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DHAMMAPADA

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

XXI

Miscellany

1. If, by giving up comforts of little worth,
a wise man sees a worthier one,
let him give up the lesser comforts,
looking up to the greater one. (290)*
2. Whosoever seeks his comforts
by imposing discomforts on others,
caught in the coils of enmity,
he will not escape therefrom. (291)
3. What should be done is left undone;
what should not be done is done.
Thus mature mental stains
in those who are indolent and negligent. (292)
4. Whosoever have always developed
the mindfulness on the nature of the body,
they leave off doing what ought not to be done
and always fulfil their duties.
Of such persons mindful and alert,
mental stains come to an end. (293)
5. He has killed his mother,¹
his father² and two kings;³
he has slain a kingdom with its people;⁴
but god-like does he go scatheless. (294)

* Well-gone One=The Buddha.

1. Here mother means craving.

2. Father implies conceit.

3. Two Kings implies both eternalistic view and cut-off view.

4. 'Kingdom and its people' refers to Sense-avenues and their objects 22. Brahmin rulers mean the two wrong views afore-mentioned.

6. He has killed his mother,
his father and two brahmin rulers,⁵
and a tiger too as the fifth;
but god-like does he go scatheless. (295)
7. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state,
who by day and night
set their minds on the virtues of the Buddha. (296)
8. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state,
who set their minds on the nature of the Dhamma
by day and night. (297)
9. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state,
who by day and night
set their minds on the virtue of the Holy Order. (298)
10. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state,
who by day and night
set their minds on the nature of their physical body. (299)
11. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state,
who by day and night
set their minds with delight on the practice of harmlessness. (300)
12. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state,
who by day and night
set their minds with delight on meditation. (301)
13. Hard is it to renounce the world.
Hard is it to enjoy the homeless life.
Hard and troublesome is the household life.
Painful too it is to live with those different in way of life.
Thus the wayfarer (in *Saṃsāra*) is beset with troubles.
So, let one not remain a wayfarer.
Let one not be thereby beset with suffering. (302)
14. A person full of religious devotion,
disciplined, illustrious and also wealthy,
is held in honour, wherever, he may choose to live. (303)
15. The good people are seen even from afar.
just like the Himalaya mountain.
But the bad, like an arrow shot by night,
are not seen though so near. (304)

5. The tiger implies perplexity.

16. Let one sit alone.
Let one sleep alone.
Let one walk alone with no indolence.
Let one tame oneself alone.
Thus, let one enjoy the secluded forest life. (305)

XXII

Hell⁶

1. The liar is bound for hell.
He who denies what he has done, too, goes to hell.
Both of them are equal after death,
the men who have committed evil deeds. (306)
2. Of those who wear the ochre robe,
many are mean and undisciplined.
Such evil persons, due to their evil deeds, are destined to hell. (307)
3. For the unrestrained immoral person
it is better to swallow a red hot iron ball,
like flaring fire, than eat the food given by pious people. (308)
- 4, 5. Four misfortunes befall the reckless man
who courts others' wives:
acquisition of demerit,
lack of sound sleep,
censure as the third,
and rebirth in hell as the fourth. (309)
Further, these things too befall him:
acquisition of demerit,
woeful destiny after death;
brief joy of the frightened man with the frightened woman,
and severe punishment of the king.
Considering these, let nobody court another's wife. (309, 310)

6. The Pali term *niraya*, as there is no proper English equivalent, is translated as 'hell'. But it does not mean the 'hell' in the Christian Sense. *Niraya* means a state devoid of happiness, which an evildoer is destined to after his death. Until the force of evil *Kamma* is reduced the evildoer suffers and thereafter he is released and will be born even as a man. This after death state is like a long dream in which the dreamer feels himself undergoing various kinds of worries and troubles. This is a self delusion caused by his evil *Kamma*. The being who suffers is in a ghostly state.

6. Just as the mishandled blade of the Kusa-grass cuts
the hand that handles it,
even so the life of a recluse wrongly handled
will drag him to hell. (311)
7. A deed done in a loose way,
a corrupt practice,
the higher life led dubiously—
all these yield no great result. (312)
8. If anything has to be done, let him do it.
Let him do it with all his might.
A slack monastic life stirs
up more widely the dust of his passions. (313)
9. Better is a bad deed left undone.
for the bad deed done torments the doer afterwards.
Better is a good deed done,
for doing which the doer does not repent. (314)
10. As a border town is guarded within and without,
even so let one guard one's self.
Verily, let not the opportunity pass,
for they who have lost their opportunity, will come to remorse,
being consigned to hell. (315)
11. Some are ashamed of what is not shameful.
And of what is shameful, they live unshamed.
With such false views, they go down to hell. (316)
12. Some feel fear where there is naught to fear.
They feel no fear where fear should be.
With such false views, they go down to hell. (317)
13. Some see what is right as wrong,
and what is wrong as right.
With such false views they go down to hell. (318)
14. Those who perceive wrong as wrong
and right as right,
thus they entertain right views
and go to happy states. (319)

XXIII

The Elephant

1. I shall bear the harsh words of people
even as the elephant in battle
endures the arrows shot from the bows,
for (I know) most people are given over to vice. (320)
2. It is the tamed elephant that men lead among the crowds.
A king mounts only a tamed elephant.
Best among men is the tamed person
who patiently bears harsh words. (321)
3. Good are the tamed mules.
Good are the well-bred horses of Sind.
Good are the mighty elephants.
Better than all these is the man who has tamed himself. (322)
4. Not by riding these animal-mounts can a person reach the never
visited realm (Nirvāṇa).
But it is the tamed person who goes there on his well-tamed
self. (323)
5. The elephant called Dhanapālaka⁷ in rut streaming from his
temples,
on being bound, stands restive and does not eat his food at all
but only thinks of the elephant-woods. (324)
6. When one is sluggish,
gluttonous, so sleepy to roll about as he lies,
like a large pig stuffed with swill—
such a simpleton comes to birth again and again (and does not
put an end to suffering). (325)
7. This mind once wandered about withersoever it listed.
But today, I shall hold it completely,
as a trainer restrains with the hook a rutting elephant. (326)
8. Take pleasure in vigilance.
Always guard your mind.
Extricate yourself from the hard road,
like an elephant sunk in the quagmire. (327)
7. Dhanapālaka—the royal elephant of King Ajātasattu of Magadha (Bihar).

9. If a man can find a companion
prudent, wise, upright and righteous,
let him fare on with him,
happy but vigilant,
vanquishing all dangers. (328)
10. If a man cannot find a companion
prudent, wise, upright and righteous,
let him live alone
like the king who has left behind his conquered land,
or like the elephant roaming by himself in the forest. (329)
11. It is better to live alone.
There is no companionship with a simpleton.
Living alone, let one shun evil ways of life,
living at ease like the (harmless) elephant
living alone in the (Parileyyaka) forest. (330)
12. Pleasant are companions when need arises.
Pleasant is contentment with whatever one gets.
Pleasant is merit at the moment of death.
Pleasant is the removal of all suffering. (331)
13. Pleasant is the filial duty towards the mother.
Pleasant is the filial duty towards the father.
Pleasant is the dutiful conduct towards recluses.
Pleasant is the dutiful conduct towards holy beings. (332)
14. Pleasant is a moral life down to old age.
Pleasant is confidence firmly set.
Pleasant is the achievement of insight.
Pleasant is the abstinence from evil ways of life. (333)

XXIV

Craving

1. The craving of the negligent man
grows up like a maluva creeper.⁸
He leaps here and there (from life to life),
like a monkey seeking fruit in the woods. (334)

8. Maluva is a kind of creeping plant which climbs winding a tree. During the rainy season its large and strong curved leaves become full of water, and due to its weight the tree falls down. This creeper is found in Himalayan forests.

2. Whomsoever does this craving,
this clinging to the world, overpower,
his sorrows grow up like the birana-grass
moistened by a shower of rain. (335)
3. Whosoever overpowers this mean craving,
this clinging to the world, so hard to get rid of,
from him sorrows fall off, as water-drops from a lotus leaf. (336)
4. Therefore I say unto you.
Blessings to you that are assembled here:
Dig up the root of craving as one digs up the birana-grass
hunting for the scented root.
Let no Temptor (Māra)⁹ crush you
over and over again as a flood a reed. (337)
5. Even though the tree is cut down,
if its root is uninjured and strong, it springs up again.
Even so does this suffering spring up again and again
if the latent craving is not rooted out. (338)
6. The currents of sensual thoughts bear away the man with wrong
views,
whose strong craving with its thirty-six streams¹⁰ flow towards
pleasurable objects. (339)
7. The streams of craving flow everywhere.
The creeper of craving lies sprouting out
(through the six sensed doors).
Seeing the creeper thus sprouting,
cut it off at its root with the (knife of) insight. (340)
8. In living beings arise pleasurable feelings.
moistened by craving in long pursuit.
These beings cling to what is agreeable and seek pleasures.
They indeed are subject to birth and death. (341)

9. Temptor (Māra)—passions personified.

10. Craving is threefold namely craving for sense—enjoyments, craving for continued existence (accompanied by eternalistic view), and craving accompanied by the nihilistic view.

The sense objects are six: form, sound, scent, taste tangible object the objects of mind. These are again divided into two, as internal (those in ones own body) and external (those outside one's body). Thus there are 12 kinds of objects. Any of the above-mentioned three cravings might arise depending on one of these 12 objects. Thus altogether there are (3 × 12) 36 aspects of craving. These are the 36 streams of craving.

9. Mortals circumvented by craving,
rush to and fro
rush to and fro like an entrapped hare.
Trapped by the fetters of passions,
long do they come to suffering over and over again. (342)
10. Mortals circumvented by craving,
rush to and fro like an entrapped hare.
Therefore, let the monk put away craving,
longing for freedom. (343)
11. Come and see yonder man
that has once freed himself (from the bondages of household life)
and given to the life of a homeless recluse
but afterwards returns to the former bondage. (344)
- 12, 13. Bonds made of iron, wood or grass—
these the wise do not call strong.
Far stronger is the desire for ornaments (riches), wives and
children.
These do the wise call the real bondages,
which drag men down,
loose but hard to untie.
They who do not hanker after these things cut off that desire,
put away pleasures of senses and go forth from the world.
(345, 346)
14. But they who are given to lust,
fall back into the self-made stream of craving,
just like the spider into the self-spun web.
The wise, on the other hand,
cut this stream of craving and passion, and pass on,
free from needs and leaving behind all suffering. (347)
15. Give up the past,
Give up the future
and give up the present.
Crossing to yonder shore,
with mind emancipated on all sides,
you will no more return to birth and old age. (348)
16. Craving grows intensely in the man
who is agitated by worldly thoughts.
who is extremely lustful
and perceives things from a sensuous point of view.
Such an one makes his fetters strong. (349)

17. Whosoever is intent on allaying his worldly thoughts.
mindful, meditating on the unwholesome nature of the body,
he shall certainly put an end to and destroy the bonds of the
Temptor (Māra). (350)
18. He (the energetic monk) has reached consummation.
Nothing makes him tremble.
He is devoid of craving.
He is passionless.
He has cut down the thorns of existence.
This is the final birth of such an one. (351)
19. He is devoid of craving.
He lays not hold of things in the world.
He has attained the analytical knowledge
of the Teaching.
He knows the arrangement of words in due order.
He bears his last physical body.
Such an one is called a mighty being, a possessor of perfect
insight. (352)
20. I have conquered all.
I know all.
I am detached from all things in the world.
I have renounced all things in the world.
I am free through destruction of craving.
Having attained by myself to Perfect Wisdom.
whom should I point out as my teacher?¹¹ (353)
21. The gift of the truth defeats all other gifts.
The flavour of the truth defeats all other flavours.
The delight of the truth defeats all other delights.
The extinction of craving (Arahantship) defeats the whole world
of suffering. (354)
22. Possessions ruin the fool,
but not those who seek beyond.
Through craving for possessions
the fool ruins himself and others as well. (355)
23. Fields are damaged by weeds.
Mankind is spoiled by lust.
Therefore the gifts given to the lust-free produce large rewards,
(356)

11. This is the reply given by the Buddha to the questions:
"Who is your teacher? whose teaching do you follow?" asked by Upaka, a wandering
ascetic, whom he met on his way to Benares soon after the Enlightenment.

24. Fields are spoiled by weeds.
Mankind is spoiled by ill-will.
Therefore the offerings to the anger-free produce large rewards.
(357)
25. Weeds ruin fields.
Ignorance ruins mankind.
Therefore gifts given to those that are free from ignorance
produce great results. (358)
26. Weeds ruin fields.
Craving ruins mankind.
Therefore gifts given to those that are free from craving produce
great results. (359)

XXV

The Bhikkhu (Monk)

1. Good is restraint in eye.
Good is restraint in ear.
Good is restraint in nose.
Good is restraint in tongue. (360)
2. Good is restraint in body.
Good is restraint in speech.
Good is restraint in thought.
Good is restraint in all things.
The monk restrained in everywhere will be free from all suffering.
(361)
3. He has controlled his hands, feet and speech.
He has controlled his whole self.
He is meditative and collected.
He is secluded and contented.
Such an one do they call a monk. (362)
4. Sweet is the speech of a monk who has his lips controlled,
who talks wisely,
who is not puffed up
and who elucidates the doctrine and its meaning. (363)

5. A monk who dwells in,
delights in,
ponders over
and recalls to mind the Dhamma,
will never fall away from it. (364)
6. Let him not despise his own share.
Let him not move about coveting others' shares,
A monk coveting others' gains does not attain to collectedness
of mind. (365)
7. Should a monk despise not his share even though scanty,
and live by pure means of livelihood,
certainly do the gods praise such an one. (366)
8. He who takes as 'mine'
neither mentality nor materiality,
and who mourns not over the decay of such things—
such an one is certainly called a monk. (367)
9. A monk who abides in loving-kindness,
who has faith in the teachings of the Buddha,
will attain to the state of peace and bliss,
the quiescence of all component things. (368)
10. Empty this boat, O monk.
Emptied by you, will it sail lightly.
Then, cut off both clinging and aversion and attain to Nirvāna.
(369)
11. Cut off the five,
reject the five
and cultivate the five further.
The monk who thus gets beyond the five¹²
is called 'one who has crossed the flood'. (370)
12. Meditate, O monk.
Be not negligent.
Let not your heart whirl in sensual pleasures.
Swallow not an iron-ball (red-hot), being negligent.
Cry not, as you burn, 'Oh this is painful'. (371)

12. "Cut off the five" lower fetters, i.e. Self-illusion, perplexity, belief in rites and rituals, lust and ill-will.

■ "Reject the five" fetters connected to upper realms: craving for the realm of subtle physical form, craving for the pure mental life, conceit, restlessness of mind, and ignorance.

"Cultivate the five": devotion, energy, awareness, collectedness of mind and insight.
"Gets beyond the five": lust, anger, delusion, conceit and error. These five are called *Sangas* (stickinesses in mind).

13. To the reasonless there is no concentration.
There is no reasoning power in him who has no concentration.
Whosoever has both concentration of mind and power of reasoning,
he is near to Nirvāna. (372)
14. A monk who enters a lonely cell
with mind serene,
who is rightly contemplative on the nature of things,
will experience a feeling of unearthly joy. (373)
15. Whenever he contemplates
the rise and fall of the aggregates of existence,
he attains to joy and happiness, which is like ambrosia. (374)
- 16, 17. This is the beginning of the life of a wise monk:
Let him practise sense-control,
contentment and restraint under the disciplinary rules.
Associate with good friends
who live a pure life and who are not indolent.
Be courteous and good-mannered.
And thereby let you, in fullness of ecstasy,
put an end to suffering. (375, 376)
18. Even as the jasmine plant sheds its withered flowers,
so shed ye, O monks, both lust and hatred. (377)
19. The monk who is peaceful in his action, speech and thought,
who is well-composed
and who has thrown away the world's baits,
is called 'the calmed'. (378)
20. By yourself exhort yourself.
By yourself examine yourself.
Thus, O monk, self-guarded and vigilant,
will you live in happiness. (379)
21. Oneself is one's own lord.
Oneself is one's own refuge.
Therefore, must one curb oneself,
just as a dealer a thorough-bred horse. (380)
22. The recluse, naturally joyful,
delighted in the admonition of the Buddha,
may attain to the serene and blissful state,
the allayment of all component things. (381)

23. A monk, though still young,
who applies himself to the Buddha's teaching,
illuminates this world
just as the moon does emerging from behind a cloud. (382)

XXVI

The Noble One (Brāhman)

1. Stem the current with energy.
Shun sensuality, O Noble One.
Knowing the perishability of conditioned things,
You are a knower of 'the Unmade'. (383)
2. Whenever the Noble One reaches the perfection of two virtues:
concentration and insight,
then all his bonds, as he knows them, come to an end. (384)
3. I call him a Noble One
who has neither this shore
nor the yonder shore,
nor both the shores,
who is free of worries and fetter-free. (385)
4. I call him a Noble One
who is meditative,
lust-free and settled,
who has done what is to be done,
who is taintless,
and who has reached the Summum Bonum. (386)
5. The sun shines by day.
The moon shines by night.
So to, the warrior dressed in armour.
But the Buddha shines in glory both day and night. (387)
6. With evils put out
one is called a Noble One.
Being pacified in life
one is called a recluse (*Samana*).
Renouncing one's defilements,
one is called 'Progressive' (*pabbajita*). (388)
7. No one should attack a Noble One
even though he would not repay in anger.
Shame upon him that attacks a Noble One!
More shame upon him who repays him an anger. (389)

8. To hold back his mind from what is dear
is not a slight gain for a Noble One.
Wherefrom he withdraws his intent to harm,
There do his ills subside. (390)
9. Whosoever is restrained in three ways
with no ill-doing by body, by word, by mind,
him do I call a Noble One. (391)
10. From whomsoever one should come to know the Norm ex-
pounded by the Supreme Buddha,
let one very respectfully pay him homage,
even as a Brahman reveres the sacrificial fire. (392)
11. Neither matted hair,
nor the so-called high family,
nor yet one's birth
makes one a Noble One.
It is both the truth (realised)
and the Norm that make one a Noble One. (393)
12. What is the use of your matted hair?
What is the use of your raiment of antelope hide?
Within you it is ravaging.
Only the outside you try to cleanse. (394)
13. That being who wears a garment
made of rags from dust-heap,
who is lean, with veins showing,
who is solitary, meditating in the forest—
him do I call a Noble One. (395)
14. I do not call a man a Noble One
merely for reason of birth
or merely because he is born of a brahmin mother.
If he is full of worldly attachments,
he is a mere disparager (*bhovādi*).¹³
Only him who is free from all attachments,
free from worldly grasping
do I call a Noble One. (396)

13. It is said that some brahmins do not pay respect to one even though more virtuous, if he does not belong to his caste. He addresses all others as *bho* (fellow); in the way of addressing a person of a lower class. Hence he is called "*bho-vādi*" (disparager).

15. Whosoever never trembles (in fear)
as he has cut off all fetters,
whosoever has escaped from ties and fetters,
him I call a Noble One. (397)
16. I call him a Noble One
who has cut off the thong (of anger),
the strap (of craving),
the rope (of error) together with its radical tendency,
who has lifted the bars (of ignorance)
and perceived the path. (398)
17. Whosoever is not angry and endures abuse,
torture and imprisonment,
whosoever has endurance for his power
and fortitude for his army—
him do I call a Noble One. (399)
18. I call him a Noble One who is wrathless, dutiful,
virtuous, unsoiled and tamed,
who bears his last body. (400)
19. Whosoever is not attached to sensual pleasures
just as water on a lotus leaf
or a mustard seed on a needle point
does not rest—
him do I call a Noble One. (401)
20. Whosoever knows the cessation of his own suffering, even here,
who is free from the burden, who is unshackled—
him do I call a Noble One. (402)
21. Deep in insight, wise,
knowing both the right and wrong paths,
attained to the Summum Bonum—
him do I call a Noble One. (403)
22. Aloof both from the householders and the homeless ones,
who moves houseless with scanty needs—
him do I call a Noble One. (404)
23. Whosoever withholds the rod
from creatures both weak and strong,
who abstains from killing
and causes nobody to kill—
him do I call a Noble One. (405)

24. Whosoever is friendly among the hostile,
undisturbed among the violent,
detached among the attached—
him do I call a Noble One. (406)
25. Whosoever has dropped from himself
lust, anger, pride and calumny,
like a mustard seed from a point of needle
him do I call a Noble One. (407)
26. Whosoever utters speech, gentle, instructive and true
by which he offends nobody—
him do I call a Noble One. (408)
27. Whosoever accepts nothing be it long or short,
minute or large,
costly or cheap, that is not given to him—
him do I call a Noble One. (409)
28. Whosoever has no craving
either for this world
or for another world,
who is detached and bond-free—
him do I call a Noble One. (410)
29. Whosoever has no clings,ings,
whosoever has freed himself from doubt through knowledge,
who has plunged into the Deathless—
him do I call a Noble One. (411)
30. Whosoever has gone beyond the desire
for doing both merit and demerit,
whosoever is sorrowless,
dust-free and pure—
him do I call a Noble One. (412)
31. Whosoever is pure as the spotless moon,
serene and unperturbed,
whose craving for existence is extinct—
him do I call a Noble One. (413)
32. Whosoever has passed over this quagmire (of round of rebirths)
this hard road (of passions) and delusion,
who has reached the Other Shore,
who is meditative, firm, free from doubts
and completely emancipated—
him do I call a Noble One. (414)

33. Whosoever has left behind sensual pleasures,
and goes about free from the bonds of household life,
who has put an end to desire and rebirth—
him do I call a Noble One. (415)
34. Whosoever has rooted out craving
and goes about free from all household bonds,
who has put an end to craving and rebirth—
him do I call a Noble One. (416)
35. Whosoever is free from all bonds,
who has cast off earthly ties
and goes even beyond the heavenly ties—
him do I call a Noble One. (417)
36. Whosoever has cast off both delight and disgust,
who has become cooled leaving no substrata of rebirth,
the hero, the conqueror of all worlds—
him do I call a Noble One. (418)
37. Whosoever perfectly knows
both the passing away and rebirth of beings,
whosoever is detached, nobly faring and enlightened—
him do I call a Noble One. (419)
38. Whose after-death destiny
neither gods nor genii
nor men can know,
who is free from all defilements,
the holy one—
him do I call a Noble One. (420)
39. Whosoever has no grasping for the past or future or present,
whosoever possess of nothing,
who is detached from the world—
him do I call a Noble One. (421)
40. Him, the seer manly, sublime, heroic,
victorious, firm, cleansed and enlightened—
him do I call a Noble One. (422)
41. Whosoever knows his past life-forms,
who sees both the happy and unhappy realms,
who has further attained to extinction of rebirths,
who has attained to perfect insight,
who has reached the culmination of the higher life—
him do I call a Noble One. (423)

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUTTA NIPATA

N. A. Jayawickrama

Five Suttas of Popular Character

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Parābhava Sutta

The *Parābhava Sutta* and the four other *suttas* which are discussed here belong to a stratum of popular Buddhism, and they emphasise the practical side of Buddhism, laying down secular advice. The *Parābhava Sutta* is presented as a dialogue between a deity and the Buddha wherein $\text{parā} + \sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ the causes for men's downfall are enumerated by the Buddha ($\text{parā} + \sqrt{\text{bhū}}$: defeat). Though there is no deep philosophy underlying this *sutta* its advice is based on high ethical principles. The vices and evils denounced by Buddhist and contemporary Indian society are portrayed here as in the *Vasala Sutta*. It not only reflects the attitude of the age towards social evils such as the lack of filial piety, disrespect for elders and virtuous men, miserliness, arrogance, addiction to wine, women, and gambling and general unchastity, but also serves as an index to what was considered wrong in man's dealings with other men right down the ages in Indian society. These very sentiments are expressed and repeated over and over in numerous other works of Indian literature, especially the *Dharmaśāstras* and *Dharmasūtras*, and the *sutta* is characteristically Indian but not merely Buddhist. The highly ethical basis underlying the *sutta* runs through the whole poem. The *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* which lays down in the form of "Blessings" the good qualities one should practise is more Buddhist in its values than this *sutta*, though the two poems taken together are complementary to each other as they are based on the same ethical principles. The fact that this poem was meant for the common man is seen clearly from the last *pāda* of the concluding stanza, which speaks of a *sivam lokam* as opposed to *sivam padam*, the synonym for *Nibbāna*. The word *ariya* (Sn. 1150) has a wider application than the normal Buddhist term.

The language of the *sutta* is generally archaic. The noteworthy peculiarities are:—the historical infinitive *puṭṭhum* (Sn. 91c), the historical ppr. gen. sg. *parābhavato* in the refrain, the adjectival form-*vijāno* (Sn. 92ab), the word *bhavam* ("worthy"—Sn. 92a) used as in (Skr. *bhavān*), the primary adjective *dessī* ($\sqrt{\text{dviṣ}}$ —Sn. 92d), the verb *roceti* (Sn. 94c) formed after verbs of Class X, the agent noun *anuṭṭhātā* (Sn. 96b), the dialectical

form *pahu* in the phrase *pahu santo* (being able or capable of $\text{pra} + \sqrt{\text{bhū}}$, Sn. 98c, cp. *pahuta* Sn. 102a, etc. and in frequent use in the Canon, specially in cpds.), the shorter form *saṃ* in the cpd. *saññātim* (Sn. 104c, cp. Skr. *svaṃ*—besides *svaka*, P. *saka*, also cp. *schī*—Sn. 108a; *saṃ* and *sehi* are poetical forms rather than dialectical variations), the contracted dialectical form *poso* (Sn. 110a; vide Geiger§ 30.3), the contracted form *issā* (Sn. 110c), the verb *supati* (Sn. 110c, cp. *supina*—Sn. 360, etc.) and the uncontracted verb of Class X, *patthayati* (Sn. 114c). All these forms show that the language of the *sutta* is rather old. It is also evident that there is an abundance of pure poetical forms as distinct from the normal canonical idiom and that the diction of the whole *sutta* is highly poetic. The poetical forms of interest are:—*dhammadessī* (Sn. 92d), *kodhapaññāno* (Sn. 96c), *timbarutthanim* (Sn. 110b), etc. The verb interposed between the substantive and the adjective, e.g. *lokam bhajate sivam* (Sn. 115d), *khattiye jāyate kule* (Sn. 114b) etc., the disjunctive employed between the substantive and the adjective e.g. *purisaṃ vā pi tādisaṃ* (Sn. 112b) or even the position of the demonstrative adjective in the refrain of the stanzas attributed to the Bhagavā, i.e. *paṭhamo so parābhavo*, etc. are all characteristic of the poetic language.

The style of the *sutta* is neither heavy nor ornate. Though the stanzas are highly antithetical, their style is swift and vigorous. Poetical devices such as simile, metaphor or pun are few, and in fact there is only one metaphor in the whole poem: i.e. Sn. 110b. No definite inference can be drawn from the metre of this poem. The 25 stanzas are in *Anuṣṭubh Śloka*. There is *anacrusis* in Sn. 91c and even quarters of the *Vipulā*-type are found at Sn. 91a, 102a, 110ac, 112a and 114c.¹ The vigorous *Śloka* metre is best adapted to narrative or dialogue ballads. Doctrinal Developments here are almost negligible, but the word *anuṭṭhātā* reminds one of the positive concept *uṭṭhānaviriya*, a term of early doctrinal import. All the available evidence from language, style and metre suggests an early date for the *sutta*. The archaic language rich in historical forms, both verbal and nominal and containing dialectical variations, the free and easy style and the old poetic diction unmarred by any artificial poetic devices are in full accord with its early origin.

External Evidence may yield some data regarding a relative date. The comprehensive code of Moral Law promulgated by Asoka has a great deal in common with the *Parābhava*, *Vasala* and *Maṅgala Suttas*. Although Mookerji² is emphatic that Asoka's "Dharma" was not Buddhism but his own ethical philosophy, the strange similarity of ideas in his code

1. Helmer Smith, Sn.A. 640-641.

2. Rādhakumud Mookerji, *Asoka*, p. 68, Gackwad Lectures, 1928.

of ethics and in these *suttas* is conclusive evidence of the connection between the two. Seeing how far he is influenced by Buddhism and Buddhist literature the inference that he based his code on *suttas* such as these are similar literature is quite justifiable. The fact that Asoka not only is acquainted with the ideas here, but also inculcates them is proof of the popularity of secular ethics of this type.

Vasala Sutta

The position of the *Vasala Sutta* in the *vagga* immediately after the *Parābhava Sutta* leads one to the natural inference that an attempt has been made at an arrangement of the *suttas* according to their subject-matter. Such instances are quite frequent in the Canon. The two *suttas*, *Parābhava* and *Vasala* agree with each other in subject-matter, style, language and metre while the two differ in details regarding the outward form. The *Vasala Sutta* falls into the “*Ākhyāna*”-class, though the *Parābhava Sutta* cannot be strictly called so. The *gāthas* of the former can form an independent *sutta* without the brahmin being introduced to it at all, but the latter is a pure dialogue like the *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta*. In contents the two *suttas* agree very closely. Lack of filial affections is deplored in identical words (*Sn.* 98, 124) and so is deception practised on brahmins and holy men (*Sn.* 100, 129). The four major evils of killing, stealing, falsehood and adultery are condemned in *Sn.* 117-123 (*Vasala*). Falsehood is referred to in *Sn.* 100 and adultery in *Sn.* 108 (*Parābhava*). Both poems deal with anger (*Sn.* 96, 116, 133), pride and arrogance (*Sn.* 104, 132), miserliness and lack of hospitality (*Sn.* 102, 128, 130) and various other social evils. The same subject is dealt with in identical words in two instances (quoted above—*Sn.* 98, 124; 100, 129). The *Vasala Sutta* deals more fully and in a more comprehensive manner with most of the subjects taken up in the *Parābhava Sutta*; and mentions more vices and evil practices than the latter. Though both *suttas* are true to the spirit of early Indian ethics, the *Vasala Sutta* goes a step further in emphasising that one's own actions alone qualify one for condemnation and not one's birth (*jāti*). The *gāthā*,

*Na jaccā vaṣalo hoti, na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo
kammanā vaṣalo hoti, kammanā hoti brāhmaṇo.*

(Not by birth does one become an outcaste or a brahmin, but by one's action one becomes an outcaste or a brahmin) occurs twice in the *sutta*, and an illustrative anecdote is appended. The *gāthā* clearly conveys the Buddhist attitude to caste and the note struck here is truly Buddhist.

The *sutta* itself can be divided into four parts:-

- I. The prose introduction the prelude to the *sutta*.
- II. The body of the *sutta* (*Sn.* 116-136) containing the aphoristic sayings dealing with the various vices and evil practices.
- III. The short dissertation on *kamma* (action) including the colourful illustration of *Mātaṅga*.
- IV. Aggikabhāradvāja's confession of faith in prose, forming the conclusion of the *sutta*.

Observations:

The *sutta* can retain its characteristics and form a coherent whole without parts, I, III and IV and yet be called *Vasala Sutta*. *Sn.* 136 appears as a crescendo and concluding verse of the *sutta*. This is further strengthened by *Sn.* 135 which, in addition to its extra *pādas* sums up the categories of *vasalas* in its last line,

Ete kho vaṣalā vuttā, mayā vo ye pakāsitā

(These whom I have declared unto you are *vasalas*). This summing up may be compared with *Sn.* 269, the concluding *gāthā* of the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta*. In both instances the refrain occurs up to the *gāthā* immediately preceding the respective stanzas, and thus *Sn.* 135 provides a suitable conclusion to the *sutta*. The next stanza too, which in a dramatic manner breaks down the age-old barrier of caste and attributes baseness to base actions rather than to birth, probably belonged to the original *sutta*. The illustration (*nidassana*) that follows appears as a separate *sutta* or as a separate section appended to the *sutta* at a subsequent date. The position of these six stanzas at the end of the *sutta* makes this suggestion very plausible. The repetition of *Sn.* 136 at *Sn.* 142 is merely for the purpose of emphasising this essentially Buddhist aphorism. It also provides a suitable climax to the enhanced *sutta*.

There is no doubt that the episode of *Mātaṅga* is borrowed from popular tradition. The story *Mātaṅga* occurs in the *Anuśāsanika-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.* XIII, 3, 198 ff), but it differs considerably in details from that in *Sn.* Both *Sn.* and *Mbh.* agree on his lowly birth (*Caṇḍālayon-yām jāto*, *Mbh.* XIII, 3, 198). The outline of the legend in *Mbh.* is:—“*Mātaṅga*, son of a *brāhmaṇi* was informed by a she-ass that he was in reality a *caṇḍāla*, and in vain tried by way of penance to become a brahmin; at last he succeeded in becoming Candodeva”.³ The existence of a parallel legend in *Mbh.* need not necessarily imply that either was based on the other. The probability is that both versions go back to an earlier

3. s.v. Sörensen, Index to the Names in *Mahābhārata*.

tradition (probably oral) and the two as they are, represent parallel developments. (Also cp. *Mātaṅga Jātaka*).

On the other hand, the position of *Sn.* 124 and 129 seems different. The topic under discussion in *Sn.* 125 is cruelty by word or deed to one's own kith and kin. It seems probable that the connected idea of not supporting one's aged parents has been transported here, and the stanza borrowed wholesale. Similarly, *Sn.* 129 appears as an interpolation. The stanza that immediately precedes it (*Sn.* 128) denounces the action of the person who does not return hospitality to his erstwhile host; and the stanza that follows it (*Sn.* 130) condemns the person who, instead of feeding them abuses brahmins or *samaṇas* who come to his door at meal-time. Both these stanzas deal with the feeding of guests or mendicants, but *Sn.* 129 speaks of the deception practised on mendicants, religious or otherwise, by uttering falsehood. Although *Sn.* 129 disturbs the logical trend of the two stanzas on either side of it, the occurrence of the phrase, *yo brāhmaṇaṃ vā samaṇaṃ vā* in *Sn.* 130 seems to have been considered sufficient reason to introduce *Sn.* 129 which incidentally begins with the same phrase. The inference that *Sn.* 124 and 129 are interpolations implies that the *Parābhava Sutta* is earlier than the *Vasala Sutta*. This need not necessarily be so. The only legitimate conclusion is that the final redaction of the latter took place after the composition of the former. The position of these two stanzas in the two *suttas* sheds some light on this point. In the *Parābhava Sutta*, these two stanzas dealing with similar topics, occur as consecutive answers given by the Bhagavā, whereas in the *Vasala Sutta* they are separated by four other stanzas, two of which (i.e. *Sn.* 126, 127) deal with a different topic altogether.

The similarity of ideas in the two poems does not call for particular attention on account of the fact that they deal with practically the same subject. Language, style, metre and syntax too do not help in determining the age of the two poems in relation to each other. It is solely on the data provided by these two stanzas and the occurrence of the illustrative episode of *Mātaṅga*, (when the *sutta* proper could end at *Sn.* 135ef where the categories of *vasalas* are summed up, or at *Sn.* 136 which provides a fitting climax) it can be said that the *sutta* may have undergone a change at the hands of a subsequent editor. The stanzas *Sn.* 137-142 appear as a subsequent addition made by a later editor. It is quite probable that the earliest form of this *sutta* did not include these six stanzas, *Sn.* 124 and 129, nor perhaps the prose sections. Judging from internal and external evidence the earliest versions of both *suttas* appear contemporary.

As stated earlier the language of the *gāthās* is quite similar to that of the *Parābhava Sutta*. There are old historical forms like the opt. 3 sg. *jaññā*

(*Sn.* 116d-134d), the denominative *mamāyitaṃ* (*Sn.* 119b), shorter inst. sg. *theyyā* (*Sn.* 119c—Vedic *steya* nt.), the ppr. pass, *cujjamāno* (*Sn.* 120b), the contracted verb *ādeti* (*Sn.* 121c) besides *ādiyati* (*Sn.* 119c) the absolutive *bhutvāna* (*Sn.* 128b—also poetical), the ppr. medial of the desiderative *nijjigimsāno* (*Sn.* 131c), the pronom. adj. inst. sg. *sena* (Skr. *svena*, cp. *saṃ* *Sn.* 104c, *sehi* *Sn.* 108a, 132c), the inst. sgg. *jaccā* (*Sn.* 136ab, 142ab), *duggaccā* (*Sn.* 141d), *kammanā* (*Sn.* 136cd, 142cd) and *aminā* (*Sn.* 137a cp. also *amunā*) and 3 pl. A. pada *upadissare* (*Sn.* 140d). Besides the poetical forms like *bhutvāna*, *upadissare*, *sena*, etc. there occur in this *sutta* as in the previous one many cpds. e.g. *pāpamakkhī* (*Sn.* 116b), *vipannadiṭṭhi* (*Sn.* 116c), *paṭicchannakammanto* (*Sn.* 127c), etc. The *sutta* preserves the old Pāli idiom, e.g. *pāṇe dayā*, (*Sn.* 117c), *yaṃ paresaṃ mamāyitaṃ* (*Sn.* 119b), etc. Often the same idiom, is seen to occur in canonical prose, e.g. *attahetu*, *parahetu*, *dhanahetu* . . (*Sn.* 122ab), *akincikkhakamyatā* (*Sn.* 121a, cp. *lābhakamyatā*). There is an irregular acc. sg. of the ppr. *vajataṃ* (*Sn.* 121b, v.l. *vajantaṃ* vide Geiger, § 130; the Comy. explains it as *gacchantam*—*SnA.* 179). There is also an abundance of Vedic enclitics like *ve* and *ha-ve* (*vai* and *ha vai*). All these characteristics of old Pāli and the general diction of the poem which is archaic suggest an early for the *sutta*.

The Style and metre of the poem are similar to those of the *Parābhava Sutta*. The metrical irregularities are few; i.e. *odd* quarters at *Sn.* 118a, 121a and 123c and an *even pāda* at *Sn.* 124c.⁴ Evidence from language, style and metre shows that the two poems are contemporary, though on careful examination some parts of the *Vasala Sutta* appear to be younger than the *Parābhava Sutta*.

No doctrinal developments as such are noticeable in the *sutta*. However in spirit it is more Buddhist than the former. The four major evils of killing, stealing adultery and falsehood have already been noticed to occur in *Sn.* 117-123, in same order as the first four precepts, in addition to the other allied misdeeds as highway robbery and plunder. In spite of the popular nature of the *sutta* the occurrence of the two terms, *diṭṭheva dhamme* and *sampārāye* (*Sn.* 141ab) suggests some development in Buddhist ideas; but these terms are of no great value as they are equally common in early Indian literature. The words *vipannadiṭṭhi* (*Sn.* 116c), *moha* (*Sn.* 131b), *arahā* and *anarahā* (*Sn.* 135ab) are not used in their specialized meaning as found in Buddhism. It is significant that *Sn.* 134b speaks of the *sāvakas* and not of the *Saṅgha*, and it is probable that this *sutta* is quite distinct from monastic Buddhism. The phrase *khattiyā brāhmaṇā* in *Sn.* 138, like the canonical phrase *samaṇa-brāhmaṇā*, unconsciously suggests the order of precedence as the Buddhists conceived

4. Helmer Smith, *ibid.*

it,⁵ though the *sutta* itself repudiates the stigma attached to low birth. The mention of *devayāna*, the path leading to the *devas* in *Sn.* 139 shows to some extent how far the *sutta* echoes the then-current Indian thought. It is clear that the goal aimed at is *brahmaloka*. The earlier Upanisads⁶ mention the two paths by which a departed soul proceeds to enjoy the fruits of his actions. They are the *devayāna* or the *arcirmārga* the path of light leading to the plane of *Brahmā* or *satyaloka* and the *pitryāna* or the *dhūmamārga*, the path of darkness leading to the region of the moon or *candraloka*. When Indian thought evolved and gradually established the identity of Self with Brahman, *devayāna* became the path leading to the union with the Highest.⁷ It is not clear what stage of development in Indian thought *Sn.* 139 reflects, yet the final goal mentioned is *brahmaloka*. Perhaps *sivam lokam* (the world of happiness at *Sn.* 115) also refers to the same state.⁸ The Commentator rightly interprets it as *devalokam* (*Sn.A.* 173). Both these reference show that these poems are not doctrinal dissertations but *suttas* meant for the inculcation of popular ethics.

All the available external evidence too shows that the *sutta* belongs to the realm of popular ethics. It contains ideas common with the Epics and other Sanskrit literature. *Sn.* 122 may be compared with *Manu.* VIII, 13; *Sn.* 128 with *Mbh.* XIII, 126; 27; and *Taittiriyaśikṣavallī* 11, 2; and *Sn.* 135 with *Manu.* X, 12; 16 and 26, etc. The observations made with reference to the *Parābhava Sutta* that Asoka's moral code apply here too. The *gāthās* appear to be very old in the light of internal evidence and the testimony from the Edicts suggests that they should be at least pre-Asokan.

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Mahāmaṅgala Sutta

It has already been stated that the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* (also known as the *Maṅgala Sutta*) is complementary to the *Parābhava Sutta*. Both *suttas* contain a short prose introduction with identical words, and a *devatā* is introduced as the Buddha's interlocutor. The only difference in form, between the two *suttas* is that the *Maṅgala Sutta* unlike the other, is not a proper dialogue, for, the *devatā* is represented as asking only one question to which the Buddha gives an uninterrupted reply. The two *suttas* categorically state the various factors which lead to one's downfall and which are considered as blessings respectively, and conclude didactically summing up the enumeration. A regular feature in the poems is the

5. The sequence *Khattiyā, Brāhmaṇā, Vessā, Suddā* occurs many times in *M.* and *D.*
6. *Brhadāranyaka Upanisad*, VI. 2, 2; IV. 11, etc.
7. Also vide Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 252-255.
8. As stated earlier, this term cannot refer to *nibbāna* as the mention of a "nibbāna-oka" anywhere in the Canon. It is either *nibbana pada* or *nibbana dhātu*.

refrain which is a feature in the greater part of the *Vasala Sutta*. The *sutta* lays emphasis on good living and gives practical advice. It is essentially didactic like the gnomic poetry of the Sanskrit literature. The word *maṅgala* conveyed to the brahmins anything that was considered as auspicious. In every society, whether past or present, Occidental or Oriental, there are certain beliefs and superstitions to which people attach some importance in varying degrees. *Maṅgala* to a brahmanical society in ancient India represented all the sights and sounds, actions, ritual and ceremonies which they deemed holy or auspicious. In this *sutta* the Buddha is seen giving a new value to the term *maṅgala* employing it to stress the importance of a righteous living. The *sutta* does not attempt to teach anything new, but inculcates in a different form the ethical principles already known to the Indians. There is no deep philosophy underlying the *sutta*, yet it has to some extent a Buddhist background. The theme, *kālēna dhamma savaṇam* (*Sn.* 265c, listening to the *dhamma* at the proper time) *kālēna dhamma-sākacchā* (*Sn.* 266c, religious discussions at the proper time), *samaṇānam ca dassanam* (*Sn.* 266b, paying homage to the monks), *ariyasaccāna dassanam* (*Sn.* 267b, an insight into the *ariyanoble truths*) and *nibbānasacchikiriya* (*Sn.* 267b, the realization of *nibbāna*) are decidedly of Buddhist application though *dhammacariya* (*Sn.* 263a, living in accordance with the *dhamma*), *appamādo ca dhammesu* (*Sn.* 264c, perseverance in doing good deeds) and *patirūpadesaṇā* (*Sn.* 200a, living in a suitable region) are capable of being given a wider interpretation than suggested by the Commentator (*Pj.* I. 123-157). The perfect balance of mind under all conflicting circumstances. (*Sn.* 268) is again a characteristically Buddhist concept. The *sutta* thus is essentially Buddhist although it deals with popular ethics.

This *sutta* occurs *verbatim* in the *Khuddaka-paṭha* and the *Paritta-pāṭha*.⁹ It is also one of the *Tun-sūtraya* (the Three *Suttas*, the other two being *Ratana* and *Metta Suttas*), used at *Pirit* ceremonies; which shows that the *sutta* has enjoyed great popularity from comparatively early times (when the *Khp.* was compiled); up to the present day.¹⁰ There is a *jātaka* known

9. The *Paritta-pāṭha* is a collection of *suttas* varying in number from 28 to 32, taken from various parts of the Canon. It is known in Ceylon as the *Pirit-pota* (the Book of *Pirit*). Also vide Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 80.

10. *Khp.* as a collection cannot be of very early date. From the negative evidence that no mention of it is made in the Canon or in *Miln.* it may be inferred that it came into being sometimes later, though argument from silence is not always very satisfactory evidence. On the other hand, *Miln.* mentions *Sn.* by name (*vide U.C.R.* Vol. VII, 3), and it is quite probable that the author of *Miln.* knew *Sn.* as it exists to-day. *Miln.* 349 mentions *Khuddaka-bhāṇakā*, but this is no evidence for the existence of *Khp.* It only refers to a collection of minor pieces, probably the greater part of what is now known as *Khuddaka Nikāya*, just in the same way as *Digha* or *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* referred to the reciters of long or medium sized *suttas* which were invariably included in the *Digha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas* respectively. Thus, the earliest collection in which *Maṅgala Sutta* was included is probably *Sn.* though it may have existed earlier as an individual *sutta*.

as the *Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka* (No. 453) which the Commentator (J. IV, 72-73) associates with the *Maṅgala Sutta* and quotes the opening *pāda* of the *devatā*'s question mentioning that the total number of *maṅgalas* enumerated in the *sutta* is 38; but it has no connection whatsoever with the present *sutta*, and it is in reality a dissertation on happiness in accordance with Brahmanical ideas of life rather than Buddhist principles.

There are no specific linguistic forms in the *sutta* that may be classed as very ancient, nor are there signs of lateness in the language. It is the normal Gāthā-Pāli idiom with the usual poetic diction. The stanzas are highly rhythmical and melodious. There is no involved syntax and the language is simple. The few linguistic forms which call for attention are:—*acintayum* (Sn. 258b) the historical Aorist 3 pl., *sotthānam* (Sn. 258c) acc. sg. of *sotthāna* nt. cp. Skr. *svastyayana*, *sovacassatā* (Sn. 266a) abstract of the secondary form from *su-vacas* and the usage of *dassanam* (Sn. 266b, 267b) in its literal and applied meanings of visiting to pay homage and unsight into (vision of), respectively. The phrases *mātāpitu-upatthānam* (Sn. 262a), *ariyasaccāna-dassanam* (Sn. 267b) and *sabbattha-m-aparājītā* (Sn. 269b) betray the flexibility of *sandhi* in Pāli, specially in metrical exigencies. The metre of the poem is *Anuṣṭubh Śloka*, and the few metrical irregularities are: one instance of *anacrusis* at Sn. 260a and two instances of *even quarters* at Sn. 260c and 265c. The *sutta* contains a few special Buddhist terms in addition to those that are in common with contemporary Indian religious systems. *Ariyasaccāna-dassanam* (Sn. 267b) is a definite reference to the Noble Truths of Buddhism, and *nibbānasacchikiriyā* (Sn. 267c) is the attainment consequent on the obtaining of an insight into the *Ariyan* Truths. Other concepts such as *tapo* (ascetic practices) *brahmacariyā* (celibacy) Sn. 267a, *attasammāpanidhi* (a thorough development of personality—Sn. 260c), *khanti* (forbearance—Sn. 266a) etc. are of general Indian origin and therefore are of no special importance.

External Evidence consists mainly of a comparison with the Moral Law of Asoka promulgated in the Edicts. Asoka's *dharma*, like the sayings in the three *suttas*, *Vasala*, *Parābhava* and *Maṅgala*, is not any religious system peculiar to one sect or school, but contains practical and doctrinal advice embracing the various relations of life. However, a close comparison shows that Asoka had drawn his material from a literature very similar to these *suttas*. From his acquaintance with certain parts of the Canon i.e. the seven *Dharmaparyāyas* some of which have been traced to Sn. (vide PBR, 1, 3, p. 137) it may be inferred that he was equally acquainted with these *suttas*. The following table¹¹ shows to what extent the contents of these *suttas* can be compared with Asoka's *dharma*:

11. This table is based on Radhakumud Mookerji's analysis of the Moral Law of Asoka in his Gaekwad Lectures, pp. 69 ff.

Asoka:

Sutta Nipāta:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Obedience to (a) elders R.E. IV, ¹² (anu-
prati paṭipati) P.E. VII, (b) teachers R.E.
XIII, P.E. VII. | Sn. 259b, paṇḍitānaṃ ca
sevanā. |
| 2. Respect (a) of pupils-antevāsī-towards
their gurūs M.R.E. II, (b) towards gurūs
R.E. IX. | Sn. 259c, pūjā ca pūjaney-
yānaṃ.
265a, gāraṇa. |
| 3. Proper treatment towards (a) ascetics,
both brāhmaṇa and samāna R.E. IV, P.E. VII,
(b) relations M.R.E. II, R.E. IV, XIII. | Sn. 100, 129, 130.
Sn. 98-124, 102, 104c, 125. |
| 4. Charity (dānaṃ) R.E. III, VII, VIII, IX,
XI. | Sn. 263a, 102c. |
| 5. Abstention from slaughter of and
violence towards living beings, R.E. III,
IV, XI, P.E. VII, R.E. IX, IV, P.E. VIII, R.E.
XIII, M.R.E. II, cp. R.E. III, IV, IX, XI,
XIII and P.E. VII. | Sn. 117-118. |
| 6. Kindness (dayā) P.E. II, VII. | Cp. Metta Sutta, Sn. 143-
153. |
| 7. Truthfulness (satyaṃ) M.R.E. II, P.E. II,
VII. | Sn. 122c, 100c, 129c. |
| 8. Gentleness (mārdavaṃ) R.E. XIII, P.E.
VII. | Sn. 143d. |
| 9. Gratitude (kṛtajñatā) R.E. VII. | Sn. 265b. |
| 10. Attachment to dharma (Asoka's mora-
lity) R.E. XIII. | Sn. 92c, 263a, 264c, 265c,
266c. |
| 11 Purity of heart (bhāva śuddhi) R.E. VII. | Sn. 260c, cp. yakkhassa
śuddhi Sn. 478, 876. |

Of the requisite qualities mentioned in P.E. I for the attainment of happiness in this world and the next, *dharma-kāmatā* occupies the first place (No. 10 in Table). *Suśrūṣī* (obedience), No. 1 in table *bhaya* (fear to do wrong—cp. *ottappa* in Pāli, Sn. 133c, etc.), and *utsāha* (effort—cp. *utthāna-viriya*, see *anuṭṭhātā*, Sn. 96b) are three others. In R.E. XIII Asoka summarises his 'Dharma' as 1. *Akṣati* (non-injury—cp. Sn. 117-118) 2. *saṃyama* (restraint quite frequent in the Muni-Ballads of Sn. cp. Sn. 264, etc.) 3. *samacaraṇam* (impartiality) and *mārdavaṃ* (gentleness; No. 8 in table). On these and numerous other points (enumerated by Mookerji, Asoka, pp. 69-78) Asoka's 'Dharma' bears a strong resemblance to the

12. R.E.: Rock Edict, P.E.: Pillar Edict, M.R.E.: Minor Rock Edict.

ideology of these *suttas*. Although one may not be quite certain of the existence of *Sn.* as a collection in Asoka's time, there is no doubt that many of the *suttas* constituting *Sn.* were anterior to Asoka. It has already been noticed that Asoka had been influenced by a literature quite similar to these popular ethics. The internal evidence reveals that the *suttas* are old, and that they preserve definite characteristics of the poetic language which probably preceded the standardised canonical Pali prose. It is thus highly probable that these *suttas* were known to Asoka.

51

Metta Sutta

The *Metta Sutta*, another member of the triad of *suttas*, is also found in *Khp.* as No. 9. The Commentator's introduction which is historically of a lower level of interpretation states that the *sutta* was preached by the Buddha as a topic of meditation to monks and to serve the purpose of a *paritta* to ward off dangers arising from evil spirits (*Pj.* I. 231-232). There is no doubt that the *sutta* provided a useful topic of meditation for both monks and laymen, and in subsequent years, even as early as the commentarial epoch, or perhaps earlier, it was used as a *paritta*. Its inclusion in *Khp.*, a handbook of popular Buddhism, indicates that this *sutta*, like its two companion *suttas*, was very popular from comparatively early times. The *sutta* inculcates the practice of *mettā* (amity, or love to all beings). The theme is an early tenet of Buddhism and the idea corresponds to *dayā* of the Sanskrit epics and other allied literature. Even before the four *Brahma-vihāras* were fixed and standardised the term *mettā* is to be met with in association with such concepts as *upekkhā*, *karuṇā*, *vimutti* and *muditā* (*Sn.* 73). The theme is developed from various aspects in the *sutta*:—(a) Wishing happiness and well-being to all creatures irrespective of their size or form or stage of growth (*bhūtā vā sambhavesī vā*: creatures come into being or in their embryonic state, *Sn.* 147c). (b) The negative aspect of the absence of ill-will towards them (*Sn.* 148). (c) The development of boundless thoughts of love, as deep as maternal affection to all creatures (*Sn.* 149). (d) The diffusion of unobstructed thoughts of loving kindness in all directions at all times (*Sn.* 149-150). It is extolled as the *brahma-vihāra*—the highest abiding¹³ (*Sn.* 151). The 10 opening lines of the *sutta* are of an introductory nature. They describe the *atthakusala*—he who is bent on his welfare. Though *santam padam*—tranquilled state (*Sn.* 143)—need not necessarily always signify *nibbāna*, the qualifying

13. Mrs. Rhys Davids (in "What was the Original Gospel of Buddhism?") thinks that this line preserves "a metrical legacy" of the disciples of an unknown Brahmin teacher, and sees God in the epithet *brahma*. She translates *Sn.* 151d as, "God have they here this living called".

remark that the *atthakusala* should be detached from family life (*Sn.* 144d) suggests that the poem was primarily meant for the monks. A descriptive classification of creatures is made at *Sn.* 146 and another mutually exhaustive and more precise division at *Sn.* 147c¹⁴. The development of a mental attitude (*mānasam bhāvayati*, cp. *Sn.* 149d, 150b) consisting of the thoughts of love is the keynote of the poem and it concludes with an exhortation to make an end of birth (*Sn.* 152d).

As far as linguistic evidence goes what has been said of the other *suttas* applies here too. There is ellipsis in the opening stanza of the *sutta* (*Sn.* 143). The form *addiṭṭhā* at *Sn.* 147a has *-dd-* either *metri causa* or as a consonantal doubling after the negative prefix; cp. *appasāda*. The indefinite adverb *katthacinam* (*Sn.* 148b) contains a contamination of two indefinite suffixes *cid* and *cana*. There are two forms with the contraction of the final *-āya>-ā* viz. *vyārosanā* and *paṭighasaññā*: (*Sn.* 148c). The regular form *niya* for Vedic *nija* (also P. *nija*) through Prakrit *nīa* (vide Geiger § 36) occurs. Besides these there are other forms *sayāno* (*Sn.* 151b) historical ppr. medial, the affirmative particle *jātu* (*Sn.* 152d) which is practically confined to poetry, Vedic forms as *āyusā* (*Sn.* 149b) and a wealth of optative forms illustrative of various types used in Pali; viz. 3 sg. *assa* (*Sn.* 143d), 3 sg. *samācare* (*Sn.* 145a), *anurakkhe* (*Sn.* 149b), *bhāvaye* (*Sn.* 149d, 150b), medial 3 sg. *nikubbetha* (*Sn.* 148a) *iccheyya* (*Sn.* 148d). *adiṭṭheyya* (*Sn.* 151c) and 3 pl. *upaddaveyyum* (*Sn.* 145b). There also occurs an inorganic sandhi at *Sn.* 151d. viz. *idha-m-āhu*.

The style of the *sutta* is free and easy to a great extent and the ideas are expressed lucidly. The *sutta* being didactic, the greater part of it is explanatory and injunctive. Though it contains two long lists (*Sn.* 143c-144d, 1461-147d) no laboured effect is produced, as there is an easy flow of words along with its rhythmic effect. There is only one simile in the whole poem (*Sn.* 149ab) and it appears quite apt, as it emphasises the central theme. The poem is written in a metre described as *Āryā (Gīti)* by Helmer Smith.¹⁵ Yet the metre here is not the proper classical *Gīti* or any of its sub-types including *Āryā*. Normally the syllabic instants of the first and third *pādas* of the *Gīti* metres are limited to 12, whereas the other two *pādas* vary from 15 to 18. None of these 10 stanzas corresponds to any of the varieties of the classical *Gīti* metre, and at best what is found here is a very free modification of the *Āryā-Gīti*. The syllabic instants of the *Metta Sutta* vary from 11, 17, 13, 17 in *Sn.* 152 to 16, 17, 15, 18 in *Sn.*

14. It is significant that the classification into the five types *jalābujā*, *andajā*, *sam-sedajā* and *opapātika* (viviparous, oviparous, moisture born and of spontaneous birth), a division known to be in use comparatively early in India, does not occur here. It may perhaps indicate that the Buddhist writers had not yet adapted it in their works during the time of these *suttas*, though the classification occurs in prose sections of the Canon (*D.* III. 2:0, *M.* I. 73 S. III, 240, etc.).

15. Op. cit. (*Sn.*A. 637).

147. In two instances the number of *mātrās* (syllabic instants) in a full stanza is less than 60, in two 60 (the prescribed number in Sanskrit poetics) and in the other six over 60. However it is worth noting that this metre stands "between the more archaic technique of the *śloka-triṣṭubh* and the *īgatis*, *atijagatis*, etc., of the late-canonical and semi-canonical compositions".¹⁶

Doctrinal developments. In its tone and outlook the *sutta* bears signs of antiquity. The term *atthakusala* (*Sn.* 143a) probably refers to the *attha* (weal) pertaining to both this world and the next. The emphasis on a life which is beyond the censure of the wise (*Sn.* 145ab) may suggest that the *attha* was primarily connected with this world. The Commentator, however, interprets *santaṃ padaṃ* (*Sn.* 143b) as *nibbāna* (*Pj.* I. 236) merely because the term is used as a synonym for the latter. Yet, the state of mental tranquillity referred to here is capable of a more general interpretation. This is further supported by *Sn.* 143cd-145ab, which do not apply to one who has attained *nibbāna*: and therefore *attha* should be interpreted as benefit here on earth rather than well-being after death or even *paramattha* the *summum bonum*.

The ideal envisaged in *Sn.* 144 is that of the ascetic or the *muni*. This certainly reflects early material. The next two lines which allude to public opinion are not wholly inconsistent with the *Muni*-ideal, though as a rule the *muni* is not influenced by the outside world (cp. *Sn.* 213b, 214b, etc.). This difference in attitude does not imply a later phase of development, nor does it indicate any real departure from the ideal in early Buddhism. The probability is that the *sutta* was meant for a wider circle than ascetics alone, and the authority of the *viññū* had to be reckoned with in preparing one's self for the tranquil-state of mind which would be the basis for the contemplation (*mānasam bhāveti*) on *mettā*. The concept of *mettā* is suggested to be of pre-Buddhist origin,¹⁷ but Buddhism and its senior contemporary religion Jainism were responsible for the widespread movement of not only non-injury to living things, but the actual practice of amity towards them. The phrase *mānasam bhāveti* (develop a frame of mind; cp. *mañṣā* Rv. X. 129) is not in frequent use in the language, and the word *mānasa* used absolutely is semi-technical in character (s.v., PTS). Neither the concept *mettā* nor the term *mānasa* yields any conclusive data. The two words *diṭṭhi* and *dassana* (*Sn.* 152) are used as mutually contradictory terms from the earliest times:¹⁸ they are diametrically opposed to each other in their semantic development

16. *Ibid.* Helmer Smith.

17. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*

18. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her translation of Khp. in the Minor Anthologies considers this stanza late for reasons she adduces in her introduction.

though they are derivatives from the same root (*drś*). There is hardly an instance of *diṭṭhi* being qualified as *sammā* or *micchā* in all the 45 occurrences of the word in *Sn.* The term *diṭṭhi* embraces all philosophical views and speculations which were (perhaps later) designated as *micchādiṭṭhi*, while *dassana* is a more precise concept signifying insight. The latter has no bearing on the question of the difference between *sammādiṭṭhi* and *micchādiṭṭhi*.

External evidence—The only form of external evidence available is the occurrence of similar or parallel ideas in other works. The idea *mettā* occurs frequently in the Canon in the list of *Brahmavihāras*, and also singly in various other contexts, e.g. *mettā ceto-vimutti* at D. I. 251, S.II. 265, A. IV. 150, It. 20, etc., *mettā-sahagatena cetasā* at D. I. 250, etc., S.V. 115, A. I. 138, etc., *mettāṃ cittāṃ* at D. I. 167, III. 237, *Sn.* 507, *Vin.* II. 110, A. II. 72, *Th1. Th2*, etc. and *mettā-bhāvanā* at *Miln.* 199. At S. I. 75 Pasenadi Kosala declares to Mallikā that the dearest thing to a person is his own self. At the end of the conversation they go to the Buddha who advises them

*Sabbā disānuparigamma cetasā
n'ev' ajjhagamā piyataram attanā kvaci,
evaṃ piyo puthu attā paresaṃ
tasmā na himse param attakāmo.*

(Having mentally surveyed all directions I have not found anywhere, anything so dear to me as my own self. So is it to the others that each one's self is dear. Therefore let him who loves his own self not bring harm upon another). Cp. *Sn.* 705, *Dh.* 129, 130. Here the standard of judgment in refraining from injury to others is one's love for one's own self. The same idea is reflected in Yajñavalkya's advice to Maitreyi in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (*Brh.* II. 4: IV. 5) cp. *Bhḡ.* VI. 32 which conveys the same idea. A passage occurring at *Mbh.* XI. 7, 1

*Na hy ātmānam priyataram kiñcid bhūteṣu niścitam:
aṇiṣṭaṃ sarva-bhūtānāṃ maraṇaṃ nāma Bhārata:
tasmāt sarveṣu bhūteṣu dayā kāryā vipaścitā.*

(Undoubtedly there is nothing so dear to beings as their own selves: indeed, death is most unpleasant to all creatures, O son of Bharata. Therefore let the wise man extend kindness to all creatures) is quite similar to the passage at S.I. 75.

In all these instances the reason adduced for one to refrain from harming others is the love one bears to one's self. On the other hand in the *Metta Sutta* the practice of *mettā* is not prompted by any such motives. It is *mettā* for its own sake. It is not possible to ascertain which idea was

earlier. Though the concept *mettā* occurs frequently in early canonical works *mettā bhāvanā* is scarcely mentioned. As a term *mettā bhāvanā* may be of later growth, yet the idea seems old. The creation of an active mental force (*mānasam*) consisting of thoughts of love is fundamentally the same as *mettā bhāvanā*, and is perhaps the predecessor of the latter term.¹⁹

52

Ratana Sutta

The popular character of this poem is seen in the opening lines, *yānīdha bhūtāni* etc. The *bhūtas* (spirits) are addressed and their goodwill (*sumanas*) is invoked. They are requested to extend thoughts of friendliness (*mettam karoṭha*) to the human race. The naivety and the simplicity of the two opening stanzas are reminiscent of the Vedic hymns. This is specially true of,

*divā ca ratto ca haranti ye balim
tasmā hi ne rakkhatha appamattā*

(who bring you oblations day and night; therefore protect them arduously). Every word of these two stanzas is full of meaning and of echoes. Although these beings are invoked for protection, the central theme is the exaltation of the *Three Ratanas*, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. One may see in this *sutta* a synthesis of popular cults and Buddhism, yet the synthesis is very remote, far from being complete. There is no real adaptation of Buddhism to popular cults and ritual, but on the contrary popular Buddhism has taken for granted a prevalent cult. However, with time there sets in a change and this *sutta* along with many others becomes a *paritta* (a ward-rune) and there-by part and parcel of every-day Buddhism. Its inclusion in the "Three Suttas", the *Piritpota* and the *Khp.* has already been mentioned.

The invocation of blessings in the *sutta* is in the form of a *saccakriyā* (asseveration by truth) viz. *etena saccena suvatthi hotu*. A remarkable feature of the poem is the evidence of a growth of a complete Buddhist doxology. The term *Tathāgata* an epithet often applied to the Buddha, is extended to both the Dhamma and Saṅgha.²⁰ Seven of the 12 stanzas

19. Miss I. B. Horner in her Review of *Woven Cadences* (Hibbert Journal, October 1945) points out that the formula *uddham adho ca tiriyaṃ* is found only at Sn. 150 in connection with *mettā*. However, it is found in other passages without any reference to *mettā*; e.g. 537, 1055, 1068, etc.

20. The three formulas used in the Buddhist daily prayer in praise of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, viz. *Iti' pi so bhagavā-pe-svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo-pe-and supāṭipanno bhagavato sāvaka-saṅgho-pe-respectively*, culled from the Canon (e.g. D. II. 93 ff., III. 5, A. I. 207 ff., 56 ff., IV. 406 ff., etc.) may be compared with this. Also cp.

*Ye ca Buddhā (dhammā, saṅghā) attāca,
ye ca Buddhā (dhammā, saṅghā) anāgatā,
paccuppannā ca ye Buddhā (dhammā, saṅghā).
ahaṃ vandāmi sabbadā*

Sn. 224-235 devoted to the *Three Ratanas* are in praise of the third "Jewel," the Saṅgha. This may probably indicate a conscious effort on the part of the Saṅgha to assert its importance. The members of the Saṅgha are spoken of as the disciples of the *Sugata* who are worthy of offerings (*te dakkhiṇeyyā sugatassa sāvaka*—Sn. 227c). They are the recipients of *dāna* or *yañña* in Brahmanic terminology,²¹ and as such form an important factor for man's acquisition of merit (*anuttaram puññakkhettaṃ lokassa*). It is obvious that the *sutta* reflects a time when there had come into existence an organised coenobitic Saṅgha as opposed to forest dwelling anchorites—*munayo*. The invitation extended to the *bhūtas* to join in the worship of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha (who are honoured by gods and men—*devamanussapūjita*) not only betrays the popular nature of the *sutta* but shows that its composition had taken place when worship formed an essential factor in the religion.

The *sutta* can be divided into three parts, viz. I. Sn. 222-223, II. Sn. 224-235, and III. Sn. 236-238. Part I forms the introduction which consists of an invitation to the *bhūtas* whose *mettā* is invoked. These are the only stanzas of the poem which resemble the Vedic hymns closely. As in the Vedic hymns (a) the opening lines form the invocation (Sn. 222ab), (b) a request is made for their goodwill (Sn. 222cd), (c) their *mettā* is solicited (223b), (d) they are reminded of services rendered to them (Sn. 223c) and finally (e) their protection is sought. Part II can be further divided into (a) Sn. 224-226 (b) Sn. 227-235. (a) Sn. 226 marks the final stanza said to have been uttered by the Buddha according to one tradition quoted by the Commentator, *Apare pana vadanti: ādito pañc eva gāthā bhagavatā vuttā, sesā parittakaraṇasamaye Anandattherenā ti*. (Others maintain that only the five opening stanzas, viz. Sn. 222-226, were uttered by the Blessed One, and the rest by the Elder Ānanda on the occasion of the *paritta*-recital.—Pj. I. 165). It is interesting to note that up to this point the Saṅgha is not mentioned and it is noteworthy that the only other references to an organised Saṅgha in Sn. are at 519d and 1015b (the latter in the late prologue to the *Pārāyana*)²² Although there may be the possibility of some truth underlying this tradition, Sn. 222-226, by themselves, do not form a satisfactory unit as a *sutta*. On the other hand if Sn. 223 is rejected as a late stanza, since the stanzas corresponding to it in the *Mahāvastu* version occur somewhat later in the *sutta* (i.e. vv. 15-16; *Mvastu*. I. 294), it would be possible to infer that Sn. 227 marks the last stanza of a complete unit, thus partly agreeing with the tradition mentioned above, (b) Seven (i.e. Sn. 227-232, 235) of the nine stanzas in this group are devoted to describe the Saṅgha: and it is apparent from the over

21. Cp Nd. 2. 523

22. There are other references to *nāgasangha* at Sn. 421b and *samaṇasangha* at Sn. 550c in the more general sense of "multitude" as in *devasangha* at Sn. 680c.

emphasis laid on the Saṅgha that this section was one of the so-called "monastic fabrications". There are nine consecutive stanzas in *Mvastu*. (Viz. vv. 6-14: *Mvastu*. I. 291-294) with the refrain, *idam pi saṅghe ratanam praṇītam*, etc. Of the other two stanzas, *Sn*. 233 and 234, the former roughly corresponds to v. 15 in *Mvastu*, (I. 294) which runs,

*Grīsmānamāse prathame, Caitrasmin
vane pragulmā yatha puṣpitāgrū
vāteritā te surabhiṃ pravānti
evaṃvidhaṃ dhyāyino Buddha putrāḥ
silenupetā surabhiṃ pravānti
idam pi saṅghe ratanam praṇītam
etena satyena suvastī bhotu
manuṣyato vā amanuṣyato vā*

The latter (*Sn*. 234) has no parallel in *Mvastu*. From this disparity it may be surmised that the BSK. version was based on different recension of the *sutta* which perhaps was earlier than or contemporaneous with the Pāli. The better arrangement of the expanded version in *Mvastu*. perhaps indicates that as a *sūtra*, it is younger than the version preserved in *Sn*. Part III which consists of the concluding stanzas is attributed neither to the Buddha nor to Ānanda, by the Comy. and tradition, but to Sakka. The last two verses are mere repetitions of *Sn*. 236 with the Dhamma and Saṅgha substituted for the Buddha in line c. It has already been observed that these three stanzas show the development of a complete doxology in Buddhists worship. All the three stanzas are found in a condensed form in the concluding verse in *Mvastu*, (I. 295).

On purely linguistic evidence the *sutta* appears old; but its contents and developments in ideology and doctrine show that it cannot be as old as the earliest *suttas* of *Sn*. Many of the archaic and dialectical forms found in the *sutta* have no exact parallels in *Mvastu*. This is clear evidence that the recension from which the *sūtra* in *Mvastu*. was compiled had lost sight of such old forms, and found them too obscure to restore the equivalent Sanskritised forms. The phrase *divā ca ratto ca* (*Sn*. 223c), though stereotyped, is old; and the younger Pāli would prefer *divā ca rattiyā ca* (both inst.) or *divaṃ ca rattim ca* (both acc.) as in *Mvastu*. *divaṃ ca rātrīm ca*. The adverb of place *huraṃ* (*Sn*. 224a, cp. *Th* 1. 10, *Sn*. 486c. 470c, etc.) goes back to the dialect of the Brāhmaṇas.²³ Even though the phrase *sataṃ pasatthā* (*Sn*. 227a) is neither irregular nor particularly archaic *Mvastu*. has *sadā praśastā*. It is quite probable that the recension that *Mvastu*. followed contained the idea *sadā* and not *sataṃ*. In *Mvastu*, the

23. A. V. *huruk* > Brāh. *huras* > P. *huraṃ* (with *-aṃ* the standard adverbial termination formed after the acc. sg. of nt. nouns). Cp. *hurāhuraṃ* at Dh. 334, Thl. 339, etc. *Mvastu*. has *parasmin* in place of *huraṃ*.

cpd. *suppayuttā* (*Sn*. 228a) is replaced by *yuktayogī* (cp. *yogayukto munir Bhg.* V. 6), and *laddhā mudhā* by a totally different idea, *vimuktacittā*. Though *mudhā* is met with in Classical Skr. it is an old form. The form *catubbhi* is historical and old (*Mvastu*. *caturbhi*). The archaic particle *su* (cp. Skr. *svid*) at *Sn*. 231b in the phrase *tayas su dhammā* is lost in *Mvastu*. (*trayo 'syo*); so is *uda* (cp. Vedic *uta*) at *Sn*. 232b replaced by *atha*. The enclitic *no* in the phrase *na no samaṃ atthi* is perhaps dialectical (*Mvastu*. *taṃ*). Similarly pronouns *ye* and *ne* at *Sn*. 223cd are not only lost in *Mvastu*. but the corresponding lines there,

*divaṃ ca rātrīm ca haranti vo baliṃ
tasmāddhi naṃ rakṣatha apramattā* (*Mvastu*. I. 294)

are grammatically wrong. The old Māgadhi nom. sg. in *-e* at *Sn*. 233a cannot be traced in *Mvastu*. which has the plural instead. The cpd. *paramaṃ hitāya* is an old *aluk*-samāsa which has puzzled even the Commentator who explains the nasal as *metri causa*, (*Pj*. I. 192). If that was so *paramā* (*-ā* contraction for *-āya*) which would suit the context better and has the same metrical value is to be expected here.

The style of the *sutta* is simple and the verses are quite vigorous. There are a few similes used e.g. the *inda-khīla*²⁴ at *Sn*. 229ab, the forest-grove in summer at *Sn*. 233ab, etc. Metaphor is not infrequent, e.g. *khīnabījā* at *Sn*. 235; etc. The heaping up of the attributes of the Buddha at *Sn*. 225a, 234ab may be a sign of a more developed style. The language is essentially the poetic diction.

The metre of the poem is *Triṣṭubh*, but there are numerous metrical irregularities such as 17 *Jagatīpādas*, one instance of a *pāda* with caesura after the seventh syllable not being reckoned (*Sn*. 223a) and a contaminated *pāda* (*Sn*. 235b) enumerated by Helmer Smith.²⁵

There are many points of doctrinal importance in this *sutta*. It is not possible to specify any of them as old or young, but certain trends are noticeable. Both old and more developed concepts lie side by side. *Mettā* has already been discussed (*Sn*. 223b). The categorical statement that the Buddha, Dhamma and the "uninterrupted *samādhi*" are unique (*Sn*. 224c, 225c, 226c) shows signs of a developed lore. There is an elaborate theory almost amounting to a dogma discussed in *Sn*. 227-232. These verses are quite valuable in tracing the Arahant-ideal in Buddhism.²⁶ Most of what is stated here is found in the older parts of the Canon; yet

24. S.v. PTS. "The post, stake or column of Indra, at or before the city gate; also a large slab of stone let into the ground at the entrance of a house". *Pj*. I. 185: *Nagara-dvāravinivāraṇattham ummarābhantare attha vā dasa vā hatthe paṭhaviṃ khaṇṭivā ākoti-tassa sārādārūmayatthambhass' etaṃ adhivacanam*.

25. *Op. cit.* (SnA. 683 ff.).

26. *Vide* Miss I. B. Horner, *Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*.

there appears a slight departure in the method of presentation. The basic tenet of the *ariyasaccāni* occurs at *Sn.* 229d and 230a. The eight *puggalas* (individuals) culminating with the *Arahant* are mentioned (*Sn.* 227ab) and there is a probable link with *yoga* in the phrase *suppayuttā* (*Sn.* 228a.—in perfect control). It is emphasised that these *puggalas* will not enter an eighth existence (*Sn.* 230d). Further evidence for the development of the concept *Arhant* is to be seen in *Sn.* 231 where it is stated that the individual (belonging to one of these eight categories) has abandoned *sakkāyaditṭhi* “heresy of individuality”, *vicikicchā* “perplexity” and *silabbataparāmāsa* “the observance of diverse vows and ascetic practices”. These three concepts represent a somewhat developed phase. As opposed to *vicikicchā* is *saddhā* which signifies a religious aspect rather than a moral relation. The “contagion” of various *silas* and *vatas* may perhaps refer to various types of Brahmanical and other ritual. There also occurs a minor dogma (not found in *Mvastu.*) at *Sn.* 231e. If these two lines do not belong to a later stratum than the rest of the poem, the term *abhiṭhānāni* may also indicate general lateness. The six grievous offences include the five *anantarika kammās* and *aññasatthār’uddesa* (pesiting another teacher—cp. *micchādītṭhi*). The latter was probably added to the earlier list of five with the arising of a growing rivalry between the Saṅgha and the members of other sects.’ Further attributes of the *Arahant* occur at *Sn.* 232. Although *Arahants* are mentioned in the earlier part of the Canon and *arahatta* is a familiar concept, the *sutta* definitely reveals a development in the theory of the *Arahant*. The centre of gravity has already shifted from the *muni* to the “perfect being”. This is the outcome of a widespread monastic organisation as opposed to the “lonely wanderers” of the older ballads.

External evidence—A parallel version of this *sutta* occurs at *Mvastu.* I. 290 ff. As stated earlier the two versions in Pali and BSK. may be traced to a common source with different recensions rather than one being based on the other. The evidence discussed above shows that the *sūtra* in *Mvastu.* is relatively younger than the Pali. Though doctrinally the Pali version depicts comparatively developed phase of Buddhism, linguistic and external evidence debar one from assigning a very late date.²⁷ A passage found at *Divy.* 340 throws considerable light on both versions of the *sutta*. It runs; *Ayuṣmā Saṅgharaksiteha Nāgaropamaṃ sūtram upanikṣiptaṃ gāthāṃ ca bhāṣate,*

*Yāniha bhūtāni samāgatāni
sthlāni bhāmyāṃ athavāntarikse
kurantu maitrīm satataṃ prajāsu.
divā ca rātrau ca carantu dharmam*

27. The *Mvastu.* version, however, is decidedly later than the Pali poem.

The *Nagarūpama Sutta* at A. IV. 106 ff. has no connection whatsoever with the verse quoted, nor with *Mvastu.* I. 290 ff. The stanza may be compared with v. 15 of the *sūtra* in *Mvastu.* (I. 294), lines ab of v. 2 (*Mvastu.* I 290) and *Sn.* 222ab, 223bc. The same idea is found at *Brh.* I. 4, 29 and IV. 3, 43. It is not very probable that *Divy.* 340 quotes from *Mvastu.* or Pali. On the other hand, it may perhaps be attributed to some source which may have been connected with the original version of the *sutta*. The other probability is that the opening verses of the *Ratana Sutta* and the corresponding *gāthās* of *Mvastu.* have drawn upon this stanza, which may have originally belonged to some other section which in all probability was the *Nagarūpama Sūtra* mentioned in *Divy.* (and not the *sutta* bearing that name at A. IV. 106 ff.) This *sutta* seems to have consisted of general advice given in the form of an address made to the *bhūtas*, for, the second line inculcates the practice of *maitrī* and *dharmacaryā*. There is another reference to the Triad of *Ratanas* at *Divy.* 481, in the form of a salutation (*namo ratnatrayāya*), which merely shows that a conception of such a triad was familiar to the editor of that section of *Divy.*

Indirect evidence—Internal evidence and all available external evidence show that the *sutta* is comparatively late. It is also found to be decidedly later than the *Muni*-Ballads of *Sn.* It has been observed earlier that subsequent additions are normally made to canonical works by appending them either at the head of a section or at the end of it. The *Ratana Sutta* is clearly an addition made to the *Culla Vagga*, after a *vagga* as such had been formed. Evidence of this nature is not helpful in determining dates of *suttas*, but on the other hand, it is an invaluable source of information in tracing the growth of the various works. It is also useful as a confirmatory test to what has already been discovered from other sources.

Conclusion—The supposition that the opening stanzas of the *sutta* in *Sn.* are based on a *sutta* which is now lost leads to the natural inference that the *Ratana Sutta* is of a rather composite nature, being built up of various elements at different periods. Though there is no conclusive evidence forthcoming to establish the tradition, a comparison of the two versions of the *sutta* in Pali and BSK and an analysis of its contents have shown that this is true to some extent. Generally speaking, parts I and III (*supra*) have been observed to be on a different level from the rest of the poem; and parts IIa and IIb on two separate levels. Doctrinal evidence has shown that the two additional *padās* *Sn.* 231gh are considerably late; and similarly the short stanza *Sn.* 234 which gives a categorical list of attributes of the Buddha appears to be later than the longer stanzas occurring immediately before and after it.

(Continued)

A NOTE ON THE NAVANGA

John D. Ireland

In the Sutta Piṭaka of the Pali canon (eg. M.I. p. 133, A.II p. 103, etc.) there are to be found references to a ninefold division of the Buddhist scriptures called the *navāṅga*. The nine are: *sutta* (discourse), *geyya* (mixed prose and verse), *veyyākaraṇa* (extended explanation), *gāthā* (stanzas), *udāna* (inspired utterances), *itivuttaka* ('thus it was said'), *jātaka* (moral tales from the past), *abbhutadhamma* (wonders, marvels) and *vedalla* (answers to questions).

These possibly preceded the composition of the later division of the scriptures into *nikāyas* and *piṭakas*. However, this ninefold scheme had fallen into disuse and was not fully understood by the yet later (5th cent. A.C.) commentators, such as Buddhaghosa, and as a result there is now uncertainty as to the original meaning of several of the terms. The commentators held the view that the *nikāya* and *piṭaka* arrangement existed from the beginning and had to explain away this ninefold division as referring to types of discourse in the Tipiṭaka arranged according to literary style, which is, however, not very convincing.¹

It may be noted that there is a list of nine *lokuttaradhammā*, consisting of the four paths, four fruits and Nibbāna, and it is possible that the nine *āṅgas* are the mundane or scriptural counterpart of these supermundane *dhammā*.

Three of the *āṅgas*: *jātaka*, *udāna* and *itivuttaka*, are actually names of works in the Khuddaka Nikāya and perhaps the other *āṅgas* should be looked for here also, as it may be that the Khuddaka Nikāya, or at least part of it, was formed out of the material of the *navāṅga*. The actual canonical Jātakas consist only of the verses, the stories in which these verses are embedded being commentary (*aṭṭhakathā*). Although the narrative or 'sutta'—portion of the *Udāna* is reckoned as an utterance of the Buddha, it is obviously an addition, like the Jātaka-stories, to the actual *udānas* and often does not fit them very well. If these *udānas* are taken out of the discourses which give the occasion for their utterance and are studied in isolation, especially those of the earlier chapters (*vaggas*), it can be seen that they are related to each other and arranged in an order that the story or 'sutta' tends to obscure. Thus the first ten *udānas* are connected together by containing the word *brāhmaṇa*, and this chapter, the Bodhi-vagga, might equally well be called *Brāhmaṇavagga*, like the final section

of the Dhammapada. Similarly the *udānas* of the second *vagga* have the theme of *sukha*, 'bliss'; the third, overcoming sense-desires; the fourth, control of the mind.² With the Jātakas also it is possible to take the verses out of several Jātaka-tales and by linking them together it is found they also sometimes combine to form sequences of verses with various common themes.³

The verses of the Dhammapada are actually *udānas* rather than *gāthās* and the stories explaining the verses in the Dhammapada commentary have many similarities with the Jātaka commentary. The Thera-and Therīgāthā could fit the *āṅga* called *gāthā*. It is difficult to be certain what exactly *sutta* refers to in the system of the nine *āṅgas*. It must have had a more specialised meaning than the all-embracing one of the Buddha-word that it later acquired. In the Khuddaka Nikāya the Sutta-Nipāta is the obvious place to look for this *āṅga*, as it is the only work actually so entitled.⁴ Although the Sutta-Nipāta contains much very ancient material its compilation was late. I suggest taking the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, which previously existed as a separate work, as representing primarily what is intended by *sutta* as an *āṅga*. The *Aṭṭhakavagga* is very old and is mentioned by name as existing as a unit elsewhere in the Sutta Piṭaka, in the story of Soṇa Kotikaṇṇa (Ud. V. 5 and Vin. I p. 196). There is actually a commentary on it, the Niddesa, included in the Khuddaka Nikāya. The *Itivuttaka* was possibly the proto-type for the *suttas* of the four main Nikāyas, especially the *Ānguttara*.

With the remaining *āṅgas*, however, we are on very unsure ground. The *Vimāna*-and *Petavatthu* might correspond to what is meant by *abbhutadhamma* and the ancient *soḷasapañhā* of the *Pārāyaṇavagga* of the Sutta-Nipāta to *vedalla*, if indeed *vedalla* does mean 'answers to questions' and not 'analyses' as Jayawickrama suggests.⁵ The remaining two *āṅgas*, *geyya* and *veyyākaraṇa*, cannot confidently be related to any specific existing text or part of a text within the Khuddaka Nikāya. This Nikāya is certainly a diverse and curious mixture, containing very ancient material side by side with works that were the last to be included in the Tipiṭaka; the composition of the four main Nikāyas occupying an intermediate position.

It must be understood that none of the existing works or portions of works from the Khuddaka Nikāya mentioned above can with certainty

2. cf. G. C. Pande: *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, 2nd ed. Delhi 1974 p. 71f.

3. For more information on the origin of the Jātakas see Gokulas De: *Significance and Importance of Jātakas*, Calcutta 1951. It is doubtful whether or not the canonical Jātaka is still in existence as a separate work apart from the Commentary.

4. See Jayawickrama's remarks in his thesis: *A Critical Analysis of the Sutta Nipāta* (reprinted in the *Pali Buddhist Review*, vol. I p. 82f.) which are pertinent here.

5. *Inception of Discipline* p. 102. The word *vedalla* is of unknown derivation and possibly comes from an earlier dialect that preceded Pali.

1. cf. Samantapāsādikā I p. 28. Translated by Jayawickrama: *Inception of Discipline* (PTS) pp. 25—6; and see also notes pp. 101—2.

be known to have constituted the material which formed the original nine *aṅgas*. All we can say is that many of the Jātaka-, Udāna-, and Dhammapada-verses and pieces from the Itivuttaka, etc., may possibly have originated from the *navaṅga* collection.

Remembering that the *navaṅga* were possibly known to the Buddha, as they are listed in M. 22 and elsewhere, they may have been a collection of religious sayings from even pre-Buddhist times that were accepted by the Buddha and his early followers as authoritative.⁶ Later, when the four Nikāyas were being formed as exclusive sayings of the Buddha the *navaṅga* were broken up and material that was obviously not the actual Buddha's words was discarded and what remained went into the composition of the Khuddaka Nikāya.

This theory has certain interesting implications. Foremost amongst them is the idea that Buddhism had a past, a pre-history, now lost. And this also leads to the possibility that the Buddha was not unique, someone bringing a completely unknown teaching to the world, but a continuator of a tradition. This is certainly a startling view, for the whole known Buddhist tradition is based upon the idea of the Buddha as the founder and expounder of a new and previously unknown teaching. Although the Buddha **does** say he is a continuator or rediscoverer of the Dhamma, his pre-decessors are understood to be previous Buddhas living in the remote (and hence, mythological) past, and are not represented as actual historical personages known to his contemporaries. However, if the Buddha did have immediate predecessors whose teachings and sayings he made use of, this would make historical sense. And in fact the names of his two teachers prior to the Enlightenment are known, Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, but tradition says he rejected their teaching and nothing is mentioned of anything being carried over into Buddhism from them, which is what might be expected to have happened. In the contemporary movement of Jainism, Nātaputta is known to have been the reformer of an existing sect which had an earlier leader, Pārśva. Furthermore, the earliest Jain scriptures were also known as *aṅgas*, originally twelve in number. And the related sect of the Ājīvikas also had a text, the Mahānimitta, composed of eight *aṅgas*.⁷ Thus it is reasonable to assume the earliest Buddhist scriptures were a collection of *aṅgas* also, possibly handed down, at least in part, from an unknown past.

6. It is quite likely that the Aṭṭhakavagga is pre-Buddhist, at least the oldest sections of it, although there is no way of proving this. Many of the Jātaka-verses are certainly so, cf. Gokuldas De op. cit.

7. Basham: *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas* p. 213.

MORE ON SUNNATA

David Evans

In a provocative and interesting article (PBR 1, 3) Rada Ivekovic argued for a distinction between *suññatā* and *anattā* and then went on to relate the former term more broadly to Nibbana and paṭiccasamuppāda. Any adequate comment needs to take these points in turn.

As far as I am able to ascertain, the idea of 'emptiness' (*suññatā*) is met with infrequently in the discourses and is not used with any uniform meaning. Whereas Mrs Ivekovic has discovered a passage in the *Samyutta Nikāya* in which it approximates in significance to *anattā* other usages occur. In the *Cūlasuññatā Sutta* of M.N., for instance, it refers to the replacement of one state of consciousness by another, the absence of the eliminated condition being referred to as its 'emptiness'. The fact is, however, that relevant texts are few and far between and allow no definitive conclusions.

Having said that one can certainly accept that, if we predicate either *anattā* or *suññatā* of phenomena, it is difficult to see them as other than synonymous. It would surely be a masterpiece of hair-splitting to insist that 'x is insubstantial' is somehow different from 'x is empty of substance' (leaving on one side whether substance, soul, essence or some other term is the best translation of *attā*). Having established this equivalence by reference to the passage already mentioned she remarks of this text, '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'. As the term that occurs in the discourse in question is *suññatā* not *anattā*, however, there appears to be some need to re-state the point at issue. I conclude that the distinction which Mrs Ivekovic is really trying to make is between a predicative use of **either** term to describe phenomena as against something which she calls 'attributeless collectedness of mind' for which *suññatā* can also stand and which represents a positive spiritual achievement of some kind. Again, one can accept that it may well be possible to build affirmative connotations of this kind onto the term, whereas *anattā* is a negation by definition and therefore not open to such treatment.

Next we must ask a question of some importance. Is *suññatā* as thus 'attained to by pure contemplation' a state of deep consciousness? In other words, does Mrs Ivekovic want to tell us something about a super-normal condition arising in the course of meditation? If so we can forget about comparison of *suññatā* and *anattā* and replace it with one between

suññatā and certain advanced mental states referred to in the discourses as the *arūpa-jhānas*. In these the senses are supposedly inactive and there is no perception of form. Clearly such states can be viewed as an actualization of *suññatā* in the kind of way that Mrs Ivekovic seems to envisage. They cannot, however, be identified with Nibbāna, being themselves perishable phenomena devoid of any cognitive pretensions, though valuable aids in the purification of consciousness. Thus everything in the discourses which might qualify under the heading 'mystical experience' is simply a means to an end, never to be equated with the goal itself.

Perhaps, however, this is not the meaning intended because, in one place, the article speaks of 'living in a state of *suññatā*'. One certainly cannot live in the *arūpa-jhānas*! The use of the word 'live' makes all the difference and gets us usefully away from any narrow pre-occupation with meditation.

On this basis we can make an attempt to look at the term Nibbāna. I do not believe it is impossible to talk about it, provided the approach is an indirect one, and provided also the distinction between Nibbāna and Parinibbāna is clearly brought out. Failure in this latter respect can only confuse the issue and has rendered many an analysis worthless.

Mrs Ivekovic is concerned about charges of nihilism resulting from purely negative definitions and on these grounds wishes to see Nibbāna as 'the merging of consciousness into this state of *suññatā*'. In such a situation she has already declared that 'the only preoccupation is that of keeping the body alive'. Yet surely the latter pronouncement, which might be taken to imply that Nibbāna represents a completely unmotivated condition (with the unexplained exception of sustaining the body), is a perfect target for the kind of critic she has in mind. From the Buddhist side it makes the genesis of Gotama's *ministry* totally inexplicable.

All of which reinforces the impression that there are good reasons for the ruthlessly negative statements which are so common in the discourses. The effect of these is to reflect attention inexorably back to the task of identifying the debilitating and misery-producing factors which are endemic in the human (and non-human) condition. Both the bare definition of Nibbāna as 'blowing out' and its occurrence as the third of the Four Truths serve to emphasize the absolutely basic fact that solutions are relative to problems. To this extent the term has some analogy with concepts like health and freedom, which are relatively diffuse and un-analyzable in comparison with the specific conditions which may threaten, disrupt, or curtail them. They are wholly desirable, but nonetheless have the logical status of remainders.

It is a pity that neither Mrs Ivekovic's quotation from the writings of the Venerable Nyānaponika nor her comment on them make any dis-

inction between Nibbāna and Parinibbāna, since this would seem to be a simple point of exegesis. The first term has, of course, nothing to do with the death of the body, but refers to the extinction of the 'three fires' of greed, hatred, and delusion. Merely to bring this out should be sufficient to invalidate talk about 'annihilation'. Parinibbāna, on the other hand, is the 'final blowing out', i.e. the death of one who has attained Nibbāna. The trouble with any pronouncement whatsoever about this situation is that not merely the views, but also the whole range of responses of those discussing the matter are bound to be conditioned by their attitude to rebirth. If rebirth, in the sense of some kind of psychic continuity extending through successive life-spans, is a delusion, then Parinibbāna is a meaningless notion, i.e. it obviously cannot be the termination of rebirth that it is supposed to be. On the other hand, if rebirth in the above sense is a fact then it is life, at least as much as death, that is inescapable. The difference in perspective as between these two possibilities, is so complete that one must regard all talk of Parinibbāna as academic until one can come to some firm conclusion as to which of them is correct.

Mention of rebirth leads us naturally on to the dependent origination formula (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). Mrs Ivekovic holds that this 'pre-supposes' *anattā*, but it would surely be more accurate to say that it provides an argument, and evidence, for *anattā*. By representing individuals as the temporary actualizations of universal processes, it concentrates the attention on the relationships and order of dependence of these. Of course it is not 'comprehensive', as Mrs Ivekovic rather strangely remarks. No sane commentator would claim that Buddhism anticipates the whole of modern biology and psychology, which such comprehensiveness might seem to require—but if it did this could not serve its purposes. The *nidānas* are simply the amplification of the second of the Four Truths and are therefore intended to show how desire or craving (*tanhā*) is linked to suffering (*dukkha*).

But let us return to *anattā*. Both the dependent origination and related doctrines, such as the consideration of phenomena in terms of six elements corresponding roughly to the three states of matter plus energy, space and consciousness, lead to a naturalistic rather than a mystical interpretation of the idea. The analysis via the elements seeks to show that every constituent of the human being is, as it were, 'on loan' from Nature, being in no sense uniquely his, and destined to return to the larger reality out of which it emerged. The dependent origination carries this kind of analysis more specifically onto the psychological plane, indicating that feeling, desire, attachment, etc., are not unique to the individual either. Hence a social psychology necessarily emerges which is designed to throw

light on the nature of conflict. In the *Mahānidāna Sutta* of D.N. this aspect is specifically pursued in a digression from the main formula. Mrs Ivekovic may be dismissive of the *paṭiccasamuppāda*, but Gotama's own verdict at the commencement of this dialogue is clear enough:

'Through not perceiving, not penetrating this reality, Ananda, is mankind born a tangled skein, blighted and become as coarse grass and reeds, unable to pass beyond loss, the downward path, ruin, the unending cycle of existence'.

I must leave the matter there. I confess to finding the end of the article rather disappointing, as it presents us with the all too familiar slide into some kind of metaphysical idealism. Phrases such as 'the contents of consciousness' are used to underpin the approach, but contents imply a container and one has only to reject the idea that the mind is a container to escape from the conclusion 'if any ultimate reality be denied, there remains nothing except consciousness'. One should also remember that consciousness itself is not always present, yet we can observe the continuance of life in those under anaesthesia or immersed in deep sleep.

The alternative does not have to be 'atomistic materialism'. This view overwhelmingly fits the needs of the physical sciences as a **theory of matter**, but it doesn't in the least follow that we must therefore treat such a theory as a starting-point for the solution of all philosophical problems. Mrs Ivekovic is quite right to make the point that 'we never experience atoms'.

However, we **do** experience the human body. We also know that Gotama provides us with the most meticulous analysis of the reliance of various types of consciousness on appropriate physical organs. Spiritual practices may allow new dimensions of the mind to be explored, but as one of the elements of the Universe, consciousness is best seen as an emergent property of Nature, linked in both known and unknown ways to the development of organisms.

It certainly seems to the writer that Buddhism in general and the *paṭiccasamuppāda* in particular (in conjunction with the theory of elements) point essentially to a metaphysic of this kind, thereby placing spiritual aspiration within the context of a credible perception of the physical world. In saying this one is making a unique claim for the discourses as compared with the other great religious documents of mankind.

The attempt to establish *anattā* as a dimension of living comprises both an analysis and a response to the natural order. However, *suññatā* can also come into its own within such a framework whenever attention shifts from perceptible forms to the space that divides them. Unoccupied or

apparently unoccupied space constitutes far and away the greater part of the physical world. Under certain conditions, too, matter is found to be compressible to such an extent that, by comparison, our bodies have the density of bubbles. The apotheosis of *suññatā* is *ākāsa*.

PALI BUDDHIST STUDIES IN THE WEST

Russell Webb

3. Germany

Perhaps more than anywhere else in the Western world, Germany is pre-eminent in facilitating Buddhist studies on both organised academic and private popular levels. Although Chairs in Sanskrit and Indology were established during the early 19th century, it would be more appropriate to open this by no means comprehensive survey with a description of the achievements made by individual scholars and more popular writers in the field of Pali Buddhism.

Friedrich Spiegel. Born 1820 in Kitzingen, near Würzburg; died 1905 in Munich. He was educated at Erlangen University, where he became Professor of Oriental Languages in 1849, and obtained his doctorate at Jena in 1842. He is solely remembered for being the first European to edit and publish a Pali text in the West. This was the Uraga Sutta from the Sutta-Nipāta, together with extracts from the Commentary and Rasavāhinī. Under the collective title of *Anecdota Palica*, the whole was printed in Devanāgarī script in Leipzig (1845). Not so well known is the fact that he worked on a Pali dictionary for the next twenty years. The manuscript was passed by his grandson to Heinz Bechert (see below).

Albrecht Weber. Born 1825 in Breslau; died 1902 in Berlin. He studied in Bonn and Berlin (where he settled, becoming a professor in 1856), but he too is only remembered for a single work: the first translation of a Pali text (the *Dhammapada*) into a living Western language—German. This appeared in an issue of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG, Leipzig 1860).

Ernst Windisch. Born 1844 in Dresden; died 1918. Becoming a professor at Leipzig in 1871, he edited the Itivuttaka for the PTS (1890) and contributed papers on Pali philology to various journals. He has three books to his credit: *Māra und Buddha* (Leipzig 1895), *Über den sprachlichen Charakter des Pali* (Paris 1906) and *Buddhas Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung* (Leipzig 1908).

Hermann Oldenberg. Born 1854 in Hamburg; died 1920. He studied Sanskrit and Indian philology, obtained his doctorate in 1875 from Berlin (where he became a lecturer) and four years later succeeded Prof. Hermann Jacobi at Kiel. (He also occupied the position of Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit at Göttingen.)

For the PTS, he edited the entire Vinaya Piṭaka (5 vols., London 1879-83; reprinted 1964) and Theragāthā (1883; reprinted 1966). His greatest work was undoubtedly *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre und sein Gemeinde*, the first major exposition of Buddhism in German based on original Pali source materials, published in Berlin in 1881 and subsequently running into several editions (the last being Stuttgart 1959). It has been translated into English, French, Italian and Russian. A short anthology from the Pali Canon—*Reden des Buddha*—appeared posthumously in 1923, whilst a collection of his essays was edited by K. L. Janert nearly half a century later—*Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden 1967).

Wilhelm Geiger. Born 1856 in Nuremberg; died 1943. He studied Oriental languages at Erlangen University under Spiegel (see above) and is generally known for his studies of Sinhalese grammar and literature. For the PTS, however, he edited the Mahāvamsa (1908; reprinted 1958) and Cūlavamsa (2 vols., 1926-7); and subsequently translated these histories: *Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (1912; reprinted 1964) and *Minor Chronicle of Ceylon* (2 vols., 1929-30; reprinted 1973). He also translated (into German) the first sixteen *samyuttas* of the Saṃyutta Nikāya (Munich 1925-30), compiled *Pāli Literature und Sprache* (Strasbourg 1916; translated as *Pali Literature and Language*, University of Calcutta 1943; reprinted Delhi 1968) and wrote a general study in this field, *Pāli Dhamma vornehmlich in der kanonisch Literatur* (Munich 1920). In the latter year he succeeded Ernst Kuhn as Professor of Indology and Iranian Studies at Munich University. (The latter had compiled an early grammar—*Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin 1875.) His minor writings—*Kleine Schriften zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde*—were collected and published posthumously (Wiesbaden 1973).

R. Otto Franke (1862-1928) translated parts of the Dīgha Nikāya—*Das Buch der längen Texte des buddhistischen Kanons* (Göttingen and Leipzig 1913), the Dhammapada—*Das hohe Lied der Wahrheit* (Jena 1923) and compiled an anthology from the Dīgha—*Die Buddhalehre in ihrer erreichbar ältesten Gestalt* (1915). He also produced grammatical works and Pali studies.

Paul Dahlke. Born 1865 in Osterode; died 1928 in Berlin. Graduating in medicine, he specialised in homeopathy and established a private practice in Berlin. Convinced of the truth of Buddhism by the Sinhalese *theras*, Sri Sumaṅgala and Wāgīswara, he began writing an enormous number of essays and books on Buddhism, mainly from a Western viewpoint: *Aufsätze zum Verständnis des Buddhismus* (Berlin 1903), *Das Buch vom Genie* (Leipzig 1905), *Buddhismus als Weltanschauung* (Breslau 1911), *Aus dem Reiche des Buddha* (Breslau 1912), *Die Bedeutung des Buddhismus*

für unsere Zeit (Breslau 1912), *Buddhismus als Religion und Moral* (Leipzig 1914; Munich 1923; Vienna 1975), *Was ist Buddhismus und was will er?* (1918; Colombo 1968), *Buddhismus und religiöser Wiederaufbau* (1920), *Das Buch Pubbenivasa* (Berlin 1921), *Neubuddhistischer Katechismus* (1921), *Buddhismus, seine Stellung im geistigen Leben der Menschheit* (1926), *Heilkunde und Weltanschauung* (Stuttgart 1928) and *Buddhismus als Wirklichkeitslehre und Lebensweg* (Karlsruhe 1928). Silācāra translated three of the foregoing works into English: *Buddhist Essays* (London 1908), *Buddhism and Science* (London 1913) and *Buddhism and its Place in the Mental Life of Mankind* (London 1927); whilst a short selection of his writings—*Essays and Poems*—was published by the BPS (Kandy 1965).

Apart from being a prolific writer, Dahlke was also able to translate selections from the Pāli Canon: *Die Lange Sammlung* (Dīgha Nikāya—Berlin 1920), *Die Mittlere Sammlung* (Majjhima Nikāya—Berlin 1923), *Buddha Auswahl aus dem Pāli-Kanon* (Majjhima—Berlin 1920; Munich 1960) and *Der Pfad der Lehre* (Dhammapada—Berlin 1919; Heidelberg 1969); together with the compilation of four anthologies: *Nirvāṇa* (1903), *Buddhistische Erzählungen* (Dresden 1904; Berlin 1960; translated as *Buddhist Stories*, London 1913), *Über der Pāli-Kanon. Einführung in die buddhistischen Urschriften* (Berlin 1919) and *Der Buddha—die Lehre des Erhabenen* (Berlin 1920-22; Munich 1966). At his own expense, he launched the *Neubuddhistische Zeitschrift* in 1917 which, changing its name to *Die Brockensammlung* in 1924, continued to appear as late as 1938 (ten years after his death) still printing MSS he had left behind.

However, he will be best remembered for *Das Buddhistische Haus* which he had constructed in Berlin-Frohnau in 1924. This became a major Buddhist centre in Europe which, since 1957, has been administered by the German Dhammaduta Society of Colombo. The latter appointed resident bhikkhus and thus created the only Theravādin vihāra in the country.

Following Dahlke's death his pupil, Kurt Fischer (1892-1942), continued Dhamma activities through the medium of *Buddhistisches Leben und Denken* (1930-42).

Julius Dutoit (1872-1958) translated the entire Jātaka collection—*Das Buch der Erzählungen aus früheren Existenzen Buddhas* (7 vols., Leipzig 1908-21), and wrote one general work, *Das Leben des Buddha* (Leipzig 1906).

Karl Seidenstücker (1876-1936) studied natural science, medicine, philosophy and philology at Göttingen, Halle, and Leipzig Universities. He is credited with founding the first Buddhist Society (1903) and journal

in Germany (both in Leipzig). The latter began as *Der Buddhist* in 1905 but subsequently changed its title to *Buddhistische Werte* and, later, *Mahābodhiblätter*.

He translated the Khuddakapāṭha (Breslau 1910), Udāna (Munich 1920), Itivuttaka (Leipzig 1922) and Sutta-Nipāta (serialised in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, Munich 1931). He compiled an anthology, *Pāli-Buddhismus in Übersetzungen* (Breslau 1911) and a grammar, *Handbuch der Pāli-Sprache* (3 vols., Leipzig 1916/23/25). Four popular expositions comprised: *Das Licht des Buddha* (Leipzig 1905), *Buddhismus als Wissenschaft* (1910), *Buddhistische Evangelien* (1911) and *Das System des Buddhismus* (1911)—the last three being published in Breslau.

Nyāṇatiloka. Born 1878 as Anton Walter Florus Gueth in Wiesbaden; died 1957 in Ceylon. He studied music in Frankfurt and Paris and first heard of Buddhism through Schopenhauer and Alexandra David-Neel. Hearing of Ananda Metteyya, he visited him in Rangoon where he became a sāmaṇera in 1903 and a bhikkhu in 1904. In 1911 he settled on Polgasduwa, a small island on the south-west coast of Ceylon and there remained for much of his life. Following his state funeral as a citizen of Ceylon, his ashes were interred on the island beneath an imposing monument.

Apart from ordaining numerous fellow-countrymen, Nyāṇatiloka has proved a major formative influence on 20th century Buddhism by virtue of his literary output. First and foremost is the unique anthology, *The Word of the Buddha* (Rangoon 1907; 15th English edition, BPS, Kandy 1971), which is based on the Four Noble Truths, The German translation—*Das Wort des Buddha*—did not appear until four years prior to his death (Constance 1953). A similar, but lesser-known, anthology is *The Buddha's path to Deliverance* (Buddha Sahityā Sabhā, Colombo 1952)—*Der Weg zur Erlösung* (Constance 1956). A *Kleine systematische Pāli-Grammatik* appeared in Breslau (1911) whilst a *Pāli-Anthologie und Wörterbuch* was published in Munich (1928). The latter was reprinted in Constance (1954) with the "Dictionary" appearing separately (and again in 1976.) The English translation appeared as the *Buddhist Dictionary* (Dodanduwa 1950; Colombo 1973). Two other major exegetical works are: *Geistes-training durch Achtsamkeit. Die buddhistische Sati-paṭṭhāna-Methode* (Constance 1950; reprinted 1970) and *Guide through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (BSS, Colombo 1938; BPS, Kandy 1971). He also translated the Aṅguttara Nikāya—*Die Lehrreden des Buddha aus der Angereihten Sammlung* (5 vols., Leipzig and Breslau 1907-20; reprinted Munich 1922-3 and Cologne 1969); Therīgāthā (Breslau 1911); Dhammasaṅgani—*Kompendium der Dingwelt* (serialised in *Studia Pāli-Buddhistica*, a monthly review in Hamburg edited by the late Dr. Helmut Palmié from 1952-4);

Puggalapaññatti—*Das Buch der Charaktere* (Breslau 1910); Visuddhimagga—*Der Weg zur Reinheit* (Constance 1952; reprinted 1975) and the Milindapañha—*Die Fragen des Milindo* (Breslau 1913-4; Munich 1924).

Kurt Schmidt. Born and died in Berlin 1879-1975. Graduating in Law from Rostock University in 1901, he pursued his own studies in Buddhism and did not engage in organised activities until 1946. He compiled two anthologies: *Sprüche und Lieder*—selections from the Dhammapada, Udāna, Sutta-Nipāta and Theragāthā (Constance 1954), and *Buddhas Reden*—from the Majjhima Nikāya (Hamburg 1961); a dictionary, *Buddhistisches Wörebuch* (Constance 1948) and a grammar, *Pali, Buddhas Sprache* (Constance 1951). He also wrote no less than eight popular works—from his composition, *Der Buddha und seine Lehre* (Leipzig 1917), to his last, directed towards youth, *Buddha und seiner Junger* (Constance 1955).

Walter Markgraf (died 1914) was Sāmaṇera Dhammanusāri under Nyānatiloka in Burma (1908-9) before returning to Germany to establish the *Deutsche Pāli-Gesellschaft* in collaboration with Seidenstücker. Two branches were located in Breslau and Brandenburg but disagreements between the two leaders led to an early demise of the society. In spite of that, however, a number of books and essays were published in its name, including those of Markgraf himself, namely, his translation of the Dhammapada—*Der Pfad der Wahrheit* (1912)—and a *Kleiner buddhistischer Katechismus* (1913). Between 1909-13 he also produced a journal, *Buddhistische Welt*.

Nyāṇaponika. Born 1901 in Hanau am Main, Siegmund Feniger became a Buddhist in his late teens through reading relevant literature. He established a Buddhist study circle in Königsberg during the 1920s but in 1936 went to Polgasduwa to become ordained by Nyānatiloka.

Since 1952 he has made the Forest Hermitage at Kandy his base of operations where, six years later, the Buddhist Publication Society was founded with himself becoming the chief editor. He has translated innumerable *suttas*, composed invaluable expositions for the Society and provided its essential intellectual and spiritual leadership without which the Society's activities would have quickly terminated.

Full-length translations and studies include: *Abhidhamma Studies*—based on the Dhammasaṅgani and Aṭṭhasālini (Dodanduwa 1949; BPS 1965); *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation* (Colombo 1954; London 1975); *Aṅguttara Nikāya: an Anthology* (3 vols., BPS 1970-6); *saṃyuttas* 17-34 of the Saṃyutta Nikāya (in German for Hamburg University, 1967); Sutta-Nipāta (in German, Constance 1955); *Die Einzige Weg* (Constance

1956) and *Kommentar zur Lehrrede von den Grundlagen der Achtsamkeit (Satipaṭṭhāna)* (Constance 1972).

Paul Debes. Born 1906 in Wuppertal, he dedicated his life to the Dhamma from 1947 and is supported full-time by the circle he founded in the following year. *Buddhistisches Seminar*, his creation based on Hamburg, was intended to engage in deep and serious examination of the Dhamma based on the *suttas*. The monthly journal, *Wissen und Wandel* ('Knowledge and Conduct'), has reflected this tendency since its inception in 1955. Debes has also contributed a full-length study: *Das Dasein und seine Meisterung nach der Lehre des Buddha* ('Existence and how to control it according to the Teaching of the Buddha', Hamburg 1963). Apart from Markgraf, two other Buddhists founded publishing houses devoted exclusively to the dissemination of Theravāda literature. After the First World War, Oskar Schloss (died 1945) started *Benares Verlag* in Munich and produced Nyānatiloka's translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, Geiger's partial translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya. Seidenstücker's translation of the Udāna, together with series such as *Benares-Bücherei* and *Buddhistische Volksbibliothek*. When Schloss emigrated to Switzerland, Ferdinand Schwab continued the work until 1931.

Paul Christiani, a doctor of engineering, established the *Buddhistische Handbibliothek* in 1953. From its address (Hermann Hesse Weg 2, D-7750 Constance), Verlag Christiani continue to print the German works of Nyānatiloka, Nyāṇaponika, Kurt Schmidt and others.

According to Hellmuth Hecker: 'In the forty years which have elapsed since the publication of Geiger's translation (1930), only one work has been added to the list of translated Pāli *suttas*, namely, the 1967 continuation (Volume 3) of Geiger's Saṃyutta Nikāya. Otherwise, there have been only new editions or secondary translations, including nine of the Dhammapada. It is a striking fact that of all the Indologists at German universities, only one (Prof. Geiger at Munich) contributed a translation. All the other first-time translators were either private scholars of Indian studies (Seidenstücker, Dutoit) or learned German bhikkhus (Nyānatiloka, Nyāṇaponika). And of the secondary translators (Dahlke, Kurt Schmidt, Nyāṇaponika, Franke), only Franke was an Indologist. In fact, the universities contributed very little to the furthering of the texts of original Buddhism. German Indologists did far more for Buddhism through the medium of English, to mention only Max Müller and Wilhelm Stede.'

Today, Buddhism can be studied at the Universities of Berlin (Seminar für indische Philologie), Bochum, Bonn Cologne, Freiburg im Breisgau, Göttingen, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Kiel, Mainz, Marburg, Munich,

Münster and Tübingen. A questionnaire on Pali Buddhist studies was sent to these centres with replies being returned as indicated below. According to H. W. Schumann, "17 of the 26 non-technical universities in the Federal Republic of Germany have chairs for Indian philology and philosophy. At all these 17 universities Pali is taught." Unfortunately, he does not specify the 17.

Bonn (Indologisches Seminar): Prof. Dr. Claus Vogel is Head of Department in which approximately twenty-five students each year (with two-three at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) undertake courses in Indian religions and languages. The textbooks by Geiger and Warder are used to impart Pali which is taught by Prof. Frank-Richard Hamm.

Freiburg im Breisgau (Indologisches Seminar): Prof. Dr. Ulrich Schneider is Head of Department in which approximately twelve students (with six at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) undertake similar courses. Only Geiger is used for teaching Pali. Schneider edits a series of academic contributions in this field. *Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie*, which are published in Wiesbaden.

Edmond Hardy (1852-1904) was Professor of Philosophy (and of Indic Philology at Fribourg in Switzerland). He was at the same time a Benedictine monk and Catholic priest. For the PTS he edited the *Petavatthu* and *Vimānavatthu Commentaries* (London 1894/1901), the last seven *nipātas* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (3 vols., 1895-1900) and the *Nettipakaraṇa* (1902). In addition, he wrote two general works: *Der Buddhismus nach älteren Pali werken* (Münster 1890) and *Buddha. Eine Abhandlung Sammlung Göschen* (1905).

Göttingen (Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde): Prof. Dr. Heinz Bechert heads the Seminar which forms part of the Department of Oriental Studies. His assistants are Dr. Gustav Roth, Dr. Heinz Braun, Dr. Lore Sander, Dr. Hans Ruelius and Dr. Georg von Simson. Geiger and the PTS Dictionary are the principal study materials for Pali. About five students pursue M.A. and Ph.D. courses each year whilst between 1970-5 six Indological theses were completed.

Dr. Bechert (born 1932) obtained his doctorate from Munich in 1956 and was appointed Professor of Indology in 1965. He concentrates on South-East Asian studies, particularly Sinhalese whose manuscripts he is helping to catalogue at the university as part of the programme, "Cataloguing the Oriental Manuscripts in Germany". A paper on Buddhism in East Bengal was presented by him at a symposium held in the London School of Oriental and African Studies in 1971. His magnum opus is undoubtedly *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländern des Theravāda-Buddhismus* (3 vols, Hamburg 1966-72). He is also preparing romanised editions of the *Apadāna* and *Rasavāhini* for the PTS.

Hamburg (Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens): Prof. Dr. Lambert Schmithausen and Prof. Dr. Albrecht Wezler are joint Heads of Department in which approximately twenty students pursue M.A. and Ph.D. courses each year. Dines Andersen and Geiger are used for Pali studies. The Emeritus Professor is Ludwig Alsdorf who is currently Editor-in-Chief of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* in Copenhagen.

Heidelberg (Südasiens Institut): Prof. Dr. H. Berger is Head of Department with Dr. Hermann Kopp and U Tin Htway as Lecturers. Dr. Kopp studied Sanskrit and Pali under Heinrich Zimmer and Max Walleser at Heidelberg. From 1936-39 and after the Second World War until 1953, he was on the editorial staff of the PTS. After other appointments he returned to Heidelberg in 1964. For the PTS, also, he edited the Commentary to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*Manorathapūraṇī*, Vols. II-V, 1930-57, together with the second edition of Vol. I, 1973) and the Indexes to *Theragāthā Commentary III* (1959).

Geiger is used to teach Pali but only between five and six students (with one or two at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) pass through the Institute each year.

The name of Max Walleser (1874-1954) will always be associated with Heidelberg. Not only were nearly all his writings published here but in 1928 he founded the *Institut für Buddhismuskunde* to perpetuate the studies which he had initiated. Although most of his published works deal with Sanskrit literature, he also wrote *Die philosophische Grundzüge des älteren Buddhismus* (2 vols., 1925) and *Die Sekten des älteren Buddhismus* (1927). For the PTS, he edited the *Manorathapūraṇī* Vol. I (1924) and, with Dr. Kopp, Vol. II (1930).

Marburg (Fachgebiet Indologie im Fachbereich aussereuropäischer Sprachen und Kulturen): Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Rau is Director of the Indisch-Ostasiatischen Seminars, assisted by Prof. Dr. Claus Vogel (who teaches at Bonn also).

Geiger and the PTS Dictionary are used to teach Pali in conjunction with the texts from the PTS. Again only about six students (with one or two at the higher levels) pass through the Seminars each year.

Of academic journals, only one would appear to include relevant items. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG) was launched in Leipzig in 1847. Following the Second World War it was transferred to Wiesbaden and has, since 1960 been edited by Prof. Dr. Herbert Franke of the Ostasiatisches Seminar at Munich University.

For further reading.

German Buddhist Writers. BPS, Kandy 1964.

Girod, D.: *Paul Dahlke—Arzt und Buddhist.* Das Buddhistische Haus, Berlin-Frohnau 1972.

Gnanawimala, Guido Auster and Ralf Leu (Eds.): *50 Jahre Buddhistisches Haus gegründet von Dr. Paul Dahlke 1924-1974.* Berlin-Frohnau 1974.

Hecker, Hellmuth: *Buddhismus in Deutschland—Eine Chronik.* Deutsche Buddhistische Union, Hamburg 1973.

Mitteilungsblatt der Buddhistischen Gesellschaft Hamburg III, 8-9, 1957.
(A memorial issue in honour of Nyānatiloka's life and work.)

Peiris, William: *The Western Contribution to Buddhism.* Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1973. (Vide "Germany", pp. 81-160.)

Schumann, H. W.: *Buddhism and Buddhist Studies in Germany.* Inter Nationes, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1972.

Buddhisums und Buddhismusforschung in Deutschland. Ibid. Reprinted by Octopus-Verlag, Vienna 1974.

Welbon, Guy Richard: *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and its Western Interpreters.* University of Chicago Press 1968. (Vide pp. 194-220 for Oldenberg.)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Wisdom of the Early Buddhists. Geoffrey Parrinder. Sheldon Press, London. 86pp. £1.50.

Apart from the authentic translations from the BPS, Kandy, no anthologies from the Pāli Canon in English have appeared for many years.

A new publication in this field is to be welcomed, and one, moreover, which can include a succinct account of the Buddha's essential teachings. This slim volume, compiled by the Professor of the Comparative Study of Religions at London University, thus provides an excellent introduction to the *spirit* of early Buddhism.

The selection of texts is taken, for the most part, from either the *Dīgha* or *Majjhima Nikāyas*. Utilising the only extant and complete translations—Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha* and Horner's *Middle Length Sayings*—in "abbreviated and direct form", the straight-forward teachings of the Buddha are offered to illustrate the compiler's thesis that "graceful language, humane spirit, religious devotion and moral endeavour appear as characteristic products of Theravāda Buddhism".

RBW

De Leer van Boeddha. H. Saddhātissa. Wereldbibliotheek B.V., Amsterdam. 143pp.

Further to the announcement of the German edition of *The Buddha's Way* (PBR, 2, 1), the Dutch translation by Bob Sinkeler and Emile Molhuysen has just been issued by Wereldbibliotheek, although no price has been indicated.

As with the German edition, the original photographs have been omitted but the bibliography has been expanded in spite of the fact that the additional items belong almost wholly to the Zen tradition. To correct this misleading imbalance of Dutch literature, here is a list of the major Pāli Buddhist works in that language:

Woorden van den Boeddha. Tr. J. A. Blok (Deventer, 1953, 1970). Contains the *Dhammapada* and the *Uruga*, *Dhaniya*, *Khaggavisāṇa*, *Kasibhāradvāja*, *Mahāmaṅgala* and *Nālaka Suttas* from the *Sutta-Nipāta*.

Het Milindapañha. Tr. K. de Vreese. Leiden 1948.

Carus, Paul: *Het Evangelie van Boeddha.* 4th edn., Deventer 1950.

Kurpershoek-Scherft, Tonny: *Er is geen zelf.* Deventer 1970

Mediteren—Waarom en hoe. Deventer 1974.

Lorenzo, G. de: *Het oude Boeddhisme.* Amsterdam-Antwerp 1949.

Van Goor, M. E. Lulius: *De Buddhistische non geschetst naar gegevens der Pali-literatuur.* Leiden 1915.

RBW

Faith and knowledge in Early Buddhism. Jan T. Ergardt. E. J. Brill, Leiden. xii and 182pp. Gld. 48.00

“One of the arahant-formulas contained in the Majjhima Nikāya expresses a very early Buddhist understanding of the religious goal of man, while its contextual structures reveal a number of central Buddhist concepts connected with knowledge, meditation and release.

“The present study focuses on the question whether it is knowledge that is constitutional for early Buddhism. The contextual structures of the most frequent arahant-formula indicate that the nibbāna-experience is a kind of non-metaphysical knowledge (*ñāna jānāti*), a knowledge which is the core of the religious process, while faith (*saddhā*) is subordinate and may even be thought of as misleading. The book shows that there is, in early Buddhism, a close correspondence between the non-metaphysical self-experience of man and his religious goal, the goal itself being within the limits of the self and therefore non-metaphysical. That is freedom, release (*vimutti*)—possibly the most decisive description of nibbāna in early Buddhism. The closely related question of how to describe the mind (*citta*) which experiences release is also touched upon.”

Dr. Ergardt heads the “Institute for the History of Religions” at Lund University in Sweden from where he was awarded his doctorate for his dissertation, *Buddhismen i England*, in 1970.

NEWS & NOTES

Pali Text Society reprints

Vinaya Piṭaka II	..	..	..	..	£7.00 approx.
Dīgha Nikāya III	..	..	..	..	£5.50
Majjhima Nikāya II	..	..	..	..	£5.00
Saṃyutta Nikāya V	..	..	..	..	£7.50
Aṅguttara Nikāya II	..	..	..	..	£4.50
Aṅguttara Nikāya III	..	..	..	..	£7.00
Udāna Commentary (emended)	..	..	..	..	£8.50
Itivuttaka Commentary I and II bound together	..	..	..	..	£8.50
Theragāthā Commentary II	..	..	..	..	£5.25
Papañcasūdanī III	..	..	..	..	£7.00
Dialogues of the Buddha II	£5.75;	III	..	..	£4.00
Discourse on Elements	..	..	..	..	£6.00
The Guide	..	..	..	..	£6.00
The Expositor I and II bound together	..	..	..	..	£8.50

Bauddha Sāhitya Sabhā

This Colombo-based society has handed over to the BPS, Kandy, the distribution of its publications which may thus be ordered from the latter as follows:

<i>Fundamentals of Buddhism</i> (four essays by Nyānatiloka)	35p,	US 70 cts.
<i>The Path to Deliverance</i> (an anthology by Nyānatiloka)	75p,	US \$2.00
<i>The Four Noble Truths</i>	} by Sīlācāra each .. ..10p, US 25 cts. except* which ..20p, US 50 cts.	
<i>The Noble Eightfold Path*</i>		
<i>Kamma</i>		
<i>The Five Precepts</i>		
<i>Right Understanding</i> (Majjhima Nikāya 9 and its Commentary translated by Soma)	.. ..20p,	US 50 cts.
<i>The Basic Position of Sīla</i> by I. B. Horner10p,	US 25 cts.
<i>Buddhism and Society</i> by O. H. de A. Wijesekera10p,	US 25 cts.

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Published by George Allen & Unwin, London, in their new *Mandala Books* series on religion.

This book is available at £ 1.50 plus postage from the British Mahābodhi Society, 5 Heathfield Gardens, London, W4 4JU, and all good bookshops.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PALI CANON

by

Russell Webb

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

This book includes:

1. A survey of the contents of the Pali Canon—the sacred texts of early Buddhism (Theravāda).
2. An index of the main sections (including individual *suttas*) of the Canon.
3. An exhaustive bibliography of all texts, anthologies, studies based on Pali sources, Pali grammars, etc., that have appeared in English.
4. A list of post-canonical and commentarial works, published in English translation.
5. Some useful names and addresses of those who are promoting the study of Pali literature, with a description of the main societies concerned.

To both Buddhist layman and scholar this book will serve as a constant companion in their studies and will help them to explore the treasures of Pali literature.

(This is also available from the British Mahābodhi Society.)