to have taken its final shape in the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura in the context of both millennial expectations (the advent of the future Buddha Metteyya) and a struggle for spiritual superiority, which in the case of the Mahāvihāra followed attempts to abolish the monastery completely. At that point, the Mahāvihārins went for a canonized version of the canon written in a language mostly incomprehensible to outsiders, to underpin their claim of being the true keepers of the *dhmma*. Missionary efforts to find allies outside the island seem to have become part of this project, as the earliest quotes from the Pāli canon found in central Burma suggest. At any rate, this dissemination of the scriptures abroad laid the foundations for the Pāli cosmopolis.

The further fate of the cosmopolis depended on the one hand on a general trend in India after c. 700 CE, which saw a revival of Hindu ritual and devotion at the cost of other belief systems, mainly Buddhism and Jainism, and on the other hand on political events affecting Sri Lanka and its Sinhalese-Buddhist polity

Anurādhapura. Successive invasions and conquests eventually resulted in the destruction of the Mahāvihāra and the interruption of its monastic lineage. That the Sangha on the island could only be restored with the help of Burmese monks illustrates that the centre of the Pāli cosmopolis was shifting towards Southeast Asia – Theravāda’s ‘great translocation’ was well underway. This process continued in the thirteenth century, as Sri Lanka struggled to regain political stability, while Bagan emerged as Theravāda’s foremost intellectual and ceremonial centre. Monks from all over the Buddhist realm flocked to the city, studied texts and performed monastic acts (*Saṅghakamma*). Pāli was central for this mixed transnational community, providing the foundation for both study and communication, as the numerous short and long Pāli inscriptions from Bagan demonstrate. However, the ‘great translocation’ was never completed due to another political incident, this time the Mongols raiding Bagan. The city was abandoned as a political capital, and even though some of its larger monastic estates continued to exist until the fifteenth century, fostering religious studies and the production of texts throughout, it could not preserve its former status as a central place for Buddhists.

The Buddhist communities and rulers at the new centres that emerged elsewhere on the Southeast Asian mainland from the late thirteenth century sought to found and validate their monastic lineages on texts and higher ordinations obtained from Sri Lanka again. These contacts had effects at both ends as the demand for Theravāda ‘made in Lanka’ acknowledged the superiority of the Sinhalese tradition preserved by the Mahāvihāra – no matter whether this lineage still existed or not – over those traditions that had formed in Southeast Asia. The various traditions forming on the mainland were temporarily found together once more in connection with the advent of the third millennium of the Buddhist Era in 1456. Instead of accepting the inevitability of decline, they attempted to preserve the purity of both the order and the canon through a set of measures that had developed over the past centuries. The first moment the Pāli cosmopolis of the fifteenth century reconvened was at Kōṭṭe in the 1420s, and from there it flowed, back and forth, through the Southeast Asian mainland. By then, Sri Lanka had regained its former status as champion of the Theravāda regardless of the periods of turmoil the island and its Sangha had been thrown into during the preceding five centuries.

E. Seland, 'Trade and Christianity' posits a link between the expansion of monotheist, especially Christian and Jewish, religious groups into the western Indian Ocean and an increase in trade and diplomacy; Whitehouse, *Siraf*, 98–100, argues that the change derived in large part from a new drive by the Sasanian Empire in the sixth century to monopolize eastward trade into the Indian Ocean, a thesis that is desperately lacking in either physical or textual evidence.

134 Walburg, *Coins and Tokens*, 333–4.

135 Darley, 'Indo-Byzantine Exchange', 178, 336, 378.

Chapter 3: A Pāli cosmopolis?

- 1 Research into such transnational (and global) relationships has meanwhile become a well-established field, being conducted at centres such as the Heidelberg Centre for Asian Transcultural Studies (www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de), the American-based research group on Theravāda Civilizations (www.theravadaciv.org) or the 'Empires' project at the Austrian Academy of Science (www.oeaw.ac.at/empires), to name but a few.
- 2 Daud Ali, 'The Early Inscriptions of Indonesia and the Problem of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis,' in *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, ed. P.-Y. Manguin and A. Mani (New Delhi and Singapore: Manohar and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011), 277–95; Johannes Bronkhorst, 'The Spread of Sanskrit in Southeast Asia,' in *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia*, 263–76.
- 3 This terminology equates to a degree Collins' notion of a 'Pāli imaginaire', which is defined as a shared mental world, held together by Pāli texts and language: Steven Collins, *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Undeniably, of course, Sri Lankan culture was from the earliest time exposed to and considerably influenced by Sanskrit culture, stemming from the island's continuing demographic, political and military exchanges especially with South India. These influences have been amply documented by scholars such as Wilhelm Geiger (e.g. in the footnotes to his translation of the *Mahāvamsa* and *Cūlavamsa*) or Heinz Bechert, for example in *Eine regionale hochsprachliche Tradition in Südasiens: Sanskrit-Literatur bei den buddhistischen Singhalesen*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 718 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005). Emphasis here rests on the notion of Pāli providing an alternative cultural system.
- 4 Examples to be mentioned here are the Mahābodhi Society formed at the end of the nineteenth century and the activities surrounding the Sixth Buddhist Council including the World Fellowship of Buddhists.
- 5 *The Irrawaddy*, 1 October 2014, www.irrawaddy.com/news/burma/burmas-wirathu-sri-lankan-nationalist-monks-sign-agreement.html, accessed 9 September 2016.
- 6 For this term, see Tilman Frasch, 'Der Buddhismus im Jahr 1000,' *Periplus. Jahrbuch für Außereuropäische Geschichte* 10 (2000), 56–72.
- 7 As Oskar von Hinüber has shown, the Burmese and Northern Thai textual traditions of the scriptures are often distinct from the Sri Lankan one and occasionally surpass the latter, see his *Die Sprachgeschichte des Pali im Spiegel der südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung*, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 8 (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1988).
- 8 This view is widespread in writings on Theravāda Buddhism by Sri Lankan and Western scholars alike.
- 9 Steven Collins, 'On the Very Idea of the Pāli Canon,' *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 15 (1981), 89–126.
- 10 Collins, 'On the Very Idea'. For the economic background to these events see Tilman Frasch, 'Religious and Economic Development in Ancient Anuradhapura,' in *Sri Lanka Past and Present*, ed. Manfred Domrös and Helmut Roth (Weikersheim: Marggraf, 1998), 68–72.
- 11 *The Mahāvamsa*, ed. Wilhelm Geiger (London: Pali Text Society, 1909), 37.5. This seems to have been a real threat, as the king issued a specific type of coins or tokens, showing a maneless lion, which could have served in lieu of money donated to the monks. See Reinhold Walburg, *Coins and Tokens from Ancient Ceylon* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 99.
- 12 *Mahāvamsa*, 37.11–12 and 37.34–8.
- 13 Tilman Frasch, 'Buddha's Tooth Relic: Contesting Rituals and the early State in Sri Lanka,' in *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of the Ritual*, ed. Axel Michaels, Vol. 3, *State, Power and Violence*, ed. Marko Kitts et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010) 647–64.

- 14 *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms, Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fā-hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon*, trans. James Legge (1886; reprint New York: Paragon and Dover Publications, 1965), 104.
- 15 *Mahāvamsa*, 37.4–5.
- 16 For nunneries inside the Mahāvihāra complex, see R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979), 37–9, and (more elaborately) R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, 'Subtle Silks of Ferrous Firmness: Buddhist Nuns in Ancient and Early Medieval Sri Lanka and their Role in the Propagation of Buddhism,' *The Sri Lankan Journal of the Humanities* 14 (1988), 1–59.
- 17 Nuns were often associated with duties pertaining to the Bōdhi tree, see S. B. Hettiaratchi, *Social and Cultural History of Ancient Sri Lanka* (Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1988), 99–102. A further indication of their status in existence is provided by the *Dīpavaṃsa*, which contains one chapter recording the names of eminent nuns of Anurādhapura: *The Dīpavaṃsa*, ed. and trans. Hermann Oldenberg (London: Williams and Norgate, 1879), 18.7–44. For their missionary work in China see now Ann Heirman, 'Chinese Nuns and their Ordination in 5th Century China,' *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 24, 2 (2001), 275–305.
- 18 Collins, 'On the Very Idea'.
- 19 Kate Crosby, 'The Origin of Pali as a Language Name in Medieval Theravada Literature,' *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies of Sri Lanka* 2 (2004), 70–116. Although the origins of Pāli are still debated, it seems clear that the language is very specific and systematic in its adaption and transformation of Sanskrit vocabulary and grammar. The language does not fit into a chronological sequence from Sanskrit to Sinhala (for which Elu/Helu was an intermediate) nor any other middle-Indic dialect. If the language of the oldest datable Pāli text, the *Dīpavaṃsa*, is more than coincidental, its rather 'poor' or 'unrefined' form would suggest that Pāli was still in the making around the end of the fourth century ce.
- 20 See Collins, 'On the Very Idea', who does, however, avoid the term 'fundamentalism' despite working at Chicago when the 'Fundamentalism Project' there was underway. The definition of 'Buddhist fundamentalism' given here differs principally from the examples found in the volumes resulting from the project, for example in Scott Appleby and Martin Marty, eds., *Fundamentalisms Comprehended* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995).
- 21 Keyes even notes a certain 'aggressiveness of Sinhalese monks promoting their religion': Charles F. Keyes, *The Golden Peninsula: Culture and Adaptation in Mainland Southeast Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1977), 82.
- 22 Janice Stargardt, 'The Oldest Known Pāli Texts, 5th–6th Century,' *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 21 (1995), 199–213; Harry Falk, 'Die Goldblätter aus Śrī Kṣetra,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 41 (1997), 53–92.
- 23 Peter Skilling, 'New Pāli Inscriptions from Southeast Asia,' *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 23 (1997), 123–57, and Mendis Rohanadeera, 'The Noen Sa Bua Inscription of Dong Si Mahabo, Prachinburi,' *Journal of the Siam Society* (1988), 89–98. For general surveys of this early spread of Theravāda, see Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, *The Ascendancy of Theravāda Buddhism in Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2010), 71–112, and Peter Skilling, 'The Advent of Theravada Buddhism to Mainland Southeast Asia,' in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of Southeast Asia* (Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 104–19.
- 24 Peter Schalk, *Buddhism among Tamils in Tamil Ilam and Tamilakam*, 2 vols. (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2004).
- 25 This association is obviously not without difficulties, as not all monks at the Abhayagiri monastery appear to have been Mahāyānists, and the Mahāyāna movement (if there ever was one) consisted of more groups and fraternities than the Abhayagirivāsins alone. For a discussion of this, see for example Stephen C. Berkwitz, *South Asian Buddhism: A Survey* (London: Routledge, 2010), 71–103.
- 26 An inscription from Lopburi (Thailand) states that Buddhist monks of both traditions as well as Brahmins lived there in the early eleventh century: Assavavirulhakarn, *Ascendancy*, 88.
- 27 As Verardi has shown, this was by no means a peaceful process: Giovanni Verardi, *Hardships and Downfall of Buddhism in India* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011).
- 28 Fräsch, 'Buddhismus im Jahr 1000', 62–3.
- 29 Fräsch, 'Buddha's Tooth Relic', 655–6. But see H. B. Ilangasinha, *Buddhism in Medieval Sri Lanka* (Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1992), 55ff., who claims that after Parākramabāhu's I unification all monks on the island would trace their origins to the Mahāvihāra.
- 30 *Cūlavamsa*, 57.

- 31 The two major sources are the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions from Pegu (late fifteenth century) and the earliest Burmese chronicle to have survived, U Kala's 'Great Chronicle' (*Mahārājavai-kri.*), finished around 1720, which depends on the report of that inscription. So far, scholarly studies have been content with highlighting Anawrahta's role as a champion of Theravāda to explain the rise of Theravāda in eleventh-century Burma (and, by extension, for its rise elsewhere in Southeast Asia), see for example Goh Geok-yian, *The Wheel-Turner and his House: Kingship in a Buddhist Ecumene* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2015). But in his study of the 'Pāli imaginaire', Collins has argued that Theravāda as an ideology could pacify people and make them accept rulers and taxation. Steven Collins, 'What is Literature in Pāli?,' in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 680–1.
- 32 The Aris (*araññ*) were portrayed as a counter-model to the true Buddhist monk, consuming alcohol, having intercourse with women and practising black magic. In reality, the Aris (if derived from *araññāvāsi* or 'forest-dwellers') were a group within the *saṅgha* who took upon themselves a higher degree of asceticism by dwelling at a certain distance from the settlements of the laymen. See Tilman Frasch, *Pagan. Stadt und Staat* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 288.
- 33 *Cūlavamsa*, 60.4–8.
- 34 For more details, see Tilman Frasch, 'A Buddhist Network in the Bay of Bengal: Relations between Bodhgaya, Burma and Sri Lanka, c. 300–1300,' in *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea. Miscellaneous Notes*, ed. Claude Guillot et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 69–93.
- 35 These include the struggle for the throne among members of the Sinhalese royal family after the death of both Vijaya Bāhu I and Parākramabāhu I and again in the early thirteenth century, when the island was twice invaded by Māgha and Candrabhānu. *Cūlavamsa*, 80. 51–89 and 83.36–51.
- 36 Amaradasa Liyanagamage, *The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya* (Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs and Government Press, 1968).
- 37 For this, see G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1994).
- 38 Reforms are mentioned for example in *Cūlavamsa*, 81.40–52 and 84.7–8. For the royal orders, see *The Katikāvatas*, ed. and trans. Nandasena Ratnapala (Munich: Kitzinger, 1971).
- 39 Tilman Frasch, 'Kontakte, Konzile, Kontroversen: Begegnungen in der Theravada-Kosmopolis, ca. 1000–1300 CE', in *Begegnungen in den Religionen Asiens*, ed. Oliver Freiberger et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming).
- 40 E. Hultsch, 'A Vaishnava Inscription from Pagan,' *Epigraphia Indica* 7 (1902–3), 197–8.
- 41 U Than Tun, *Hnaung-dwe Kyauksa-mya* (Yangon: Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005), no. 10, 26.
- 42 Close-ups of the image and its hands are shown in Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of the Monuments at Pagan*, Vol. 4 (Paris: UNESCO, 1994), 396, catalogue number 1133 (figures e and f).
- 43 Frasch, 'Kontakte, Konzile, Kontroversen'.
- 44 The inscription *in situ* (Pl. IV 373c) states that it had been endowed with three sets of articles of daily use such as cups and bed-stands. For the monastery, which has meanwhile been restored, see Pichard, *Inventory*, Vol. 4, 374–97, catalogue numbers 1115–18.
- 45 Pichard, *Inventory*, Vol. 4, 206–9, catalogue number 987. Another example of a stupa on an elephant-born platform is the Mahakassapa stupa (Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of the Monuments at Pagan*, Vol. 2 (Paris: UNESCO, 1993), catalogue number 545). Mahākassapa is said to have travelled to Lanka and was very likely the recipient of the Manavulu Sandesa, a Pāli letter from the thirteenth century sent from Poḷonnaruwa to Bagan: Lionel D. Barnett, 'The Manavulu Sandesaya,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905), 265–83.
- 46 Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan*, Vol. 2 (Locust Valley, NY: Augustine, 1969).
- 47 Gordon H. Luce and U Pe Maung Tin, 'Inscriptions of Burma, Edited and Translated,' *Bulletin of the Burma Historical Commission* 1 (1960), 1–28; *The Myazedi Inscription in Four Languages*, ed. Cultural Institute (Rangoon: Government Press, 1960); Luce, *Old Burma*, Vol. 1, 46.
- 48 *Inscriptions of Burma*, comp. G. H. Luce and U Pe Maung Tin, Vol. 3 (Oxford: University Press, 1939), pl. 302.
- 49 This inscription is still unedited. For a summary, see Frasch, 'Kontakte, Konzile, Kontroversen'.
- 50 *Inscriptions of Burma*, Vol. 3, pl. 226.
- 51 Luce, *Old Burma*, Vol. 2, 208–9, figure 449d.
- 52 *Cūlavamsa*, 81.43–5 and 84.7–10.
- 53 G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1928), 221–37.
- 54 The most famous example of a grammar is the *Saddanīti*, which was allegedly composed in the mid-twelfth century. Other examples include the *Saddbindu*, which is ascribed to king Kyazwa

- (r. 1235–48): Friedgard Lottermoser, 'Minor Pāli Grammar Texts: The *Saddabindu* and its "New" Commentary,' *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 11 (1987), 79–109. For an attempt to identify some of the Pāli scholars from Bagan see Fräsch, *Pagan*, 328–32.
- 55 U Than Tun, 'History of Buddhism in Burma, AD 1000–1300,' *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 51 (1978), 77–87, and U Tin Htway, 'A Preliminary Note on the Vinayadharas of Pagan Period in Burma,' in *Festschrift für Prof. Manuel Sarkisyanz*, ed. Barbara Diehl-Eli et al. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987), 411–58.
- 56 U Than Tun, 'An Original Inscription Dated 10 September 1223, that King Badon Copied on 27 October 1785,' in *Études birmanes en hommage à Denise Bernot*, ed. Pierre Pichard and François Robinne (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1998), 37–42. Also see Mabel Bode, *The Pāli Literature of Burma* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909).
- 57 Besides Senarat Paranavitana (passim), W. M. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), and now Hema Goonatillake, 'Sri Lanka – Myanmar Historical Relations in Religion, Culture and Polity,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka* 55 (2009), 80–104, these include (curiously enough) Gunawardena, *Robe and Plough*, who would otherwise not appear to fit any kind of 'nationalist' bill.
- 58 Another example for this is the spread of the position of a 'primate' or chief monk of the *saṅgha* (*saṅgharāja, mahāsāmi*). This office was the outcome of the unification of the Sri Lankan *saṅgha* by King Parākramabāhu I in 1165 CE, but was never copied at Bagan, see Fräsch, 'Kontakte, Konzile, Kontroversen'.
- 59 Fräsch, *Pagan*, 343–4.
- 60 This connection is represented by the monk Mahākassapa, who possibly hailed from the Lower Chindwin region and became the leader of a large forest monastery in mid-thirteenth-century Bagan. A local chronicle also attributes to him a visit to Ceylon. See Than Tun, 'History of the Buddhism in Burma', 120–5, and Fräsch, *Pagan*, 296–98.
- 61 Michael Charney, *Powerful Learning: Buddhist Literati and the Throne in Burma's Last Dynasty* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).
- 62 G. H. Luce and U Ba Shin, 'A Chiang Mai Mahāthera visits Pagan (1368 AD),' *Artibus Asiae* 24, 3 (1961), 330–7; *The Chiang Mai Chronicle*, trans. David Wyatt and Aroonrut Wichienkeo (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 1998), 39–40.
- 63 *Inscriptions of Burma*, Vol. 3, pl. 345b, and Vol. 5, pl. 548a. Both are fragmentary. Kusumi/Bassein was allegedly the port of embarkation and arrival for the monks Uttarajiva and Chapada, who went to Lanka in the late twelfth century. Taw Sein Ko, *The Kalyani Inscriptions Erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 AD* (Rangoon, Government Printing, 1892).
- 64 Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia*, 91–9.
- 65 Peter Skilling, 'New Pāli Inscriptions from Southeast Asia', and Anne Blackburn, 'Buddhist Connections in the Indian Ocean: Changes in Monastic Mobility, 1000–1500,' *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 58, 3 (2015), 244–7. The earliest Pāli inscription from Cambodia dates from the year 1309, see Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia*, 106.
- 66 Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia*, 102–4; Blackburn, 'Buddhist Connections', 248–52.
- 67 I have dealt with this theme in greater detail already in Tilman Fräsch, 'The Theravada Buddhist Ecumene in the 15th Century: Intellectual Foundations and Material Representations,' in *Buddhism across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, Vol. 1, ed. Tansen Sen (Singapore and Delhi: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and Manohar, 2014), 347–67. In agreeing on a common composition and wording of the canon accompanied by a re-ordination ceremony of all monks who accepted this version, the convention at Kōṭṭe bore the crucial hallmarks of a true (albeit forgotten) Buddhist World Council, see Tilman Fräsch, 'Buddhist Councils in a Time of Transition: Globalism, Modernity and the Preservation of Textual Traditions,' in *Contemporary Buddhist Studies* 14, 1 (2013), 38–51.
- 68 Fräsch, 'Theravada Buddhist Ecumene', 361. I am aware that the Pāli canon is not exactly the same for all Theravāda communities in South and Southeast Asia.

Chapter 4: Beautifully moral

- 1 We are grateful to Zoltán Biedermann, Alan Strathern and the reviewers at UCL Press for their useful feedback on earlier drafts of this chapter. We also thank Whitney Cox, Tara Dankel, Paolo di Leo, Samson Lim, Gabriel Tusinski and Paolo Visigalli for their helpful comments on particular sections of this chapter.

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Chapter 4

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