The Jaina Agama Series

Muni Jambuvijaya

in the faina $\overline{A}gamas$, the preachings and teachings of the last Jina Lord Mahāvīra are preserved. The holy scriptures which were composed by the ganadharas, the direct disciples of Lord Mahāvīra and the grand disciples, who flourished within about two or three hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra, are called Jaina $\overline{A}gamas$. The language of the $\overline{A}gamas$ is Ardhamāgadhī. Ardhamāgadhī is a Prakrit language. It was the language of the people during the time of Lord Mahāvīra.

The fundamental class of the \overline{A} gamas is known as A \underline{n} \underline{g} \underline{a} . This points to an old tradition of classifying the \overline{A} gamas. To explain creation the Vedic tradition has posited a Purusa. Similarly, a Vidyā-Purusa or Śruta-Purusa has been posited here and the various branches of knowledge are viewed as parts and sub-parts of his body. In Vedic literature we come across the idea of the parts of (the body of) Vidyā. Similarly, in the Jaina Scriptures we come across the idea of the parts and sub-parts of (the body of) the Śruta. It is clear that just as in the system of the human body parts serve as the basis of subparts even so in the \overline{A} gamas the Angas serve as the basis of the Upangas. Thus, in the whole of the \overline{A} gama literature the place of the Angas is higher than that of the remaining works. Not only that, they constitute the fundamental \overline{A} gamas and it is on the basis of them that the other \overline{A} gamas like the Upāngas, etc.—the current term for which is angabāhya—have been composed. Thus the term 'Anga', applied to the fundamental \bar{A} gamas—fundamental because they are composed by the direct pupils of the Tirthankara after having heard his succinct preachings of the principles-suggests their importance as well as their originality. The teachings of Lord Mahāvīra constitute the main source of the Anga literature.

It is beyond all shadow of doubt that the $\overline{A}gamas$, at first, only included the Ganipitaka, or $Dv\overline{a}das\overline{a}niga$, because both the Digambara and $Svet\overline{a}mbara$ traditions consider the ganadharas to be the authors of these

works. But it is also a fact that even the works composed by the long line of their disciples, grand-disciples, and so on gradually found place in the class of literature called $\overline{A}gama$. Thus the $\overline{A}gamas$ generally fall into two groups: Anga Agamas and angabahya Agamas. The Nandisūtra places under the title samyak śruta (true scriptures) nothing but the Dvādaśān gī propounded by the Arhat. Again, it takes into consideration the Dvādaśāngī alone in the course of its treatment of sādisaparyavasita, etc.² The Samavāyānga (sūtra 136) too enumerates only the twelve Angas propounded by Lord Mahāvīra. The Anuvogadvāra refers to the Dvādasa (twelve) Angas only while discussing the topic of lokottara agamapramana (transcendental scriptures). All this suggests that, originally, the twelve Angas constituted the Jaina $\overline{A}gama$. But as time passed even the works composed by the long line of disciples, direct or indirect, of the ganadharas were included in the \bar{A} gama (\hat{S} ruta) literature, the reason being that they were based on the original \overline{A} gamas. Of course, the discrimination is always made as to which \overline{A} gamas are written by the ganadharas and which by authors other than the ganadharas. The classification of the Agamas (the Sruta) into Anga (angapravista) and angabahya has been made keeping this very discrimination in view.3 The Svetāmbaras and the Digambaras agree on the point of including all \overline{A} gamas other than the twelve Angas in the class called angabāhya. But we have no source or means at our disposal to work out the chronological order in which the new additions were made in the class called angabāhya. It would not be improper if we try to construct a picture of this order by joining together whatever stray links of history we have.

After having classified the Śruta (the Āgamas) into two classes, viz. the angabāhya and the angapraviṣṭa, Vācaka Umāsvāti has enumerated by name the works falling under the class angabāhya. They are as follows: (1) Sāmāyika, (2) Caturvimsatistava, (3) Vandană, (4) Pratikramaṇa, (5) Kāyavyutsarga, (6) Pratyākhyāna, (7) Daśavaikālika, (8) Uttarādhyayana, (9) Daśā, (10) Kalpa-Vyavahāra, (11) Niśūtha, (12) Rṣibhāṣita, etc. Here the use of the word 'etc.' (ādi) suggests that there are some other works which also belong to this class. The author of the Dhavalā-ṭīkā clearly says that there are just fourteen angabāhya works; and he gives the names of these works as follows: (1) Sāmāiya, (2) Cauvīsatthao, (3) Vandaṇā, (4) Paḍikkamaṇa, (5) Veṇaiya, (6) Kidiyamma, (7) Dasaveyāliya, (8) Uttarajjhayaṇa,

(9) Kappa-Vavahāro, (10) Kappākappiya, (11) Mahākappiya, (12) Puņdarīya, (13) Mahāpuṇḍarīya, (14) ṇisīhaya.⁴

The $Jayadhaval\bar{a}^5$ applies the general term ' $prak\bar{r}naka$ ' to these fourteen $angab\bar{a}hya$ works. The $Dhaval\bar{a}$ and $Jayadhaval\bar{a}$ even give the detailed contents of these fourteen works. So, it is possible that all these fourteen works ($S\bar{u}tras$) were present before $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$ $V\bar{r}rasena$. As regards the Angas he clearly says that they have gradually become extinct. But in the case of the $angab\bar{a}hya$ works he passes no such remark.

On the basis of these two lists it can be said that the following eighteen works were well known as *angabāhya* works till the time of the author of the *Dhavalā*:

(1) Sāmāyika, (2) Caturvimsatistava, (3) Vandana, (4) Pratikramaṇa, (5) Kāyavyutsarga, (6) Pratyākhyāna, (7) Veṇaiya, (8) Kidiyamma, (9) Daśavaikālika, (10) Uttarādhyayana, (11) Daśā, (12) Kalpa-Vyavahāra, (13) Niśītha, (14) Rṣibhāṣita, (15) Kappākappiya, (16) Mahākappiya, (17) Puṇḍarīya, (18) Mahāpuṇḍarīya.

The first six out of these eighteen works are included in the avasyaka. We find in the Dhavalā two different names in place of the last two of this list of six. If these two different names appearing in the Dhavalā were considered to be simply other names of the Kāyavyutsarga and the Pratyākhyāna and not of two independent works, then the works enumerated here will be less in number by two, i. e. sixteen. But those two different names could not be considered to be simply the other names of the Kayavyutsarga and the Pratyākhyāna because the content, as given in the Dhavalā, of the works bearing those names greatly differs from that of the Kayavyutsarga and the Pratyākhyāna. Hence the separate mention above of these two names. Thus, though only eighteen names are obtainable, it is very difficult to decide as to how many other names are intended by Vacaka Umasvati through the use of the word 'adi' in his Tattvarthabhasya. But we can say this much—the figure should be larger than the fourteen given in the Dhavalā because the word 'ādi' occurs after the enumeration of twelve names. Generally it can be said that the list found in the *Dhavalā* belongs to that period when the views of the Svetāmbaras and Digambaras regarding the Sruta were identical and there

was no dispute on the point. Hence it is quite possible that this list is prior to Vācaka Umāsvāti.

In the Nandisūtra, the following utkālika angabāhya works are mentioned:

(1) Dasavaikālika	(16) Sūryaprajñapti
(2) Kalpākalpika	(17) Pauruṣīmaṇḍala
(3) Cullakalpaśruta	(18) Maṇḍalapraveśa
(4) Mahākalpasruta	(19) Vidyācaraṇaviniścaya
(5) Aupapātika	(20) Gaņividyā
(6) Rājapraśnīya	(21) Dhyānavibhakti
(7) Jīvābhigama	(22) Maraṇavibhakti
(8) Prajñāpanā	(23) Ātmavis'odhi
(9) Mahāprajñāpanā	(24) Vītarāgaśruta
(10) Pramādāpramāda	(25) Saṁlekhanāśruta
(11) Nandi	(26) Vihārakalpa
(12) Anuyogadvāra	(27) Caranavidhi
(13) Devendrastava	(28) Āturapratyākhyāna
(14) Tandulavaicārika	(29) Mahāpratyākhyāna
(15) Candravedhyaka	•

In addition to the utkālika angabāhya works there are also kālika angabāhya works. The Nandisūtra includes the following śāstras in the class of kālika angabāhya:

(1) Uttarādhyayana	(11) Kṣudrikāvimānapravibhakti
(2) Daśāśruta	(12) Mahatīvimānapravibhakti
(3) Kalpa	(13) Aṅ gacūlikā
(4) Vyavahāra	(14) Vargacūlikā
(5) Niśītha	(15) Vivāhacūlikā
(6) Mahāniśītha	(16) Aruṇopapāta
(7) Ŗṣibhāṣita	(17) Varuņopapāta
(8) Jambūdvīpaprajñapti	(18) Garuḍopapāta
(9) Dvīpasāgaraprajñapti	(19) Dharaṇopapāta
(10) Candraprajñapti	(20) Vaiśramaṇopapāta

(21) Velandharopapāta (27) Kalpikā

(22) Devendropapāta (28) Kalpāvatamsikā

(23) Utthānaśruta (29) Puṣpitā

(24) Samupasthānaśruta (30) Puṣpacūlikā

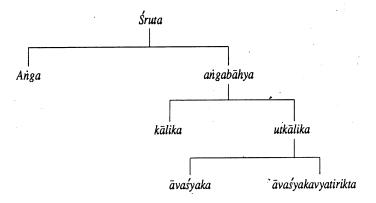
(25) $N\bar{a}$ gaparij $n\bar{a}$ (31) Vr sn idas \bar{a}^7

(26) Nirayāvalikā

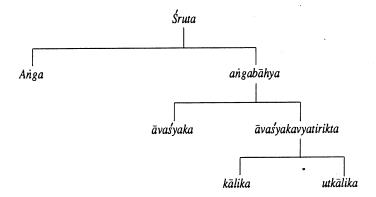
And at the end of this list is written: "..., etc. Eighty-four thousand prakīrnakas by Lord Rṣabha, samkhyāta thousand prakīrnakas by the intermediary 22 Tīrthankaras and fourteen thousand prakīrnakas by Lord Mahāvīra also to be included in the kālika angabāhya works." The author goes on to add that these works are as many thousands as are the disciples of the Tīrthankaras, disciples possessed of four types of intellect, and also as many thousands as are the Pratyekabuddhas. The Nandisūtra mentions 60 angabāhya works which are other than the āvasyakas. Though they might have been extant at the time when the Nandi was composed, at present many of them are extinct.

We shall now discuss the classification of the \overline{A} gamas. As we have seen, at first the Angas alone constituted the \overline{A} gamas or Ganipitakas. Afterwards even the works based on these Angas found place among the $\bar{A}gamas$ and they were called $angab\bar{a}hya$. Thus the $\bar{A}gamas$ came from that time to be classified into two—the Anga and the angabahya. For the class Anga the term 'angapravista' is also used. For the class angabāhya the terms 'upānga', 'anangapravista' and 'upatantra' are likewise used. Vācaka Umāsvāti uses the terms 'angabāhya' and 'upānga' for the angabāhya class, while the *Dhavalā* employs the terms 'angabāhya' and 'upatantra' for that very class. From the references found in the Nandisūtra it can be seen that the term 'prakīrnaka' was also applied to the angabāhya class. The Jayadhavalā (p. 122) corroborates this point. Like the Vedas, the Aigas were studied at specific times and hence they are called kālika. But the case was different with the angabahya works. Some of them were studied at specific times and others at any time. Hence the angabahya works have formed two classes: the kālika and the utkālika. This classification is as old as the Anuyogadvārasūtra. On this basis we can surmise that till the time of the

Anuyogadvāra, the classification of the \overline{A} gamas into Anga and angabāhya, and the further classification of the angabāhyas into kālika and utkālika was established. On the basis of the reference found in Umāsvāti's works and the Dhavalā it can be deduced that there was a time when the Sāmāyika, etc. were not regarded as forming one group; but when they did come to be grouped under one title (i.e. \bar{a} vasyaka) the angabāhya works were classified into two— \bar{a} vasyaka and \bar{a} vasyakavyatirikta. The fact that this classification was prevalent is corroborated by the Sthānānga (sūtra 71), the Nandi (sūtra 43) and the Anuyogadvāra (sūtra 5). The speciality of the Anuyogadvāra is that the classification of the Sruta given therein runs as follows:



But the Nandisūtra offers the following classification:



The reason for the difference found in these two classifications is as follows: In the $Anuyogadv\bar{a}ra$ at the concerned place the topic in hand is the explanation of the $\bar{a}va\acute{s}yaka$. Hence, having first mentioned the $k\bar{a}lika$ and the $uk\bar{a}lika$ types of $angab\bar{a}hya$ works, the author points out that the $\bar{a}va\acute{s}yaka$ falls under the category $uk\bar{a}lika$. On the other hand, in the Nandi the topic in hand is related not to any particular class of $\bar{A}gamas$ but to the classification of $\bar{A}gamas$ as such; so, therein the $k\bar{a}lika$ - $uk\bar{a}lika$ classification has found place at the end. In the modern Svetāmbara tradition an altogether different classification of $\bar{A}gamas$ is prevalent. It is as follows:

(1) Anga, (2) Upānga, (3) Cheda, (4) Mūla, (5) Prakīrņaka, (6) Cūlikā.

It is difficult to say as to when this system of classifying the $\overline{A}gamas$ originated but we can imagine the process through which it might have passed. The classification of the $\bar{A}gamas$ into Anga and angabahya might have been prevalent for long, but in the Middle Ages there took place some change in this system. It is difficult to decide as to when, that is in which century of the Middle Ages, this happened. But it is certain that this new system was already prevalent in near about the twelfth century of the Christian Era, because Śrīcandra, the pupil of Dhaneśvara, in his Sukhabodhā Samācārī8 refers to the Angas and to the Upāngas respectively related to them. On account of the mystical [sic] nature of the works that now pass under the title Chedasūtras it should have been deemed necessary to separate them from the other Agamas and thus, perhaps, originated the class called Chedasūtras. It is difficult to know as to when and why the class called Mūlasūtra came into existence. But we are of opinion that those works which the Jaina monks should learn first were grouped under the title Mūlasūtra. The Nandi and the Anuyogadvāra, being composed as appendages to the entire Śruta, naturally form the class called Cūlikāsūtra. The Upānga, the Cheda, the Mūla and the Cūlikā—all these classes were formed after having selected the works, proper for each class, from among the prakirnakas that were included in the angabāhya class of the Agamas. Hence the remaining prakīrņakas have formed an independent class called Prakīrnaka. The list of the established classes of the Śruta, which is universally recognised by the Śvetāmbaras with some minor changes, runs as follows:9

¹¹ Angas (1) Ācāra, (2) Sūtrakrta, (3) Sthāna, (4) Samavāya, (5)

Vyākhyāprajñapti, (6) Jñātādharmakathā, (7) Upāsakadaśā, (8) Antakṛddaśā, (9) Anuttaraupapātikadaśā, (10) Praśnavyākaraṇa, (11) Vipāka, [(12) Dṛṣṭivāda—extinct)];

12 Upāngas

(1) Aupapātika, (2) Rājapraśnīya, (3) Jīvābhigama, (4) Prajñāpanā, (5) Sūryaprajñapti, (6) Jambūdvīpaprajňapti, (7) Candraprajňapti, (8) Nirayāvalī, (9) Kalpāvatamsikā, (10) Puṣpikā, (11) Puṣpacūlikā, (12) Vṛṣṇidaśā;

- 6 Chedasūtras (1) Niśītha, (2) Mahāniśītha, (3) Vyavahāra, (4) Daśāśruta, (5) Brhatkalpa, (6) Jītakalpa;
- 4 Mūlasūtra (1) Uttarādhyayana, (2) Daśavaikālika, (3) Āvaśyaka, (4) Pindaniryukti;
- 10 Prakīrṇakas (1) Catuḥśaraṇa, (2) Āturapratyākhyāna, (3) Bhaktaparijñā, (4) Samstāraka, (5) Tandulavaicārika, (6) Candravedhyaka, (7) Devendrastava, (8) Gaṇividyā, (9) Mahāpratyākhyāna, (10) Vīrastava;
 - 2 Cūlikāsūtras (1) Nandi, (2) Anuyogadvāra.

Modern scholars, down to the present day, have not evinced as much interest in the study of the Jaina literature—particularly the $\overline{A}gamas$ —as they have in the study of its Vedic and Buddhist counterparts. There are many reasons for the neglect of the study of the $\overline{A}gamas$. One of them is the absence of a good edition of these texts. The Jaina $\overline{A}gamas$ are a living literature. They have been edited and published by a number of religious personalities. But there exists not a single edition which contains all the $\overline{A}gamas$ which is handy and which is such as can easily be used by modern scholars. Stray attempts have been made in this direction but the task has not been carried out in a systematic manner with a determinate plan in view. Indeed the critical edition of all the $\overline{A}gamas$ was a long-felt need.

For the publication of the Jaina $\overline{A}gamas$, many individuals and many institutes have made attempts during all these years. In 1848 Stevenson published for the first time an English translation of the $Kalpas\bar{u}tra$; but the translation was not up to the mark. Really speaking, Prof. Weber deserves to be called the pioneer in the field of the $\overline{A}gama$ publication. In 1865–66 he edited some portions of the $Bhagavat\bar{u}s\bar{u}tra$ and appended notes that embody the important results of his study of the same.

In 1874 Ray Dhanpatsimhaji Bahadur started the work of publishing the \overline{A} gamas and brought out many of them. But the utility of these published texts was hardly greater than that of the original manuscripts because they were printed without punctuation marks, paragraphing, and word-division. Nevertheless, he deserves our thanks for making available to the scholars the Jaina \overline{A} gamas which were then very difficult to obtain.

The $Kalpas\bar{u}tra$ (1879) and the $\bar{A}c\bar{a}r\bar{a}nga$ (1882) edited by Dr. Hermann Jacobi, the $Aupap\bar{a}tika$ (1890) and the $\bar{A}vasyaka$ (1897) edited by Leumann, some portions of the $J\bar{n}\bar{a}t\bar{a}dharmakath\bar{a}$ (1881) edited by Steinthal, the $Up\bar{a}sakadas\bar{a}$ (1890) edited by Hoernle, the $\bar{A}c\bar{a}r\bar{a}nga$ (1910) and some of the $Chedas\bar{u}tras$ (1918) edited by Schubring, etc.—in the publication of all these works the critical method of editing has been adopted. This was not done in the case of the edition of 32 $\bar{A}gamas$, published by Shri Lala Sukhdeva Sahaya in 1916–20 along with the Hindi translation by Shri Amolak Rishi, nor in that of the edition of the $\bar{A}gamas$ (along with their respective commentaries) the publication of which started in 1915 under the auspices of the $\bar{A}gamodaya$ Samiti.

The $\overline{A}gamas$ edifed by $\overline{A}c\overline{a}rya$ Śrī S $\overline{a}garanandas\overline{u}risvaraji$ are superior to those edited by Ray Dhanpatsimhaji Bahadur from the point of view of correct readings as well as correct printing, and they have proved very useful to the scholars. The credit certainly goes to $\overline{A}c\overline{a}rya$ S $\overline{a}garanandas\overline{u}risvaraji$ for whatever progress we have achieved in the study of Jaina religion and philosophy ever since the publication of his edition. Despite all this the need for a critical edition of the $\overline{A}gamas$ still remains to be fulfilled. In 1943 there was established the Śrī Jain $\overline{a}gama$ Prak $\overline{a}sin\overline{1}$ Samsad with the aim of publishing the $\overline{A}gamas$, by Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, who had been making, throughout the last forty years of his life, such efforts as would make possible the publication of a critical edition of all the $\overline{A}gamas$. Not only that, but he had made successful attempts to correct the text reading of the $\overline{A}gamas$ on the basis of the quotations from them found in other works.

As a result of these efforts of the Late Respected Muni Shri Punyavijayaji Maharaj, a committee was formed in the year 1964 by the Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya (Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay 16) to publish a critical edition of the Jaina \overline{A} gamas. It was decided to accept the following six principles in critically editing the texts of the Jaina \overline{A} gama:

- (i) utilization of the old handwritten manuscripts
- (ii) utilization of the Cūrņi, Tīkā, Avacūri, Tippaņaka, etc.
- (iii) utilization of the quotations from the \bar{A} gama texts
- (iv) comparison with the $S\bar{u}tra$ readings found in the other $\bar{A}gama$ texts
- (v) discrimination of the unwanted and wrong amendations made by scholars
- (vi) discrimination of the mistakes committed by copyists.

A scheme was adopted to edit all the Jaina \overline{A} gamas critically and to publish them in 17 Volumes as follows:

CŪLIKĀSŪTRAS (2)

Vol. I (1) Nandisūtra

(2) Anuyogadvārasūtra

ANGAS (11)

Vol. II (1) $\bar{A}c\bar{a}r\bar{a}nga$ (1977)

(2) Sūtrakṛtānga (1978)

Vol. III (3) Sthānānga

(4) Samavāyānga

Vol. IV (5) Vyākhyāprajñapti (in three parts: 1974, 1978, 1982)

Vol. V (6) Inatādharmakathānga

Vol. VI (7) Upāsakadaśāṅga

(8) Antakṛddaśāṅga

(9) Anuttaraupapātikadaśānga

(10) Praśnavyākaraņadaśānga

(11) Vipākadaśānga

UPĀNGAS (12)

Vol. VII (1) Aupapātika

(2) Rājapraśnīya

Vol. VIII (3) Jivābhigama

Vol. IX (4) *Prajñāpanā* (in two parts: 1969, 1971)

Vol. X (5) Jambūdvīpaprajñapti

Vol. XI (6) Candraprajñapti

(7) Sūryaprajñapti

Vol. XII (8) Nirayāvalikā

- (9) Kalpāvatamsikā
- (10) Puspikā
- (11) Puspacūlikā
- (12) Vrsnidaśā

CHEDASŪTRAS (6)

- Vol. XIII (1) Daśāśrutaskandha
 - (2) Brhatkalpasūtra
 - (3) Vyavahārasūtra
 - (4) Niśīthasūtra
 - (5) Jītakalpa (Śrāddhajītakalpa and Yatijītakalpa)

Vol. XIV (6) Mahānisīthasūtra

MŪLASŪTRAS (4)

- Vol. XV (1) Daśavaikālika
 - (2) Uttarādhyayana
 - (3) Āvaśyaka
- Vol. XVI (4) Pindaniryukti (Oghaniryukti and Samsaktaniryukti included)

PRAKĪRŅAKAS (10)*

- Vol. XVII (1) Catuhśarana
 - (2) Āturapratyākhyana
 - (3) Bhaktaparijñā
 - (4) Samstāraka
 - (5) Tandulavaicārika
 - (6) Candravedhyaka
 - .(7) Devendrastava
 - (8) Ganividyā
 - (9) Mahāpratyākhyāna
 - (10) Vīrastava

This volume (in two parts) will also include the following Prakīrņakas:

- (1) $\bar{A}j\bar{i}vakalpa$
- (2) Gacchācāra
- (3) Maranasamādhi
- (4) Ārādhanāpatākā

- (5) Dvīpasāgaraprajñaptisamgrahanī
- (6) Jyotiskarandaka
- (7) Sārāvalī

Out of these Volumes, Number I (1968), IX and XV (1977: Daśavaikālika, Uttarādhyayana, Āvaśyaka) were edited by Muni Shri Punyavijayaji Maharaj. After the expiration of Muni Shri Punyavijayaji Maharaj, the scheme is continued. Pandit Shri Bechardas Jivaraj Doshi has edited Vol. IV which is already published in three parts. Vol. XVII is edited by Pandit Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak and is already published.* Volumes II, III (1985) and V (1989) are edited by Muni Shri Jambuvijaya and are already published. The work of Vol. VII is under progress. All the remaining volumes shall be critically edited and published in due course of time.

This article has been compiled on the basis of the introduction of Volume I (1968) of the Jaina \overline{A} gama Series.

Notes

- 1. Nandisūtra, sū. 71.
- 2. Ibid., sū. 73.
- 3. Ibid., sū. 79; *Rājavārtika* 1. 20. 11. 13; *Dhavalā*, p. 96; *Tattvārthabhāsya* 1. 20.
- 4. *Dhavalā*, pt. I, p. 96; *Jayadhavalā*, pt. I, pp. 24, 97.
- 5. P. 122.
- 6. Nandisūtra, sū. 81.
- 7. The Pākṣikasūtra mentions, in addition to these 31 works, five others, viz. the Āśīviṣabhāvanā, the Dṛṣṭiviṣabhāvanā, the Svapnabhāvanā, the Mahāsvapnabhāvanā, and the Taijasanisarga. And the Yoganandi additionally mentions three other works, viz. the Sāgaraprajāapti, the Vṛṣṇikā and the Cāraṇabhāvanā. Thus the total number of works pertaining to this type comes to 39.
- 8. Refer to the Introduction to *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛḥad Itihāsa* (Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama, Granthamālā), p. 36.
- 9. Ibid., p. 27.
- * Part I (twenty *Prakīrnakas*), Part II (twelve "tracts"), Part III (*Joisakarandagai*n) 1984, 1987, 1989. The EDITORS.