

bhadra) that *viññāna* with past or future as its object must have a really existing object;

(iii) that a person's habits of mind, abilities, state of spiritual advancement, must in some sense be real even at times when they are not manifested in the persons' conscious mental complex.

To each of these arguments there are correspondances, more or less close, in Kvu. As I indicated earlier, the content and form of these debates in Kvu seem to show the existence in the third century BCE of an active and philosophically sophisticated community of debate, involving no doubt people of different doctrinal convictions, but also people willing to try out theories and arguments to see where they would lead.

David Bastow
Senior Lecturer in Philosophy
University of Dundee

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Dr Peter Harvey, Reader in Buddhist Studies, School of Social and International Studies, University of Sunderland, Chester Road, Sunderland, Tyne and Wear SR1 3SD; tel. +44-191-5152174; e-mail: peter.harvey@sunderland.ac.uk

'SOLITARY AS RHINOCEROS HORN'

K. R. Norman

The Khaggavisānasutta ('Rhinoceros-horn sutta') occurs in Pāli at Sn² 35-75. It also occurs at Ap 2:9-49 (= pp. 8-13). A number of its verses recur in Sanskrit in Mvu I 357-59, where they are called *Khaggavisāṇagāthā* ('Rhinoceros-horn verses'). The antiquity of the sutta is shown by the fact that some of its verses are common to both the Theravādin and the Mahāsāṅghika Lokottaravādin traditions, and also by the fact that it is commented upon in Nidd II which, although it is a commentarial text, is nevertheless sufficiently old to be included in the Theravādin canon. Each verse of the sutta, except 45³, has the refrain *eko care khaggavisāṇakappo* in the fourth pāda. Although there is no indication in Sn, both the Mvu and the Pāli commentarial tradition state that these verses were uttered by Pratyekabuddhas,

1 An earlier form of this paper was submitted to the editor of a proposed felicitation volume in India, but to my knowledge has never been published.

2 Abbreviations of titles of texts: Ap = Apadāna; CP = Norman, 1990-96; D = Dīghanikāya; DhP = Dhammapada; Divy = Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil, 1886); Ja = Jātaka; M = Majjhimanikāya; Mvu = Mahāvastu (= Senart, 1882); Mil = Milindapañha; Vism = Visuddhimagga; Nidd II = Cullaniddesa; Pj II = Paramatthajotikā II (= aṭṭhakathā on Sn); PTS = Pali Text Society; SBB = Sacred Books of the Buddhists; SBE = Sacred Books of the East; Sn = Suttanipāta; Sv = Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (= aṭṭhakathā on D); Vin = Vinaya; -a = aṭṭhakathā; -pṭ = purāṇa-ṭīkā. References to Pāli texts are to PTS editions, except where otherwise stated.

3 This seems to imply that verses 45 and 46 originally made a pair. The two verses occur together elsewhere in the Pāli Canon at Vin I 350,4*-11* = M III 154,17*-24* = DhP 328-29 = Ja III 488, 16*-23*, but with *eko care mātaṅga' araṇṇe va nāgo* ('one should wander alone like a *mātaṅga* elephant in the forest') as the refrain instead of *eko care khaggavisāṇakappo*.

and no doubt the idea expressed in the phrase *eko care* was thought to be appropriate for those who had been enlightened *pratyeka* ('individually'), although I have suggested elsewhere⁴ that in the compound *pratyekabuddha* the word *pratyeka* is an incorrect back-formation from *pratyaya*.

There has been some doubt among translators about the way to translate this *pāda*, arising from the fact that the compound *khagga-visāṇa* is ambiguous in form and can be explained in two different ways. The Pāli word *khagga* (Sanskrit *khadga*) has two meanings: 'rhinoceros' and 'sword'. If *khagga* is taken in the meaning of 'rhinoceros', then the compound can be interpreted as a *taipuruṣa* (dependent) compound, meaning 'the horn of a rhinoceros'. If *khagga* is taken in the meaning of 'sword', then it can be taken as a *bahuvrīhi* (possessive) compound⁵, meaning 'having a sword as horn', i.e. 'a rhinoceros'. Consequently, from the form of the word we cannot be certain whether it is the rhinoceros or its horn which is single.

Some translators have taken one meaning, and some the other. In my note on Sn 35-75 in *The Group of Discourses II*⁶ I discussed this matter and gave my reasons for translating in the way I did. Since, however, many people will have read my translation either in the 1984 version or in the paperback (1985) version, both of which lack notes, it is probably worth setting out those reasons again, in slightly greater detail and incorporating a few extra comments.

Fausbøll translates the *pāda* 'Let one wander alone like⁷ a

4 Norman, 1983A, p.96.

5 See Jones, 1949, p.250, n.1.

6 Norman, 1992, pp.145-46.

7 Pj II 65, 15 explains that *kappa* = *sadisa* 'like, resembling'.

rhinoceros⁸, and does not mention the possibility of an alternative translation. Hare translates 'rhinoceros' but adds in a note⁹: '*khaggavisāṇa*, here rendered "rhinoceros", is perhaps more properly "horn of rhinoceros", its singleness (*eko*) being contrasted no doubt with the two horns of other animals'. Jones translates *khadgavisāṇakalpa* 'like a rhinoceros', although he notes¹⁰ that literally it means 'like the horn of the Indian rhinoceros'. It is not clear why these two translators reject the translation which they assert is more proper or literal. In his examination of this sutta¹¹ Jayawickrama quotes the explanations given in both Nidd II and Pj II (see below), but although he comments upon the difference between the Indian rhinoceros and other species, he nevertheless insists that the comparison is not with the horn but with the animal. Edgerton makes the same point, and maintains that the explanation in Pj II is incorrect¹².

Kloppenborg deals with the matter at length¹³ and translates 'like the horn of a rhinoceros'. She adds, however, 'Although all commentaries take this comparison with reference to the horn of a rhinoceros, they combine this with the paccekabuddha's way of life. In view of the fact that the rhino's way of life can equally be called solitary, it seems that in the comparison both aspects are emphasised, the one horn as well as the solitary life'. I find this argument hard to follow, unless she means that *khaggavisāṇa* is taken in both ways simultaneously in a play upon words (*śleṣa*).

8 Fausbøll, 1881, pp.6 foll.

9 Hare, 1945, p.11, n.2.

10 Jones, 1949, p.250, n.1.

11 Jayawickrama, 1949, p.120.

12 Edgerton, 1951, s.v. *khadga-visāṇa*.

13 Kloppenborg, 1974, pp.59-60.

Saddhatissa entitles the sutta 'The Unicorn's Horn'. He notes¹⁴ that some scholars have translated *khaggavisāṇakappa* as 'like the rhinoceros', but he quotes the commentary and translates the compound accordingly. He states, 'Moreover, in view of the gregarious nature of the Indian species, called *Rhinoceros unicornis*, I have chosen the latter term to emphasise solitariness symbolically. Each stanza, except 11 [= Sn 45], ends with the refrain: "Let one live alone like a unicorn's horn". From information made available to me by Russell Webb¹⁵ it would appear that the Indian rhinoceros does not have a particularly gregarious nature, but it is not possible to know whether Saddhatissa would have translated in a different, unsymbolic, way had he known that he was wrong in his view. His decision to identify *khagga* with the mythical creature 'unicorn' is, however, rather unsatisfactory since it obscures the fact that the simile is based upon a general natural phenomenon.

A phrase similar to that in the Sn also occurs at Mil 105,3 (*ekacarino khaggavisāṇakappā*), where Rhys Davids¹⁶ translates 'dwellers alone like the solitary horn of the rhinoceros', and Miss Horner¹⁷ translates 'faring along like the horn of a rhinoceros', and at Vism 234,8 (*khaggavisāṇakappā*), where Pe Maung Tin¹⁸ translates 'like the horn of a rhinoceros' and Nāṇamoli¹⁹ gives the same translation. They give comparable translations ('like the horn of a rhinoceros' and 'like the rhinoceros's horn', respectively) for *khaggasiṅgasamūpamā* at Vism 234,12*. At Mvu 301,4 occurs

14 Saddhatissa, 1985, p.8, n.1.

15 In a letter dated 2/3/96.

16 Rhys Davids, 1890, p.158.

17 Horner, 1963, p.147.

18 Pe Maung Tin, 1975, p.269.

19 Nāṇamoli, 1956, p.252.

khadgaviṣāṇakalpā, which Jones translates as 'live in loneliness like a rhinoceros'²⁰. The simile is also found in Divy: *ekaś caret khadgaviṣāṇakalpaḥ* (294,15*) and *khadgaviṣāṇakalpā* (582,8).

In my translation of the Suttanipāta I translated the refrain as: 'One should wander solitary as a rhinoceros horn'²¹, relying especially upon the commentaries, which explain it as referring to the horn. Nidd II²²: *yathā khaggassa nāma visāṇaṃ ekaṃ hoti adutiyaṃ, evam eva so paccekabuddho takkappo tassadiso tappatibhāgo* 'As the horn of the rhinoceros is single, solitary, so the *pratyekabuddha* is like that, resembling that, similar to that'. Pj II, written some 600 years later, gives a similar explanation²³: *khaggavisāṇakappo ti, ettha khaggavisāṇaṃ nāma khaggamigasiṅgaṃ* 'Here the horn of the rhinoceros means the horn of the animal (called) rhinoceros'. So does the commentary on Ap and the *ṭikā* on Sv. Ap-a gives the same explanation as Pj II²⁴: *khaggavisāṇakappo ti, ettha khaggavisāṇaṃ nāma khaggamiga-siṅga-samo* "'Like the horn of the rhinoceros" means resembling the horn of the animal (called) rhinoceros by reason of its solitariness'.

In view of these commentarial explanations, it is strange that some translators have been so reluctant to accept the translation 'solitary as a rhinoceros-horn'. It is possible that those who reject

20 Jones, 1949, p.250.

21 Norman, 1984, pp.7-10.

22 Nidd II 129, 13-15. The same explanation is repeated at Ap-a 133, 32-34.

23 Pj II 65, 10-11.

24 Ap-a 153, 4-5.

25 Sv-pt I 331, 28.

it have the African and other two-horned rhinoceroses in mind, and are unaware of the fact that, unlike them, the Indian rhinoceros has only one horn as its zoological name *Rhinoceros unicornis* confirms. Jayawickrama bases his argument against adopting this translation partly on the fact that it is dependent on the interpretation of the word *khagga* as 'rhinoceros', since he maintains that *khagga* by itself in the sense of 'rhinoceros' is found in only a few comparatively late passages in Pāli²⁶, although three of the references he gives are in fact to canonical texts, and other canonical references can be given²⁷. Sanskrit *khadga* is attested with this meaning from the time of the Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā and the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā (see Monier-Williams, s.v.).

Jayawickrama also objects²⁸ to a comparison with a part of an animal, stating that the idea of wandering alone is usually compared with the movement of animals rather than with a part of their anatomy. He also points out that other references to solitude in Pāli usually include animals, not inanimate things, e.g. *gajam iva ekacāriṇaṃ* ('wandering alone like an elephant'), Ja II 220,13*; *nāgo va yūthāni vivajjayitvā* ('like an elephant leaving the herds'), Sn 53; *eko care mātaṅg' araṇṇe va nāgo* ('one should wander alone like a *mātaṅga* elephant'), Vin I 350,10* = M III 154,23* = Dh 329 = Ja III 488,23*; *nāgo va ekako carati* ('he wanders alone like an elephant'), Ja V 190,22*. Although this is clearly true, I do not see that this necessarily precludes a comparison with an inanimate object, especially if we regard the point of the comparison as being not the activity of wandering

26 He quotes Nidd II 129,13; Pj II 65,10; Ja V 406,30; 416,20**; VI 277,27; 538,2*.
27 Ja VI 497,12*, 578,24*.
28 Jayawickrama, 1949, pp.119 foll.

but the solitariness.

It has often been noted that there is much parallelism in early Jain and Buddhist literature²⁹, and in this particular case there is a comparable reference to a Jain text, which helps to shed light on this problem. We find in the Jain Kalpa-sūtra the phrase *khaggivisaṇaṃ va ega-jāe*³⁰ used as an epithet of Mahāvīra. Jacobi translates 'single and alone like the horn of a rhinoceros'³¹. The grammatical structure of this phrase does not permit of any reference to the animal, since the neuter form *-visaṇaṃ* makes it clear that it is the horn which is solitary. This effectively proves the point.

When the Pāli can be so translated, when the earliest interpretations take it that way, when the Jain tradition supports it, and when the Indian rhinoceros is unique among animals in India in having only one horn, it seems certain to me that the reference is to the single horn, and I think that there is no problem with the phrase if we translate: 'Let him wander all by himself (*eko adutiyo*) having a resemblance to the rhinoceros horn, which is also *eko adutiyo*'.

It is possible that some translators have rejected this view because they have not fully understood the meaning of the words used here. The Sanskrit word *khadga* 'rhinoceros' is a non-Aryan word, as Kuiper³² and Mayrhofer³³ have explained, and it is to be separated from the Sanskrit word *khadga* 'sword'. The original meaning of *khadga* was therefore 'rhinoceros' when it was first

29 For examples, see Nakamura, 1983.

30 Jacobi, 1879, p.62 (Jinacaritra § 118).

31 Jacobi, 1884, p.261.

32 Kuiper, 1948, pp.136 foll.

33 Mayrhofer, 1956, p.299.

borrowed into Indo-Aryan, and it is not an abbreviation for *khadga-viṣāṇa* as has been suggested³⁴. It follows then that the meaning of the compound *khadgaviṣāṇa* is 'horn of a rhinoceros'. It was later mistakenly taken as meaning 'having a sword as horn', when confusion arose with the word *khadga* 'sword'.

So, in addition to the explanation quoted above, the Ap-a — probably the last of the commentaries on Pāli canonical texts to be written³⁵ — gives an alternative explanation: *khaggam visāṇam yassa migassa so 'yam migo khaggavisāṇo*, Ap-a 203,6-7, 'The animal whose horn is a sword is the "sword as horn"', i.e. rhinoceros. Nevertheless, Ap-a still maintains that the reference is to the animal's horn: *khaggavisāṇakappā khaggavisāṇamigasiṅgasadisā gaṇasaṅganikābhāvenā to attho*, Ap-a 204,2-3, 'Like the *khaggavisāṇa* means the horn of the animal (called) *khaggavisāṇa*, because of the absence of communication with a group'.

It seems clear that in some parts of the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition also the true meaning of the compound was forgotten, which led to the belief that the reference was to the rhinoceros, and not to its solitary horn. We consequently find in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts such compounds as *khadga-sama* ('equal to a rhinoceros') and *khadga-sadrśa* ('like a rhinoceros'), and the phrase *eka viharati yathaiva khadgo* ('he lives alone like a rhinoceros')³⁶.

Whichever way the simile is to be taken, it could only have been formulated by someone who knew about the singleness of the rhinoceros's horn or the animal's preference for a solitary life. It seems likely that such knowledge could only have come from

34 Lüders, 1940, p.429.

35 See Norman, 1983B, pp.146-47.

36 See Edgerton, 1951, s.v. *khadga-viṣāṇa*.

North India, since in India the rhinoceros is now restricted to the northern region adjoining the Nepalese Terai and even in ancient times was probably unknown in southern India. It is not unreasonable to suppose that early Buddhists in Magadha, and Jains in the same region, had first-hand knowledge of the animal. It is interesting to note that, despite the fact that the early Pāli commentators had probably never seen the Indian rhinoceros, they nevertheless knew that it had only one horn and were able to explain the simile in the way they did. It seems clear that, like other information found in the Mahāvihāra commentarial tradition, this knowledge was originally brought from North India.

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WHAT LANGUAGE DID THE BUDDHA SPEAK?¹

Ven. Piyasilo

Despite the enormous amount of Buddhist texts and extent of research work done on the Buddha and his teachings, no scholar has been able to pinpoint the language or dialect which the Buddha used to preach.²

The word 'Pāli' is found only in the Commentaries, not in the Tipiṭaka (PED, s.v. Pali). The Commentaries (e.g. DhA 4, 93, DhsA 157) frequently use the word 'Pāli' in the sense of 'canonical text' in contrast to the Aṭṭhakathā (Commentary), and sometimes also in the sense of 'language of the canonical texts'. In the Jātaka Commentary, 'Pāli' often means the Jātaka verses. Winternitz (1972: 603) remarks that curiously the term 'Pāli' is often used at the present day by the country people of Eastern Bengal to denote the verse portions of their prose narratives (Rūpa-Kathā and Gīta-Kathā).

We do not have any definite information as to what language the Buddha himself spoke. Winternitz (1972: 12) says that the Buddha spoke the dialect of his native province Kosala (modern Oudh), and that it was most likely in this same dialect that he first began to proclaim his doctrine. This view is quite tenable because in the sixth century BCE, the Sākya territory of

1 Reprinted from *Unisains Buddhist '79* (Penang) with the kind permission of the Editorial Board.

2 Ed. Attention should be drawn to the seminal contributions to *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung. The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, ed. Heinz Bechert, Göttingen 1980, his own subsequent paper, 'Methodological Considerations Concerning the Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition', *BSR* 8 (1991), pp.3 19, and Mettananda Bhikkhu, 'What Language Did the Buddha Speak?', 2 parts, *WFB Review XXVII*, 1-2, Bangkok 1990.