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## PALI BUDDHIST REVIEW

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### DHAMMAPADA

(Translated by Ven. *B. Ananda Maitreya*)

#### VII

#### The Arahant

1. There is no burning for him who has finished his journey,  
who is sorrowless and free on all sides,  
and who has broken off all fetters. (90)
2. The mindful exert themselves.  
They do not delight in the household life.  
They leave behind their homes just as swans a muddy lake. (91)
3. They who store up nothing,  
who take the right view of the food they eat,  
whose minds are fixed on Deliverance,  
—which are devoid of passions,  
which are free from signs (lust and the like)—  
their track is hard to trace,  
like the path of the birds in the sky. (92)
4. In whomsoever are the obsessions of mind ended,  
whosoever take the right view of the food they eat,  
whosoever lives with their mind devoid of blemishes,  
whose mind is signless,  
hard is it to trace the track of such ones,  
like the path of the birds in the sky. (93)
5. Even gods like to see and visit such a one,  
who keeps himself purged of pride,  
who is freed from mental obsessions  
and who has senses mastered,  
like horses well tamed by a horse-trainer. (94)
6. Done with the round of rebirths is a person who is  
as tolerant as the earth,  
as firm as the doorpost,  
as placid as a mudless pond,  
and dutiful. (95)

7. Whosoever has obtained freedom through perfect wisdom,  
and is pacified and unshakable,  
his mind is tranquil, his words are tranquil,  
and his deeds are tranquil too. (96)
8. Whosoever is not credulous,  
who knows the Unmade,  
who has cut off all ties,  
destroyed the basis of rebirth and removed all craving,  
he indeed is the highest among men. (97)
9. Delightful is the place where the saints dwell,  
whether in a village or a remote forest,  
the deep pit or the land. (98)
10. Delightful are forests (to the saints)  
where the worldlings find no delight,  
being lust-free, they delight therein,  
for they do not hunt for pleasures. (99)

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### VIII

#### Thousands

1. A single word full of sense  
which brings peace of mind to the hearer,  
is far worthier than a thousand utterances  
full of profitless words. (100)
2. A single verse full of meaning  
that brings peace to the mind of the hearer,  
is far worthier than a thousand verses  
full of profitless words. (101)
3. One may utter a hundred verses full of vain descriptions.  
But a single verse that brings peace of mind to the hearer  
is far worthier than all that. (102)
4. One may conquer a million men in a single battle,  
but one who may conquer oneself  
is the greatest and best conqueror. (103)
- 5, 6. Conquest of one's own self is better than victory over all others.  
Neither a god nor a demigod,  
nor a Māra even with Brahma,  
can undo the victory of such an one  
who is self-tamed and lives ever in restraint. (104, 105)

7. The homage paid to the purified man,  
even for one single moment,  
is far worthier than sacrifices  
performed monthly for a full hundred years  
with a thousand pieces of gold each time. (106)
8. Paying homage to a purified man for a single moment  
is worthier than living in the forest  
tending the sacred fire for a hundred years. (107)
9. The performance of oblation or sacrifice  
by a man for the purpose of earning merit  
is not worth the fourth part of the merit  
earned by paying homage to the upright holy man. (108)
10. He who reveres and respectfully treats the aged  
will have four things increased in himself:  
long life, beauty, happiness and strength. (109)
11. A life lived virtuously and meditatively,  
even for one single day,  
is worthier than a life of a hundred years,  
lived viciously and distractively. (110)
12. A single day's life of a wise and contemplative man  
is worthier than a life of a hundred years  
lived viciously and distractively. (111)
13. A single day's life of one who strives hard  
is better than a life of a hundred years  
lived by one who is lazy and effortless. (112)
14. A single day's life lived by a man  
who perceives the rise and fall of component things,  
is worthier than that of a hundred years  
lived by one who does not perceive the same. (113)
15. A single day's life  
of one who perceives the deathless state  
is worthier than a hundred years' life  
of one who perceives not the same. (114)
16. A single day's life  
of one who sees the highest Norm  
is worthier than a hundred years' life  
of one who sees not the same. (115)

IX

Evil

1. Let one hasten in doing good.  
Let one restrain one's mind from evil.  
The mind of the man that is slack in doing good  
gets addicted to evil. (116)
2. If a man commit evil,  
let him not commit it repeatedly.  
Let him not be addicted to it.  
For, heaping up of evil brings misery. (117)
3. Should a man do good,  
let him do it repeatedly.  
Let him set his heart upon it,  
for, blessed is the heaping up of good. (118)
4. Even an evil-doer feels happy  
so long as his evil remains unripe.  
But when his evil ripens,  
then the evil-doer sees its result. (119)
5. Even a good man sees ill  
so long as his good deeds remain unripe.  
But whenever they bear fruit,  
then the doer of good sees good results. (120)
6. Let no man think lightly of evil,  
saying, "It will not come to me".  
As a pot is filled with water drop by drop,  
so does the fool, gathering little by little, become full of evil. (121)
7. Let no one think lightly of good,  
saying, "It will not come to me".  
Little drops of water fill up even a big pot.  
Likewise, the wise man, gathering little by little, becomes full  
of good. (122)
8. Just as a merchant with much wealth  
but with a small caravan,  
avoids a dangerous road,  
or as a man loving his life shuns poison,  
so should one shun all evils. (123)

9. If a man has no wound on his palm,  
he may take poison in his hand.  
For, the poison does not affect the woundless hand,  
likewise, he is not guilty  
who does a deed with no evil intention. (124)
10. Whoever offends a person,  
innocent, pure and guiltless,  
evil results will fall upon him,  
like fine dust thrown against the wind. (125)
11. Some are reborn in a mother's womb.  
The evil-doers are bound to the woeful states.  
The doers of good go to happy states.  
The taintless pass away to Perfect Peace. (126)
12. There is no place in the world,  
neither in the sky, nor in the midst of the sea,  
nor in a mountain cleft,  
where an evil-doer can live safe  
from the result of his evil deeds. (127)
13. There is no place in the world,  
neither in the sky, nor in the midst of the sea,  
nor in a mountain cleft,  
stationed where,  
one may not be subdued by death. (128)

X

The Rod

1. All tremble at the rod, all fear death.  
Feeling for others as for oneself  
one should neither slay nor cause others to slay. (129)
2. All tremble at the rod.  
Life is dear to all.  
Feeling for others as for oneself,  
one should neither slay nor cause another to slay. (130)
3. Whosoever, seeking his own welfare,  
hurts with rods and the like,  
living beings who also long for their welfare,  
he will find no welfare after death. (131)

4. But one who seeks his own welfare,  
does not hurt with rod or the like  
the beings who long for happiness,  
such an one will find happiness after death. (132)
5. Speak to nobody harshly.  
They that are so spoken to  
will speak back to you the same way. (133)
6. If you can make yourself still as a cracked cymbal,  
even by this much you have attained to Nirvāna,  
for retaliation is not found in you. (134)
7. As the cowherd leads the kine towards the pasture,  
so do old age and death  
drive on the life of beings. (135)
8. O brethren, the ignorant, while doing evil,  
do not realize what they do.  
Later, however, they are consumed by the evil deeds they **have**  
committed  
and suffer like one being burnt by fire.  
Furthermore, the unwise man while committing evil deeds,  
does not realize the consequence thereof.  
The ignorant man is scorched by his own deeds,  
as if he were burnt with fire. (136)
9. He who inflicts pain on the harmless and innocent  
comes to one of ten calamities: (137)
- 10,11. Severe pain, loss, bodily injury,  
serious sickness, insanity, danger from the rulers,  
fearful accusation, loss of relatives,  
or loss of wealth. He experiences one of these. (138, 139)
12. And further, fire will burn down his house.  
After the break-up of his body,  
the same simpleton will go to an unhappy state. (140)
13. Nakedness, keeping the hair tangled,  
covering one's body with mud,  
fasting, lying on the ground,  
rubbing with ash,  
and the practice of the crouching posture—  
none of these rites can purify a man  
who has not removed his doubt. (141)

14. Though adorned,  
should one live the higher life,  
guiltless, calm, self-restrained, resolute, chaste,  
and refrained entirely from hurting living beings—  
he is the Brahman,  
he is the recluse,  
and he is the monk. (142)
15. There is one out of many,  
who is restrained by modesty and never provokes reproof,  
as a good horse the whip. (143)
16. Be strenuous and urgent  
like a good horse touched with the whip.  
Be endowed with confidence,  
good conduct, effort, concentration,  
and with investigation of the nature  
of component things.  
Be perfect in knowledge and behaviour,  
be heedful, and put aside this great mass of suffering. (144)
17. Irrigators lead water wherever they like.  
Fletchers bend arrows.  
Carpenters shape wood.  
The virtuous discipline themselves. (145)

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 XI

## Old Age

1. What laughter, what joy can there be?  
Don't you try to seek a light,  
when the world is ablaze?  
Don't you try to seek a light,  
when enshrouded in darkness? (146)
2. Behold this body adorned,  
a mass of wounds heaped up with bones,  
impermanent and unstable,  
though variously imagined by the majority. (147)
3. Worn out is this body,  
a nest of diseases, which is fragile.  
Full of corruption, it breaks down.  
Its vitality ends in death. (148)

4. What delight is there,  
when one sees these white bones  
like bottle-gourds cast off,  
(dried and) scattered in the autumn sun? (149)
5. A citadel has been built of bones,  
coated with flesh and blood,  
a lodge for old age, death, conceit and malice. (150)
6. Certainly do royal chariots come to decay.  
This body, too, comes to decay.  
But the Norm realized by the good never comes to decay—  
thus the good men say to the good ones. (151)
7. This unwise fellow grows massive in body;  
his flesh grows but not his insight. (152)
- 8, 9. Searching for,  
but not finding the builder of this house,  
did I run through many lives within the round of rebirths.  
Now, O builder, you are seen by me.  
Never again shall you build a house for me.  
All your rafters have been broken down,  
and the ridge-pole has been shattered by me.  
My mind has gone beyond component things,  
and thus reached the extinction of cravings. (153, 154)
10. They who neither lead the higher life  
nor earn wealth during their youth,  
repent in their old age like old curlews beside a dried pool. (155)
11. Neither leading the higher life as a monk,  
nor earning wealth as a layman during their youth,  
they lie helpless when aged,  
bemoaning their past days,  
like arrows shot from a bow lie fallen too far. (156)

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## XII

### Self

1. If a man holds himself dear,  
let him keep close watch upon himself.  
Let the wise man keep vigil  
during one of the three watches (of the night) at least. (157)

2. Let one first establish oneself in proper morals  
and then preach to others.  
Doing thus, the wise man would not get disgraced. (158)
  3. Let one mould oneself  
according as one would preach to others.  
Let the well-tamed tame others.  
Hard is it to tame oneself. (159)
  4. A man is himself the lord of himself.  
What external lord could there be?  
With oneself well subdued,  
one finds a lord rare to get. (160)
  5. The evil committed,  
begotten and produced by the fool,  
crushes the very same doer,  
even as a diamond bores the flinty gem. (161)
  6. As the Maluva-creeper brings down a tree,  
having entwined it all over,  
so a man's exceeding vice  
pulls him down to the grade of his enemy's wish. (162)
  7. Bad deeds, harmful to oneself, are easily done.  
That which is good and salutary  
is extremely hard to do. (163)
  8. A foolish man hugging wrong views,  
denounces the teachings of the saintly  
and the pure that live righteously.  
Such an one bears fruit for his own ruin  
like the fruiting bamboo tree. (164)
  9. By oneself is evil done.  
By oneself is one defiled.  
By oneself is evil undone.  
By oneself is one purified.  
Oneself is responsible both for one's own purity and impurity.  
No one can purify another. (165)
  10. Let no one neglect his own duty for the sake of another's.  
However great it may be, let one consider one's own duty  
and devote oneself to it. (166)
-

## XIII

## The World

1. Let one not follow lower practices.  
Let one not live in negligence.  
Let one not follow wrong views.  
Let one not be a proloner of the world. (167)
2. Let one rise up.  
Let one be not negligent.  
Let one do good deeds.  
A doer of good deeds lives happily  
both here and hereafter. (168)
3. Let one do good deeds.  
Let one not do bad deeds.  
The doer of good deeds lives happily  
both in this life and the life to come. (169)
4. Let one look upon the world as a bubble.  
Let one look upon the world as mirage.  
Him who thus looks upon the world  
shall the lord of Death not behold. (170)
5. Come and see this microcosm  
adorned as a royal chariot,  
in which the ignorant are immersed,  
while the wise do not cling to it. (171)
6. Whosoever, though negligent at first,  
yet later becomes vigilant,  
such an one illuminates the world,  
like the moon emerging from a cloud. (172)
7. Whosoever overlays his former vices  
with virtues later practised,  
such an one illuminates the world,  
like the moon emerging from a cloud. (173)
8. Blind is the world.  
Only few can see here.  
Like the bird that has escaped from the net,  
only a few go to heaven. (174)

9. Swans fly in the sky.  
Those possessed of psychic powers go through the air.  
The wise, defeating the Temptor Māra and his retinue,  
go forth from the world towards Nirvāna. (175)
10. A man who transgresses a single law and tells lies,  
and scoffs at the existence of life after death,  
there is no evil he can not do. (176)
11. Certainly the niggardly do not go to the world of gods.  
The fools do not commend liberality.  
The wise, participating in the act of giving,  
will thereby be happy hereafter. (177)
12. Better than sole rulership,  
better than going to heaven,  
better than lordship over all the worlds  
is the fruition of Entering the Stream. (178)

## A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUTTA NIPĀTA

N. A. Jayawickrama

### Additional Abbreviations

- AA—*Manorathapūraṇī* (Aṅguttara Nikāya Commentary: PTS, 5 vols., 1924-57; reprinted 1964-73)
- Ap—*Apadāna* (PTS, 2 vols., 1925-7)
- DhA—*Dhammapada* Commentary (PTS, 5 vols., 1906-15; reprinted 1970)
- Divy.—*Divyāvādāna* (ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886)
- D.P.P.N.—G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (India Office Library, London, 1937; PTS, 1960)
- I.A.—*Indian Antiquary* (Bombay, 1872-1933; 1964-)
- It.—*Itivuttaka* (PTS, 1890; reprinted 1975)
- J.A.—*Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1822-)
- J.D.L.—*Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta)
- J.P.T.S.—*Journal of the Pali Text Society* (London, 1882-1927)
- J.R.A.S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1843—)
- Katre—S. M. Katre, "Early Buddhist Ballads and their relation to the Older Upanishadic Literature" (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1932)
- Kh.—*Khuddakapāṭha* (PTS, 1915; reprinted 1959)
- Kvu—*Kathāvatthu* (PTS, 2 vols., 1894-7)
- Lal.—*Lalitavistara* (ed. S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902/8)
- Mhv/Mvastu—*Mahāvastu* (ed. E. Senart, 3 vols., Paris, 1882-97; tr. J.J. Jones, SBB, 3 vols., 1949-56)
- Nd.—*Niddesa, Cūla* (PTS, 1918); *Mahā* (PTS, 2 vols., 1916-7)
- Reden—K. E. Neumann, *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos. Aus der Sammlung der Bruchstücke.* (Leipzig, 1911; Munich, 1924; Zurich and Vienna, 1957)
- S.H.B.—Simon Hewavitarne Bequest (Colombo)
- U.C.R.—*University of Ceylon Review* (1943-67)
- Ud.—*Udāna* (PTS, 1885, reprinted 1948)
- UdA—*Udāna* Commentary (PTS, 1926)
- Vin.—*Vinaya Piṭaka* (PTS, 5 vols., 1879-83; reprinted 1964)
- Vsm.—*Visuddhimagga* (PTS, 2 vols., 1920-1)
- Corrections to Vol. 1, No. 2: P. 75—DA refers to the Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (Dīgha Nikāya Commentary: PTS, 3 vols., 1886, 1931-2; reprinted 1968-71). P. 81, line 16—*Thai Shu* refers to the *Taishō* (Tokyo) edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

## THE VAGGAS OF THE SUTTA NIPĀTA

The *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana Vaggas* appear to have been independent collections long before the existence of a separate work called the *Sutta Nipāta*. The *Culla Niddesa* which comments on the *Pārāyana Vagga* and *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* and the *Mahā Niddesa* which comments on the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* form the eleventh book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. They make no specific reference to the *Sutta Nipāta*. In spite of the fact that these two works were commentaries they came to be reckoned as canonical texts, and in turn were commented upon in the fashion of all canonical works.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas* and *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* had, at one stage, existed independent of a specific collection, does not necessarily prove that all other *suttas* in *Sn.* are late. The *Niddesas* themselves quote from *suttas* which came to be later included in *Sn.*, besides quoting from other works in the Canon, and parts of *Sn.* already commented upon in the *Niddesas*.<sup>2</sup>

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### Asoka's Bhābru Edict

Some of the *suttas* included in *Sn.* are mentioned by Asoka in his Bhābru Edict (*vide* U.C.R. VI. 2 p. 81), but often under different names. The Edict inculcates the study of the following passages:—

1. *Vinaya-samukase,*
2. *Aliya-vasāni,*
3. *Anāgatā-bhayāni,*
4. *Muni-gāthā,*
5. *Moneyya-Sūte,*
6. *Upatisa-pasine* and
7. *Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigicya.*

1. *Saddhammapajjotikā,* the commentary on the *Niddesas* was composed during the reign of Aggabodhi I who ascended the throne (of Ceylon) in 554 A.C. (*vide* Sdpj. I. vii).

2. *Vide* Nd 1. ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas pp. 513-515 and Nd 2 ed. W. Stede pp. 289-290. *Sabhiya Sutta* is quoted from no less than 14 times, i.e. *Sn.* 514, is quoted at Nd 1. 71, Nd 2. 220; *Sn.* 516 at Nd 1. 244; *Sn.* 519 at Nd 1. 87, Nd 2. 214; *Sn.* 522 (cp. A. III. 345) at Nd 1. 202, Nd 2. 180; *Sn.* 527 at Nd 1. 58, 221, 336; *Sn.* 529 at Nd 1. 93, 205, Nd 2. 256 and *Sn.* 531 at Nd 2. 255. *Sūciloma S.* is Quoted from 4 times i.e. *Sn.* 271 at Nd 1. 16, 364, 471 and Nd 2. 201; *Padhāna S.* also 4 times, viz. *Sn.* 436-439 at Nd 1. 96, 174, 333 and Nd 2. 253; *Magandīya S.* twice, viz. *Sn.* 844 at Nd 1. 179, 200, and *Dhotakamānavapucchā* (*Sn.* 1064), *Mogharājāmānavapucchā*; (*Sn.* 1119), *Salla* (*Sn.* 576-581 ab cp. D. II. 120), *Dvayatānupassanā* (*Sn.* 740-741) and *Nālaka* (*Sn.* 715) *Suttas* once each at Nd 1. 32, 438, 121, 455 and Nd 2. 118 respectively.

Of these seven *dhammapaliyāyas* (sections of the Scriptures) only Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 6 have been observed by scholars to be identical with passages in *Sn.* All the seven passages are identified to some measure of satisfaction.<sup>3</sup>

**Vinaya-samukase** (1) "the Exalted Treatise on Moral Discipline" is identified with the *Sāmuḅkaṃsika Dhammadesanā* (*Ud.* V. 3) by A. J. Edmunds in *J.R.A.S.* 1913 p. 387. Dr. B. M. Barua (*J.R.A.S.* 1915 p. 809) identifies it with the *Siṅgālovāda Suttanta* (*D.* III. 180-194) arguing that *Ariyassa vinaya* which is the topic of discussion there is implied by the term *Vinaya-samukase* and that it was intended for the clergy and the laity alike. S.N. Mitra (*I.A.* 1919 pp. 8-11) suggests the *Sappurisa Sutta* (*M.* III, 37-45) on account of the occurrence of the words *vinayādharma* and *attānaṃ samuḅkaṃseti*. Bhandarkar (*Asoka* pp. 87-88) attempts to prove its identity with the *Tuvaṭṭaka Sutta* of *Sn.* (*Sn.* 915-934) from the fact that it is included by Buddhaghosa in a list of four *suttas*, three of which can be identified with three of Asoka's *dhammapaliyāyas*. He adduces further interval evidence and maintains that the Buddha expounds religious practices here, for, *pāṭimokkha*, *paṭipadā* and *samādhī* are some of the topics under discussion.

**Muni-gāthā** (4) is undoubtedly the *Muni Sutta* of *Sn.* (*Sn.* 207-221).<sup>4</sup> Rhys Davids (*J.P.T.S.* 1896 p. 95) argues that if *Śaila-gāthā* (at *Divy.* 35) meant *Sela Sutta*, then *Muni-gāthā* should be the *Muni Sutta*. He further states "that Asoka should lay so much stress on this short poem is only in harmony with the tenor of the whole context in the Edict".

The next *dhammapaliyāya* **Moneyya-sūte** (5), is identified with the discourse of the *Nālaka Sutta* (*Sn.* 699-723). It was wrongly identified as either *A.I.* 273 or *It.* 56 (Rhys Davids *loc. cit.*); but all available evidence shows that *Moneyya-sūte* was none other than the *Nālaka*-discourse. The alternative name for the *Nālaka Sutta* in Pāli itself is *Moneyya Sutta* (Chalmers xi), which perhaps owes its origin to the opening word *moneyyam*. Further, the *Sūtra* in *Mvastu*, that corresponds to this discourse is also called *Mauneya* (*Mvastu.* III. 387 ff.). The short and unimpressive prose passages at *A.I.* 273 and *It.* 56 could not in any way have been the *Moneyya-sūte* of Asoka, though they deal with *Moneyyāni* in brief.

Oldenberg and Rhys Davids attempt to identify *Upatisa-pasine* (6) with a *Vinaya* passage (*Vinaya Texts* 3. 149 i.e. *Vin.* I. 39-41) which gives the story of Sāriputta's conversion as a result of his question to Assaji.

3. Vide Hultsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 172-174 ff.; Dharmānanda Kosambi, *I. A.*, 1912 pp. 37 ff.; Rhys Davids, *J.P.T.S.* 1896 pp. 93 ff.; *J.R.A.S.* 1898 pp. 683 ff.; Rādhakumud Mookerji, *Asoka*, pp. 117 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, pp. 85 ff.; J.D.L. (Calcutta) xx, pp. 1-7; Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.* 7, 475 ff.; and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Piṭakam* I, xl ff.

4. Vide Dharmānanda Kosambi, *I. A.* 1912 pp. 37 ff.; Mookerji, *Asoka* pp. 16 ff. and Bhandarkar, *Asoka* 85 ff.

Rhys Davids elaborates further on this in *J.R.A.S.* 1893 p. 693 and *J.P.T.S.* 1896 pp. 97-98. But Dharmānanda Kosambi (*I.A.* 1912 p. 40) identifies it with *Sāriputta Sutta* (*Sn.* 955-975). It is generally accepted that the passages mentioned by Asoka are short pieces. The people were instructed to study these *dhammapariyāyas* and perhaps learn them by heart as was the practice then. A passage in verse lends itself easier for memorising than one in prose, and has more poetic appeal. This alone is sufficient reason why *Upatisa-pasine* cannot be the prose *sutta* at *Vin.* I. 39-41.

The seventh "section of the scriptures" called the "Exhortation to **Rahula**, beginning on the subject of Falsehood" has so far been identified as the *Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.I.* 414-420),<sup>5</sup> but the probability is that it perhaps referred to a *Rāhula Sutta* in verse. The only *Rāhula Sutta* in verse in the Pāli Canon, is found at *Sn.* 335-342. But the *sutta* as it exists now, cannot be easily identified with *Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigicaya*, as it neither begins with (*adhi*+ $\sqrt{kr.}$ ), nor deals with the topic of *musāvāda* (falsehood) anywhere in the body of the *sutta*. It has been pointed out by Katre that probably the *Vatthugāthā* (*Sn.* 335-336) formed a part of a different *Rāhula Sutta* and that the concluding sentence in prose links them with the rest of the *sutta*. He further states that the clue to the verses is found only in the prose formula at the end of the *sutta*. This other *Rāhula Sutta*, presumably a part of which is now preserved as *Vatthu-gāthā* in *Sn.* was probably the *sutta* mentioned by Asoka. But all this is purely conjectural. No definite connection can be established between *Sn.* 335-336 and *M.I.* 414-420, the other *Rāhula Sutta*; and there is no conclusive proof that No. 7 in the Edict had any connections with *Sn.* 335-336 or *Sn.* 335-342. The only reasons for suspecting that they were connected are:—

1. The *Rāhula Sutta* in *Sn.* is a comparatively short piece in verse.
2. The two, *Lāghulovāda* and *Rāhula Sutta* refer to the same person (*Rāhula*).
3. This *dhammapaliyāya* follows three others in the Edict which are identified with certainty to belong to the same type of literature (i.e. pieces now preserved in *Sn.*).

Eliminating the *Rāhula Sutta* as doubtful there yet remain four *suttas* of *Sn.* in Asoka's list. The consensus of opinion among scholars is that *Munigāthā*, *Moneyya-sūte* and *Upatisa-pasine* referred to *suttas* which were included in *Sn.* Perhaps Bhandarkar is correct when he identifies *Vinayasamukase* as the *Tuvaṭṭaka Sutta*.<sup>6</sup> There is no doubt that these *suttas* existed at least as early as the 3rd century B.C. For lack of further evidence it is incorrect to presuppose the existence of *Sn.* prior to the time

5. Rhys Davids *J.P.T.S.* 1896 p. 95.

6. *op. cit.*



of Asoka as there is no specific mention of it either in inscriptions or in any Canonical work.

## 22

## The Aṭṭhaka Vagga

*The Episode of Soṇa Kuṭṭikarṇa.*

On the other hand, the early existence of the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāvana Vaggas* as separate collections, can be deduced from the references made to them in other works. The earliest mention of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* is at *Vin.* I. 196, in the episode of Soṇa Kuṭṭikarṇa, which repeats itself in many other works with various additions and alterations.<sup>7</sup> The *Vinaya* passage runs. . . *āyasmā Soṇo sabbān'eva Aṭṭhakavaggikāni sareṇa abhāsi* (the venerable Soṇa recited all the sections—or *suttas*—of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* with proper intonation). At *Ud.* 59 the precise number of *suttas* in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* is also mentioned. . . *āyasmā Soṇo . . . soḷasa Aṭṭhakavaggikāni sabbān'eva sareṇa abhāsi* (the venerable Soṇa recited all the 16—*suttas*—of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* with proper intonation). *Dh A.* IV. 102, *UdA.* 312, *AA.I.* 241 and *Th I A.* I. 459 relate this incident in very much the same words, but with additional commentarial gloss.

The *Avadāna* of Koṭṭikarṇa (*Divy.* 20), which is an extract from the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins<sup>8</sup> mentions the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga: Athāyusmāñchroṇo bhagavatā kṛtāvakāśah asmātparāntikayā guptikayā Udānāt, Pārāyanāt, Satyadr̥ṣṭah, Śailagāthā, Munigāthā, Arthavargīyāni* (v.i. *arthavargīyāni*) *ca sūtrāṇi vistareṇa svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ karoti.* (Then the venerable Śroṇa, with the approval of the Bhagavā, rehearsed in detail, with intonation in the accent of an Aparāntika, passages from the *Udāna* and *Pārāyana*, the *Satyadr̥ṣṭa* (?), the *Śaila-gāthā* (*Sela S*), *Munigāthā* (*Muni S.*) and the *sūtras* of the *Arthavarga*).

In the *Avadāna* of Pūrṇa at *Divy.* 34-35, the merchants who embarked with Pūrṇa are said to have recited the *Udāna, Pārāyana, Satyadarśa, Sthaviragāthā, Śailagāthā, Munigāthā* and the *Arthavargīya Sūtra*.

In the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins which is found in Chinese<sup>9</sup> (*Tok.* XVI. 4. 56a), Śroṇa is said to have recited the *Pārāyana* and the *Satyadarśa*. The Buddha complements his Avantī pronunciation.

7. *The episode of Soṇa (Śroṇa) in Pāli and BSk. is fully analysed and critically studied by Sylvain Lévi in J.A. 1915 pp. 401 ff.*

8. *Vide Huber, B.E.F.E.O. 1907, Sylvain Lévi, T'oung Pao 1907 and M. Choyannes, Cinq cents Contes et-Apologues II, 237 ff.*

9. *I am indebted to Prof. Sylvain Lévi's analysis of the Śroṇa Episode in J.A. 1915, for these references.*

The *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas, preserved in Chinese (*Tok.* XVI, 2. 30a), contains a version similar to the Pāli account in the *Vinaya*; but the number of *suttas* is specified as in the *Udāna*.

The account in the *Vinaya* of the Dharmaguptakas resembles the version in Pāli and the account in the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas. Here (*Tok.* XV. 5. 53b; chap. 39) Koṭṭikarṇa is said to have recited the 16 *Arthapada* without addition or omission.

In the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsaṅghikas (*Tok.* XV. 9.61a; chap. 23) Śroṇa recites the *Aṣṭavarga* (*Ch. Chu Pa-ch'un-ching*), and the Buddha questions him on the phrases (*pada*) and the meaning (*artha*).

In all these accounts, except in the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins, the *Arthavargīyāni* or the *Aṭṭhakavaggikāni* are mentioned. The additional list of titles in Sanskrit texts is a mere expansion though Sylvain Lévi does not consider it an interpolation:

“On pourrait être tenté de croire que la liste des titres donnée dans le texte sanscrit est une interpolation, si la version tibétaine du *Dulva* ne venait pas contrôler—et sur certains points rectifier—le texte sanscrit.” (*ibid.* p. 412). The Tibetan version parallel to the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins is at *Dulva* I. 378-405 (cf. *Divy.* I, Ch. *Tok.* XVII. 4. 104e-190b).

## 23

## Other References in Buddhist Sanskrit Works

Besides the episode of Soṇa (Śroṇa), there are numerous references to, and quotations from the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*. Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa* quotes the following verse:—

*Tasya cet kāmāyānasya chandajātasya dehinaḥ  
te kāmā na samr̥dhyanti śalyavidhā iva rūpyate*

and attributes it to the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* (cp. *Sn.* 767).

Yaśomitra in his *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* comments: *Tathā hyarthavargīyeṣūktam iti: Arthavargīyāni sūtrāṇi yāni Kṣudrake paṭhyante teṣūktam; tasya cet kāmāyānasya iti vistarāḥ. Tasya dehinaḥ kāmāyānasya chandajātasya yadi kāmā viṣayā na samr̥dhyanti na sampadyante śalyavidhā ivāsau rūpyate bādhyate ityarthah.* (This is what is meant by the statement that it has been so said in the *Arthavargīyas*: It is stated in the *sūtras* of the *Arthavargīya* found in the *Kṣudraka* (*Nikāya* or *Āgama*?) that the meaning of “if of him who desires etc.” is, “If the desires and sense-pleasures of a being who yearns and craves for such pleasures are not satisfied nor fulfilled he sulks and is perturbed like one shot with an arrow”).

Bodhisattvabhūmi (p. 48) commenting on the word *kānti* says thus, *Uktaṃ ca bhagavatā Arthavargīyeṣu,*

*Yā kaścana samvṛtayo hi loke, sarvā hi tā munir nopaiti*

*Anupago hyasau kena upādatīta, dṛṣṭāsrute kāntim asamprakurvan*

(cf. Sn. 897). "And so it has been said by the Bhagavā in the *Arthavargīyas*, 'Whatever conventions of the world there are, none of them affects the muni (sage), for he does not move with them, wherefore shall he who forms no sense-attachment to what is seen and heard be guided (by them)?'"

The reading *kāntim* in Bodhisattvabhūmi sheds a new light on the interpretation of the line Sn. 897 d. All MSS., except two Burmese MSS. (Nos. 4 and 5 mentioned at Sn. p.v., P.T.S. ed.) which read *khanti*, agree on the reading *khantim*. Nd 2. 165 considers *khanti* as a synonym for *diṭṭhi*, *ruci*, *laddhi*, *ajjhāsaya* and *adhippāya*, perhaps guided by the occurrence of *diṭṭha* and *suta* at other passages in Sn.<sup>10</sup> Sn. A. 558 comments on it as: *khantimakkubbamāno, ti. pemaṃ akaronto*. Chalmers translates Sn. 897d as, "when phenomena of sense appeal to them no more," Fausböll, "he who is not pleased with what has been seen and heard," Neumann, *Beim Sehnen und Hören angehalten nimmer*, and E. M. Hare, "why give accord to things of sight and ear?" All these translators apparently translate the idea correctly, but none of them seems to have questioned the text. According to the reading *khantim* the corresponding Sk. would be *kṣāntim* (patience).<sup>11</sup> The word *khanti* in a context like this may be translated as, "tolerance for" or even "(developing) a weakness for," but such a translation appears unnatural and laboured. If the text had been *kantim* (from  $\sqrt{kam}$ ) and not *khantim*, the idea conveyed would be more in keeping with the context. The reading *khantim* in BSK. cannot be brushed aside as a wrong Sanskritisation for Pāli *khantim*. On the other hand, it may perhaps go back to a reading much earlier than Pāli.

There are also a number of passages and lines common to the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* and other Pāli works. They are fully examined by Franke.<sup>12</sup>

## 24

### The Chinese Arthapadam

The complete *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* together with additional stories as a background is found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka although "it can be said with

10. This idea occurs no less than 18 times in Sn. viz. Sn. 797 b=887 a, 793 ab=914 ab, 798 cd, 887 ab (887 b=790 b), 910 ab, 1079 ab=1080 bc, 1082 cd=1083 cd, 788 b=789 a, 802 ab, 897 d and 778 d=250 d. All these instances (except 250 d) are, found in the sections commented in Nd 1 and 2.

11. Vide E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 171 and s.v. P.T.S.

12. Vide R. Otto Franke, *Die Sutta Nipāta Gāthās mit ihren Parallelen*, Z.D.M.G. 1909-1912 and E. M. Hare, *Woven Cadences*, (S.B.B. Vol. XV), pp. 203-206.

certainly that there is not and has never existed a Chinese version of the *Sutta Nipāta*."<sup>13</sup> This section called the *I-tsu* or *Yi-tsou king* (*Arthapadam*) is a translation dating back to the beginning of the 3rd century A.C., according to Anesaki. It occurs as No. 198 in the Taishō Tripiṭaka. The 16 pieces occur in the following order:-

<i>Kāma Sutta</i> contains	8 lines with 3	<i>pādas</i> each	(No. 1 in Pāli	<i>Aṭṭhaka Vagga</i> ).
<i>Guhaṭṭhaka S.</i>	16	" "	No. 2	" "
<i>Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka S.</i>	4 & 12	" "	No. 3	" "
<i>Suddhaṭṭhaka S.</i>	16	" "	No. 4	" "
<i>Paramaṭṭhaka S.</i>	16	" "	No. 5	" "
<i>Jarā S.</i>	20	" "	No. 6	" "
<i>Tissametteyya S.</i>	20	" "	No. 7	" "
<i>Pasūra S.</i>	23	" "	No. 8	" "
<i>Māgandiya S.</i>	27	" "	No. 9	" "
<i>Kalahavivāda S.</i>	32	" "	No. 11	" "
<i>Cūlavijñāha S.</i>	34	" "	No. 12	" "
<i>Mahāvijñāha S.</i>	40	" "	No. 13	" "
<i>Tuvaṭṭaka S.</i>	40	" "	No. 14	" "
<i>Sāriputta S.</i>	16 & 24	" "	No. 16	" "
<i>Purābheda S.</i>	28	" "	No. 10	" "
<i>Attadaṇḍa S.</i>	40	" "	No. 15	" "

In addition to the prose incorporated with these verses there occur some additional stanzas. The lines beginning with *na socanāya* at A. II. 62 are found at No. 1 and Sn. 152-179 in No. 13 of the Chinese version, i.e. *Tuvaṭṭaka Sutta*.

All this evidence helps to show that the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* as a collection is old, and Sylvain Lōvi<sup>14</sup> concludes, *Nous sommes en droit de classer L'Arthavarga parmi les monuments les plus anciens de la littérature bouddhique.*

## 25

### Aṣṭaka Varga or Arthaka Varga?

The title *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* calls for attention next. The name *Aṭṭhaka* suggests that the *vagga* consists of octaves or *suttas* with eight stanzas each, but only four of its *suttas* (viz. Nos. 2-5) are proper octaves. It cannot be determined whether these *suttas* were *aṭṭhakas* (*aṣṭakas*—octaves) or *atthakas* (*arthakas*—meaningful utterances) to begin with. Pāli tradition has been very strong in insisting on the name *Aṭṭhaka*. It was customary for Pāli compilers to resort to artificial means such as numerals, in their classifications. They may have deemed it proper to call a section *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* even though only a small proportion of its *suttas* consisted of real octaves. Similar instances may be seen in works like *udāna* where an important *sutta* in a *vagga* gives the name to the whole of it. It was not considered necessary that all the *suttas* in the *vagga* should consist of 8 stanzas each, unlike the majority of the *nipātas* (the earlier ones) of

13. Anesaki, J.P.T.S. 1906-1907, p. 50.

14. J. A. 1915, p. 417.

*Th 1* and *Th 2*. It would be incorrect to say that only these four *aṭṭhakas* formed the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* and that the other *suttas* were subsequently added or grafted from other places. This would imply a tacit acceptance of the incomplete artificial classification of Pāli compilers as final. In fact, the *vagga* follows a systematic arrangement in which the *sutta* with the least number of verses is placed first and proceeds gradually in ascending numerical order till the *suttas* with the highest number of verses are placed last. The order of arrangement of the *suttas* need not necessarily be as old as the *vagga* itself, for the Chinese version follows a slightly different order. However, nothing conclusive can be inferred from this.

Almost all the references to the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* which mention the number of *suttas* in it speak of the *Soḷasa aṭṭhakavaggikāni* (*Ud.* 59, *Ud A.* 312, *DhA.* IV. 102 and *AA.* I. 241). The Chinese version was seen to contain the 16 *suttas* in full. Despite this general agreement *Th IA.* speaks of “*addhuddhasoḷasa aṭṭhakavaggikāni*”: (*Th IA.* I. 459 *S.H.B.*, commentary on *Soṇatthera*’s verses at *Th 1.* 365-369). This statement would imply that the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* consisted of 56 ( $3\frac{1}{2} \times 16$ ) *suttas*—an impossibility. Commentarial tradition cannot always be relied upon; and in all probability this statement may have been an exaggeration like the passage at *AA.* IV. 35 which speaks of 250 stanzas of the *Pārāyana*, when in actual practice the whole *vagga*, including the *Vatthu-gāthās* and Epilogue contains only 174 stanzas. The statement at *Th.* 1 A.I. 459 can also be interpreted as “56 stanzas of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*.” It is not possible to find out to what *suttas* these 56 stanzas belonged. Obviously the 32 stanzas which form the four regular octaves should be included in this number. This leaves 24 verses which should be expected to belong to three other regular octaves; but no such *suttas* are to be found in the *vagga*. Furthermore, there is no possible combination of two or more *suttas* which brings about a total of 24 stanzas. There is no justifiable reason why a commentary of so late a date as 5th century A.C. should ignore some of the *suttas* and speak of only 56 stanzas when *Nd 2. Vin.* I. 196 and *Ud.* 59, leaving aside contemporary commentarial literature, confirm that it *did* consist of 16 *suttas*. The reading, *addhuddhasoḷasa aṭṭhakavaggikāni* is incompatible with evidence furnished by all other sources and therefore can be summarily dismissed as a Commentarial error.

Pāli works uniformly refer to this section as *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* though BSk. and Chinese Buddhist works give it different names. It is called *Arthavargīyāni Sūtrāni* (v.1. *arthavadgīyāni*) at *Divy.* 20 and 35. Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra (*supra*) call it *Arthavargīya*. Bodhisattvabhūmi too refers to it as *Arthavargīya*. The Chinese version gives the name as *I-tsuo* or *Yi-tsou-king* (*Arthapadam*). In the episode of Śroṇa found in the *Vinaya* of the

Mahīśāsakas<sup>15</sup> (Ch. Tok. XVI. 2. 30a) the reference is to the sixteen *Arthakavargīya* (Ch. *Yi-pin*=*Artha-varga*). The *Vinaya* of the Dharmaguptakas (Tok. XV. 5. 53b) has it as the sixteen *Arthapada* (Ch. *Yi-kiu*=*Artha-pada*). In the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins it is called the *Arthavargīyāni Sūtrāni* (*Dulva: don kyī choms kyī mdo*). The Sarvāstivād in *Vinaya* calls it the *Artha-vargīya Sūtra* (Tok. XVII. 4. 9b, Col. 5; Ch. *Yi-tsing*=*Artha-vargīya*). At Tok. XVI. 4. 56a it is called *A-tch'a-p' o-k'i-ye-sieou-to-lou, sūtra des vertues rassemblées* and is identified by Lévi (*ibid.*) as *Arthavargīya Sūtra*.

It is significant that the majority of these works refer to it as *Artha* (*ka*)-*varga* or *Artha-pada*. The *Vinaya* of the Mahāsaṅghikas alone speaks of an *Aṣṭa-varga*, but even here the idea of *artha* and *pada* is not absent. It is said that the Buddha questioned Śroṇa on the phrases (*pada*) and the meaning (*artha*) after his recital (Tok. XV. 9. 61a, chap. 23). The *Vinaya* of the Mahāsaṅghikas thus preserves the Pāli tradition at the same time reflecting another common to the rest of the BSk. works. It is quite probable that this section was originally not meant to be described as the “Eights,” and BSk. may have preserved an earlier tradition which called these *Aṭṭhakas* *Arthakas*. The four octaves were probably *Arthakas* (*Aṭṭhaka*-meaningful statements) at the beginning. Each of these *suttas* contains in its opening line the words used for their respective titles. *Guhāṭṭhaka* opens with, *Satto guhayaṃ bahunābhicchanno* (*Sn.* 772a), *Duṭṭhāṭṭhaka* with, *Vadanti ve duṭṭhamanā, pi eke* (*Sn.* 780a), *Suddaṭṭhaka* with, *Passāmi suddham paramaṃ arogaṃ* (*Sn.* 788a) and *Paramaṭṭhaka* with, *Paramaṃ ti dīṭṭhisu paribbasāno* (*Sn.* 796a). These words are used as illustrations in the didactic-ballad discourses to elucidate the meaning, and hence the *suttas* are *Arthakas* (*Arthakas*). It is a mere coincidence that the number of stanzas constituting each of these *suttas* happens to be eight. The word *attha* together with the secondary suffix—*ka* (*attha+ka*) may have changed into *aṭṭhaka* (probably) with the influence of Western Prakrit which has a tendency to cerebralise dentals following an r; i.e.—*rt*—>—*ṭt*—and—*rth*—>—*ṭṭh*—. The first change is frequent in Pāli itself; e.g. Sk. *ārta* > *aṭṭa*. *Artha* itself is frequently changed to *aṭṭha*, which spelling was later restricted to a specific meaning as “law-suit” (*aṭṭa*). In cpds. *artha* > *aṭṭha* in Pāli e.g. *aṭṭhakathā*, *aṭṭhuppatti*, etc (s.v., P.T.S.). In the case of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* this change perhaps was more accentuated by the mere coincidence that four of its *suttas* consisted of 8 stanzas each. The weakness of Pāli compilers to be guided by numerical classifications may have finally led to stamp down the name “eights” or “octaves” on this *vagga*.

The emphasis on *attha* (weal) in the Pāli Canon is evident from the

15. The following references to Chinese works are from Sylvain Lévi, *ibid.*

numerous instances in which the word occurs.<sup>16</sup> The formula, *atthāya hitāya sukhāya* (for the benefit, well-being and comfort of) which occurs all over the Canon (e.g. *D. III. 211 ff. It. 79, Kh. VIII. 1 etc.*), leaving aside all other references to *atthā*, testifies to the importance of this concept. It is probable that the idea underlying the *Aṭṭhaka*s of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* was related to *atthā* (weal) though fundamentally it was the elucidation of meaning (*atthā paridipānā*) that was aimed at. This may be seen more clearly at *Saddharmapūṇḍarika* 383 1.3.

*Evam idaṃ mahārthasya dharmaparyāyasya dhāraṇā, vācanā, deśanā Bodhisattvānām anuttarāyāḥ samyak sambodher āhārakā samvartanti,* (In like manner, the learning by heart, the reciting and the teaching of this section of the scriptures of great meaning—or benefit—tends to bring about the perfect and supreme Enlightenment of Bodhisattvas.

All this evidence seems to indicate that the term *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* (also *mahāsaṅghika Aṣṭa-varga*) was a misnomer arising from an early confusion caused by the occurrence of eight stanzas each in Nos. 2-5 of the *Vagga*. The term *Aṭṭhaka* is best interpreted as *Arthaka* as in the majority of BSk. works.

From isolated references to *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* in many Pāli works it is conjectured that "it may possibly have been the name of divisions of other works."<sup>17</sup> In the whole of the Pāli Canon no other *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* can be traced though *Āṅguttara* has an *Aṭṭhaka Nipāta* and *Th 1* and *Th 2* contain *Aṭṭhā Nipātas*. Though the absence of other *Aṭṭhaka Vaggas* does not preclude the possibility of the occurrence of other sections bearing that name no references to another *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* have been discovered so far.

## 26

## Pārāyana Vagga

The next *vagga* in importance is the *Pārāyana*. It consists of 18 pieces; viz. a prologue in verse called the *Vatthu-gāthā*, 16 short dialogues in verse called *Pucchās* and an epilogue in prose and verse. The word *Pārāyana* occurs thrice in the text itself, but all these references are to be met with in the epilogue; viz. *Sn. p. 218, Sn. 1130d and 1131a*. The prose passage at p. 218 gives a commentary-like explanation of the term *Pārāyana*: *Ekam ekassa ce pi pañhassa aṭṭham aññāya, dhammam aññāya, dhammānudhammam paṭipajjeyya, gaccheyy' eva jarāmaranassa pārāṃ, pārāṃgamanīyā ime dhammā' ti, tasmā imassa dhammapariyāyassa pārāyanaṃ t'veva*

16. Vide P.T.S. (s.v.) for examples quoted.

17. Malalasekera s.v., D.P.P.N.

*adhivacanam*. (If one were to comprehend the import of each one of these questions, and realise the Dhamma therein, and follow the path in accordance with the major and minor precepts of the Law, one would cross over to the further shore of old-age and death. As these teachings lead to over-yonder, the name *Pārāyana* is given to this disquisition on the Dhamma). The two stanzas *Sn. 1129-1130* express the same idea in verse and explain the title *Pārāyana*.

Although the title does not occur in any of the *Pucchās* (or *pañhas*) the central theme of the *vagga* is "The Way Beyond" or "Crossing Over." The idea of crossing over of the Flood (*ogha*) occurs 10 times.<sup>18</sup> The "passing beyond" of this "Sinful State" (*visattikā*) is mentioned 5 times,<sup>19</sup> and this is an idea common with other canonical texts, particularly *Samyutta* and *Āṅguttara Nikāyas*. The overcoming of birth and old-age (*jāti* and *jarā*) which is a necessary accompaniment of the "Going Beyond" is to be met with in 10 places.<sup>20</sup> An idea parallel to this is the abandoning of ( $\sqrt{hā}$  or  $pa + \sqrt{hā}$ ) sorrow, or that of *jātijarā* (or *jāti* and *jarā*), occurring 7 times in *Sn.*<sup>21</sup> Connected is the idea of overcoming the material substratum of birth (*upadhi*) at *Sn. 1057b* and *1083b*. The destruction of ( $pa + \sqrt{bhid}$ ) ignorance (*avijjā*) occurs at *Sn. 1105 f* and *1078d*, and of craving (*taṇhā*) and attachment (*kāma* and its synonyms), 9 times.<sup>22</sup> The other concepts emphasised are, the state of emancipation (*vimokkha*) at *Sn. 1088d, 1105e, and 1189d* (the Buddha is called *vimutta*, the released, at *1101* and the emancipated one is mentioned at *Sn. 1071c, 1072c, 1073c, 1074c and 1114d*), cessation (*nirodha*) at *Sn. 1037e*, the destruction (*uparodha*, or verb  $upa + \sqrt{rudh}$ ) of evil at *Sn. 1036e, 1037df, 1110b, 1111d*, tranquility (*santi*) at *Sn. 1066a, 1067a*, the tranquillised state (*santipada*) at *Sn. 1096c, nibbāna* at *Sn. 1061d, 1062d, 1094c, 1108d, 1109d and nibbānapada* at *Sn. 1086d*. Ajita questions the Buddha regarding the taints of the world at *Sn. 1032*; the dangers arising out of the world are mentioned at *Sn. 1032, 1033, of ogha* at *1092, 1093* and of sorrow and the arising of Ill at *Sn. 1033, 1049, 1050 and 1051*. The escape from the evils of the world, the crossing over of the Flood and the attainment of *santi* or *nibbāna* are the dominant ideas in the *vagga*. The verb with  $\sqrt{tar}$  alone is used no less than 23 times in the *Pucchās* in addition to verbs like *pajahati*, thus justifying the title *Pārāyana*.

The word *pāra* occurs thrice in the *Pucchās* (*Sn. 1059, 1105 and 1112*); but in the latter two instances it is used in praise of the Buddha. In the

18. *Sn. 1052 c, 1059 c, 1064 d, 1069 d, 1070 b, 1081 e, 1082 g, 1083 g, 1096 b and 1101 b.*

19. *Sn. 1053 d, 1054 d, 1067 d, 1085 e and 1087 d.*

20. *Sn. 1045 d, 1046 e, 1047 bd, 1048 d, 1052 d, 1060 d, 1079 f, 1080 f and 1081 g.*

21. *Sn. 1056 c, 1057 c, 1058 a, 1082 b, 1079 c, 1020 c, and 1122 f.*

22. *Sn. 1068 cd, 1970 cd, 1082 f, 1083 f, 1085 c, 1103 a, 1123 d, (at 1101 and 1021 it is used as an epithet of the Buddha).*

whole of *Sn.* the word occurs 43 times, together with its derivatives and cpds., evenly distributed in all the five *vaggas*. Of these, *pāra*, "the Beyond," is directly mentioned in five instances; viz. *na pāraṃ diguṇaṃ yanti* (*Sn.* 714c), *tiṇṇo ca pāraṃ akhilo akaṅkho* (*Sn.* 1059d), *gacche pāraṃ apārato* (*Sn.* 1129d) and *maccudheyypāraṃ* (*Sn.* 1146d). The idea of "crossing over" is incorporated in a simile at *Sn.* 771d, and *pārasmiṃ* (*loc.*) occurs at *Sn.* 1018c and 1020d. This concept is totally different from *pāramī* or *pāramitā* of later Buddhism. *Pāraṃgata* occurs at *Sn.* 803d and *pāragata* at *Sn.* 21b, 210d, 359b and 638c. *Pāra* in the line, so *bhikkhu jahāti orapāraṃ* (*Sn.* 1c-17c—that monk shuns the here and the beyond) has a different connotation from *pāra* in the rest of the references. The idea that is diametrically opposed to *pāraṃ*+ $\sqrt{gam}$  is at *Sn.* 15 b, *oraṃ āgamanāya paccayāse* (casual antecedents for the return hither). The concept of "going beyond" is to be met with in numerous other canonical works; e.g. *S.* IV. 174, *A.V.* 4, *M.* III. 64, *Th* I. 771-773, etc. and is one of the most fundamental tenets in early Buddhism.

## 27

## Its Antiquity

This *vagga* appears to have been called *Pārāyana* from the earliest times.<sup>23</sup> Several canonical works refer to it and quote from it. *Sn.* 1109 is found at *S.* I. 39 in the *Devatā Saṃyutta*, and at *S.* I. 40 the same stanza occurs with its first line reading, *nandī sambandhano loko* instead of *nandīsaṃyojano loko*. Yet there is no mention of the *Pārāyana* here. *S.* II. 47 refers to the *Ajitapañha* when quoting *Sn.* 1038, and the stanza is quoted again at *S.* II. 49 making it the topic of discourse up to p. 50. *Āṅguttara* refers to the *Pārāyana* 6 times. At *A.* I. 133 *Puṇṇakapañha* of the *Pārāyana* is mentioned and *Sn.* 1048 quoted. At *A.* II. 45-46 the same stanza is quoted thus: *Imā kho bhikkhave catasso samādhībhāvanā, idaṃ pana etaṃ sandhāya bhāsitaṃ Pārāyane Puṇṇakapañhe* (These indeed, O monks, are the four meditations on concentration; it has been declared so in the *Puṇṇakapañha* of the *Pārāyana* regarding this). The *Udayapañha* of the *Pārāyana* is mentioned at *A.* I 134, and *Sn.* 1106, 1107 are quoted from it. *A.* III. 399, 401 quote *Sn.* 1042 with the opening line reading differently<sup>24</sup> and refer to the *Metteyyapañha* of the *Pārāyana*. At *A.* IV. 63 the female lay-devotee Nandamātā is reported as reciting the *Pārāyana* with proper intonation (*sareṇa*) and Vessavaṇa is pleased with it. *Sn.* 1064 is quoted at *Kvu.* 94; *Sn.* 1117 at *Ap.* 537, 25; *Sn.* 1118-1119 at *Ap.* 537, 26-28;

23. Also Vide § III; Anesaki, J.P.T.S. 1906-7 p. 51, mentions that no less than 13 references are made to it in early texts.

24. *Sn.* 1042a reads, so *ubhantaṃ abhiññāya*, while the line at *A.* III. 399 reads, *yo ubhante viditvāna*.

*Sn.* 1119 at *Vsm.* 656 and *Kvu.* 64; besides the numerous instances where the verses of the *Pārāyana* are quoted in Commentaries and quoted and commented on in *Nettipakaraṇa*.<sup>25</sup>

Among the references in BSk. works<sup>26</sup> many of the following have already been mentioned in connection with the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*. *Divy.* 20, 34, include it among the texts recited by Śroṇa and the merchants respectively. The *Dulva* too mentions it in the episode of Śroṇa. The *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins (Ch. Tok. XVI. 4. 56a) mentions *Po-lo-yen* (*Pārāyana*) as one of the texts recited by him, and includes it among the "great *suttas*" in a passage which is important for the history of the Canon. *Po-lo-yen* (The Way Across) is the 16th passage out of the 18 mentioned. The *Arthavargīyasūtra* is No. 17, and the majority of the other passages is from *D.* In a list of *sūtras* "which should be taught to novices" occurring in the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsaṅghikas (Ch. Tok. XV. 8. 9. 3a) the *Pa-ch'ung-ching* (*Aṭṭhaka Vagga*) and *Po-lo-yen* are mentioned at the head. The *Vinaya* of the Dharmaguptakas (chap. 54) too refers to the *Pārāyana*. Reference to it is also made in *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* (chap. 4), where it is stated that the *Pārāyana* was recited at a "Council" of 500 arhats held under Kaniṣka's patronage. Some of the passages specially cited are the second stanza of *Posālamāṇavapucchā* and *Sn.* 874. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra* in its first chapter quotes the "Question of Mākandika" in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* (*Sn.* 837-840 are quoted), and in chapter 3 "The Question of Ajita in the *Pārāyana*" (*Sn.* 1032 ff.). *Aśvaghoṣa* refers to the brāhmaṇas of the *Pārāyana* in his *Buddhacarita* (v. 1061) and *Sūtrālaṅkāra* (canto 43). E. J. Thomas (*Life of Buddha*, p. 274) mentions the story of Bāvarī in a later form found among the MSS. discovered in Central Asia and cites Sieg und Siegling, "Tocharische Sprachreste" I, p. 101.

From all these references, specially those in the Pāli Canon, which are older than the BSk. works, it is evident that the *Pārāyana* existed very early as a separate collection. Nowhere is *Sn.* mentioned when quotations are made from various *pañhas*. This is further proof that the *Pārāyana*, like the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* goes back to a period prior to the compilation of *Sn.* The various quotations also show that the questions of the *Pārāyana* have not undergone the rigid classification and arrangement found later in *Sn.* They are invariably called *pañhas* and not *pucchās* unlike in *Sn.*

W. Stede (*Nd* 2, p. xx) suggests that these *pañhas* may have existed in "some arrangement other than that which enumerates them simply as *Pucchās* 1, 2, etc." By carefully analysing the various MSS. of *Nd* 2 he notes that the *Niddesa* makes it "conclusive to a certain extent that groups

25. Vide Otto Franke and E.M. Hare, *ibid.*

26. *Op. cit.* (Sylvain Lévi).

of *pucchās* existed separately before they were set in the present arrangement, or were taken out of their present setting because they were greater favourites than others.' The popularity of the *Ajita Sutta* perhaps led to its being placed at the head of the *vagga*. *Metteyya* and *Puṇṇaka Pañhas* can be considered to have been equally popular, judging from the quotations made from them in Pāli works; and this probably explains their position as second and third respectively in the *vagga*. *Udaya Pañha* is also quoted from, but it is placed as No. 13. Stede concludes that either of Nos. 3 and 4 may have formed the last *sutta* of a separate group.

It is generally accepted that *Nd 2* is older than *Sn*. The latter does not yield any information regarding the arrangement of these *pucchās*. All the 16 pieces are called *Pucchās*, whereas in *Nd 2* some are called *suttas*; (*viz.* Nos. 1 and 3, and the others are called *pañhas*). The minor variations in the mode of referring to and commenting on these pieces in *Nd 2* may shed some light on this question. Stede<sup>27</sup> shows that *Nd 2* is uniform as regards the concluding statements in the Commentaries of the *suttas* up to No. 3; e.g. *Ajita Sutta Niddeso samatto*, etc. that Nos. 4 and 5 are numbered after the comments on them (e.g. *Mettaḡu pañhaṃ catutthaṃ samattam*, etc.), and that the numeration ceases after No. 5. He questions whether Nos. 1-5 formed one separate collection. It is quite probable that Nos. 1-3 formed one collection and that Nos. 1-5 another, so that the group Nos. 1-3 was either included in the bigger group Nos. 1-5, or the earlier group was Nos. 1-3 which was later extended up to No. 5. It is quite obvious that Nos. 6-16 formed a group or groups independent of Nos. 1-5. The position of the popular *Udaya Pañha* as No. 13 may suggest that it may have been placed at the head of another group consisting of Nos. 13-16 just as the well-known *Ajita Pañha* was placed at the head of the earlier group (Nos. 1-3 or 1-5). The probability is that Nos. 6-16 consisted of two groups *viz.* Nos. 6-12 and 13-16. All these pieces were, at a subsequent date, taken together and gradually worked out into a legend by introducing *Bāvarī*, the brahmin of the South.

28

### The Vatthu Gāthā

The legend of *Bāvarī* leads to the question of the relationship of the *vatthu-gāthā* and the epilogue to the *pucchās* of the *Pārāyana*. The *Niddesa* leaves the *vatthu-gāthā* (*v.g.*) uncommented and it is doubtful whether they were known to its author. In some MSS. of *Nd 2* (*vide Nd 2* introduction)

27. *Ibid* p. xxi.

the text of the *v.g.* and that of the epilogue is to be met with, while in others only that of *v.g.* The inclusion of the *v.g.* and the epilogue in MSS. of *Nd 2* does not help one to determine whether the author was acquainted with these two pieces, for it may have taken place long after the writing of *Nd 2*. The fact that the *v.g.* are not commented upon in the work shows either that the *v.g.* did not exist at the time of the writing of *Nd 2*, or that they may have existed in some form or other, but were not accepted as authentic by the author. The early occurrence of *v.g.* in verse is highly doubtful, but it is probable that the versification of an earlier existing prose legend may have taken place somewhere about the same time as the composition of the *v.g.* of the *Nāḷaka Sutta*. This introductory prose legend cannot be considered very old, for all the internal evidence of the *v.g.* and the epilogue shows that these pieces were at least a few centuries younger than the *pucchās*. It is probable that the legend of *Bāvarī* which was introduced as an *ākhyāna*-narrative by the reciters of these ballads, underwent certain changes and modifications as time went on, and finally became fixed in the present metrical rendering. The outcome is a short *kāvya* in itself in true epic-style.

The opening stanzas easily suggest their kinship with epic literature. A Kosalan brahmin (from *Sāvatti*?) comes to the Southern Country (*Dakkhiṇāpatha* of Deccan) and settles down at *Mulakā* (reading with *Nd. 2* and Chalmers) on the banks of the upper *Godhāvārī* in the country of the *Assakas* (*Aśmaka*), probably not very far from *Paṭiṭṭhāna* (*Pratiṭṭhāna*, the modern *Paṭhan* about 19.5° N 75° E).<sup>28</sup> Then another brahmin visits him and demands (text, *yācati*—begs, *Sn.* 980d) 500 pieces. When *Bāvarī* replies that he has no money the other curses. The pronouncement of the curse (*Sn.* 983), its description (*Sn.* 984), the repercussions on *Bāvarī* (*Sn.* 985), the appearance of the *devatā* (*Sn.* 986) and the conversation that ensues (*Sn.* 987-993) are truly characteristic of epic poetry. There are numerous instances of similar situations in the Sanskrit epics and other literature. The pronouncement of the curse in *Nalopākhyāna* and the gradual *dénouement* of the plot in it could be compared with the legend of *Bāvarī*. The comparatively later *jātaka* literature affords many parallels. Neumann (*Reden* p. 547) compares *Sn.* 984 with the description of the curse in *Śakuntalā*. The tidings of the Buddha given by the *devatā* cause immense joy in *Bāvarī* who summons his pupils and bids them visit the Buddha. In reply to their question as to how they would be able to recognize the Buddha, *Bāvarī* replies that he could be distinguished by the 32 characteristics of a *mahāpurisa* (super-man). He instructs them

28. B.C. Law, in "India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism" pp. 157, 158, 218, tries to establish that this *Bāvarī* was *Paśenadi's* teacher (*Sn.* A. II, 580) and that when he built his hermitage "near the *Pancavaṇi* during *Paśenadi's* reign there came into existence a high road connecting *Rājagaha* and *Paṭiṭṭhāna*." (*ibid.* p. 219).

not to ask their questions verbally, but merely to think of them, so that the Buddha would give the appropriate answer.

The sixteen brahmins wend their way north through Patiṭṭhāna to Māhissati (Māhīsmatī) south of the river Vetravatī which divides the Maṇḍala of Avantī into north and south, the north having its capital at Ujjenī (modern Ujjain) and the south at Māhīsmatī,<sup>29</sup> and known as Avantī Dakkhiṇāpatha.<sup>30</sup> From there they proceed to Ujjenī north of the river and to Gonaddha.<sup>31</sup> They continue east to Vedisa known as "The Forest City" (*Sn.* 1011d, Vanasavhaya, identified by Cunningham with modern Bhilsa in Gwalior State, 26 miles N.E. of Bhopāl), and then north-east to Kosambi (Kauśāmbī), and next north to Sāketa, Setavya and Sāvattī, the capital of the Kosalas, then eastwards to Kapilavatthu (Kapilavāstu) of the Sākya, and the city of Kusinārā (Kṛṣṇinagara) of the Mallas, then further north to Pāvā and Bhojanagara in the Malla country in the Himalayan foot-hills and finally south-east to Vesālī of the Magadhas and Pāsāṇaka cetiya near Rājagaha where they meet the Buddha. They are satisfied with the answers to their "mental" questions and salute the Buddha. With the invitation of the Buddha to ask him questions to have their doubts cleared, they begin asking questions one by one.

The *vattu-gāthā*, as a whole, depict conditions much later than the time of the Buddha, or even the time of the compilation of the *pucchās*. Internal evidence and linguistic data show that they are decidedly later than the *pucchās*. It will be useful to analyse the internal evidence which consists chiefly of a study of the names of places mentioned in the story, the terms and technical expressions used, signs of the growth of the concept Buddha and the doctrinal emphasis. Firstly, the *v.g.* show intimate knowledge of the Dakkhiṇāpatha, of far-off places like Muḷakā (not identified) and Patiṭṭhāna in the land of the Assakas north-western Hyderabad). The road taken by the 16 *mānavas* was the trade-route running from North to South-East (Sāvattī to Rājagaha).<sup>32</sup> The simile at *Sn.* 1014b, *mahālābham va vāṇijo* (as a merchant—longs for—great gain) seems to allude to the caravan-men who followed these trade-routes. Even if the first route did exist as early as the time of Pasenadī (according to *Sn.A.* 580) it cannot be said that Buddhism had spread to these southern regions so early as the time of composition of the *pucchās*. It must have taken a considerable period of time before Buddhism spread to these regions, and places like Māhissati, Ujjenī, Gonaddha and Vedisa were

29. Vide D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures 1918*, p. 54.

30. B. C. Law, *op. cit.* p. 104.

31. According to B. C. Law (*ibid.* p. 74), Māhīsmatī was later known as Gonaddha. But this is very doubtful and improbable.

32. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 103.

far away from the cradle of Buddhism. A knowledge of these places in the *v.g.* presupposes a time when Buddhism was known to the people in Dakkhiṇāpatha even if it had not spread there. It is also of interest to note how the brahmins looked upon this region. *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* V. 15 considers this region as unholy land.

*Surāṣṭram Sindhu Sauvīram Avantī Dakṣiṇāpatham.  
Etāni brāhmaṇo gatvā punah saṃskāram arhati.*

(It behoves a brahmin who goes to Surāṣṭra, etc., to perform his sacraments again). cp. *Divy.* 19. It is needless to say that under these conditions Brahmanism could not have spread to these regions very early. If that was so it is difficult to explain how Bāvarī a brahmin, and other brahmins mentioned in the *v.g.* could find their way here to a land so far south, even to the furthest limits of the unholy land. If Bāvarī was a historical figure he must have lived at a time when the brahmins had begun to consider the Dakkhiṇāpatha no longer as unholy land. This fact and the knowledge of the trade-route to the south-west suggest that the *v.g.* reflect a period when Dakkhiṇāpatha was well-known to Buddhist writers. The first time that this region is expected, with some degree of certainty, to have come under the influence of Buddhism, is during the reign of Asoka when he sent out his missionaries far and wide, Mahādeva was sent to Mahisamaṇḍala and Rakkhita to Vanavāsa (cp. *Vedisam Vanasavhayaṃ* both presumably in Dakkhiṇāpatha. (*Mhv.* 12, 3-4).

The terms and technical expressions used in the *v.g.* point to a comparatively late period. The use of the words *visaya* (in *Assakassa visaye—Sn.* 977a) and *mandira* (in *Kosalamandira—Sn.* 996a, and *Kusināraṇca mandiram—Sn.* 1012d) needs investigation. The word *visaya* in the sense of region, country or kingdom may have had its origin in epic or Classical Sanskrit. It is not used in this meaning in Vedic. The nearest approach to it in old Pāli is to be found in words like *Pettivisaya* or *Yamavisaya* (the realm or domain of Petas and Yama respectively). This usage in the *v.g.* appears late. The word *mandira* is frequently found in late Sk. in the sense of house or mansion, as in Pāli. Here it apparently stands for a political or regional division. If these regions were independent kingdoms (or cities as in the case of the latter) they would rather be referred to as *desa* or *raṭṭha*, or *nagara* or *rājadhāni*. It is probable that these two *mandiras* were two of many such *mandiras* within a large empire. Such an empire came into existence for the first time in India's history under Candragupta (322-298 B.C.)<sup>33</sup> and the next great empire was that of Asoka (272-232 B.C.)<sup>33</sup>. It may then be possible that the *v.g.* were written at least after the time of Candragupta. (Other available evidence tends to show that they were of still later date).

33. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 206, assigns these dates.

The next point of interest lies in *Sn.* 1000-1001. The sixteen *mānavas* learn from Bāvarī that the Buddha's distinguishing marks are the 32 characteristics. Here the *v.g.* present a phase of development in the Buddha-legend, for it is not his teaching that is mentioned, but his outward marks. *Sn.* 1001 dogmatically states that there are two, and only two, courses of action open to a being who has these 32 marks on his body. This is further proof of a gradual crystallization that has set in. There are a few epithets used in the *v.g.*, e.g. *sambuddho* (7 times),<sup>34</sup> *sabbadhammānapāragū* (*Sn.* 992b), *paṭhaṅkara* (*Sn.* 991d), *vivattacchadda* (*Sn.* 1003c) and *anāvaraṇadassāvī*, among others at *Sn.* 991, 992, 995, 996, 1003, etc., but the majority of them are found in the older parts of the prose *Nikāyas* as well.

The phrase *pubbevāsanavāsītā* (*Sn.* 1009d) "impressed with the resultant force of their former deeds"<sup>35</sup> too sheds some light on the date of the *v.g.* The doctrine of *vāsanā* is apparently alien to early Buddhism, though the same idea may be found in germinal form in phrases like *pubbe kaṭaṇi kammaṃ* (actions done in the past). The developed idea as such is to be seen at *Miln.* 10, *pubbe vāsanāya coditahadayo* (his heart impelled by former impressions); *Miln.* 263, *pubbevāsītavāsanā* (cp. *Sn.* 1009d), and *Vism.* 185, *katasaṃaṇadhammo, vāsītavāsano, bhāvītabhāvano* (he who has discharged the obligations of a recluse, has the resultant force of his former deeds impressed on him and has developed his meditations). *Vāsanā* is often mentioned in *Nettipakaraṇa* where it occurs no less than 12 times,<sup>36</sup> in a slightly different sense though fundamentally the same. Some *suttas* here are called *vāsanābhāgiya* (pertaining to *v.*). All the works in which this term is employed reflecting on an accepted theory of *vāsanā*, are comparatively late. Of them the date of *Vism.* is to some extent certain; i.e. 5th century A.C. Hardy limits the date of *Nett.* between 2nd century B.C. and 5th century A.C. though he is more inclined to favour a date in the neighbourhood of the latter limit.<sup>37</sup> Mrs. Rhys Davids in her *Milinda Questions* suggests a date towards the beginning of the Christian Era to *Miln.*; and in her *Outlines of Buddhism* p. 103, she assigns the date 80 B.C. These instances show that all the other references to *vāsanā* do not go back earlier than 2nd century B.C. This fact may, to some extent, help in determining the date of the *v.g.* All these references to *vāsanā* presuppose the existence of at least, a contemporary belief in "former impressions". It has already been noticed that this term does not occur in earlier Pāli works. It is probable that the concept of *pubbe-*

34. This word occurs 7 times in the *v.g.* and twice in the epilogue, viz. *Sn.* 992 a, 994 a, 995 f, 998 d, 1003 c, 1016 a, 1031 a, 1145 c, 1147 c. There are 10 other occurrences in *Sn.*—3 in *Uruga Vagga* and 7 in *Mahā Vagga*.

35. Vide P.T.S. for *vāsanā* and *vāsita*; *vāsanā*=impression (Rhys Davids).

36. Also vide P.T.S., s.v.

37. *Nettipakaraṇa* (P.T.S.) Introduction p. xx.

*vāsanā* was further developed into a fuller theory by the time of the Commentaries. The frequent occurrence of this idea in *Nd* 2 is very significant. The concluding passages in the comments on each of the 16 *pucchās* contains one standard phrase in which the word *vāsanā* occurs—(*vide Nd* 2, p. xxiv), *Ye tena brāhmaṇena saddhiṃ ekajjhā ekappayogā, ekādhippāyā, ekavāsanavāgitā*. (They who were together with the brahmin, of similar undertakings, of similar intentions and impressed with similar former impressions).

It has been noticed earlier that either the *v.g.* did not exist at the time of the compilation of *Nd* 2, or if they did exist in some form or other they were not accepted as authentic by the writer of *Nd* 2. The occurrence of the same idea in both *Nd* 2 and the *v.g.* shows that neither belonged to a period prior to the development of a theory of *vāsanā*. The probability is that both the *v.g.* and *Nd* 2 were not separated from each other by a long interval of time, and that the subject-matter of the *v.g.* may have existed in some form before *Nd* 2 was compiled, and that the latter was influenced by it. This would explain the occurrence of the phrase *ekajjhā*, etc. in *Nd* 2 in spite of the fact that the *v.g.* are left unmentioned in it. In the light of the above observations it may be inferred that these references to *vāsanā* do not date back earlier than 2nd century B.C., and that both the *v.g.* and *Nd* 2 which were separated by a short interval of time do not go back earlier than the earliest limits of the period to which *Nett.*, *Miln.* and *Vism.* can be assigned; i.e. 2nd century B.C. As regards the *v.g.* this is further borne out by linguistic data.

The *v.g.* contain words and linguistic forms belonging to various periods. There are older forms lying side by side with much younger ones. These older forms are the same as the already existing early *gāthā*-forms and belong to a stratum which is generally called "the *Gāthā*-dialect." They either preserve the *gāthā*-idiom or are borrowings modelled on the language of the *gāthās*. There are numerous instances of younger forms, some betraying a strange resemblance to epic Sanskrit. It also contains highly developed and perhaps Sanskritic idioms and usages. Even though there is a preponderance of older forms, the younger forms show that these *gāthās* should belong to a later period. The idioms, *Assakassa visaye* (*Sn.* 977 a), *vasī Godhāvarī kule* (*Sn.* 977) are purely Sanskritic. *Tasseva upanissāya* (*Sn.* 978 a) is a peculiar usage which Bdhgh. comments as *upayogathe c'etaṃ sāmivacanam, taṃ upanissāyā'ti attho*, (*Sn.* A. 581). The verb *vācati* (*Sn.* 980d) in the present tense following another in the past (*āgañchi*-*Sn.* 979 d) is typical of Sk. epic poetry. *Bhavaṃ nāhupadassati* (*Sn.* 983b) is again the Sk. idiom though the verb is a historical future form. Other instances of verbs in the present tense following a verb in the past are at *Sn.* 985, *ussussati* and *na ramati* after *āhu* in *Sn.*



984 d. The idiom *bhotī jānāti* (Sn. 988 a) is also Sanskritic. The loc. sg., *asmim* in *asmim puthavimaṇḍale* (Sn. 990 b) is very near Sk. *asmin*, as usually Pāli has *imasmim*. *Puthavimaṇḍala* as a term referring to the world belongs to late Sk. The words *visaya* and *mandira* have already been discussed. The word *apacca* (Sn. 991c) is seldom used in Pāli although it goes back to Vedic *apatya*; but it is in frequent use in Sk. In spite of the old forms the sufficiently numerous younger forms are ample proof that the language of the v.g. taken as a whole is rather late. This is quite in accord with the overwhelming internal evidence which definitely shows that the v.g. are of no great antiquity.

## 29

It was stated earlier that the *vattu-gāthā* were meant to introduce the subject but apart from the legendary introduction which has little bearing on the *pañhas* (*pucchās*), the latter are still independent *suttas*. Bāvarī the brahmin, is spoken of as the teacher of the 16 *mānavas*; and in the epilogue Pingiya is represented as singing Buddha's praises in Bāvarī's presence and converting him. This, apparently, is the only connecting link between the legend in the v.g. and epilogue and the *pucchās*. Yet, a rather successful attempt has been made to incorporate in this legendary epic, the *pucchās*, and to establish a connecting thread running through the whole *vagga*. However, one loses all contact with the story of Bāvarī in the *pucchās*. The Buddha is seen answering the eager questions of some would-be followers. Nothing else can be gathered from the *pucchās* about these interlocutors of the Buddha, except what can be seen from their views and philosophical leanings.

The position of the story of Bāvarī in the *Pārāyana* is best summed up in the words of E. J. Thomas, "The *Pārāyana* is indeed old. . . There is no reason for thinking that this legend in its present form is of the same age as the *Pārāyana*. . . It is evident that even though the legend may be old, the same cannot be said of the details that may have been introduced when it was recast."<sup>38</sup>

## 30

## Uraga Vagga

Proceeding to the other three *vaggas*, the *Uraga Vagga* calls for attention next. It has already been mentioned (U.C.R. VI, 1) that the *Uraga Sutta* which has been placed at the head of the *vagga* has given its name to the

38. *Life of Buddha*, p. 14.

whole section. In many respects the opening *Uraga Sutta* resembles the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*, but unlike the two *Yakkha*-ballads, *Hemavata* and *Ālavaka Suttas* or *Parābhava* and *Vasala Suttas* which deal with practically the same topic, the two are not placed together in the *vagga*. Both *Uraga* and *Khaggavisāṇa Suttas* are didactic ballads with regular refrains running through them, and dealing with similar topics. Another poem which can be classed in the same category is *Muni Sutta* which resembles the other two in both subject-matter and style though the refrain is confined to only 8 out of its 15 stanzas (i.e. Sn. 212-219). All these three *suttas* are archaic in character. Available evidence suggests the independent existence of *Khaggavisāṇa* and *Muni Suttas*, prior to the compilation of Sn. The former is commented in Nd 2 (as an independent *sutta*) and is quoted in full at Ap. I, 8-13 (*Pacceka-buddhāpadāna*) while the latter is mentioned in Asoka's Bhābru Edict as *Muni gāthā*, and in several other instances along with other sections of the Scriptures (*supra*).

*Dhaniya* and *Kasibhāradvāja Suttas* are similar to these three in subject-matter, but form a different type of ballad. They can be grouped together as dialogue-ballads though the latter in reality is a narrative-ballad with the dialogue in mixed prose and verse. In both of them there is a great deal of the dramatic-element; both are didactic to a certain extent and both deal with farmers who eventually became lay-disciples. The former contains highly antithetical alternate verses uttered by *Dhaniya* the herdsman and the *Bhagavā* respectively, while the latter in its main section (Sn. 76-81) contains one question by the brahmin and a long answer given by the Buddha in metaphors stating counterparts to some important Buddhist concepts, in the various implements used and actions done in ploughing. In both these *suttas* the Buddha is represented as retracing the very words of the interlocutors giving them a new value and a new twist so that the higher truths of his message are brought within the limited scope of a ploughman's (for herdsman's) terminology. One would normally expect these two *suttas* too to be grouped together like Nos. 6 and 7 and Nos. 9 and 10, on account of their similarities in style and theme and the technique employed in them.

The next poem *Cunda Sutta* differs from the first four *suttas* in theme and general tone. It presupposes a time when some monks were seen leading a life of evil and sin (Sn. 89). The gradual crystallisation of ideas regarding the ideal monk (Sn. 86) and the motive of preventing the lay *ariyasāvakas* losing their faith in the virtuous monks on account of these evil-doers (Sn. 90) show that the poem belonged to an age of developed monasticism. The inclusion of this *sutta* here perhaps serves to connect the four earlier *suttas* of lofty ideals with the three popular *suttas* that follow. The first of these enumerates the causes of man's downfall and

deterioration (*parābhava*), the second details the characteristics of a *vasala* (an out-caste in the strict Buddhist sense), and the third is a treatise on *mettā* (amity). The only characteristic that is common to *Cunda Sutta* and the two that follow it is that all three of them are dialogue-ballads. In the grouping together of the two *suttas*, *Parābhava* and *Vasala* may be seen signs of an attempt at some sort of arrangement of the *suttas*. Although the next *sutta*, *Metta*, is a didactic ballad it shares something in common with the two preceding *suttas*—all three of them being popular in character and intended for the benefit of both monk and layman. *Metta Sutta* occurs in both *Kh.* (No. IX) and the *Catubhāṇavāra (Parittas)*, whereas the other two are found repeated in the *Parittas* only.

The next two *suttas*, *Hemavata* and *Āḷavaka*, are of high literary merit—both containing the dramatic element to some extent. The fact that they deal with *yakkhas* appears to have been the reason for their being grouped together. The next *sutta* (*Vijaya*) contains a list of the parts of the human body, in poetical form. Placed last in the *vagga* is the old *Muni Sutta*, which probably entered the *vagga* last of all.

Judging from the subject-matter, type of ballad, and the grouping of poems in the *vagga*, it appears that this section now known as the *Uruga Vagga* consisted of only 10 *suttas* at a certain stage; thus:—

Group I, *Suttas* 1-4,

No. 5 separating Groups I and II.

Group II, Nos. 6 and 7,

No. 8 separating Groups II and III,

Group III, Nos. 9 and 10.

This clearly explains the position of the old *Muni Sutta* as the last member of the *vagga*, placed immediately after so late a piece as the *Vijaya Sutta*. In spite of its resemblance to *Khaggavisāṇa* and *Uruga Suttas* in language, style and theme, it has not been grouped with them.

### 31

#### Culla and Mahā Vaggas

The next two sections of *Sn.*, *Culla Vagga (Cvg.)* and *Mahā Vagga (Mvg.)* consist of 14 and 12 *suttas* respectively. The total number of stanzas comprising the 14 *suttas* of *Cvg.* is a little more than half that of *Mvg.* (i.e. *Cvg.* 183, and *Mvg.* 361). The majority of the *suttas* in *Cvg.* are short pieces whereas those of *Mvg.* are comparatively longer. This perhaps may have been the reason for naming these two sections as *Culla* and

*Mahā Vaggas* respectively. Yet there are exceptions as regards the length of the *suttas* in the two *vaggas*. The most outstanding are *Brāhmaṇa-dhammika Sutta* (No. 7 of *Cvg.*) consisting of 32 stanzas, *Dhammika Sutta* (No. 14 of *Cvg.*) consisting of 29 stanzas and *Subhāsita Sutta* (No. 3 of *Mvg.*) containing only 5 stanzas in addition to the introductory prose. There are 7 *suttas* in *Cvg.* containing 10 stanzas or less,<sup>39</sup> and 5 containing a number ranging from 17 to 12.<sup>40</sup> The other two are the exceptionally long *suttas* just mentioned. Five *suttas* of *Mvg.* contain 32 or more stanzas each,<sup>41</sup> in addition to the prose in the majority of them; and the number of stanzas in six others ranges from 20 to 26.<sup>42</sup> The *Subhāsita Sutta* which is exceptionally short for this *vagga* has already been mentioned. It is curious to note that both the long *suttas* in *Cvg.* are named *Dhammika* and that they occur as seventh and fourteenth members of the *vagga*. The fact that one of them is the last *sutta* of the *vagga*, and that they occur at regular intervals may suggest that they did not originally belong here.

The *suttas* of *Cvg.* may be classified roughly into two categories: 1. dialogue-ballads and 2. didactic-ballads; but the classification is not complete by itself. On the one hand, all the *suttas* are didactic in some degree or other, but on the other, practically each *sutta* seems to represent a type by itself. *Amagandha* and *Sammāparibbājanīya Suttas* are dialogue-ballads entirely in verse where the interlocutor speaks but once and the Buddha replies with a discourse. An interesting feature is the refrain running through the discourse in both *suttas*. They deal with topics of general interest in all periods of the history of Buddhism. *Kimsīla Sutta* also appears as such a dialogue, although the questioner's name is not mentioned. It is highly didactic and may equally be classed with the pure didactic-ballads.

There are four dialogue-ballads with prose introductions. The first of them, *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* is highly popular in character, and the second *Sūciloma* is didactic. Both these *suttas* introduce supernatural beings as interlocutors. The former contains a refrain while the latter has none. The next *Vaṅgisa Sutta*, is an ode in the form of a dialogue-ballad. This is the least didactic of all the 14 *suttas* in *Cvg.*; yet, it is by no means lacking in it. Here the interlocutor plays a more active part than in the other dialogue-ballads of this *vagga*. The last *Dhammika Sutta* is an eulogy of the Buddha followed by a discourse dealing with the *śīlas* and such other topics. There are also four didactic-ballads entirely in verse; viz. *Hiri Dhammacāriya*, *Nāvā* and *Uṭṭhāna Suttas*. *Nāvā Sutta* is named after the simile employed in it (*Sn.* 321) and the other three after their opening

39. Nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

40. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 12 and 13.

41. Nos. 4, 6, 9, 11 (with *vatthu-gāthā*) and 12.

42. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 10.

words as in the case of *Kimsīla Sutta*. The opening question in *Kimsīla Sutta* can be explained as a *vatthu-gāthā*, although it is not specifically mentioned so as in *Rāhula Sutta*. The *Rāhula Sutta* differs from the above four in that it has two *vatthu-gāthās* consisting of a question and an answer, and ends with a concluding prose sentence. The *Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta* is essentially didactic in its verse section, but it contains an introductory prose dialogue and concludes with a confession of faith in prose. The opening *Ratana Sutta* cannot be placed in any particular category. It is neither a didactic poem nor a dialogue, but a *paritta* of later date with a good deal of *saccakiriya* (asseveration). The *Culla Vagga* thus presents a confused mass.

It is not quite possible to sift out the *suttas* that were included in the *vagga* subsequent to the formation of a *vagga* as such, or spot out at a glance the *suttas* on which the *vagga* was built later. On the whole, this section as a *vagga* is decidedly later than the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas*, and probably later than many *suttas* of the *Uraga Vagga*. As regards individual poems, the occurrence of the two long *suttas* (Nos. 7 and 14) in a section of short (*culla*) *suttas* leads one to the inference that they originally did not belong to this *vagga*. One may be justified in saying that these two were probably either importations to the *vagga* or were in existence in some other collection prior to the formation of *Culla Vagga*. Another *sutta* that appears foreign to the *vagga* is *Ratana Sutta*. From its internal evidence and linguistic data it will be seen that it is a comparatively late poem. This, along with the fact that it occurs at the head of the *vagga* seems to suggest that it need not necessarily have belonged to this *vagga* at the outset. Neither does it follow from this that the *Cvg.* was older than these three *suttas*; and the question of whether the two longer *suttas* belonged to another group of *suttas* (*vagga*) before *Cvg.* came into existence will be discussed later.

## 32

## Mahā Vagga

The *suttas* of the *Mahā Vagga* are a little more uniform in character. The *Pabbajjā*, *Padhāna* and *Nālaka Suttas* are narrative-ballads with occasional dialogue. It has already been noticed that these three *suttas* represent the earliest beginnings of a life of the Buddha in verse (*U.C.R.* Vol. VI, 2). It is established beyond any doubt that the *Nālaka Sutta* is the same as the *Moneya-sūte* of Asoka's Bhābru Edict. An analysis of Nos. 1 and 2 of *Mvg.* shows that they are very old pieces. Sylvain Lévi<sup>43</sup> identifies

43. J. A. 1915. Regarding *Bimbisārapratyudgama* he says, "Le P'in-po-cha-lo-po-lo-cha-k'ia-mo-nan, 'Bimbisāra vient au-devant' est sans doute le *Pabbajjāsutta* du *Sutta Nipāta*." cp. *Mvastu*. II, 198, *Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, Saṅghabhedavastu* chap. 4: *Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas, Upasampadāvastu* chap. 31.

*Pabbajjā Sutta* as being mentioned in the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins (chap. XXIV) in a passage which refers to other texts as well, which he considers are of great importance for the history of the Canon. Of the other nine *suttas*, eight (except *Salla*, No. 8) are "mixed-ballads." Seven of them are dialogues. It has been pointed out that No. 3, *Subhāsita Sutta*, is too short for a section of "long" *suttas* (*mahā*). Nos. 4-7, 9 and 10 are uniform in every way. No. 8 is a didactic-ballad deriving its name from the oft-used metaphorical term *salla* occurring in stanza 19 (*Sn.* 592). The *Dvayatānupassanā Sutta* stands as a class by itself in the whole of *Sn.* It conveys the general impression of a late *sutta*. Its position as last in the *vagga*, as in the case of *Ratana Sutta* which is at the head of *Cvg.* seems to strengthen the supposition that it was an additional accretion, though its lateness is not necessarily proved thereby. Evidence for its lateness is to be sought in the *sutta* itself.

The majority of the pieces in *Mvg.* can be called "mixed-ballads" with dialogue; viz. Nos. 3-7, 9 and 10. Six of these, including No. 3, *Subhāsita Sutta*, are best described as "sutta-ballads," i.e. they are discourses in the form of mixed-ballads—and the latter is more in the nature of an exposition (*veyyākaraṇa*), rather than a ballad proper. There are also four such "sutta-ballads" in *Cvg.* viz. Nos. 5, 7, 12 and 14, which occur in a regular pattern in the *vagga*. (*Suttas* 5 and 12 resemble each other in outward form: both are short mixed-ballads with dialogue, though fundamentally the latter is an ode followed by a discourse, while the former, a didactic discourse in answer to a question. The pair Nos. 7 and 14 has been discussed at length.) The *suttas* 6 and 13 too resemble each other in many respects, both being entirely in verse. The only difference between the two is that the former is a straight-forward didactic poem while the latter is a didactic discourse in answer to a question; but the two are similar in outward form. The symmetry seen in these three pairs of *suttas* cannot be a mere accident. It seems likely that in building up the *Culla Vagga* these *suttas* have been so placed as to work out a definite pattern.

This leads to the question whether these *suttas* belonged to some other group or *vagga* before *Cvg.* came into existence. If there was any such group some of the *suttas* now found in *Mvg.* should also have been included in it, for, the existence of a section called *Mahā Vagga* without a corresponding *Culla Vagga* is very doubtful.<sup>44</sup> The resemblance of *suttas* 4-7, 9, and 10 of *Mvg.* to the four "mixed-ballads" of *Cvg.* in form and style suggests that they too may have been included in such a group. There is nothing to prevent No. 8 of *Mvg.* being in the same group, for it could

44. Examples of *Mahā* and *Cūla* (*Cūla*) *Vaggas* occurring together in the Canon are too numerous and need no mention here. Vide *D.P.P.N.*, *Malalasekera*, s.v.

be argued that as No. 9 in *Mvg.* is rather expository in character, No. 8 which is an expository didactic poem should have been placed in front of it as in the present *vagga*. But the greater probability is for the same type of "mixed" dialogue-ballads to be grouped together, like the *pucchās* of the *Pārāyana*. This would mean that the hypothetical *vagga* consisted of *Cvg.* 5, 7, 12 and 14 and *Mvg.* 1-7, 9 and 10.

This reflects no light whatsoever on the question of the age of the *suttas* found in these two *vaggas*. Beyond any reasonable doubt *Moneyya Sutta* (*Nālaka* discourse) could be placed among the oldest *suttas* in *Sn.* The age of the *suttas* does not necessarily determine whether they belonged to a particular group (or groups) or not, for, they can exist independently and be introduced into other collections at subsequent dates; e.g. the old *Muni Sutta*, a comparative new-comer to *Uraga Vagga*. This further justifies the exclusion of old *suttas* like *Pabbajjā*, *Padhāna* and *Nālaka* from the reconstructed group of ballads. Moreover the position of these *suttas* in *Mvg.* indicates that they were probably additions made when two *vaggas* grew in place of a *vagga* of mixed-ballads. (This need not necessarily have belonged to *Sn.*, and its independent existence like the *Pārāyana* or *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* is not improbable). *Pabbajjā* and *Padhāna Suttas* were placed at the head of *Mvg.* (and not *Cvg.*) probably on account of their length. The only plausible explanation of the position of the short *Subhāsita Sutta* as the third member of the *vagga* is that it could have occurred in some collection or other together with the preceding *suttas*; but this is highly improbable. As it differs considerably from the "sutta-ballads" it cannot be surmised that it may have occurred immediately before *Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta* in an earlier group. As regards the *Salla Sutta*, its length and the expository nature of the following (*Vāseṭṭha*) *sutta* may have been responsible for its inclusion in the present *Mahā Vagga*, and probably it did not exist together with the others in an earlier group. The *Nālaka Sutta* seems to have been introduced immediately after the regular "mixed-ballads." The chief reason for its inclusion here and not in *Cvg.* is its length. One would normally expect this *sutta* to be placed beside the other two *suttas* which are directly connected with the life of the Buddha. The fact that this is separated from them also suggests that these three *suttas* did not originally belong here, but were introduced after the two groups *Mvg.* and *Cvg.* were formed.

It may also be possible that the three *suttas*, *Pabbajjā*, *Padhāna* and *Nālaka* were earlier found together in one group at a certain stage, and that eight *suttas* were added after the *Padhāna Sutta* to make up the *Mahā Vagga*. The fact that these three *suttas* belong to an early stratum does not necessarily imply that they may have been the only *suttas* of their class. Moreover, *Nālaka Sutta* does not form a continuous narrative

with the other two *suttas*. A comparison with the later BSk. sources, such as *Lal.* which aims at dealing with a continuous life of the Buddha, or *Mvastu*, which contains accounts of incidents connected with his life, shows that these three *suttas* in *Sn.* deal with only three of the numerous incidents reported in later sources. It is quite probable that some *suttas* parallel to those found in *Lal.* and *Mvastu*, were lost and that *Sn.* contains only a partial picture. The fact that only these three are preserved shows that they are but fragments of an earlier stratum brought to light at a subsequent date and included in the group now known as *Mahā Vagga*. It has already been pointed out that their relative position in the *vagga* shows that they are additions made to the *vagga* rather than parts of its framework. From these it is evident that *Mvg.* was not built upon these *suttas* but it grew incorporating them.

It is not possible to determine whether any one of these two *vaggas* was earlier than the other (as a *vagga*). Neither of them is a perfect "finished" chapter. Though the majority of the *suttas* conforms to the designations *Culla* and *Maha*, in length, many exceptions have already been noted. The themes in the "minor" *suttas* (i.e. those in *Cvg.*) are equally lofty as those of the *suttas* in *Mvg.* Therefore the possibility of the two sections being named according to the nature of the themes can be set aside. There is no perfect uniformity in the type of *suttas* in both *vaggas* though as many as six *suttas* of *Mvg.* can be classified as "mixed" dialogue-ballads. The same type of *sutta* is to be seen in *Cvg.* too; viz. Nos. 4, 5, 7, 12 and 14, though the didactic element seems to predominate in them. The commonest type of *sutta* in *Cvg.* is the pure didactic-ballad entirely in verse.<sup>45</sup> but *Mvg.* No. 8 (*Salla Sutta*) too can be said to belong to the same type. The similarity of these two *vaggas* even on this point suggests that they cannot be separated from each other in point of time. Both *vaggas* date back to the same period, and the occurrence of the older *suttas* in *Mvg.* proves nothing beyond the fact that they were incorporated into the *vagga* during the time of its compilation, which perhaps was synchronous with the collation of *Sutta Nipāta* as an anthology.

(Continued)

45. There are seven such *suttas*; viz. Nos. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 13.

## SUNNATĀ—ANATTĀ

Rada Ivekovic

For the connection *suññatā*—*anattā* the Theravāda exegesis insists on the limitation of the range of *suññatā* to that of *anattā*. One specific text, the *Suññatalokasuttam*, where *suññam* is defined as neither *attā* nor *attaniyam*, is a very short discourse that expresses the idea concisely:

‘Venerable Ānanda questioned the Exalted One thus:

—They say the world is nothing, it is void. But how is it void, Sir?

—Because, Ānanda, the world is nothing in itself (*attena*) and nothing for itself (*attaniyena*), they say it is nothing. And what is nothing in itself and nothing for itself? The eye, Ānanda, is nothing in itself and nothing for itself. The form, Ānanda, is nothing. ... Eye consciousness. ... Eye contact, Ānanda, is nothing in itself and nothing for itself. The feeling that arises at an experience, be it pleasant or unpleasant or indifferent is nothing in itself and nothing for itself. That is why, Ānanda, because the world is nothing in itself and nothing for itself, they say of it that it is nothing, *suñño*.’<sup>1</sup>

Thus, here, no trace of *suññam* attained to by pure contemplation, no trace of *suññam* as the point where our attention reaches attributeless collectedness of mind and where the only remaining preoccupation is that of keeping this body alive, knowing the facts about its *anattā* and *anicca*-nature and about *suññatā*, or rather living in a state of *suññatā*. The world is declared to be *suñña*, nothing, not in relation to our consciousness and cognizance, but on a lower plane, because it is *anattā*, *suñño attena* and *suñño attaniyena*. Being nothing of itself and nothing for itself, that is—nothing in it being independent and self-reliable (*paṭicca-samuppāda*), not having any independent value of its own, it is *suñño*. *Suñña* is the synonym of *anattā* and *anicca* here.

This seems to be the true Theravāda exegesis of the term *suññatā*, avoiding carefully to take it further to its logical consequences for fear of being ‘accused of nihilism’. And particularly when it comes to Nibbāna Theravādins are at odds as to how to define this peculiar state and shrink from considering only the negative definitions found in the Canon (for fear of nihilism), as also the positive ones (apprehension of being accused of a positive-metaphysical stand-point). They took the idea of the middle path literally and applied it here to avoid any philosophical

implications. But what is Nibbāna if not the merging of consciousness into this state of *suññatā*? In what way is it deliverance if it does not allow of *suññam* and if *suññam* stands only for *anattā*? And how is *anattā* to be understood if there is no wider notion, *suññatā*, as a logical outcome of a true doctrine of *anicca* and *anattā*?

There is hardly anything we can say about Nibbāna. It is one of those things that *have to be lived to be really thought of*, let alone understood. But one thing at least can be done: we can tell what is *not* Nibbāna, as has so often been done in the scriptures. And they say it is unborn, unbecome, unformed, unspeakable; it is that which is no-greed, no-delusion, no-passion. Theravādins are afraid of both ‘extremes’, taking the one to lead to *uccheda-vāda*, annihilationism, the other to *sassata-vāda*, eternalism. They so oppose these two theories and carefully tread the ‘middle path’, whatever that may mean. As the Venerable Nyāṇaponika Thera of Sri Lanka puts it:

‘The saying of the Buddha quoted here speaks of the duality (*dvayatā*) of existence (*atthitā*) and non-existence (*naithitā*). These two terms refer to the theories of eternalism (*sassatadiṭṭhi*) and annihilationism (*ucchedadiṭṭhi*) which are the basic misconceptions of actuality that occur again and in many variations, in the history of human thought. *Eternalism* is the belief in a permanent substance or entity, be it conceived as a multitude of individual souls or selves (created or not), or as a monistic world-soul, a deity of any description, or as a combination of any of these notions. *Annihilationism*, on the other hand, believes in the temporary existence of separate selves or personalities, which are entirely destroyed or dissolved after death... These two extreme views stand and fall with the assumption of something static of either permanent or impermanent nature. *They will lose their basis entirely if life is seen in its true nature as a continuous flux of material and mental processes arising from their appropriate conditions—a process which will cease only when these conditions are removed.* This will explain why our text introduces here the formula of Dependent Origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*) and its reversal, Dependent Cessation.

‘*Dependent Origination, being an unbroken process, excludes the assumption of an absolute Non-existence, or Naught, that is supposed to terminate, by necessity, individual existence; while the qualifying word dependent indicates that there is also no absolute, i.e. independent existence, no static Being per se but only an evanescent arising of phenomena, dependent on likewise evanescent conditions.*

‘*Dependent Cessation excludes the belief in absolute and permanent Existence, and shows on the other hand, that there is no automatic lapse*

1. *Suññatalokasuttam*, S.N. XXXV, 85; tr. by R.I.

into Non-existence, but that the cessation of relative existence is likewise a conditional occurrence.

“Thus these teachings of Dependent Origination and Dependent Cessation are a true Doctrine in the Middle, transcending the extremes of Existence and Non-existence.”<sup>2</sup>

Symptomatic of the Theravāda standpoint, the Venerable Nyānaponika Thera brings in the *paṭicca-samuppāda* formulation to explain the facts of existence, for it would be risky to dig any further. But the *paṭicca-samuppāda*, although it is a structural pattern of the dynamics of existence, and its exemplification (with no attempt to be exhaustive), offers no satisfactory philosophical approach. And, what is more, the *paṭicca-samuppāda* does not have anything to do with the meditative and cognitive outcome of the problem (except if stress be properly put on *avijjā* and *viññāna* in a deeper sense—which shows clearly that it is aware of it). It never mentions among its numerous *nidānā* (as the Ven. Nyānaponika Thera rightly observed) the term *suñña*. But it does not follow, from this, that it (quote) *excludes the assumption of an absolute Non-existence or Naught, that is supposed to terminate, by necessity, individual existence, and this for two reasons:*

1. “Absolute Non-existence”, or “Naught” is here opposed to *Existence*, and is supposed to succeed to it, end it, and *terminate, by necessity, individual existence*. But, Nibbāna, in terms of *suñña-dīṭṭhi* taught by the Buddha, as we understand it, could never be that. Terms of succession, end, *termination*, are inapplicable here, lest they change the meaning of the word in question, because if a thing is terminable at all, it is also *something*, there is something that *can* be terminated. Non-existence in the true Buddhistic way, according to Pali as also to Nāgārjuna, can only be beyond both existence and non-existence, nothing as compared to either of them, completely out of relation to either.

2. The *paṭicca-samuppāda*, being an attempted *description* of the phenomenon of existence, naturally does not mention *anattā*, let alone *suñña*. But it *presupposes* it. If we go back to the implications of the two key-*nidānā*, *avijjā* and especially *viññāna*, the *anattā* idea at the bottom will appear obvious. And this is only an aspect of the broader thesis of *suññatā*, nullity.

And finally, at the end of the quoted passage, the Venerable Nyānaponika Thera says: “Thus these teachings of Dependent Origination and Dependent Cessation are a true Doctrine in the Middle, transcending the extremes of Existence and Non-existence.” But, by way of *paṭicca-*

2. *Anatta and Nibbāna*, by Nyānaponika Thera, BPS, Kandy, 1959, p. 1 ff. Underlined by R. I.

*samuppāda* alone, which is *not a method* or means of achieving a goal, we can hardly transcend anything and, if such far-fetched words are to be used in connection with the *paṭicca-samuppāda* formula, we can easily retort that it does not transcend existence since it is all about existence, and likewise with Non-existence since it does not suppose it in the first place (at least as a contrast to Existence). But *suñña* presupposes transcending the two extremes.

Further in the same publication, the Venerable Nyānaponika says:

“Hence, we need not be surprised that even Nibbāna, the Buddhist’s goal of deliverance, has been wrongly interpreted in the sense of either of these extremes: existence or non-existence...

“In the early days, when knowledge of Buddhist teachings had just reached the West, most of the writers and scholars took Nibbāna as Non-existence, pure and simple, with a few exceptions like Schopenhauer and Max Müller. Consequently, Western writers all too lightly condemned Buddhism as a *nihilistic* doctrine teaching *annihilation* as its highest goal, which these writers described as philosophically absurd and ethically reprehensible.”<sup>3</sup>

It is quite clear from the terms *nihilistic* and *annihilation* he makes use of, that the Ven. Nyānaponika, in conformity with the Theravāda views, takes *suñña-vāda* for *uccheda-vāda* because it does not take the matter to its logical consequences. If it were teaching *annihilation*, the doctrine would have to presuppose something to apply it to, and “annihilation” would be synonymous to “destroying, breaking up.” But *suññatā*, contrarily, cannot be comprehended if it be different from an undistinctive state of void, with no beginning (implied in the “a” prefix to “annihilation”), and not determined by action. That is why “nihilism” conveys the idea with more precision than “annihilation”. If *suññatā* is identified with ideas of *uccheda-dīṭṭhi*, it is clearly not acceptable to Pali Buddhism. And this is exactly what Theravādins do. In this way, wanting to oppose *suñña-vāda* to *sassata-vāda* as two extremes of which Buddha’s teaching, as they understand it, is the middle way. They really oppose *uccheda-vāda* (which they don’t differentiate from *suñña-vāda*) to *sassata-vāda*, although the real opposites are clearly *uccheda-vāda* and *suñña-vāda*.

It has been established by now that *viññāna-vāda* is correlative to *suñña-vāda* and *anattā-vāda*. The doctrine of *viññāna-vāda* is the first step to *suñña-vāda* (not talking in terms of the Mahāyāna). For, if any ultimate reality be denied, there remains nothing except consciousness. This doctrine has been elaborated by Vasubandhu and Asaṅga in *viññāna-vāda*

3. *Ibid.*

(5th century A.C.). Atomistic materialism is categorically denied in Vasubandhu's *Triṃśatika-kārikā*, the Thirty Verses. He claims that the existence of minute material entities, atoms, cannot be proved. We never experience atoms and anyway we have access only to our consciousness of it and nothing can be ascertained beyond it. As it is not proved, then, that anything exists of its own (see *paṭicca-samuppāda* in Pali Buddhism), we only have objects or "contents of cognitive consciousness", *viññatti* (Skt: *vijñapti*). All this is based on the supposition of *ksanika-vāda*, momentariness. The idea of substance is a logical construct with no footing in reality.

## PALI BUDDHIST STUDIES IN THE WEST

Russell Webb

During the 18th. and 19th. centuries Pali Buddhist studies in the West were confined to the closed realm of professional academics—linguists, lexicographers, grammarians, folklorists, archaeologists, et al. The Pali language was itself usually regarded as an adjunct of Sanskrit and even today is rarely taught in isolation. Such studies were promoted by lone individuals, all of whom have been described in one or other of the following indispensable textbooks: *The Western Contribution to Buddhism* by William Peiris (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973); *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America* by J. W. de Jong (serialised in *The Eastern Buddhist*, Otani University, Kyoto, May and October 1974, and published separately, with an index, by Bharat-Bharati, Varanasi, in January 1976).

Eighteen months ago a questionnaire was circulated amongst those universities in the West where Pali and early Buddhist studies were conducted and, on the basis of the replies in conjunction with reports of private enterprises in these fields, the following series of articles is presented.

### 1. U.K.

Buddhist-orientated studies were, for many years, confined to London, but today almost the reverse position is the case, with provincial universities taking the lead. As it was, Oriental studies lagged behind those in France and Germany until the last quarter of the 19th. century.

Of interest is the early history of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, which was the premier institution of its kind in the U.K. The following survey was paraphrased from the Introduction in the first issue of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (BSOS, 1917) by Philip J. Hartog (Academic Registrar of the University of London): the first school for Oriental languages in London was the Oriental Institution in Leicester Square. It was established by John B. Gilchrist, under the patronage of the East India Company, and flourished between 1818-26. It was employed mainly for teaching Hindi to medical students. Dr. Robert Morrison, a Chinese scholar, founded another institute which taught Chinese, Sanskrit and Bengali. This lasted a mere three years, 1825-8.

University College (founded 1826-8) saw Chairs of Oriental Literature and Hindi established at an early date. At Kings College (founded 1829-31), Oriental languages and literature were taught from 1833.

\* This chapter has been extracted from the writer's Ph.D. thesis, "The Problem of Soul in Pāli Buddhism" (University of Delhi, 1972). Mrs. Iveković has contributed a number of papers on Buddhism to Yugoslav periodicals and, from 1974, has taught Indian philosophy in the Department of Philosophy at Zagreb University.

In 1886 the Royal Asiatic Society appointed a committee to investigate the causes and suggest remedies for the sparse facilities existing in the field of Oriental studies in England. Letters were sent to the Governing Bodies of universities, colleges and schools together with the City Livery Companies. At the Annual Report presented in the following year, it was revealed that a mere thirty-one replies had been received including only a single encouraging response from the Hebdomadad Council at Oxford. The only material support came in the form of a ten guinea donation from the Merchant Taylors' Company!

As an interim measure, a School of Modern Oriental Studies was housed in the Imperial Institute between 1890-1902. Max Müller delivered the inaugural lecture with the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) in the chair. No permanent income was forthcoming although it attracted the Ouseley Scholarship Fund in 1901 to the tune of £5,000.

A conference of interested societies was held on 11th. December 1905 at which the Senate of the University of London was urged to press for government action. Eventually, after protracted negotiations which lasted between 1909-17, the "London Institution" (founded 1807) in Finsbury Circus was utilised for the School of Oriental Studies which was formally opened by George V on 23rd. February 1917. Certain faculties were transferred from University and Kings Colleges and the first intake of students in July of that year numbered 125. (The words "and African" were added to the official name of the School in 1938.)

Dr. (later Sir) E. Denison Ross (1871-1940), Keeper of the Stein Antiquities in the British Museum and Professor of Persian at University College, was made the first Director. (The present Director is Sir Cyril Philips, Professor of Oriental History and Vice-Chancellor of the University of London. The Dean is E. H. S. Simmonds, Professor of Languages and Literatures of South East Asia.)

In the field of Pali Buddhism, R. C. Childers (1838-76) was first Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature at University College (1873-6—see p. 8 for life sketch). The next in line was T. W. Rhys Davids (1843-1922) who held the same post from 1882-1904 until his appointment as Professor of Comparative Religion at Manchester. He founded the Pali Text Society (PTS) in 1881 and was one of the founders of the School of Oriental Studies. His wife, Caroline (1858-1942), was appointed Reader of Pali during their stay in London. (Their vast contribution can be gauged with reference to Peiris or the PTS catalogue.)

Mabel Bode (d. 1922) was the first Lecturer in Pali at the School. She gave an initial series of four lectures on Pali Buddhism in March 1909 from

which a Pali Class developed under W. W. Seton of University College. She is best remembered for her monograph, *The Pali Literature of Burma* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909, reprinted 1966). W. F. Stede (1882-1958), who, with Rhys Davids, co-edited the *Pali-English Dictionary* (1921-5), was appointed an additional Lecturer in Pali in 1926, was promoted to Lecturer in Pali and Sanskrit two years later and ended his career as Reader in Pali (1945-9). For the PTS he had edited the *Cūlanīdesa* (1918) and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (Vols. II and III, 1931-2). He was succeeded as Reader by his daughter, Mrs. D. A. L. Maskell, until her untimely death in 1956. Her edition of the *Kankhāvitarāṇi* was posthumously published by the PTS in 1957. Finally, P. S. Jaini (who edited the *Milinda-Tikā* in 1961), occupied the post of Reader in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit during his stay in London (1960-8).

Today, neither Pali nor Buddhist Sanskrit, let alone early Buddhism, is taught at the School. Asian studies are almost exclusively restricted to the fields of linguistics, economics and secular literature. J. C. Wright is Professor of Sanskrit in whose Department (of India, Pakistan and Ceylon) Pali was supposed to have been taught. In practice, few facilities exist for tuition in this subject and little interest is engendered as a result. At the B.A. level, Pali is an optional subject in three courses: (i) *Sanskrit*—during the second year one additional classical language is prescribed, Pali, Prakrit, Avestan or Tibetan; (ii) *South Asian Studies* (a) in one of the three alternative courses in regional studies, one modern language can be combined with the ancillary study of an appropriate classical language (Sanskrit, Pali, Persian or Arabic); (b) in the field of modern languages and history, a subsidiary course is available in Pali for students reading for a B.A. in Burmese.

In addition to the foregoing, a special diploma in *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan Languages* is available. The second of five papers deals with translations from, amongst other specified texts, Pali and the inscriptions of Asoka; for the former, Dines Andersen's *Pali Reader* is the recommended textbook. The fourth paper includes questions on the sounds, forms and syntax of Pali.

The South Asia section of the Library includes 159 old leaf MSS, 1,110 books in Pali together with a copy of probably every work on Pali and early Buddhism that has appeared in English and European Languages.

Only during the last decade or so have relevant courses become generally available at the following academic centres:-

**Oxford:** serious Oriental studies may be said to have originated with Max Müller who was appointed Curator of the Bodleian Library in 1856



and held the (new) Chair of Comparative Philology from 1868 until his death in 1900. He founded the Sacred Books of the East (SBE) series, and edited the Sacred Books of the Buddhists (SBB) under the auspices of the PTS. The town is renowned as being the home of the Clarendon Press (which published the above two series) and Blackwell's, which is probably the only serious provincial rival to Oriental bookshops in London.

At The Oriental Institute the only teacher of Pali and Buddhism is Dr. Richard Gombrich who bases his tuition of the former on A. K. Warder's *Introduction to Pali*. Dr. Gombrich (who was Secretary of the Oxford University Buddhist Society during his student days), is designated University Lecturer in Sanskrit and Pali, although his main interest lies in editing and translating rare Sinhalese Pali texts. He also writes on modern sociological themes in Sinhalese Buddhism, as exemplified in his classic study, *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* (OUP, London, 1971).

**Cambridge:** was the spiritual home of Robert Chalmers (1858-1938) and Edward Thomas (1869-1958). Chalmers had learnt Pali before taking up the post of Governor-General of Ceylon in 1913 and later became President of the Royal Asiatic Society and Master of Peterhouse (1924-31). He formed part of the team of scholars under E. B. Cowell that translated the *Jātaka* (1895-1907), and, under the guidance of Rhys Davids, edited the Majjhima Nikāya (Vols. II and III, 1896-1902). He also produced a translation of this Nikāya which appeared in the SBB series as *Further Dialogues of the Buddha* (1926-7). His metrical translation of the *Sutta-Nipāta* appeared in the Harvard Oriental Series (HOS) as *Buddha's Teachings* (1932).

Thomas was head of the Oriental Languages Department of the University Library and was attached to Emmanuel College. With de la Vallée Poussin, he edited the *Mahāniddeśa* (PTS, 2 vols., 1916-7). He also compiled three anthologies: *Buddhist Scriptures* (1913), *Early Buddhist Scriptures* (1935) and *The Road to Nirvana* (1950)—all published in London.

Today, K. R. Norman lectures in Pali and Prakrit in the Faculty of Oriental Studies. (Buddhism is taught in the Faculty of Divinity by Dr. J. Lippser.) Prescribed textbooks include Warder's *Introduction to Pali* and Geiger's *Pali Literature and Language* together with specified parts from the Majjhima Nikāya and *Milindapañha*. Norman's own contributions have included: *Pali Tipiṭakam Concordance* (ed. Vol. II, parts 4-9) and new translations of the *Thera-therīgāthā* (*Elders' Verses*, PTS, 2 vols., 1969/71) and the *Sutta-Nipāta* (awaiting publication by the PTS).

**Durham:** the School of Oriental Studies is incorporated in the Faculty of Arts. In the Department of Indology, Dr. Karel Werner (who left Czecho-

slovakia in 1968) teaches Pali based on Andersen's *Reader* and Geiger's *grammar*. On average, forty students opt for the one-year course in Indian Civilisation which includes several lectures on Pali Buddhism.

**Manchester:** in the Department of Comparative Religion, Lance Cousins lectures on Buddhism, Sanskrit and Pali. Recommended textbooks include Warder's *Introduction*, Gombrich's *Precept and Practice*, Lamotte's *The Spirit of Ancient Buddhism*, Nyānatiloka's *Word of the Buddha* and Saddhātissa's *The Buddha's Way*. Cousins is the youngest member of the Council of the PTS for whom he is editing the *ṭīkā* on the Saṃyutta Nikāya. A practising Buddhist, he was Chairman of the Cambridge University Buddhist Society whilst an undergraduate. He is Chairman of the Samatha Trust (f. 1973) and of the Manchester Buddhist Vihāra Association.

The Head of the Department, Prof. Trevor Ling, is sympathetic to Buddhism and is currently President of the local Vihāra Association. His books include *A Dictionary of Buddhism* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1972), *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1962)—a survey of references to Māra in the Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas—and *The Buddha* (Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1973; Pelican Books, 1976).

**Lancaster:** the Department of Religious Studies was established in 1967 under Prof. Ninian Smart, who specialises in the philosophy and history of religions. Dr. Andrew Rawlinson teaches Buddhism whilst David J. Smith lectures on Indian religions (to 30-40 students on average), Sanskrit and Pali. Warder's is the main textbook.

Buddhism is included in the B.A. and B.Ed. courses. In the syllabus for the M.A. in Religious Studies, basic Pali texts are prescribed, including the *Dhammapada*, *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* and *Milindapañha*.

Of non-university bodies, the aims and objects of the PTS and PBU are described on pp. 51-2 and 55-6. The work of the former may best be gauged by reference to their current catalogue and annual Report.

In the early 1960s feelers were put out to sympathisers in Oxford University with a view to establishing a Chair of Buddhist Studies. The prime mover was Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa (the Head of the London Buddhist Vihāra) and in order to further this object, the *Buddhist Studies Trust* was formed on 25th. June 1964. During Dr. Saddhātissa's absence in Ceylon, however, Ven. H. Ratanasāra (another Sinhalese bhikkhu) assumed the leadership of the *Trust* and endeavoured to obtain financial assistance from some Asian governments. In the event, no aid was forthcoming and the *London Buddhist College* was opened at the Hamp-

stead Buddhist Vihāra on 12th. October 1964 by the Thai ambassador. The Governing Body included Dr. Saddhātissa, Ven. Ratanasāra (Principal), Dr. I. B. Horner, Prof. A. L. Basham and Maurice Walshe.

Two one-year courses were prescribed for a Certificate and Higher Certificate in Buddhist Studies. Papers One in each course were devoted to the "Essentials" and "Outlines of Theravāda Buddhism" respectively. Paper Four of the Higher course was devoted to the study of the *Appamāda-vagga* of the *Dhammapada* Commentary, the Nanda and Meghiya *vaggas* of the *Udāna*, and the *Khuddakapāṭha*. Recommended textbooks included Warder's, Geiger's, Buddhadatta's *Higher Pali Course* and Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*.

Unfortunately, this venture proved to be years ahead of its time and activities were terminated within one year due to lack of patronage.

A decade later, however, circumstances favoured a more sustained programme of studies. Ven. M. Vajiragnāna and Anthony Haviland-Nye had been conducting classes in Buddhism and Pali at The Working Men's College in Camden (London) during 1972-4 when they decided to ensure a continuance of such studies on a more permanent basis. Accordingly, on 5th. May 1974, the *British Buddhist Association* was formed, the first two Objects of which are: "To provide systematic instruction in the Dhamma, primarily based on Pali source materials", and "to promote canonical, textual and linguistic studies". A permanent centre was subsequently acquired in the form of 48 Crowndale Road, NW1 1TP (adjacent to the College) in the following year. (Dr. I. B. Horner was elected Patron of the *Association*.)

An ambitious five-year programme was drafted and is proving successful in terms of the numbers of adult students that attend the classes. These are held on almost every evening of the week, mainly at the College. Year 1 is devoted to "Basic Buddhism" and, during three terms, covers all aspects of Theravāda Buddhism. Year 2 is devoted to a study of the "Abhidhamma" through the medium of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (the classic medieval manual). During Years 3 and 4, the *Visuddhimagga* is studied. "Textual and Commentarial Studies" are pursued from Year 5 onwards.

The intention of this long-term course is to guide students from the fundamentals of the Dhamma to a knowledge of the deeper philosophy and the original Pali texts themselves. For this reason, Pali is only taught to second-year students onwards, using Warder as the main textbook. Eventually, it is hoped to implement a graduated reading plan to enable students to work their way through the four main Nikāyas during their years of study.

The practice of the Dhamma is also encouraged by means of a devotional meeting, meditation class and public lectures or Dhamma talks.

At the *London Buddhist Vihāra* a Pali class was first held in July 1928 at the pre-War premises in Gloucester Road. This was conducted by one or other of the three newly-arrived Sinhalese bhikkhus, P. Vajirañāṇa, D. Paññāsāra and H. Nandasāra. At the end of 1932, the Indian bhikkhu, Ananda Kausalyayāna, initiated a "Scripture Study" class. After the Second World War, Ven. U. Thittila, the renowned Burmese Abhidhamma scholar, conducted a Pali class in relation to his Abhidhamma Class at the shortlived *Sāsana Kari Vihāra* (Belgrave Road, S.W. 1—1949-52). A *Dhammapada* Class was held at the new premises of the London Vihāra in Ovington Gardens (Knightsbridge) in 1954 under Ven. Vinīta and two years later his Sinhalese successors, Mirisse Gunasiri and Mahānāma, initiated classes using the following texts: *Visuddhimagga*, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, *Sutta-Nipāta*, *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*. In addition, Pali classes were formed using Buddhadatta's *New Pali Course* (both parts). However, none of the foregoing activities, with the exception of U Thittila's, continued for more than a year at a time.

The London Vihāra moved to Chiswick in April 1964 and two years later, Ven. H. Dhammaloka, conducted weekly Pali and Sutta Classes for about a year (until his departure). Tuition in Pali was continued from early 1968 (on the basis of Buddhadatta) by Ven. M. Vajiragnāna, who, in addition, briefly revived the Sutta Study and Abhidhamma (using the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*) Classes in September 1969. Mrs. I. R. Quittner began her series of monthly expositions from the *Majjhima Nikāya* (on the basis of the PTS translation) from September 1971. The Pali Class was transferred to The Working Men's College in September 1972 and was not held at the Vihāra until the spring of 1976 when Ven. K. Piyatissa attracted a few new pupils. He is engaged in devising a new grammar which will have a more direct appeal to Western students.

The *Buddha Study Association* (active 1956-60) sponsored more specific courses. During the first half of 1956, G. F. Allen (the Hon. Secretary) conducted a study group in the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vaggas* of the *Sutta-Nipāta* at Stanton Coit House (South Kensington). In the autumn and winter of the same year, Mrs. A. A. G. Bennett conducted a similar group in the first sixteen *suttas* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. (In both cases, the texts under review were subsequently published: *The Buddha's Philosophy*—George Allen & Unwin, London, 1959; and *Long Discourses of the Buddha*—Chetana, Bombay, 1964.) Special winter lecture series were given on the Pali Canon at the London Vihāra in 1957-60. Various guest speakers were invited, including Ven. Saddhātissa, Ven. Paññāvadhō, Ven.

Dhammiko, Miss Horner and Mr. R. E. W. Iggleden (who had been entrusted with the Abhidhamma Class during the absence of U Thittila).

Much of the work in purely Pali scholarship and in promoting an interest in Pali literature amongst the Buddhist or sympathetic public has, however, been performed by isolated individuals on an unco-ordinated basis. In this connection, perhaps it should be remembered that even the output of the PTS is largely the result of individual scholars. The achievements of the most well-known British supporters or those domiciled in the U.K. (excluding those already referred to at the universities) are briefly described below:-

**F. L. Woodward** (1871-1952) was the first Principal of Mahinda College in Galle (Sri Lanka) before retiring to Tasmania. He edited the Commentaries on the Saṃyutta Nikāya (*Sāratthappakāsinī*, 3 vols., 1929-37), *Thera-gāthā* (3 vols., 1940-39) and *Udāna* (1926); and translated the Saṃyutta Nikāya (*Kindred Sayings*, Vols. III-V, 1924-30), Aṅguttara Nikāya (*Gradual Sayings*, Vols. I, II and V, 1932-6), *Udāna* and *Itivuttaka* (*Minor Anthologies II*, 1935). Undoubtedly, his best known work is the classic anthology, *Some Sayings of the Buddha* (OUP, London, 1925) which ran into eight editions and was chosen to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of The Buddhist Society, London, in 1974. He also translated the *Dhammapada* which appeared as *The Buddha's Path of Virtue* (London, 1921).

**E. M. Hare** (1893-1958) was a pupil of Woodward and spent much of his life as a tea planter in Ceylon. He translated the Aṅguttara Nikāya (*Gradual Sayings*, Vols. III and IV, 1934-5) and the *Sutta-Nipāta* (*Woven Cadences*, 1948), but will be chiefly remembered for his editorship of the *Pali Tipiṭakam Concordance* (Vol. I, 1952-5; Vol. II, Parts 1 and 2, 1956-7).

**Miss I. B. Horner** has been President of the PTS since 1959 and has devoted her life to promoting a knowledge of Pali literature. She has edited the Commentaries on the *Buddhavaṃsa* (*Madhuraṭṭhaviḷāsini*, 1946—she has recently translated this which will be published in due course) and the Majjhima Nikāya (*Papañcasūdanī*, Vols. III-V, 1933-8) and translated the entire Vinaya Piṭaka (*The Book of the Discipline*, 6 vols., 1938-66), Majjhima Nikāya (*The Middle Length Sayings*, 3 vols., 1954-9), *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka* and *Vimānavatthu* (*Minor Anthologies III and IV*, 1938 and 1942) together with the *Milindapañha* (*Milinda's Questions*, 2 vols., 1963-4). She has, also, a large number of papers to her credit together with the classic study, *Women under Primitive Buddhism* (London, 1930; Delhi, 1973; Amsterdam, 1975).

**Nānamoli** (1905-60) was probably the most brilliant English Pali scholar since Rhys Davids and Miss Horner. In the short space of ten years as a bhikkhu in Ceylon, he mastered Pali and translated the *Khuddakapāṭha* with its Commentary (*Minor Readings and Illustrator*, 1961), *Nettipakaraṇa* (*The Guide*, 1962) and *Peṭakopadesa* (*Piṭaka-Disclosure*, 1964); his rendering of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* ("The Path of Discrimination") has remained unpublished. Buddhists will remember him for his translation of the *Visuddhimagga* (*The Path of Purification*) which was first published by Ananda Semage in Colombo (1960). He also edited and translated the *Pātimokkha* (Mahāmakut, Bangkok, 1966) and translated a number of *suttas* for the BPS, Kandy.

**H. Saddhatissa** has been Head of the London Buddhist Vihāra for almost twenty years (since April 1957), during which period he has devoted much of his time to the PTS, of which he is a Council member. For the Society he has edited the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (1965), with a summary in English, and the *Dasabodhisattuppattikathā* (1975), with its translation (*The Birth-Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas*); together with the *Concordance* (Vol. III, Parts 2-4, 1968-71). Additionally, he has compiled original papers on "The Pali Literature of Thailand" (in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I. B. Horner*, D. Reidel, Dordrecht, 1974) and "Pali Studies in Cambodia" (in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of the Ven. Walpola Sri Rahula*, expected to be published in 1976 by *Vimamsā*, Colombo). His new translation of the *Sutta-Nipāta* has appeared serially in *Buddhist Quarterly* (the journal of the British Mahābodhi Society) since Spring 1969.

**A. K. Warder** is currently Professor of Buddhism at Toronto University. He edited the *Concordance* (Vol. III, Part 1, 1963; and Parts 2-4 with Dr. Saddhatissa). His main contribution has been *Introduction to Pali* (1963), which was based on lectures he gave on the Dīgha Nikāya, and *Pali Metre* (1967).

Records indicate that a few were and are able to translate or adapt Pali texts independently of any academic body. Of all the early non-Buddhist writers, the Wesleyan missionary **D. J. Gogerly**, (1792-1862) seems to have been the most sympathetic student of Pali Buddhism. During his stay in Ceylon in the second quarter of the 19th. century, he translated a number of Sinhalese Pali MSS which were published in the *Ceylon Friend* and more academic periodicals. His collected works are contained in two volumes which were published simultaneously in London and Colombo in 1908: *Ceylon Buddhism*—the first book contains extensive translations from the Vinaya Piṭaka whilst the second time includes a wide selection of *suttas*.

**Francis J. Payne** (1869-1954) was one of the main pillars of the Buddhist

movement between the World Wars and, apart from private promotion of Pali literature, he summarised the four main Nikāyas (available only in MS form). **J. F. McKechnie** (1872-1951), who lived in Burma as Bhikkhu Silācāra for many years, condensed a third of the Majjhima Nikāya which was published as *The First Fifty Discourses* (2 vols., Breslau and London, 1912 and 1924). He also produced a version of the *Dhammapada* for The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland (*Way of Truth*, London, 1915). At the present day, **John D. Ireland** in London has proved to be a most prolific writer and translator. Apart from papers to Buddhist periodicals, he has had two anthologies published by the BPS, Kandy: *Samyutta Nikāya* (I, 1967) and *The Discourse Collection* (from the *Sutta-Nipāta*, 1965). He is currently preparing a new translation of the *Udāna*.

A number of other Buddhists have contributed varying works—translations, anthologies, expositions—details of which are contained in *An Analysis of the Pali Canon* (BPS, 1975) which includes an exhaustive bibliography of Pali Buddhist works in English.

Finally, a list of relevant items that have appeared in the only U.K.-based academic journals that feature (occasional) Pali Buddhist articles now terminates this survey on the U.K.:-

#### Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

- 1862 (Vol. 19): "Comparative Arrangement of Two Translations of the Buddhist Ritual for the Priesthood, known as the Prātimoksha or Pātimokkha" (pp. 407-480)
- 1870: "The Lesser Readings" (*Khuddakapāṭha*, tr. R. C. Childers, with notes—pp. 309-325, 339)
- 1871: "Two Jātakas", V. Fausböll (pp. 1-13)  
"Notes on Dhammapada, with special reference to the question of Nirvāṇa", Childers (pp. 219-230)  
"On the Origin of the Buddhist Arthakathās", Mudaliyar L. Corneille Wijesinha (pp. 289-302)
- 1875: "The Upasampadā-Kammavācā, being the Buddhist Manual of the Form and Manner of Ordering Priests and Deacons", J. F. Dickson (pp. 1-16)  
"Mahāparinibbāna Sutta" (text only, upto p. 48 of translation—pp. 49-80)
- 1876: "The Pātimokkha, being the Buddhist Office of the Confession of Priests", J. F. Dickson (pp. 62-130)  
"Mahāparinibbāna Sutta" (continued to end of text—pp. 219-261)  
N.B. The *sutta* was off-printed for Trübner's Oriental Series, London, 1878. The expected translation did not materialise.

- 1879: "On Sandhi in Pali", Childers (pp. 99-121)
- 1880: "Buddhist Nirvana and the Noble Eightfold Path", Oscar Frankfurter (including *suttas* 4, 5 and 9 of the *Salāyatanavagga*, *Samyutta Nikāya*—pp. 548-574)
- 1892: "Schools of Buddhist Belief" including an analysis of the *Kathāvattu* T. W. Rhys Davids (pp. 1-38)  
"A Collection of Kammavācās" (from Mandalay), Herbert Baynes (pp. 53-75)  
"Bhūridatta Jātaka Vatthu" (from the Burmese), R. F. St. Andrew St. John (pp. 77-139)
- 1893: "Temiya Jātaka Vatthu" (*ibid.*—pp. 357-391)  
"Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation" (describing the thirteen bhikkhunīs from the *Manorathapurāṇī*) Mabel Bode (pp. 517-566, 763-798)  
"Kumbha Jātaka" (from the Burmese), St. John (pp. 567-570)
- 1894: "Suvanna Sāma Jātaka" (*ibid.*—pp. 211-230)  
"The Vedalla Sutta, as illustrating the Psychological basis of Buddhist Ethics", C. A. F. Rhys Davids (pp. 321-334)  
"The Madhurā Sutta concerning Caste", R. Chalmers (pp. 341-366)  
"The Raṭṭhapāla Sutta", Walter Lupton (pp. 769-806)
- 1896: "Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism: a Translation of Buddhaghosa's Samanta-pāsādika", J. Takakusu (pp. 415-440)  
"Vidhura Jātaka" (from the Burmese), St. John (pp. 441-475)
- 1898: "The King of Siam's Edition of the Pali Tipiṭaka", Chalmers (pp. 1-10)  
"Tathāgata", Chalmers (pp. 103-116)
- 1901: "The Upāsakajanālaṅkāra". L. D. Barnett (p. 87)
- 1904: "Index to the First Words of the Slokas of the *Dhammapada*", E. B. Cowell and Mary Ridding (pp. 711-717)
- 1916: "The Sutta Nipāta in a Sanskrit Version from Eastern Turkestan", A. F. Rudolf Hoernie (p. 709)
- 1923: "The Abhidhamma-Piṭaka and its Commentaries", C. A. F. Rhys Davids (pp. 243-250)
- 1931: "Notes on Some Pali Words", E. H. Johnston (pp. 563-592)
- 1933: "An Overlooked Pali Sutta" (*Anguttara Nikāya*, III, 40), C. A. F. Rhys Davids

- 1937: "The Self: an overlooked Buddhist Simile" (from the *Cūla Saccaka Sutta*, Majjhima 35), *ibid.* (pp. 259-264)  
 "Formulation of Pratītyasamutpāda", B.C. Law (pp. 287-292)
- 1939: "Some Observations on the Jātakas", *ibid.* (pp. 241-251)
- 1967: "Translation and Embellishment in an Early Burmese Jātaka Poem", John Okell (pp. 133-148)

#### Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

- 1963: (Vol. 26): "The Pāli *Lokanīti* and the Burmese *Nīti Kyan* and their Sources", Ludwik Sternbach (p. 329)
- 1965: "*Mahādibbamanta: a paritta* manuscript from Cambodia", P. S. Jaini (p. 61)
- 1973: "Pali *phāsu*—and *dātta*", R. L. Turner (p. 424)

#### For further reading

- Gunawardene, D. H. Pandita: *F. L. Woodward: Out of His Life and Thought* (Wesley Press, Colombo, 1972).
- Iggleden, R. E. and C. W.: "A Biographical Sketch" (of Miss Horner) in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I. B. Horner* (ed. L. Cousins, et al. D. Reidel, Dordrecht, 1974).
- Peiris, William: *The Western Contribution to Buddhism* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973). *Vide* "Britain", pp. 1-80.
- Sīlācāra: *A Young People's Life of the Buddha* (5th. edn., W. E. Bastian, Colombo, 1953). *Vide* Preface for his life-sketch.
- Welbon, Guy Richard: *The Buddhist Nirvāna and Its Western Interpreters* (University of Chicago Press, 1968). *Vide* pp. 146-153 for Childers and pp. 221-247 for T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

## BOOK REVIEW

*Des Geistes Gleichmass.* Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag des Ehrwürdigen Nyāṇaponika Mahāthera. Verlag Christiani, Konstanz, 1976. 203 pp. Portrait.

The title of this 75th birthday tribute to Ven. Nyāṇaponika may be rendered 'Equanimity'. It is a handsome token of respect and gratitude to the senior Western-born bhikkhu, who is not only a distinguished scholar (I value in particular his *Abhidhamma Studies*) but one who, through the foundation of the Buddhist Publication Society, has done as much as any individual to spread the knowledge of the Dhamma throughout the world. He was born, of Jewish stock, in Germany, and it is karmically interesting to learn from Max Kreuzberger's personal narrative how an early training in the publishing world gave him the needful technical knowledge for making such a venture a success so many years later. Other details of his life, from his birth in 1901 in Hanau (home of the Grimm brothers) as Sigmund Feninger, to his arrival in Ceylon in 1936 to become a pupil of the great Nyāṇatiloka, and all that followed, are narrated by Hellmuth Hecker, while Erich Fromm tries briefly to indicate his importance for the modern world, as seen by a psychologist.

Other contributions touch on aspects of Dhamma. A German pupil, Bhikkhu Shantideva, treats of how Buddhism through love conquers sorrow and death. Ven. Kassapa discusses the problem of changing the world, and Paul Debes considers the conditions for the opening of the Wisdom Eye, and this is followed by a brief meditation on the arising and passing away of the worlds by Lama Anagārika Govinda, who also adds a short poem on 'Harmony'. Other contributors are Carlo Gagnani, Hellmuth Hecker (on the varieties of 'thirst'), Max Hoppe, Fritz Hungerleider, Georg Krauskopf, Hurt Onken, Friedrich Schäfer and Peter Voltz (on 'Painting as Meditation').

This is not a series of scholarly studies such as was recently presented to Dr I. B. Horner, but a collection of personal tributes, of varying worth, perhaps, but all indicative of the love and respect the Venerable Mahāthera has evoked among some of those who know him well.

M. O'C. Walshe

## NEWS &amp; NOTES

**Kapilavasthu**

On p. 106, footnote 4, the author of "The Kosambi Suttas" makes the following statement: "The site of the city of Kapilavasthu has not so far been located with certainty, and it is doubtful whether it ever existed as such".

Controversy surrounding the precise location of the capital of the Sakyas flared up at the beginning of 1976 when, in its issue of 24th January, the *Times of India* published the item, "Lost City of Kapilavastu Found". This article quoted the Indian superintending archaeologist, K. M. Srivastara, as saying that the site of this city could now be located at Piprahwa, in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh.

The evidence for this assumption lay in the discovery of two soap-stone reliquaries and forty terracotta seals, some bearing Brahmi inscriptions. In addition, excavations have been carried out at Piprahwa by the Archaeological Survey of India since 1962.

The Department of Archaeology of Nepal, however, promptly responded to this story. The Buddha Jayanti Celebrations Committee in Kathmandu published the Department's statement in May under the title, *Tilaurakot the ancient city of Kapilavastu*. In this brochure, the Department reiterated its well-documented claim—generally accepted by most archaeologists since the end of the 19th century—that Tilaurakot, in the western Terai, is identical to Kapilavasthu.

**New Pali Dictionaries**

An interesting letter has been received from Mr. Robert A. Martin, Jr., who is a graduate of Columbia University (New York). He is currently researching on a M. A. thesis on *silā*, *kusala* and *akusala* in the Abhidhamma and hopes to specialise in canonical text criticism, beginning with the Vinaya Piṭaka.

He describes his ordination at Vajiradhammapadip Temple (a Thai *wat* in New York) on 16th. May—the first Theravāda ordination on American soil—and how he spent five weeks as a *sāmaṇera*. Also, the fact that a *Society for Buddhist Studies* has been formed in Earl Hall, Columbia University (N.T. 10027), under the direction of David Dell.

The main part of his letter—written in Pali—is summarised as follows: "One of the problems in modern Pali correspondence in the West is the absence from the PTS Dictionary of many modern terms which appear in Buddhadatta's English-Pali Dictionary. It would be highly desirable

if the second edition of the PTS Dictionary, now in course of preparation, could include all these terms, so that A can write in Pali using Buddhadatta and B can then translate into English using the PTSD. Furthermore, the PBU should encourage the use of Pali as a living, modern language, and should encourage the publication, in the *Review*, of articles, letters, etc. in that language. Finally, efforts should be made to publish a more workable English-Pali dictionary than that of Buddhadatta, which poses many problems with its usage. Possibly a provisional list could be serialised in the *Review*.

"One of the main problems with Buddhadatta is that when he lists several Pali words for one modern English term, no information is provided which would assist one in deciding which Pali term to use. Often, such words have quite different meanings and connotations. Since they are not listed in the PTSD, there is no way to cross-check them."

The Editor will welcome constructive comments in response to the foregoing. Practical offers of assistance should, however, be addressed direct to Mr. Martin at 600 W. 122 St., New York 10027.

To aid the study of Pali, moreover, the *Review* will, from the next issue, serialise Ven. Ananda Maitreya's new and unpublished *Pali Grammar and Composition*.

*Deutsch-Pali Wörterbuch*. This monumental work by Dr. med. Helmut Klar (Heidelberg) has been finally published by Octopus-Verlag of Vienna, after remaining in MS form for many years.

Dr. Klar, who learnt Pali whilst attending meetings at Das Buddhistische Haus (Berlin-Frohnau) over forty years ago, has accumulated 7,400 German words and linked them with 14,200 equivalent words in Pali. Thus German Buddhists and students of Pali now have access to an invaluable guide to translation work, hitherto confined to the English-speaking world through Buddhadatta's *Dictionary*.

This contribution to Pali studies is made more valuable when one remembers that its compiler is not a professional academic. Indeed, Western universities have made little contribution to Buddhist studies and tend to ignore the work made by dedicated "amateurs".

*Deutsch-Pali Wörterbuch* is available at DM 35.00 from Octopus-Verlag, Postfach 53, A-1236 Vienna, Austria.

**Pali Readers**

Prof. A. K. Warder, currently teaching in the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies at the University of Toronto, has made the following helpful suggestions: "For the continuing study of Pali after finishing my

*Introduction*, I would suggest reading the *suttas*. You could begin with the *Dīgha Nikāya*, where you will find the originals of the texts given in my book, but without the cuts, and more in similar style. The grammar in my book should be quite sufficient for reading these and for most other canonical texts, as it is in fact very comprehensive. Some of the texts in verse, especially the *Jātaka*, contain additional archaic forms, for which you could refer to Geiger's *Pali Literature and Language*. The one book you will definitely need is the *PTS Dictionary* (this also explains a number of grammatical points). You should bear in mind that whereas my grammar and vocabulary are descriptive or 'synchronic' in principle, both Geiger and the *Dictionary* are historical or 'diachronic' and try to explain Pali by reference to Vedic and Indo-European.

"At a later stage you will want to look at Buddhaghosa's commentaries and other medieval works. There you will find considerable differences of style, vocabulary and to some extent grammar from the canonical language. These are covered in the *Dictionary* and in Geiger... if you know what is in my *Introduction* you will be able to read whatever you like with the aid of the *Dictionary*, only you would find the texts in verse heavy going at first."

#### Paraphrasing the Sutta Pitaka

An English subscriber, Mr. Roger Tite, who this year graduated from Leeds University in Comparative Religion, has put forward some suggestions for making the Discourse section of the Pali Canon more readable.

In recommending the method of paraphrasing to achieve this end, he writes: "First, a number of phrases and passages which are often used should be written down in alphabetical order, both for use in summarising and for later checking. Second, a simple cross-index should be prepared for longer passages so that, in a similar way, work can be avoided by repeating the summary in earlier *suttas* which can thus be found quickly. Third, all *sutta*-summaries must be written out in full. The *PTS* edition often has a section replaced by a cross-index note. For example, *sutta* 71 might quote in the middle '... see *sutta* 27, lines 31-39, but substitute Ananda for Kassapa...'. This should be avoided in a proper summary. (Of course, if one *sutta* repeats another except for a change of names, one could write: '*Sutta* 36, the same as for *sutta* 34, except that the Buddha talks to Ananda and not Kassapa', and then merely give the different ending. This will avoid referring back for, possibly vital, pieces of information.) Fourth, the final paraphrase should include, (a) an index in number order of the subject-matter of each *sutta* (together with cross-references to *suttas* dealing with the same topic); and (b) a cross-index (for scholars) of identical passages."

Silācāra's totally neglected work, *The First Fifty Discourses*, represents the only published anthology of length which endeavoured to reproduce part of the *Sutta Piṭaka* in an appealing style of language, by eliminating those tedious repetitions which characterise the contents of the *Majjhima Nikāya* in particular.

Unfortunately, very few Buddhists are willing to discuss seriously the ideal of a 'New English Canon'. It seems incredible to recall that, for example, Chalmers and Hare, men in public positions, should have employed language in their translations that would neither be recognised nor used by the public!

Mr. Tite is to be congratulated, therefore, on persisting, in the face of indifference, to complete his paraphrase of the *Majjhima Nikāya* based on extant English versions. As with the letter from Mr. Martin, above, the Editor would welcome constructive comments with a view to publishing them in the *Review*.

#### Reprints and New Works

*The Book of the Discipline V* (PTS)

*The Middle Length Sayings I* (PTS)

*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (PTS)

*Pali Tipiṭakam Concordance*: Vol. I A-O (7 parts, 1952-5)

II K-N. (9 parts, 1956-75)

III P- (5 parts to date, 1963-72)

*The Path of Purification* (2 vols., Shambhala Publications, Berkeley)

*Pali Buddhist Texts*—Rune Johansson, 2nd. edn., revised and enlarged.

(Available from Curzon Press Ltd., 88 Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C. 1.)

*Sāratthasaṅgaha*. Tr: G. H. Sasaki (MS, Tokyo, 1975). *Vide pp.* 229-230 of Malalasekera's *Pali Literature of Ceylon* for details of this text.

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Russell Webb

(120pp. 40p. CBPS, Kandy: *The Wheel*, nos. 217—220)

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