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## PALI BUDDHIST REVIEW

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### TELAKAṬĀHAGĀTHĀ

This renowned medieval Pali didactic composition was undoubtedly intended to exemplify the *śataka* verse-form (a poem of 100 stanzas) in spite of its actual presentation in 98 verses. Although it was widely believed that no English translation had been undertaken, in fact the Editor has discovered no less than two renderings which will be discussed later in this essay.

All the classic primers of Pali literature, however, either mention or discuss this work at varying length:

(i) The most detailed appears in B.C. Law's *History of Pali Literature*.<sup>1</sup>

The inspirational stanzas enunciating the essential ethico-psychology of the *Buddhadhamma* emanate from a *thera*, Kalyāṇiya, who had been sentenced to death for allegedly intriguing with the queen-consort of King Kālanitissa (306-207 B.C.). He was condemned to boil in a cauldron of oil, hence the title of this poem, "Verses from the Oil Cauldron". The author is unknown although, in view of the knowledge displayed in this composition, it may be reliably assumed that he was a bhikkhu.

(ii) In his *Pali Literature of Ceylon*<sup>2</sup>, G. P. Malalasekera ascribes this poem to the 10th. or early 11th. century and quotes a native work, the *Sāḷalihiṇisandeśa* (1462), which refers to the then-existing *vihāra* erected over the place of execution.

(iii) *History of Indian Literature* by Moritz Winternitz.<sup>3</sup>

(iv) *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* by G. P. Malalasekera.<sup>4</sup>

(v) *Pāli Literature and Language* by Wilhelm Geiger.<sup>5</sup>

(vi) *An Introduction to Pāli Literature* by S. C. Banerji.<sup>6</sup>

(vii) A brief mention is also made in *Buddhism in India and Abroad* by A. C. Banerjee.<sup>7</sup>

1. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1933; Bhartiya Publishing House, B-9/45 Pilkhana, Sonarpura, Varanasi 1974: Vol. II, pp. 622-624.

2. M. D. Gunasena, Colombo 1928, 1958—pp. 162-163.

3. University of Calcutta 1933; Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi 1972: Vol. II, p. 223.

4. Indian Texts Series, India Office, London 1937; PTS, London 1960: Vol. I, p. 1035.

5. University of Calcutta 1943; Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi 1968, p. 46.

6. Punthi Pustak, Calcutta 1964, p. 97.

7. World Press, Calcutta 1973, p. 157.

The Pali text, with a Sinhalese *sanne* or word-for-word interpretation, was edited by Hikkaduwe Sumaṅgala and published in Colombo in 1872. Another Sinhala text, with translation, was prepared in 1900 by U. Piyatissa. The sole romanised edition was prepared for the Pali Text Society<sup>8</sup> by Edmund R. Gooneratne, the Atapatta Mudaliyar of Galle.

Careful analysis proves that it was Gooneratne's edition that Law incorporated in his collection of Pali texts for M. A. students.<sup>9</sup> It is in the Notes of the latter anthology that mention is made of an English translation, by Law himself. Under the sub-title, "Verses on oil-pot", it appeared in *Indian Culture*<sup>10</sup> where the author claims the credit for producing the first translation of the *Telakaṭāgāthā*. Fortunately, in view of its stilted style and occasional unintelligible renderings, an earlier and more inspiring translation has been unearthed (which is reproduced below<sup>11</sup>). Law was almost certainly unaware of this freer rendering because nowhere in the earlier version is the original Pali title alluded to.

The Editor first discovered this translation, with Pali text (again, copied from Gooneratne's edition), in the library of the London Buddhist Vihāra. There it forms the second part of a slim volume privately bound with a 1937 edition of Nyānatiloka's *Word of the Buddha*. The title page is missing so it is not possible to accurately determine either place or year of publication. However, in the Preface, the translator, "C.S." refers to the Editor of *The Buddhist Ray* (see below) "who has, from time to time, published in his periodical my contributions in this matter, and to whom my application has been renewed, for the publication of the entire work in its present form, for the benefit of American and European readers". This information, together with the presence of American spellings, inclines the Editor to conjecture an American printing around the turn of the century.

As mentioned earlier, the "translator" nowhere refers to the original text and merely entitles his version, *The Dying Rahat's Sermon*—"rahat" being the Sinhalese equivalent of *arahat*. By implication, therefore, it is possible that "C.S." was himself ignorant of the Pāli text and produced an English rendering from H. Sumaṅgala's *sanne*. Fortunately,

8. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, London 1884, p. 49.

9. *M. A. Pali Course*, University of Calcutta 1941; Part I, p. 141.

10. Calcutta 1938-9, Vol. V, p. 25.

11. A few archaic expressions have been replaced and key Pali terms inserted in parenthesis. "Rebirth" has been substituted for "reincarnation" although, for poetic effect, "metamorphosis" "metempsychosis" and "transmigratory" have been retained. "Sin" can be interpreted by a number of Pali words, principally *pāpa* or *akusala*.

the Editor was able to refer to *The Buddhist Ray* in the British Library. This journal proved to be a pioneer Theravāda-orientated monthly edited by "Philangi Dasa", a pseudonym for Dr. H. C. Vetterling of Santa Cruz, California. (He admits to making a vow to produce a Buddhist journal entirely out of his own resources for seven years. Thus, it appeared from 1888-94.) In this closely-printed publication is to be found the above-mentioned English rendering in serial form<sup>12</sup> the "translator" being C. Sameresingha, of whom nothing is known to the Editor.

The reader may be interested to learn that the story of the illfated *arahat* is to be found in the 22nd. chapter of the *Mahāvamsa*; the *Rasavāhīnī* (composed by Ratthapāla Thera of Tanguttavanka Pirivena, Mahāvihāra, Anuradhapura, and revised by Vedeha in the middle of the 14th. century); the *Kākavaṇṇatissāraññavatthu*,<sup>13</sup> comprising popular didactic stories, forty from India and sixty-three from Ceylon; and the *Saddharmālaṅkāra*, a Sinhalese compilation from the *Rasavāhīnī* (1538).

Of the *Telakaṭāgāthā*, Law comments that "the charm of the style of composition lies in the balanced rhythm of the lines and alliterations . . ."<sup>14</sup> The poem is composed throughout in the *Vasantatilaka* metre which is a variety of *Śarkarī*.<sup>15</sup> Malalasekera states that "the style of the poem clearly shows that it was written by a man who also knew Sanskrit quite well. Only such a man could have constructed in the elaborate and beautiful metre of the poem, so delicate a specimen of mosaic work in Sanskritized Pāli."<sup>16</sup>

In his romanised edition, Gooneratne inserted the traditional sub-headings which indicate specific themes of each section of the poem, and Law copied and elaborated on these in the introduction to his translation:

Verses 2-5 *Ratanattaya*—in praise of the Triple Gem

6-28 *Maranānussati*—recollection of death

29-43 *Aniccalakkhaṇa*

44-54 *Dukkhalakkhaṇa*

55-63 *Anattalakkhaṇa*

64-77 *Asubhalakkhaṇa*

} the characteristics of impermanence, dissatisfaction, egolessness and impurity

12. Vol. II, No. 8 (August 1889): introduction and vv. 29-43.

Vol. III, No. 3 (March 1890): vv. 2-28 (the first verse was omitted, so that only ninety-seven verses appeared, but this was included in the reprint).

Vol. III, No. 6 (June 1890): vv. 44-63

8 (August 1890): vv. 64-83

10 (October 1890): vv. 84-98

13. Vide Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, PTS, London 1960: Vol. I, pp. 558-559.

14. Law, *History*, op. cit.

15. Law, introduction to "Verses on oil-pot", op. cit.

16. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, op. cit.

78-83 *Duccarita-ādinavā*—the results of *akusalakamma*

84-88 *Caturārakkhā*—the fourfold protection

89-98 *Paṭiccasamuppāda*—dependent origination

1. May the sovereign of Lanka subdue and conquer his enemies—a sovereign whose deportment is equal to that of an elephant; who is possessed of integrity and other good qualities; whose limbs are long, stout and elegant as the body of a snake; and who is free from malice and always ready to do good to the righteous.

2. Bow from head and heart, to that benevolent Supreme Being, who has been compared to the full moon in the heaven of the solar race, and who has pointed out the road to Nirvāṇa, receiving adorations from all, and mastering the ocean of knowledge.

3. Always bow down before the Supreme Law preached by Sakya Muni, and equal to a flight of steps leading to heaven, or to a vessel sailing across the ocean of metamorphosis, or to a road free from infernal regions.

4. Bow to the Brotherhood of the Select, infinitely complimented by the Buddha himself, similar to a field of rich soil for the seeds of the meritorious, and possessed of qualities capable of bestowing ultimate happiness on those that make the least offering with pure hearts.

5. Beings! On account of the mighty influence of the Three Gems myriads of tenants of the Three Worlds (*Kāma*-, *Rūpa*-, and *Arūpa*-*lokas*) have attained the blissful state of Nirvāṇa. There being no refuge equal to that in the Three Gems, contract a habitual acquaintance with them.

6. Shake off your dull sloth and attend to meritorious deeds, as the doctrine of merit and demerit is doubtless made known to the people through the sovereign of Lanka, who does not feel satisfied in doing good to the public and in spending the nocturnal hours on that account.

7. Beings! Go to the king of Ceylon, the true friend of the meritorious, and without hesitation lead a life in accordance with the doctrines of the Law, as it is absolutely rare to find people industriously active and rendering true friendship in promoting the good of the world.

8. Refrain from lethargic habits, and observe the precepts of the Law, as it is evident that the Law is the guide of all. It tastes sweeter than the sweetest, surpasses in value all the worldly gems, and dispels the grief of those in the Three Worlds.

9. Take no rest, absorb wholly in meditation on grief and on the inconstancy and soullessness of the five constituents of the body, put

and end to the desires of existence of this rickety vessel of the body, and lead for good and all a life acceptable in the eye of the Law.

10. As there are in the Three Worlds none, in fact, exempted from death, either in the past, present, or future, it is not right and proper to feed on procrastination and to say, "There is no leisure for me to do meritorious acts today," and, "I will attend to them to-morrow."

11. As it is evident that a stone thrown up is immediately attracted to the earth on account of its weight, so it happens, most undoubtedly, that every one born is destined to share the fate of death.

12. There is nothing that can intervene and prevent the fall of a man hurled from the edge of a precipice, nor is there anyone out of those in the Three Worlds free from death. Hence do not adhere to life and wealth.

13. As it is natural to suppose that a shower of rain attended with lightning, whilst leaving the clouds in the upper regions descends to the earth, so living beings unerringly drop into the dreadful abyss of death, there being none permanent in the universe.

14. As the terrible, big waves of the ocean roll and dash to wash away the sea-beach, so living beings roll and dash, only to disappear in the mighty Ocean of Death.

15. It is an admitted fact that the bull-like Death perpetually devours and consumes the field of living beings, escaping the vigilance of horses, elephants, and armed men of valour, though guarded and protected by them.

16. Beings! As the bright light of a candle is extinguished by a violent storm, so, in this world, the shining lamp of age of living beings is put out by the strong wind of death.

17. In days of yore, valiant monarchs, such as Rāma, Ārjuna, and others that had come off victorious in battlefields, dipping their bodies in waters of mortality, were at last numbered with the dead. Thus in this world there are none excluded from death.

18. Neither one's wife, children, and friends, nor his wealth, youth, and grace, nor the Goddess of Beauty, nor the earth diversified by elevations and limited by one sheet of salt water, accompany him that is at the point of death.

19. Similar to the fate of insects drawn towards the light of a burning candle, the pre-eminent Brahmas, the gods, anti-gods, demigods, nāgas, rāksas, and all the other beings are snatched away by the flame of death at the expiration of their term of life.



20. Like bright lights standing against a strong current of wind, the principal disciples of the Buddha, such as Sāriputta and others, who has destroyed the four modes of desire (*āsavas*), and thereby attained a pure and holy state, at last plunged into the jaws of the tide of death.

21. Possessed of eyes equal to two full-blown lotuses, and of a constitution replete with two and thirty physical features, the Buddha, Lord and Teacher of the Three Worlds, who had made an end of all the desires, at last was dashed by the wild and mighty elephant of death.

22. As some wild-fire that has caught a jungle is never satisfied, so the elephant of death always makes an end of everyone, betraying no mark of sympathy either with the sick, infirm, or young.

23. Neither the ocean is overflowed, though it receives the element of water from every river or source, nor the blazing fire gets tired of consuming the firewood. In like manner the unrelenting Angel of Death is never satisfied, though he has had immense work of execution in the universe.

24. The beings of the world who are destitute of wisdom, merit, and self-denial, and who are led away by the labyrinth of ignorance, sink into the most horrid grave, desiring the acquisition of wealth, which is equal to waves or a transitory dream.

25. Unmerciful death being capable of destroying the Three Worlds, what benefit could be derived from sleep, and why any being born in this world, and subject to decay and dissolution, should adhere to wealth and existence, when they are no better than the imaginary prospect of a phantom?

26. Seeing that the beings of the world are continually subject to decrepitude, passion, envy, malice, disease, fear, and grief, should there be anyone that does not feel disgusted with existence in the universe, he must be a cruel being, and death itself is not so cruel. Let him by all means be reproached.

27. Beings! beings! Why do you not see the Angel of Death, armed with the sabre of infirmity, continually destroying the Three Worlds, and why do you take your rest indifferently during the three watches of the night? Always lead, without hesitation, a meritorious life that will entail neither birth nor death.

28. Beings! In order to avoid the cold hand of Death, make it always a point to pass your time steadfastly in meditation on death, and in the manner following. He that is given up to such meditation finally puts an end to every mode of desire that is inherently injurious to living beings.

29. What is there substantial in life, when the most graceful body is deformed by infirmity, when every degree of physical energy is snatched away by malignant disease, and when one's existence, supported by nourishment, is made away with?

30. Beings that are subject to ruin by the drift of wind of actions of merit and demerit, in the mighty ocean of metamorphosis, with waves of dire disease, hasten to do good and to obtain Nibbāna, leaving undone what may entail grief and pain on anyone.

31. Neither his wealth, friends, children, relations, servants, nor his wife, as dear as life, accompany him that is about to depart this life only the result of his own deeds of merit and demerit done in this world.

32. Since the vessel of the body, while sailing in the ocean of eternity is sure to be wrecked in a moment, being subject to the drift of violent storms of actions of previous births, acquire noble merits.

33. The life continually held up in this world in various ways, is as easily knocked down as an unannealed vessel of clay. Lead a meritorious life that will take you to heaven, since it is evident that good deeds are not left unrewarded, even in the same stage of life.

34. In accordance with their merits, the gods at the expiration of their term of blissfulness leave heaven, and so do the children of the earth when their life is extinct. Now, should any being of sound sense cleave to existence, when it is limited both on earth and in heaven?

35. Neither the Supreme Buddha with his train of disciples, nor the moon with the myriads of stars, nor Indra with the host of celestial beings that prostrate themselves at his feet, nor anything that has existence, is free from extinction of existence. Hence life is equal to a bubble of water.

36. Beings pregnant with the desire of existence, and lost in the labyrinth of ignorance, why should you deviate from the path of rectitude, seeing that the flower of youth and beauty, like as it is to a diadem, and the association with the agreeable, though dear as life, are in no way unlike the existence of a flash of lightning?

37. The son in a previous birth took the place of the father, and the father that of the son; the wife, too, on another occasion, was either the mother, the father, or the son. Hence this world is like a theatre where magnificent but contrary events are displayed.

38. Observe that there are beings now admitted to embrace a period of celestial happiness with goddesses in Indra's paradise, but now animated to suffer the grief and misery in hell, where there are trees full of sharp thorns sixteen inches long.

39. There are also beings who, after an acquirement of irdhi, and after taking ambrosial food from golden dishes, are born in the bottomless pit to swallow the fiery thunderbolts there.

40. There are also beings that, after acquiring wealth and comfort and after driving in stately carriages in this world, as well as in the, abode of the blessed, invade the infernal regions to take their rounds in the brunt of sharp weapons.

41. There are, moreover, beings that are now doomed to take their turn in the Vetarāṇī hell, after passing a period of merriment and joy in heaven, in the company of goddesses, on the banks of the celestial river that springs from the habitable quarters of the god Iśvara.

42. The most embellished gardens, abundant with verdure and foliage, and the highest Meru, and the Kailāsa mountains, dotted with the habitable groves of the most amiable goddesses, must eventually be brought to an end.

43. Is it wise in any being to stick to life and wealth, when wealth is like wind, fire, or water; when life is like a flash of lightning which is impermanent; and when the body is like a mirage, enchantment, or the reflection of the moon in water?

44. In this world of horror there is nothing that gives felicity to beings, neither is there any being that does not fall a prey to infelicity, and on this account it is far from being the desire of the supreme and intelligent, who are subject to sickness, infirmity, and death, to aim at rebirth.

45. Is there any one capable of holding a piece of red-hot iron with his hand, and where is that reasonable being truly wishing to embrace this ungovernable body, which leaks out impurity, and which is a source of grief and pain?

46. Beings! There is nothing in this world so dreadful as death, no pain equal to that of ailment, and no deformity, in like manner, similar to that of decrepitude; yet, in consequence of ignorance, rebirth is desired.

47. As there is nothing essential in this body, it is equal to a reed, bamboo, or the stem of a plantain tree. The belief in the existence of a soul (as a separate entity) is in itself the cause of grief and pain; and the body, as an ungrateful and discontented friend, though nourished and supported by every means of existence, does not follow the dead beyond the grave.

48. On what account should an intelligent man feel the absence of desire; seeing the state of this constitution, a constitution haunted by snakes of the four elements, equal to a most rickety building, and resembling a mass of foam, or a weapon pointed and poisoned.

49. Moment after moment living beings advance nearer and nearer the grave, and the Angel of Death, armed with the scimitar of old age, follows them to make an end of their lives. As the time that is past cannot be recalled, it is indispensable that meditation on existence of grief in the universe should be adhered to.

50. To the one that endures life only for a short duration, repetition of mortality comes ever and anon, and to the other that is long-lived, grief, pain and infirmity are always on the increase. Existence in the universe, in any state, being thus mingled with grief and pain, lead a meritorious life in order to make away with it.

51. Beings! beings! Lay up prudently a store of good deeds. By those that have been thrown into the prison of metempsychosis, where there is grief equal to fire, no time should be lost.

52. Beings! Felicity in all the worlds is so insignificant that it is compared to a dewdrop at the end of a blade of grass, and infelicity so immense that it is equal to the mighty waters of the ocean. The enjoyment of the former will prevent us from taking a right view, since such enjoyment is inconsistent, and may be reckoned in the scale of the latter. Hence in all the Three Worlds there is nothing but grief and pain.

53. The ignorant in this world destroy animal life and commit other sins to support their own lives, although there is no body that takes to the next world his life, which is continually mingled with sin and defilement. He that desires to have it always becomes the object of ruin.

54. Imagine in a sense of inconsistency the actual state of this body, a body that is always useless and unacceptable, destitute of praise, and subject to infirmity and dissolution. It bears a resemblance to a pot of impurity or dirt of putrid smell, to a serpent or a malady, to a draught of poison, or a sword sharp and pointed.

55. It is admitted by men of understanding that there is no soul inherent either in the six organs or in the five constituent parts of a sentient being, and that each constituent is compared to a rainbow, mirage, plantain tree, bubble of water, mass of foam, flame of fire, or swelling of a river.

56. It is absurd to believe in the existence of a soul in this body; a body which is unsteady and perishable as a blaze of fire. The idea of



a soul is as absurd as that of a barren woman's son running a race along the shaft of a carriage made of the horns of a rabbit.

57. It is rank nonsense to say that there is a soul in this body; a body that is actually soulless and equal to a plantain tree. He that erroneously persists in believing that there is a soul, is indeed in no way unequal to one who attempts to drink, in order to slake his thirst, a draught of mirage out of a cup made of a bubble of water.

58. The endeavours of an unintelligent man to add to mirage scent extracted from the flowers of a fig tree are all in vain, and, in like manner, he that persists in the erroneous impression that there is a soul in this body reaps no benefit, since there is no soul actually in existence.

59. There is nothing to constitute a soul either in the five constituent parts (the body, sensation, perception, habitual tendencies and consciousness) or in the six personal residences (the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind), and he that persists in the belief of the existence of a soul is evidently compared to one persevering to obtain a solid beam from the stem of a plantain tree.

60. This constitution, which is painful, inconsistent, and, indeed, unfavourable, should not be taken in the light that it is intended for the sake of enjoyment, as there is nothing substantial in it. Such being the case, acquire noble merits without hesitation.

61. There is, in fact, no constitution apart from the five constituent parts of the body, and no cloth that is not composed of the thread. In like manner, on the face of the earth there is nothing in this body that should be styled the soul, save the five constituent parts of the body, which are mutable, and every moment subject to dissolution.

62. As the silly hart in vain runs after the fanciful sight of yonder mirage, taking it to be a sheet of water, so do people give way to desire, purely from a false impression that there is steadiness in the unsteady existence of nature.

63. Attend directly to meditation on the subject of the absence of a soul, as there is no soul contained in the body, and the body, similar to a flash of atmospheric lightning, is produced by the conception of thought in accordance with the ordinary operations of nature.

64. It is always usual with beings to support this corporeal constitution; a constitution which is useless, disgusting, filled with excrement and uncleanness, composed of spittle, impurity, blood, tears, and fat, and equal to a pot full of different species of dirt and soil.

65. Beings! Man will never be free from impurity, nor see anything good in this human frame, although he may use for his ablution the

immense mass of water contained in the four great oceans, and for his perfumery an enormous quantity of scent, as high as the highest Meru.

66. This body, the containant of urine and excrement, which is subject to grief, pain, and disease, may be compared to a carbuncle from which matter comes out at nine different places. Nor is there any other horrid grave than that of the body itself.

67. Even parents are apt to entertain a feeling of antipathy against their children, if urine and excrement, contained within their bodies, are placed in a contrary position, exposing to the view of others. What more can we expect from our children, wives, and relations?

68. Oh! it is indeed a matter of deep regret to think of the man, led away by ignorance, and actually given up to sinful actions in this world, in order to support his body; a body stinking subject to dissolution, containing nine passages, invaded by worms (*micrococci*) of eighty species, and composed of blood, phlegm, flesh, and bones.

69. He that takes delight in this body, a body equal to a blister, subject to various disorders, continually filled with blood, water, and fat, and eatable by dogs and foxes, is a man destitute of wisdom, and exposed to grief in his future state.

70. Beings! The body from which urine and excrement perpetually run out is equal to a leaky pot of salt; insignificant as a bubble of water, suspicious as the haunt of a serpent, and always as unpleasant in smell as a cesspool.

71. As the blooming lotus that shoots up from a sheet of soil composed of mud and dirt should not be condemned, because its origin is such, so one's favourable disposition for the good of the world is never unworthy of praise, in this world or in the next, because it is the result produced by the combination of the five constituent parts.

72. At any rate, the human frame, either male or female, which is composed of two and thirty component parts, filthy and unpleasant, contains, nothing of consequence. Hence, in this world, there is no other benefit the intelligent derive from it than that of doing good to others.

73. Although the body is the combination of two and thirty such parts, it should be supported, for a considerable period, by one of common sense, and during that period of existence he should lead a meritorious life, since merit, as a precious gem in this world, never fails to attain the object that may be desired.

74. When a quantity of milk is mixed with that of a drug, the essence of the one comes in contact with that of the other, so as to produce a

salutary effect; and in like manner the result of one's merits acquired in this world, like his shadow that never leaves him, accompanies him who is at the point of death.

75. As a man embellished against a grand reception sees his figure in a bright mirror, so the brilliant result of noble merits actually acquired by a man sparkles in anticipation of his next birth.

76. As a fool that licks the edge of a razor dipped in honey is sure to feel the consequence, such is the fate of those foolish beings that are led to believe, through the maze of ignorance, that there is something permanent in this constitution, a constitution subject to the pain of birth and death in every mode of life.

77. Beings void of sense, and attached to the body by insatiable desire, always entail grief, and fancy that happiness is sought by those incarnated in the universe; but it is the opinion of the wise and the learned that incarnation in the universe is no better than the taste of the (poisonous) kimpala (plant, on the summits of the Himalaya).

78. Any one that actually destroyed the life of any being in his previous birth, is sure to be snatched away by the Angel of Death most unexpectedly in the prime of his youth, possessed as he is of large wealth and of beauty as great as that of Adonis.

79. He that was guilty of stealing the property of others in a previous birth, becomes a beggar and dirty vagrant, begging his daily bread at the doors of his enemies, exposed to their derision and insult, and showing signs of extreme fear.

80. The woman that had no control of her passions, and committed adultery in a former birth, will not be born a man; and the man guilty of the same crime will no longer continue to be a man, but will become a woman, exceedingly miserable, birth after birth.

81. An unintelligent human being that lies will always be vulgar and low, foolish and dumb, in his subsequent incarnations, with a stinking mouth and a displeasing cut (birthmark). Should that human being be born a male by reason of his past merits, he will be wretched beyond description.

82. One that has habitually inbibed poisonous and intoxicating liquors will become mad and lamentable, low in birth and wealth, and shameless and unvirtuous. He will be deformed, destitute of friends and relatives, and born a quadruped in many a succeeding birth.

83. He that is guilty of these sins in this stage of existence will hereafter take his turn in the infernal regions, as a matter of reward. There

he will remain for millions and millions of years in wretchedness incomparable, and will reappear in the human form, loaded with grief, pain, and misery.

84. In this universe there is nothing that should be compared to the (Good) Law, so far as it concerns the future weal of mankind. By its effect, which is exceedingly vast, and which contributes to give a death-blow to every depravity of sin, may I always be so fortunate as to attain the state of happiness, both worldly and nirvāṇic.

85. May my relatives, friends, and enemies, and those that are neutral, and all beings in all worlds, become fortunate and happy, and free from grief, fear, and disorder.

86. This constitution, which is always subject to sickness, infirmity, and dissolution, may be compared to a broken pot full of dirt. It is apt to fall into error and ruin at every stage, and to think that everything in this world is intended for the good of the living.

87. With regard to the old, the young, or the babe, the Angel of Death makes no distinction whatever, but involves them indiscriminately in mortality. Whether I am standing, moving, or resting, I am advancing nearer the jaws of Death, as death is my fate.

88. O you beings, whose bodies have had the experience of transmigratory existence, always attend to meditation, as the repeated bad qualities are actually inherent in your bodies. Those that are given to meditation should make it a point at all times to do so; they should meditate on kind feelings towards all, on Lord Buddha, on his Doctrine, on the bad state of our nature, and on death.

89. Beings! Attend to retributive deeds of meritorious actions in this world, and reap their ample rewards. Be charitable in rendering others what will give them satisfaction and pleasure; because wealth acquired is nothing compared to contentment gained by charity.

90. When hands are clapped, sound is produced. Hence there must be a cause for every effect. In like manner there cannot be any birth, death, or existence in the animal kingdom apart from the combination of the five constituents.

91. Beings! As ignorance is the cause of existence, so the result of merit and demerit is the cause of birth in various ranks and grades. Thus in consequence of birth, beings in their transmigratory existence become continually subject to grief, decay and death.



92. By the destruction of ignorance, the desire of existence disappears, and by the suppression of the desire of existence, rebirth ceases, and by the extinction of rebirth, grief, infirmity and dissolution cease; as if the light of a candle is put out.

93. Beings! It is said by our Lord Sakya Sinha, that he who in this world examines the constitution of the Buddha's Doctrine of Enlightenment sees the Buddha himself. Endeavour to comprehend the Teacher of the Three Worlds, and his holy doctrine: it is the invariable practice of the virtuous to do so.

94. Beings! (To be saved) it is absolutely necessary, by the hook of wisdom, to pull out the principal causes of sin (avarice, malice and ignorance) which are unpleasant and equal to a sharp thorn piercing the heart, and which lead to ruin and every mode of evil.

95. As Mount Meru stands unshaken before a strong wind, so the heart, pure and free from the attraction of existence, is always unshaken by the eight vicissitudes (*lokadhammā*) of the world and the five desires (*kilesas*) in their various and complete stages.

96. Beings! Always give your time for the good of others, as the Buddha, the Supreme Lord, who sailed across the deep ocean of ten noble attributes (*pāramitās*), regardless of the horrors of metamorphosis, and who destroyed the flame of ignorance and by self-exertion gained a full knowledge of all that should be known.

97. Suspending the attainment of Nirvāṇa, at a time when he was not far from it, Sakya Muni passed many a dreadful birth on account of his sympathetic feelings toward others. So do I give you instructions chiefly with the object of doing good to others.

98. It is impossible that any one of sound understanding should wander away from the noble path of the Law, after attaining the most difficult object of attainment, the human form, and after gaining all the varieties of wealth and luxury and a comprehensive knowledge of the doctrine capable of giving a death-blow to the desires of existence.

## A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUTTA NIPATA

N. A. Jayawickrama

### THE YAKKHA BALLADS

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ALTHOUGH the three *Suttas*, *Hemavata*, *Ālavaka* and *Sūciloma* are fundamentally similar in that they are riddle-poems resembling the *Yakṣa Praśnas* of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Hemavata Sutta* demands special attention on account of its extraordinary length and the difference it bears to the other two in details. Unlike the other two *suttas* it contains no prose introduction and its principal characters Sātāgira and Hemavata are represented as friendly beings whereas the two *yakkas* Ālavaka and Sūciloma are no more than mere demons.<sup>1</sup> All the three *suttas* are dialogue-ballads, but the dialogue consists of only one question and an answer to it in the *Sūciloma Sutta*, while there are only two characters in the *Ālavaka Sutta*. The dramatic element is quite pronounced in the *Hemavata Sutta*, and the *Ālavaka Sutta* is not devoid of it.

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#### Hemavata Sutta

The *sutta* begins as a conversation between Sātāgira, "the dweller on the Sāta Hill in Majjhimadesa", and Hemavata, "the Himālayan Sprite".<sup>2</sup> When the former succeeds in convincing the latter of the virtues of the Buddha, they visit him, and Hemavata who plays the role of the questioner throughout the poem asks the Buddha questions. The two *yakkhas* are delighted with his answers: they extol him and, along with their followers, seek his refuge.

The *sutta* may be divided into three parts, viz: (i) *Sn.* 153-167, the dialogue between the two *yakkhas*, (2) *Sn.* 168-175, the dialogue between Hemavata and the Buddha, (3) *Sn.* 176-180, the conclusion which consists of an exaltation of the Buddha.

Part I. When Sātāgira invites Hemavata to visit Gotama, the latter asks him whether Gotama possesses various qualities, which Sātāgira in his answers affirms. All the virtues of the Buddha which are enumerated in this dialogue may equally well be attributed to any sage. Even the

1. Ālavaka: "of the forest", from *atavi*, forest; Sūciloma: "needle-haired".

2. *SnA.* 197. W. Stede suggests that Sātāgira may be a variant for Sātāgila, a secondary form of Satagila "swallowing a hundred". He further suggests that Nālāgiri stands for Naragila.



few stanzas which are meant to describe the personal attributes (*Sn.* 165-167) lay emphasis on his ascetic life and not his person. In fact the whole poem emphasises the conduct (*cariyā*) and the spiritual attainments of the Buddha (the word used is *citta*—the mind). The Buddha at most here is a perfect *muni* and is not spoken of in the grandiloquent terms that usually accompany a developed phase of Buddhism.

Part II. Hemavata asks a question which may be interpreted as being of cosmological or cosmogonical import, as it vaguely touches upon the *ādi* and *anta* of the universe (*Sn.* 168). The Buddha gives a cryptic answer from a teleological standpoint, but does not enumerate nor specify what groups of six he alludes to (*Sn.* 169). In answer to the next question in which the *yakkha* shows that he has understood the allusions to the *āyatanas* the Buddha mentions the pleasures of the five senses and the mind as *upādāna* (grasping) as the sixth and states that their abandonment leads to emancipation from misery (*Sn.* 171-172). The *yakkha* then asks the nature of the person who crosses the Flood (*ogha*—*Sn.* 173) and the Buddha describes the virtuous sage who has gained spiritual attainments and “does not sink into the deep”. (*Sn.* 174).

Part III. The two *yakkhas* praise the Buddha (*Sn.* 176-177) and compliment themselves for having taken the opportunity of visiting him (*Sn.* 178). They along with their 1,000 followers seek his refuge (*Sn.* 179) and make a solemn pledge to honour the Buddha and the Dhamma (no Saṅgha is mentioned) in all their wanderings (*Sn.* 180). Even here the epithets used of the Buddha are those of the perfect sage.

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The language of the *sutta* is the standard poetical Pali. There are many poetical expressions as *divyā ratti* (*Sn.* 153b), *anomanāmaṃ* (*Sn.* 153c, 177a), *saṃsuddhacāraṇo* (*Sn.* 162b, 163b), *khīnavyappatho* (*Sn.* 158b: Comy, *khīno vācāya patho* cp. *Sn.* 1076d: *vādapatha*) and *vyappatha* (*Sn.* 163Ab, 163Bb, 164b, cp. *vyappathayo* *Sn.* 961a). The frequent use of the interrogative particle *kacci* expressing doubt (18 times) and the disjunctive indeclinable *atho* (7 times) is very striking. Though the indic. 3 sg. *āha* (*Sn.* 158c) is the normal Aor. (pf.) 3 sg. it is used here in the present tense as in several other old *suttas*.

The syntax if the verses is generally straightforward, but there are a few instances of ellipsis; e.g. *Sn.* 168, 169. The Comy. correctly takes *kismiṃ* at *Sn.* 168abd<sup>3</sup> as locative in one or other of its basic meanings

3. *SnA.* 21off. *kismiṃ* at *Sn.* 168a is explained as: *bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇe bhumma-vacanāṃ* (being a condition, it is a locative denoting condition), at 168b: *adhikaraṇatthe bhumma-vacanāṃ* (locative in the sense of relation—in time) and at 168d: *bhāvena bhāvalakkhaṇa-kāraṇatthesu bhumma-vacanāṃ* (being a condition it is a locative characterising condition and denoting cause).

and equates it in the first *pāda* to *kismiṃ uppanne* and in the fourth *pāda* to *kismiṃ sati*. The explanation of *chassu* in the corresponding stanza (*Sn.* 169) is similar.

As regards style the *sutta* stands out as a highly dramatic piece. Like many other similar ballads this too was probably sung on suitable occasions, three different reciters singing the stanzas ascribed to each of the characters. The poems appears to be divided into two separate scenes, for the dialogue between the two *yakkhas* takes place at one place and their conversation with the Buddha at a different place. Except for a few occasional poetical flashes the style invites no comments. There are two highly descriptive passages in the *sutta*, viz. *Sn.* 165-167, 176-180. The simile *sihaṃ v'ekacaram* (*Sn.* 166a) is reminiscent of numerous others of lonely wanderers (vide *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*). The repetition of the same words at *Sn.* 163A, 163B and 164 is due to a subsequent expansion probably effected in Burma.<sup>4</sup>

The group of six indicating a set of phenomena need not necessarily be late, and the contents show that the reference is to the *āyatanas*, an early concept in Buddhism. The grouping of epithets at *Sn.* 167, 176, 177 is to be generally regarded as a sign of lateness, but the absence of any indication of a developed Buddhology attributing supernormal qualities shows that these verses may still be old. There are no indications of these verses being later than the rest of the poem.

**Metre.** The *Anuṣṭubh* ślokas of the poem are interrupted by two stanzas in *Triṣṭubh* (*Sn.* 176, 177). The repertory phrases (*iti Sātāgiro yakkho*, etc.) which the Comy. attributes to the *saṅgītikārā* (*SnA.* 193) do not fall within the metre. The break in the metre may perhaps indicate that the two stanzas in *Triṣṭubh* were borrowed from elsewhere; but the full stanza *Sn.* 176 has not yet been traced to any other work, though three of its individual *pādas* are seen to occur frequently in other metrical works.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand *Sn.* 177 occurs at S.I. 38 (cp. *Sn.* 153). Yet, the composite nature of the *Sagāthaka Vagga* of the *Samyutta* does not warrant the inference that *Sn.* has borrowed this from there. There is no doubt that these stanzas are old. The fact that they are written in the historically older *Triṣṭubh* is further proof of their antiquity. However, it may still be probable that these two stanzas were interpolated from an earlier source. There are also a few metrical irregularities in the poem. *Sn.* 153 is in mixed *Anuṣṭubh* and *Vaitāliya* (the first *pāda* in *Vaitāliya*). *Sn.* 154a, 155a, contain nine syllables each instead of eight.

4. Only Burmese Mss. and *SnA.* accept these two additional stanzas.

5. *Sn.* 176a: Th. I, 372; *Sn.* 176b: Vin. I, 36, *Sn.* 1059b, 1091d; *Sn.* 176c: D. III, 196, S.I. 4. 50, 51, Dh. 90 cp. *Sn.* 472c, 501b.

There are "even" *pādas* at Sn. 156a, 157a, 158a, 159a, and the *cæsura* is not marked in Sn. 176d and 177d.<sup>6</sup>

**Doctrinal Developments.** The whole poem reflects a period when the *Muni*-ideal was the vogue in Buddhism. The emphasis of the poem on the conduct and mental discipline of the Buddha, the reference made to him as the ideal sage, the simple conception of the Buddha as opposed to what may be seen in later works, and the simplicity of the ideas in contrast with the dogmatism of the latter all point to the early date of the poem. The *sutta* is untarnished by any doctrinal colouring of a speculative nature.

In their application none of the terms shows any distinct growth. In *supaṇihita* (Sn. 154a, 155a, cp. 163Aa, 163Ba, 164a and the term *padhāna*) is found an idea parallel to *yoga* though the word itself does not occur here. Again, the *yogin* can be implied from Sn. 156d, 157d (*jhānam na riñcati*, also cp. terms *satipaṭṭhāna* and *bhāvanā*). These ideas are old and were the common knowledge of all schools of contemporary Indian thought. Sn. 154b, 155b, 156b, 157b indirectly convey the idea of *mettā*. The concept of *moha* (Sn. 160c, 161c) may be compared with *moha* in the *Bhagavadgītā* (4, 35; 14, 13; 17, 22, etc.). It is essentially a state of mind unlike *māyā* which is more in the nature of a cosmic (or metaphysical) state found in association with the empirical world. The term *dibba patha* has already been commented on.<sup>7</sup> The occurrence of the groups of six at Sn. 169 indicates the early classification of the *āyatana*s. They are mentioned later under the *pañca kāmagaṇā* and the mind (Sn. 171ab). The didactic element of the *sutta* is best judged from Sn. 174-175—two stanzas important from a teleological standpoint. The terms *ogha* and *aṇṇava* have been discussed elsewhere. None of the other terms that occur in this *sutta* calls for particular attention as they are used in all stages of the language.

Judging from internal evidence the *sutta* appears old. Its language shows no signs of lateness while there are no special forms which may be classed as very old. Its diction is the early poetical expression. The numerous *pādas* and stanzas of the second half of the poem (Sn. 163A, ff., i.e. at the end of the dialogue between the two *yakkhas*) which are in common with other metrical works<sup>8</sup> suggests that that section of the poem has borrowed freely from an existing floating metrical literature. External evidence will be discussed after dealing with the internal evidence from the other two *suttas*.

6. Helmer Smith, *Metres of the Sutta Nipāta*, SnA. II, 3.

7. PBR 1, 3.

8. Vide E. M. Hare, *Woven Cadences*, p. 189 and Otto Franke, ZDMG.

### Ālavaka and Sūciloma Suttas

The position of the *Ālavaka Sutta* immediately after the *Hemavata Sutta* points to an attempt at an arrangement of *suttas* according to subject-matter. This has already been noticed in the remarks on the *Vasala Sutta*.<sup>9</sup> However, there is no consistency in this matter, for the *Sūciloma Sutta* is placed in the next (*Culla*) *vagga*, after the *Maṅgala Sutta*. It is also significant that the four *suttas* (beginning with *Parābhava*) preceding *Ālavaka* are *parittas*. Both the *Sūciloma* and *Ālavaka Suttas* contain a prose introduction in which the two *yakkhas* are seen to intimidate the Buddha with identical threats. The Buddha's answer in both instances is the same. The first half of the introduction is somewhat different in the two *suttas*, and there is another *yakkha*, Khara, mentioned in the *Sūciloma Sutta*. In both instances the *sutta* proper begins with a question in verse, after the prelude in prose. The prose of these *suttas* is the canonical idiom, and therefore represents a later phase of Pali than the *gāthās*.<sup>10</sup> The *Yakkha Saṃyutta* (S.I, 206-215) contains both these *suttas* in identical words.<sup>11</sup> It is quite probable that the prose introductions were appended to the *gāthās* during the time of the compilation of Sn. as an anthology, and that they were taken from, the legends in the *Yakkha Saṃyutta* though both works are dependent on an earlier tradition for the *gāthās*. In spite of the fact that Miln. 36 attributes Sn. 184 to *Saṃyutta*, both *Yakkha Saṃyutta* and Sn. are collections made from earlier existing material.

The *Ālavaka Sutta*<sup>12</sup> contains a series of questions and answers (Sn. 181-190) followed by an epilogue in verse (Sn. 191-192) whereas the *Sūciloma Sutta* ends with the Buddha's answer to the question at Sn. 190. An examination of the former shows that Sn. 190 forms a suitable conclusion to the *sutta* when the line, *so 'ham ajja pajānāmi yo attho samparāyiko* indicates the questioner's complete satisfaction with the answers he has received. The tone of the epilogue appears totally different from that of the rest of the poem, and resembles that of some of the concluding verses of the *Thera-gāthās* or the later *Apadānas*. The only connection of the poem with the *Ālavaka*-legend is in the phrase, *Ālavim āgamā* at Sn. 191b. The fact that this *sutta* is perhaps later than the preceding stanzas is also suggested by the statement, *yattha dinnam mahapphalaṃ* (line d) which stands at a much lower level than the previous statement

9. PBR 2, 2, p. 88.

10. Vide PBR.

11. *Ālavaka Sutta* at S.I, 213-215; *Sūciloma* at S.I, 207-208.

12. The events connected with the *Ālavaka Sutta* are placed in the sixteenth year after Enlightenment—E. J. Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 119.



at Sn. 190cd. It appears quite irrelevant that the *yakkha* should realize that the Buddha is an ideal *puññakkhetta*, when he should be thankful for the exposition of his questions. Sn. 192 occurs at Ap. 6, 152; 415, 17 and various commentaries; and its tone appears decidedly late. It is highly probable that Sn. 190 formed the original conclusion of the *gāthās* and that the epilogue was a later addition concurrent with the identification of these *gāthās* with the Ālavaka-legend.

The two opening stanzas of the *Sūciloma Sutta* (Sn. 270-271) consist of a question and an answer. Like the two opening stanzas of the *Ālavaka Sutta* they are *Triṣṭubhs*; the first two stanzas of Hemavata's dialogue with the Buddha are also in *Triṣṭubh* (Sn. 168-169). Questions and answers of this nature are found in a section of the *Devatā Saṃyutta* (S.I, 36-45); and further, two of the above passages occur there: viz: Sn. 168-169 at S.I, 41 and Sn. 181-182 at S.I, 42. The occurrence of these stanzas in the *Saṃyutta*, independently of the rest of the respective poems suggests the existence of a set of riddles dealing with Buddhist topics prior to their being incorporated in longer poems.<sup>13</sup> Unlike the *Ālavaka Sutta*, the *Sūciloma Sutta* seems to have been built upon one such riddle though Sn. 270-271 have not been traced as an independent piece. The third stanza in *Anuṣṭubh* is an explanatory verse on the answer to the riddle. The general appearance of a *sutta* is given by the addition of the concluding stanza. It is obvious that many Pali poems have incorporated earlier existing material, but *Sūciloma Sutta* appears totally different as it is evident that it is built on the framework of the riddle. The four *gāthās* as a whole, appear old, but on the basis of this argument Sn. 270-271 are older than the other two.

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The language of the *suttas* is considerably old; and the *Ālavaka Sutta* preserves many dialectical as well as old historical forms. The phrase *mittāni ganthati* (Sn. 185d, 187d) preserves the historical gender of *mitta*, although in Pali the word is masculine. The idiom itself is perhaps Vedic or post-Vedic rather than Classical Sanskrit or Pali. The word *sussūsā* is to be taken as a shorter inst. sg. (Vedic) and not as a contraction of the Pali *sussūsāya*. There is a Vedic ppr. in *saddahāno* (cp. *śrad-dadhāna*—Sn. 186a); there are dialectical forms as *ingha* and *bhiyyo* (Sn. 189—also in prose). The particle of interrogation *su* is frequently added to the interrogative pronouns to emphasise the question, as is characteristic of

13. The tradition preserved in the *Devatā Saṃyutta* may perhaps be synchronous with a floating riddle literature which was the predecessor of Sanskrit riddle poetry. Also vide Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I 352 on old riddle poetry.

old *gāthā*-Pali (cp. Epic *sma*). Other old forms are: agent noun *uṭṭhātā* (Sn. 187b) and imp. 2 sg. *Ātp. pucchassu* (Sn. 189a). There are hardly any peculiar forms in the *Sūciloma Sutta*. The forms *kutonidānā*, *kutojā* (Sn. 270), *itonidānā*, *itojā* (Sn. 271) are common poetical forms. The reading *ḍhamkaṃ* (crow) should be preferred to *vaṅkaṃ* (see also SnA. 303).

**Style.** Both *suttas* are dialogue-ballads, but the dialogue is more pronounced in the *Ālavaka Sutta*. The moral truths are stated expressively in a series of questions and answers in clear and simple language (cp. the opening stanzas of *Bhg. VIII*). The *sutta* lends itself to easy dramatization on account of its being well punctuated by the words of the two interlocutors. The concluding stanza (Sn. 192) like Sn. 179-180, enhances its dramatic effect. The *Sūciloma Sutta*, though short, is more ornate than the other. It contains three similes viz. Sn. 270d-271d, 272b, 272d; and the stanza Sn. 271 is rather cryptic.

**Metre:** The break in metre in the two poems has already been noted (*supra*). Although *Triṣṭubh* is historically older than *Anuṣṭubh śloka*, it in itself provides no useful data. As observed earlier, the occurrence of one of these *Triṣṭubh* passages (Sn. 181-182) at S.I, 42 and a similar passage (Sn. 168-169, though in *Anuṣṭubh śloka*) at S.I, 41 along with many other similar questions and answers, in the *Devatā Saṃyutta*, may presuppose the early existence of a traditional riddle-literature independent of longer *suttas*. The disparity in metre is therefore due to the fact that some of these passages are either incorporated in, or utilised to build up (as in the case of the *Sūciloma Sutta*) longer poems. The two opening stanzas of both *suttas*, thus appear to have belonged to an altogether different stratum from the rest of the two poems. Metrical irregularities are almost absent in the *Anuṣṭubh ślokas* (Sn. 184-192, 271). There are two instances of even quarters at Sn. 186a and 187a. Of the *Triṣṭubh* stanzas (Sn. 181-182, 270-271, 273) Sn. 270b-271b are irregular. Besides containing anacrusis, the caesura after the seventh syllable is not reckoned in them.<sup>14</sup> There are two instances of metrical lengthening, viz. *āvahāti* (Sn. 181b-182b) and *larati* (Sn. 183a-184a). The lengthening in *sū'dha* (Sn. 182a) is due to *sandhi*.

**Doctrinal Evidence:** Notwithstanding a few words with a semi—or quasi-technical significance, such as *ogha*, *aṇṇava*, *appamāda*, *virīya* and *paññā* (*Ālavaka*), *rāga* and *dosa* (*Sūciloma*), the two *suttas* are marked by a total lack of metaphysical thought. The simplicity of ideas and the emphasis laid on *saddhā* shed some light on the antiquity of the *Ālavaka Sutta*. The popular character of the whole poem is also seen

14. Helmer Smith, *ibid*.

from the occurrence of the word *idha* (here, on earth) in *saddh'īdha* (*Sn.* 182a). The popular teachings embodied in the *sutta* (in *Sn.* 188-189 which state the four fundamental qualities *sacca*, *dhmma*—or *dama*, *dhīti*—or *khanti*, and *cāga*, requisite of a devout householder) are reminiscent of the *Dharmaśāstras* and other allied branches of Sanskrit literature. The practice of one's *dharma*, truthfulness, discriminate living, diligence, energy, wisdom, desire to learn, doing what is correct, tenacity and perseverance all contribute to help a person to reap the benefits of learning, fame, wealth, acquisition of friends, etc. These teachings were accepted by all schools alike as *Sn.* 189 points out. The answer to the important question of teleological significance (*Sn.* 183) emphasises the role *saddhā* plays in popular Buddhism. As the contents show, this *sutta* dealing with popular teachings appears old and seems to have drawn freely from the fund of old Indian knowledge. The *Sūciloma Sutta* which deals with detachment from passions is particularly more Buddhistic than the other. Though the *sutta* itself is too brief to draw any inference on doctrinal grounds, it has the general appearance of an old piece (specially *Sn.* 270-271). The poem as a whole may not be of very great antiquity, but the two opening verses, for reasons discussed above, are at least as old as the *Hemavata* and *Ālavaka Suttas*.

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### The Yakkha-legend (Ālavaka)

The following observations on the *yakkha*-legend shed some light on our *suttas*. The Commentary connects the story of Ālavaka with that of Sātāgira and Hemavata (*SnA.* 221ff.). When the two *yakkhas* Sātāgira and Hemavata were on their way to Jetavana in order to pay their respects to be Buddha before proceeding to the assembly of the *yakkhas*, they found it impossible to pass over Ālavaka's abode. On investigating the cause they found the Buddha there, saluted him, listened to the *dhmma* and continued their flight to their final destination. A similar story is found at *UdA.* 64 when they passed the abode of Ajapālaka-*yakkha*. In this story is seen a popular attempt, however late it may be, to link up the various *yakkhas* with one another. The legend of Ālavaka occurs in similar words at *SA.* 317ff. in the commentary on the *sutta* in the *Yakkha Saṃyutta*. A summary of the same legend occurs at *AA.* 389ff. in the comments on Hatthaka Ālavaka, a prince who is said to have been saved from the *yakkha*'s hands.<sup>15</sup> The story itself has much in common with the circle of legends grouped by Watanabe<sup>16</sup> under the

15. In the list of *etad-aggas* at A.I, 26 he is called the most pre-eminent of those who cherish the assembly with the four *saṅgaha vatthu* (bases of generosity).

16. JPTS., 1909-1910, pp.240ff.

title *Kalmāṣapāda Stories*. The essential links are: (1) the man eating *yakkha*, (2) the captured king who obtains his freedom by promising to provide the *yakkha* with food, and the sanctity of that promise, and (3) the conversion of the *yakkha*. This similarity to the *Kalmāṣapāda* group is sufficient proof of the antiquity of the Ālavaka-legend.<sup>17</sup>

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### External Evidence

There are sufficient references in the Canon to most of the *yakkhas* who are represented as taking part in these dialogues. Hemavata and Sātāgira are included in the list of great *yakkhas* whose protection should be sought when troubled by other *yakkhas*.<sup>18</sup> Their names represent a class of *yakkhas* (probably their followers) in the *Mahāsamaya Sutta*. *Cha saḥassā Hemavatā yakkhā... and Sātāgīrāti saḥassā yakkhā* (*D.* II, 256) may be contrasted with *Ime dasasatā yakkhā* at *Sn.* 179 which speaks of a following of 1,000 instead of a total of 7,000.

The occurrence of the *Ālavaka* and *Sūciloma Suttas* in identical words, in the *Yakkha Saṃyutta* has already been mentioned. Besides this the statue of Sūciloma which is found at the Bharhut Stūpa along with those of many other *yakkhas* is a fair land-mark indicating the early acquaintance with all these *yakkhas*.<sup>19</sup> There is no doubt whatsoever that all these *yakkhas* were known, as seen from the references in the Pali Canon, long before the time of Bharhut, yet the Stūpa itself is helpful in determining the lower limit of the date of these legends.

No remarks need be made here on the concept *yakkha*, the part *yakkhas* play in Indian literature or the origin of the *yakkha*-cult. These questions have been exhaustively dealt with by scholars like A. K. Coomaraswamy (*Yakṣas*), W. Stede (*Gespensster geschichten des Peta Vatthu*; and s.v. P.T.S.), Dela Vallée Poussin (*Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens; L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J.C.*), O. H. de A. Wijesekera (*U.C.R.* I, 2) etc. It is also of no importance to investigate further the Commentarial accounts linking up the legends of various *yakkhas*. The question to be solved is how these *yakkhas* came to be associated with the *gāthās* in *Sn.* As hinted at earlier, the *suttas* may be analysed roughly into four different strata: (1) riddles which perhaps preceded the rest of the *suttas* (*Sn.*

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

18. *D.* III, 204-205; *Ātānāṭiya Sutta*. Cp. the statement at *SnA.* 197, *Hemavata-Sātāgīrā aṭṭhavisati yakkha-senāpatināṃ abbhantarā mahānubhāvā yakkharājāno ahesuṃ*.

19. Cunningham, The Stūpa of Bharhut. He assigns the date of the Stūpa as 250-200 B.C. (p. 14): The inscription under Sūciloma is *Sūciloma-yakho* (p. 136 and plate XXII). Also vide Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, I. p.5.



168-169, 181-182, 270-271), (2) the poems incorporating the riddles (*Sn.* 153-167, 168-178, 181-190), (3) The concluding stanzas of the *suttas* (*Sn.* 179-180, 191-192), or the comment in verse *Sn.* 272 and the conclusion *Sn.* 273 and (4) the prose.

The fact that no reference whatsoever is made to *yakkhas* in parts 1 and 2 (except in the repertory phrases which the Commentator attributes to the *saṅgītikārā*—*SnA.* 193) may probably indicate that these poems were at one stage quite independent of *yakkhas*. Internal evidence has shown that the concluding stanzas bear signs of lateness. The identification of these *suttas* with the various *yakkhas* is simultaneous with the inclusion of these stanzas in the poems. The number of followers of Hemavata and Sātāgira mentioned at *Sn.* 179 being less than that in the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* one is prevented from assigning a very late date to the concluding stanzas, for presumably the number mentioned in the latter points to a more developed legend. The introductions in typical canonical prose are definitely of a much later stratum than the *gāthās*. From the evidence at hand it is not possible to determine specifically when these successive additions were made. The internal evidence is very convincing that the *gāthās* in parts 1 and 2 belong to an older stage than the rest of the respective *suttas*. It is quite probable that the prose (like many other prose passages in *Sn.*) was taken from outside (in this case the *Samyutta*) at the time of the final collation of *Sutta Nipāta* as an anthology.

## THE PASTORAL BALLADS

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### Dhaniya Sutta

THE *Dhaniya Sutta* consists chiefly of a dialogue between the rich herdsman Dhaniya and the Buddha. A third interlocutor (Māra) appears towards the end of the *sutta*, and the narrator himself interrupts the dialogue by describing the scene at *Sn.* 30.<sup>20</sup> The recitation of the ballads may have proceeded on a line quite similar to the dialogue in the (later) medieval European Miracle Play. The dramatic element predominates in the *sutta* and the possibility of different reciters singing the respective stanzas attributed to the various characters has been suggested earlier.<sup>21</sup> It may be said that more definite signs of dramatic representation are seen in the sudden appearance of Māra voicing the popular opinion (*Sn.* 33, 34). At the same time doubts may be cast on the genuineness

20. *Vide SnA.* 42.

21. PBR 1, 2, p. 90.

of these two stanzas; for, firstly *Sn.* 32 appears to be a suitable conclusion to the poem when the herdsman and his wife pledge to practise the holy life; secondly, the recurrence of these two stanzas in totally different contexts at S.I., 6 and 107-108<sup>22</sup> suggests that they belonged to a stock of traditional twin-verses, best represented by the *Sagāthaka Vagga* of the *Samyutta* and the *Yamaka Vagga* of the *Dhammapada*; and finally, the greater metrical perfection indicating them as distinct from the rest of the stanzas may also point to a difference in the date of composition. Although this is no conclusive proof, it may be surmised with some degree of accuracy that these two stanzas were a subsequent interpolation.

The *sutta* is mainly a poetical duel between the two chief interlocutors, "the one rejoicing in his worldly security and the other in his religious belief".<sup>23</sup> In the alternating stanzas which are highly artistic the Buddha invariably uses the very words of the herdsman either to express the exact opposite or to give a new value to them. Sometimes even the same sounds are reproduced with identical metrical value but expressing something totally different, e.g. *Sn.* 18a, 19a *pakkodano duddhakhīro: akkodhano vigatakhīlo*. The opposite ideas are expressed in *Sn.* 18c, 19c with a different connotation for the words repeated viz. *channā kuṭi āhito gini: vivaṭā kuṭi nibbuto gini*.<sup>24</sup> Sometimes the words in the corresponding stanzas differ considerably, though in each case the speaker makes a statement to illustrate his point of view, e.g. *Sn.* 20, 21. The contrast is shown only in the topics discussed in *Sn.* 22, 23, i.e. *gopī* and *cittam* respectively. The Buddha is seen playing on the word *bhata* when Dhaniya says that he is self-supporting (*Sn.* 24, 25). The next stanza of the *Bhagavā* is a mere negation of the herdsman's statement. When Dhaniya speaks of tethering his animals the Buddha declares that he has broken all bonds (*bandhanāni*) and will not seek birth again. Another pair of alternating stanzas concludes the poem when Buddha categorically denies the tempting words of Māra (*Sn.* 33, 34).

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### Language and Syntax

Proceeding on to an examination of the internal evidence, language calls for attention first. The *sutta* contains many archaic and poetical forms.

22. In the former instance the stanza is attributed to a *devatā*, and in the latter to Māra.

23. Fausböll: *Translation of the Sutta Nipāta*, SBE. Vol. X. p. 3.

24. The Commentary (*SnA.* 31) says that *kuṭi* refers to the body; *kuṭi'ti attabhāvo. kāyo ti pi, guhā ti pi* (*Sn.* 772), *deho ti pi, sandeho ti pi* (*Thl.* 20 Dh. 148) *nāvā ti pi* (*Dh.* 369), *ratho ti pi* (*S.* IV. 292), *dhajo ti pi, vammiko ti pi* (*M.I.* 144), *kuti ti pi, kuikā ti pi* (*Thl.* 1, etc.) *vuccati*.

There occur several special poetical compounds as *pakkodano*, *duddhakhīro* (*Sn.* 18a,) *akkodhano*, *vigatakhīlo* (*Sn.* 19a), and *samānavāso* (*Sn.* 18b, cp. *samāniyā*, *Sn.* 24b). The lengthening in *patthayasī* in the refrain is partly archaic and partly metrical. Besides this there are other archaic verbal forms such as *vijjare* (*Sn.* 20a, cp. *haññare*, *bhāsare*, etc. and Vedic *śére* and *īśre* > Pkr. *-ire* > P. *-are*, vide Geiger, 122.2); *sakkhinti* (*Sn.* 28c) historical future from  $\sqrt{\text{śak}}$ , *śak-sya* > \**sakkhya* > *sakkhi*- with *samprasāraṇa*; and other historical forms as *upessaṃ* (future, *Sn.* 29c), *pāvassi* (Aor., *Sn.* 30b), *abhāsatha* (*Sn.* 30d), *addasāma* (*Sn.* 31b), *carāmase* (*Sn.* 32b) and *bhavāmase* (*Sn.* 32d) which call for no particular attention. An interesting nominal form is *gini* (*Sn.* 18c, 19c) which is dialectical as well as archaic and perhaps poetic. This form probably comes from a dialectical stratum. The initial vowel has dropped off due to loss of accent. (Vedic *agni* > P. *aggi* | *aggini* | *gini*, cp. *ātmā* > *attā* | *ātumā* | *tumā*).<sup>25</sup> Other noteworthy forms are: *samvāsiyā* at *Sn.* 22b, (diaeretic, cp. *samāniyā*, *Sn.* 24b), *nibbiṭṭhena* at *Sn.* 25b (adverbial inst.) and the sandhi *usabho-r-iva* with the introduction of the pseudo-organic-r; Skr. *vṛṣabha-iva* > P. *usabho-iva*, the deleted *visarga* is restored to bridge the hiatus. The word *deva*, in the refrain is used in the popular sense of cloud and the p.p. *nibbuta* (*Sn.* 19c) in its original meaning.

The syntax of the poem also shows that its language belongs to an early stratum of Pali. The free use of the genitive with the verb *sunāti* (e.g. *tassā na suṇami k' iñci pāpaṃ*—I hear no evil of her—*Sn.* 22c, cp. *Sn.* 24c, and *sutva devassa vassato*—hearing it rain—*Sn.* 30c) is an early construction. The predication of a plural subject with *atthi* is a poetic usage (*Sn.* 26, 27).<sup>26</sup> The syntax of *brahmacariyaṃ Sugate carāmase*. (Let us practise the holy life under the Sugata—*Sn.* 32b) also strikes as belonging to old Pali. The nominal prefix *anu-* in *anutīre* (*Sn.* 18b, 19b) and the phrase, *tiṇṇo pāragato* expressing the early Buddhist concept of “crossing over to the Beyond” are old.

### Style

A few remarks on the style of the *sutta* have already been made in the introduction. The poem stands out as a product of great literary skill and high poetic genius on the part of the composer. With a skilful use of words effecting as little change as possible in the alternating stanzas the author has been successful in illustrating the different points of view of the two interlocutors. The choice of words and expressions is very apt and lends a majestic air to the whole poem. The ballad is no mere versification unlike the artificial poetry of the late Ceylon Chronicles.

25. *Tumā* < Vedic *tman* a by-form of *ātmān*.

26. It is a petrified form even in canonical prose.

All the stanzas are very descriptive and the words of the herdsman paint a beautiful picture of a pastoral scene. Of equal merit is the stanza attributed to the narrator (*Sn.* 30). The refrain (occurring in *Sn.* 18-29) with the word *deva* for rain-cloud is very effective.

Simile, metaphor, world-play, alliteration and assonance and onomatopoeia are employed to some degree. Both the similes used at *Sn.* 29 reflect ideas quite familiar to other parts of the Canon (cp. *Th1*, 1184, *Th2*, 301. *Ap.* 60, 10 etc.). Most of the Buddha's answers to Dhaniya contain metaphors. E. M. Hare (*Woven Cadences*, pp. 218ff.) has pointed out word-play at *Sn.* 18a = 19a, 18b = 19b, 22a = 23a, and alliteration and assonance at *Sn.* 21a, 25abc, 28a, 29b and 33ab=34ab. An onomatopoeic effect is produced by phrases such as, *sutvā devassa vassato* (*Sn.* 30c), etc. In spite of the poetical devices employed there appear no signs of lateness in the language of the poem and there is much positive evidence to show that the poem is old.

### Metre

The metre of the poem is not uniform, but it is evident that it follows the pattern of the *Vaitāliya* and *Aupacchandasika*—both metres of popular origin in which the syllabic instants are taken into account. Something definite can be said of only the two concluding stanzas which are in *Vaitāliya* (14, 16; 14, 16). Of the remaining stanzas the sum-total of *morae* in a half-stanza ranges from 29 (*Sn.* 30cd) to 37 (*Sn.* 28ab). Some of the pairs of stanzas in the main dialogue agree metrically; viz. *Sn.* 18, 19 contain 36, 30 *morae* each in their half stanzas, *Sn.* 20, 21; 32, 32 and 32, 31 *morae* respectively. *Sn.* 26, 27; 31, 32 *morae* in each: while there is a disparity in varying degrees in the others viz. *Sn.* 22, 23 in *pāda* c, only (16, 19, 16, 17; 16, 19, 13, 17 respectively); *Sn.* 24, 25 in *pādas* ac. (14, 18, 16, 17; 13, 18, 13, 17 respectively), and *Sn.* 28, 29 in all *pādas* except the refrain (17, 20, 17, 17; 15, 17, 18, 17 respectively).

In addition to *Sn.* 33 and 34, *Sn.* 32 can also be taken as a *Vaitāliya* stanza with anacrusis in the *pāda* b, as pointed out by Helmer Smith<sup>27</sup>. *Sn.* 20 consists of the number of syllabic instants required for the *Aupacchandasika* metre and the rest of the stanzas contain either more or less *morae* than required for that metre. Other metrical irregularities already observed by scholars<sup>28</sup> are: anacrusis at *Sn.* 22b = 23b, 30b, trochaic *pāda* at *Sn.* 24a; and 26b = 27b containing a *mora* too short (*godharaṇiyo*) for the *Aupacchandasika* metre. (Helmer Smith, *ibid*). The lack of uniformity in the metre of the poem supports the view that the writers

27. *SnA.* 643.

28. *Ibid*.



of these ballads have been mainly guided by rhythm and not fixed metres. Perhaps these stanzas mark the transition from the purely popular versification to the more fixed *Vaitāliya* and *Aupacchandasiṅk* metres. This too is in agreement with the general antiquity of the poem.

### Doctrinal Developments

No real developments in doctrine are in evidence in the *sutta*. The ideology of the poem conforms to that of Buddhism in its earliest phase. The various Buddhist concepts alluded to in the Buddha's replies to Dhaniya belong to early Buddhism, and therefore demand no particular attention. The only term with a technical significance is *upadhi* (substratum of rebirth—*Sn.* 33, 34) which is known from early Buddhist times, and is met with no less than 19 times in *Sn.* On doctrinal evidence the *sutta* appears to be considerably old.

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### External Evidence

An interesting feature of the poem is that very few of its *pādas* in the main dialogue are to be met with in other metrical works, though the refrain occurs at *Thl.* 51-54, 325. On the other hand, the ideas in the *sutta* are common to other parts of the Canon as well. The various metaphorical allusions (e.g. to *kuṭi*, *gini*, *bhisi*, etc.) in the Buddha's replies, can be compared with the numerous similes and parables in other parts of the Canon<sup>29</sup>; e.g. the simile of the *kuṭi* at M.I., 190, *Thl.* 125 etc., *bhisi* cp. the parable of the raft (*kulla*) M.I., 134, etc. The whole of the sixth *vagga* of the *Eka-nipāta* of *Thl.* (*Thl.* 51-60) is connected with *kuṭi*. The occurrence of *Sn.* 33, 34 at S.I. has already been discussed. The fact that the majority of the *pādas* in the main dialogue are not found repeated in other metrical works may suggest that these stanzas were quite distinct from the rest. Yet in contents they agree. Taking all the internal evidence (specially from language, syntax and metre) into account it may be said that these stanzas may have been anterior to the bulk of the Pāli metrical works.

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### Kasibhāradvāja Sutta

The other "Pastoral Ballad" *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta* is a regular *ākkyāna* containing narrative prose connecting the *gāthās*. The poem itself is a modified parable in which the Buddha explains the Dhamma to a

29. The Commentator gives an exhaustive list of similar occurrences (*SnA.* 31 11) which Helmer Smith has traced in the foot-notes.

ploughman by employing the terminology used by him. Though the *gāthās* consist of only a question and an answer to it, they fit into the general scheme of the narrative which is conducted entirely in prose. The prose which is both introductory and explanatory appears to have been used in order to acquaint the reader (or the listener) with the context of the verses, of which *Sn.* 76-80 form a separate unit (i.e. the Buddha as ploughman). Like all prose introductions to ballads, it is quite probable that at some early stage the prose of this *sutta* was not fixed, and that the singers of the ballads described the situation in their own words. The fact that the version of this *sutta* found at S.I., 172-173 (*Brāhmaṇa-Samyutta*) contains these *gāthās verbatim*, but shows a divergence in the prose<sup>30</sup> is in agreement with the unsettled nature of the prose. Further, the enhanced version of the conclusion in *Sn.* may be indicative of the relative lateness of the compilation of *Sn.* (as an anthology), for decidedly the shorter version in the *Samyutta* is the older of the two. The possibility of the existence of two recensions within the same Theravāda School is very remote, and it is quite clear that both versions are based on the same tradition and that the *sutta* in *Sn.* is merely an enlargement of the same occurring in the *Samyutta*.

The formula-like phrases of the introduction and conclusion which agree word for word with all such passages in *suttas* dealing with conversions made by the Buddha, and the emphasis laid on the miracle as an ingredient to conversion exemplifying the consequence of the *iddhi*-power of the Buddha (*Sn.* p. 15) rather than the teaching itself, are positive indications of the lateness of the prose of the *sutta* as contrasted with the *gāthās*. There occur a few irregular verbal forms in the prose, which are of no great value here, as they are used in all periods of canonical Pāli; viz. *dammi*, an old form used in all periods (*vide* Geiger §143) cp. Epic Sk. *dadmi*; *dakkhinti*, future, cp. *sakkhinti* (*vide* Geiger §152), but has the appearance of an old (Vedic) injunctive<sup>31</sup>; and *alattha* S-Aor.—all occurring in *Sn.* pp. 15-16. One is also struck by the frequent occurrence of imper. 2 sg. forms in *-ssu* (historical) and the wealth of denominatives in the passage describing the miracle.

The stanzas in the *sutta* are not very remarkable, and fail to reach the perfection of those of the companion poem, *Dhaniya Sutta*. Syntactically there appears nothing worthy of comment as the verses merely compare in a series of simple sentences, the counterparts in the religious life

30. Both introduction are identical. The prose passage after the fifth stanza (*Sn.* 80) runs: *Bhūñjatu bhavaṃ Gotamo, Kassako bhavaṃ Gotamo, yaṃ hi Gotamo amatapphalaṃ pi kaṣiṃ kasati ti.* The concluding passage in S. begins with *Evam vutte Kasibhāradvāja brāhmaṇo bhagavantam etad-avoca: Abhikkantaṃ bho Gotama*, etc. (*Sn.* p. 15, 11. 17 to 1, 1. p. 16) and concludes: *upāsakaṃ maṃ bhavaṃ Gotamo dhāretu ajja-t-agge paṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gataṃ ti.*

31. *Vide.* Pischel §§525-6, 529, 532.

to the various implements and actions in ploughing. On the one hand, the absence of exact counterparts for some items in the similes (e. g. *Sn.* 78ab), and on the other, the mention of two for the same object (e. g. *Sn.* 77bd, *paññā* and *sati*) speak further of the lack of perfection of the poem.

The language of the verses is essentially *gāthā*-Pali. Yet, archaisms are few. The only noteworthy forms are:—*jānemu* (*Sn.* 76d) cp. Pkr. *jānimo* and *jānāmo*, Sk. -*maḥ* > Pkr. -*mo* > P. -*mu* (vide Pischel §510); and *dhuradhorayha* (*Sn.* 79a), a peculiar double nominal form (*dhura*+*dhora*-*vahya* s.v. P.T.S.). The sandhi in *vuttir esā* (*Sn.* 81d) is historical.

The metre of the poem is somewhat regular; *Sn.* 76-80 are *Anuṣṭubh* slokas and *Sn.* 81-82 are *Triṣṭubh*. There is anacrusis at *Sn.* 79a and the caesura is not reckoned after the seventh syllable at *Sn.* 82d. Metrical lengthening is to be seen at *Sn.* 77c (*hirī*) and 81d (*salī*) in addition to instances like *paññāpekha*; (*Sn.* 82d) for rhythm rather than metre. The style of the *sutta* has been sufficiently commented on earlier.

The ideology of the poem does not show any late developments. The emphasis is on the practical aspect and the attainment of deliverance through moral and intellectual discipline. Qualities like *saddhā*, *tapo*, *paññā*, *hiri*, *sati*, *sacca*, *soracca*, *virīya* and the control over mind, body and speech are accepted as virtues by all early Indian schools; yet the training envisaged in the *sutta* is essentially Buddhist. There is neither speculation nor metaphysics, and the teaching, however tersely expressed, does not show any departure from what may be expected in the earliest teaching.

There are two terms which demand further attention; viz. *yogakkhema* (*Sn.* 79b) and *kevalin* (*Sn.* 82a). The technical significance of the former has come about by a direct semantic development from Vedic. In Vedic it meant "exertion and rest, acquisition and possession" (s.v. PTS), whereas in Classical Sk., "security, secure possession of what has been acquired, or insurance "as at *Manu.* IX, 219. According to the Petersburg Sk. Dictionary, it is usually explained as "gain and support of a possession" and at *Gaut.* 28, 46 it means "property destined for religious purposes". But all these ideas are remote from the Pali meanings. The non-technical meaning of "rest from work" in Pali, is nearer Vedic, and the idea of "freedom from bondage" is logically connected with the former. The term *kevalin*, which occurs as many as 7 times in *Sn.* is an epithet for the "perfect one". The idea itself is very familiar to the Canon even in such phrases as *kevalaparipunnāṃ*, etc., though the concept is seen best developed in Jainism (cp. *kevalin*, the perfect one,

an epithet for *tīrthāṅkara*, and *kaivalya*, epithet for *nirvāṇa*). The origin and conception of the idea is definitely pre-Buddhist, but it need not be through any Jaina influence that its adoption has taken place in Buddhism.

The evidence from all these sources taken singly does not yield any definite data as regards the date of the poem, but taking the collective evidence the stanzas have a claim to comparative antiquity.

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### External Evidence

It has already been observed above that the *sutta* is an enlarged version of that found at S.I., 172. The additional prose passage found on p. 15 is seen to occur in the *Sundarika Sutta* at S.I., 167-168 though the *Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta* in *Sn.* (III, 4) contains no corresponding passage. In order to establish the relationship of these two *suttas*, their common factor *Sn.* 81-82 = *Sn.* 480-481, has to be taken into account. These two stanzas are repeated in three *suttas* in the *Brāhmaṇa Samyutta*; viz. at S.I., 167 (*Aggika*-), I, 168 (*Sundarika*-), and I, 173 (*Kasi*-). This necessitates a comparison of these three *suttas* with the corresponding ones in *Sn.*<sup>32</sup>

In all the instances where the two stanzas *Sn.* 81-82 occur there is apparently sufficient justification for their inclusion, for the introductions state either that the Buddha was on his alms-round or that the brahmin was preparing an oblation. However, the stories contained in these three *suttas* show that at some stage or another there has set in a confusion of legend. Although it is not easy to say which *sutta* portrays the original version of the story, the influence of one on the other two is evident. It is significant that the section ending with *Sn.* 80, has very

32. *Aggika Sutta* (S.I., 166-167) corresponds to, *Vasala Sutta* (pp. 142-151) which in *Sn.* bears the alternative title *Aggikabhāradvāja Sutta*. The only noteworthy similarity of the two *suttas* lies in their respective introductions, though they differ widely in details. The *nidāna* (scene of the *sutta*) in *Sn.* is *Sāvatthi* whereas it is *Rājagaha* in *S.* In both *suttas* the Brahmin is said to be preparing for a fire-sacrifice though it is stated in different words (*Sn.* p. 21, *aggipajjalito hoti, āhuti paggaḥita*; S.I., 166, *sappinā pāyāso sammihito hoti, 'aggim juhissāmi, aggihuttam paricarissāmi'*). In *Sn.* the Brahmin abuses the Buddha whereas in *S.* he offers the *pāyāsa* (in verse) which the Buddha refuses with the stanzas *Gāthābhigītāṃ*, etc. The stanzas in the two poems are entirely different though the phrase, *na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo* (S.I., 166<sup>32</sup>, *Sn.* 136b, 142b) is common to both. The concluding prose is the same.

The introductions to both versions of the *sutta* recording the conversation between the Buddha and *Sundarikabhāradvāja* are almost identical but only 5 of the 10 stanzas in *S.* have parallels in the 32 stanzas in *Sn.*; viz.; S. v. 1 = *Sn.* 462, (v. 8), S. v. 2//*Sn.* 463 (v. 2ab = *Sn.* 463ab), S. v. 3//*Sn.* 459, 479 (v. 3bc = *Sn.* 459bc), S. v. 4-5 = *Sn.* 480, 481. The miraculous incident (//*Sn.* p. 15) is related at S.I., 168-169, following which occurs a set of 5 stanzas, both of which being absent in *Sn.* The conclusion is identical in both works. (Sufficient has been said of the *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta*, earlier).



little connection with the rest of the *sutta*, in the *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta*. The discourse ends there, and the line,

*etaṃ kaṣiṃ kasitvāna, sabbadukkhā pamunecati,*

affords a fitting climax. Unlike the *Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta* (both in S. and Sn.) the story is not centred on 'what is left of the sacrificial cake' (*havyasesa*), which has a greater mysterious significance than *pāyāsa* (*Kasi*-), a thing mentioned only at this secondary stage. The difference in metre of Sn. 81-82 from that in the previous stanzas, and the uniformity in this respect, of all the stanzas (including these two) of the *Samyutta* version of the *Sundarika Sutta* (and to some extent the poem in Sn.) tend to emphasise the fact that Sn. 81-82 *did not originally belong here*.<sup>33</sup>

In view of all this evidence, both internal and external, it may be concluded that (a), the *sutta* consists of two different elements (i) Sn. 76-80 with the prose introduction which at some stage was not in any fixed form, (ii) the two stanzas Sn. 81-82 and the prose on pp. 15-16 which constitute a subsequent addition, (b), the *sutta* has been greatly influenced by another *sutta* (probably the *Sundarika Sutta* of S.), the main theme of which was the exemplification of the miraculous powers of the Buddha, (c), the *sutta* in its present form has been included in Sn. at a date much later than that of the composition of the stanzas, and (d), the *sutta* probably is later than the *Brāhmaṇa Samyutta*, if it has been influenced by the *Sundarika Sutta*.

33. The *Sundarika Sutta* (S.) presents a more coherent narrative of the incident while the parallel version in Sn. is *either* an amalgamation of two suttas, one of which was based on the first 5 stanzas of the *sutta* in S. *or* an altogether different *sutta* which has incorporated a greater part of the legend i.e. without the miracle, as well the first five stanzas.

## THE BUDDHA'S ADVICE TO BĀHIYA

John D. Ireland

In the *Pāli Buddhist Review* I p. 2 there is a translation of the Buddha's brief instruction to Bāhiya (*Ud.* I 10) by Bhikkhu Ñānavīra. As this difficult passage is of considerable interest it was thought worthwhile to attempt another and fuller translation of it. In the PTS edition of the *Udāna* the Pāli text is hopelessly corrupt and this translation is based upon Woodward's reconstruction of it from the parallel passage in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (S. IV p. 73) and the *Udāna* Commentary (p. 92). The italicised portion is the amplification of the text from the commentary.

In addition there is also translated the verse-*udāna*, the inspired utterance the Buddha gives out at the end of the *Bāhiya Sutta*, followed by the *udāna* of *Ud.* VIII. 1, which is evidently a prose gloss on the former. Taken together they provide an illuminating description of the nature of Nibbāna, bearing upon the Buddha's brief instruction to Bāhiya.

It might be of interest to study in conjunction with these the Buddha's advice to Mālunkyaputta in the *Samyutta* (S. IV p. 72f) and also the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* (M. 1). In the *Samyutta* the passage is not introduced so abruptly, but the Buddha leads up to it by questioning Mālunkyaputta which clarifies what is intended. And then the verses expand on Mālunkyaputta's understanding of it.

Basically the message is to bring an end to the deep-rooted craving, attachment and fondness for those things cognised by the senses, experienced now, remembered and yet to be experienced in the future, *at this very moment now*. And when this is realised one does not identify oneself with the pleasure and delight involved, even in the most refined and subtle achievements of meditation experience. They are not thought of as identical with or a possession of the 'self'; as 'me' or 'mine'.  
*Udāna* p. 8 restored:

Tasmāt iha Bāhiya evaṃ sikkhitabbam:  
diṭṭhe diṭṭhamattaṃ bhavissati, sute sutamattaṃ bhavissati,  
mute mutamattaṃ bhavissati, viññāte viññātamattaṃ bhavissatī'ti.  
Evañ hi te Bāhiya sikkhitabbam.

Yato kho te Bāhiya diṭṭhe diṭṭhamattam bhavissati. . .  
 viññāte viññātamattam bhavissati, tato tvam Bāhiya na tena;  
 yato tvam Bāhiya na tena, tato tvam Bāhiya na tattha;  
 yato tvam Bāhiya na tattha, tato tvam Bāhiya nev'idha na huram  
 na ubhayam-antarena; es'ev'anto dukkhassati.

From *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Udānattakathā*) p. 92:

. . . yato kho te Bāhiyā'ti ādi araddham. Tattha yato'ti yadā yasmā  
 vā. Te'ti tava. Tato'ti tadā tasmā vā. Tena'ti tena diṭṭhadi paṭibad-  
 dhena vā rāgadinā vā. . .

Tato tvam Bāhiya na tatthā'ti yadā yasmā vā tvam pana rāgena ratto  
 dosena vā duṭṭho mohena vā mūlho na bhavissasi. . .

Tato tvam Bāhiya nev'idha na huram na ubhayam-antarenā'ti yadā  
 tvam Bāhiya tena rāgadinā tattha diṭṭhādīsu paṭibaddho na bhavissasi,  
 tadā tvam n'eva idha-loke na para-loke na ubhayatthā'si.

Es'ev'anto dukkhassā'ti kilesa-dukkhassa ca vaṭṭa-dukkhassa ca  
 ayam hi anto. . .

'Herein, Bāhiya, you should train yourself thus: 'In the seen will be  
 merely what is seen; in the heard will be merely what is heard; in the  
 sensed<sup>1</sup> will be merely what is sensed; in the perceived<sup>2</sup> will be merely  
 what is perceived.'

In this way you should train yourself, Bāhiya.

When, Bāhiya, it is begun to be accomplished that in the seen is merely  
 what is seen. . . in the perceived is merely what is perceived, then,  
 Bāhiya, you will not be 'with that' (na tena)<sup>3</sup>, bound with that (wrong)  
 view and so forth or with passion and so forth; when, Bāhiya, you are  
 not 'with that' then, Bāhiya, you will not be 'in that situation' (na  
 tattha)<sup>3</sup> because you will not be (in the situation of being) enpassioned  
 by passion or enraged by hate or deluded by delusion; when, Bāhiya, you  
 are not 'in that situation' then, Bāhiya, you will be neither 'here' nor  
 'beyond' nor 'in between both'<sup>4</sup>, as, Bāhiya, you will not be in the situa-  
 tion of being bound by passions and views and so forth, there is for you  
 neither this world nor another world nor both places.

1. *Muta*: sensed, is a collective term for the three senses of smell, taste and touch.

2. *Viññāta*: perceived or cognised by mind.

3. 'With that' (*tena*) and 'in that situation' (*tattha*) are the key words in this text.  
 As the whole instruction is so cryptic they are translated thus in an attempt to approxi-  
 mate to what is intended, but the rendering is only provisional.

4. *Ubhayamantara*. Perhaps, 'moving between both', i.e. going from this world to  
 another world and returning to this world again. The Comy. alters to *ubhayattha*  
 (both places), whereas below (in *Ud.* VIII 1) there is just *ubho* (both).

Just this is the end of suffering''—this is the end of the suffering of  
 the defilements (*kilesa-dukkha*) and the suffering of the round of existences  
 (*vaṭṭa-dukkha*).

(*Ud.* p. 8 and *UdA.* p. 92)

Where water, earth, fire and air have no foothold,<sup>5</sup>

There gleam no evening stars,<sup>6</sup> no sun illuminates,

There shines<sup>7</sup> no moon, no darkness<sup>8</sup> there is found.

When a sage, a brahman, by wisdom has himself experienced (it),

Then he is freed from form and formless, pleasure and pain.

(*Ud.* p. 9)

There is, bhikkhus, that state<sup>9</sup> where there is no earth, no water, no  
 fire, no air; no base consisting of infiniteness of space, no base consisting  
 of infiniteness of consciousness, no base consisting of nothingness, no  
 base consisting of neither-perception-nor-non-perception; neither this  
 world nor another world nor both; neither sun nor moon.<sup>10</sup>

There is here, bhikkhus, I say, no coming, no going, no staying, no  
 deceasing, no uprising. Not fixed, not moveable, it has no objective  
 support.<sup>11</sup> Just this is the end of suffering.

(*Ud.* p. 80)

5. *Gādhati*: to stand fast, to be on firm ground, to have a firm footing, etc.

6. *Sukkhā* is the Pali name for the planet Venus, but it is in the plural here, hence  
 the rendering 'evening stars'. But it can just mean 'stars' generally.

7. The richness of Pali is seen in the three different verbs employed for the shining  
 of stars, sun and moon.

8. *Tamo* means darkness both literally and figuratively, thus it is also a term for  
 ignorance, doubt and a state of suffering, as well as merely the absence of light.

9. *Tadāyatanaṃ*: that state, base, sphere, place, region, position, etc. The *Nibbāna-  
 dhātu*. Here it is not meant in any directional (or temporal) sense however.

10. Regarding the sun and moon, there is a stanza beginning.

'As far as moon and sun revolve in their course  
 And light up all the quarters with their radiance,  
 So far extends the thousand-world system. . . .'

(I. B. Horner's translation of M. 49)

Therefore the sun and moon probably indicate the universe, symbolising the whole of  
 conditioned existence (*Samsāra*). And their exclusion from *Nibbāna* the latter  
 complete 'otherness' and its nature as the Unconditioned.

Sun and moon are also known to be deities. In M. 1 a somewhat similar list as  
 here has the four elements and the four formless realms plus the names of a number of  
 deities, without mentioning sun and moon. All of these, including also the four ele-  
 ments or rather qualities of matter, represent the subtle essence of conditioned existence  
 experienced by the most advanced meditators, but which is still 'mundane' and 'other'  
 than *Nibbāna*.

11. *Anārammanam* means (a) it has no support, footing, etc. i.e. it is unconditioned,  
 uncaused; (b) it is unthinkable, unimaginable, it cannot be made an object of thought;  
 (c) it cancels out the possible erroneous idea of 'that state' (*tadāyatana*) as something  
 objective, like a mental or sensory object. The words *ārammana* and *āyatana* are closely  
 related and have the meaning of sense object and the sixfold subjective-objective sensory  
 fields.



## PALI BUDDHIST STUDIES IN THE WEST

Russell Webb

### 4. Denmark

Oriental studies may be said to have begun with the linguist, Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787-1832), who was sponsored by Frederick VI on a journey that took him through Russia and Persia to India. He then travelled to Ceylon where he was befriended by an ex-bhikkhu, Dhammakhandha *rājagura* (George Nadoris de Silva) and a native Christian, Don Abraham de Thomas. Through them he mastered Pāli and Sinhalese to the extent that he felt able to go into print. In 1822, a Sinhalese grammar in Danish—*Singalesisk Skriftlaere* was published in Colombo. He also contributed to Benjamin Clough's Pali grammar which appeared in English in 1824. His best remembered act involved the acquisition, for Rs. 9,000 of 200 Pali manuscripts which formed the basis for subsequent Pali studies in Denmark.

For the Danish periodical, *Nordisk Tidsskrift for historie, literatur og kunst* (I, 1827), he contributed a pioneer paper, "Om Pali-sproget og om Pali haandskrifter i det store kongelige Bibliotek" ("On the Pali language and on the Pali manuscripts in the great Royal Library"). His collected writings were edited by his brother, H. K. Rask, and published posthumously under the title, *Samlede tildels forhen utrykte Afhandlinger af R. K. Rask* (Copenhagen 1834-38).

The MSS alluded to in Rask's essay were more fully described in *Codices Indici Bibliothecae Regiae Havniensis* (Copenhagen 1846). This Latin catalogue analyses all the Indian MSS in the Royal Library and devotes over forty pages to Rask's collection from Ceylon. Its compiler, Niels Ludwig Westergaard (1815-78), was Professor of Indology at Copenhagen University and Fausböll's teacher.

Michael Viggo Fausböll (1824-1908), the son of a Lutheran pastor, graduated in theology from Copenhagen University in 1840 but devoted his free time to a study of Indian philology. Beginning with Sanskrit, he taught himself Pali after taking an interest in the Rask collection. From 1848 he began to transcribe the Sinhala script into Roman characters and thereafter contemplated editing the *Jātaka* book. However, he was dissuaded from this enterprise by its sheer magnitude—at least for the next twenty years. Instead, he transcribed the *Dhammapada* text and edited this with a Latin translation in 1855. (This was reprinted by Biblio-Verlag, Osnabruck, in 1972.)

In 1878 he succeeded Westergaard as Professor of Indology and thereafter engaged in editing the text of the *Jātaka*. He had already translated

some stories from this collection which had been published in either Copenhagen or London—viz. *Five Jātakas* (1861), *Two Jātakas* (1871), *The Dasaratha-jātaka, being the Buddhist story of King Rāma* (1871) and *Ten Jātakas* (1872). After acquiring additional texts on the *Jātaka* from Burma and Ceylon, he was able to correct those brought by Rask and eventually presented his *magnum opus* for publication by the Pali Text Society. The entire *Jātaka* was thus produced in six volumes between 1877-96 (reprinted 1962-64), with a seventh volume containing a postscript and index appearing in 1897 which was compiled by Dines Andersen.

Before retiring in 1902, Fausböll translated the *Sutta-Nipāta* as *A Collection of Discourses* (SBE, London 1880; Delhi 1968) for which he compiled a glossary in 1893; and, for the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, compiled a "List of Pali MSS in the University Library, Copenhagen" (1883) and a "Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS in the India Office Library" (1894-96). He presented his own collection of Sinhala, Burmese and Siamese MSS to the Danish Royal Library.

Carl Vilhelm Trenckner (1824-91) matriculated from Copenhagen University in classical philology and, although he never acquired a degree, he mastered Sanskrit, Pali and several spoken Asian languages in addition to Western European tongues. Of humble origins and simple tastes, he spent the last thirty years of his life as a teacher in the capital's Orphans Asylum.

After studying Pali MSS for about twenty-five years he produced "a masterly edition" of the *Milindapañha* (PTS 1880; reprinted 1963). This had been preceded by *A Pali Miscellany* (London and Edinburgh 1879) which comprised the introductory section of the same post-canonical exegesis (reprinted in the *JPTS* for 1908). He also edited the first volume of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (PTS 1887; reprinted 1964).

However, Trenckner is to be remembered as the man who conceived the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (see below). This unique venture began with his first copying Fausböll's transcripts of Pali texts which he corrected by collating them with the original MSS in the Royal Library. He subsequently transcribed the bulk of the Rask collection and also some further texts borrowed from London. All these transcripts, which included critical observations and cross-references to parallel passages on almost every line, were intended as the basic working materials for a Pali lexicon. This was to have begun with a critical edition of Moggallāna's *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (which, incidentally, had been produced in Sinhala script, with English and Sinhalese interpretations by W. Subūhti in Colombo in 1865).



Trenckner's work was to be partially fulfilled by Dines Andersen (1861-1940). Of equally humble origins, Andersen was born on the island of Fyn and matriculated from Odense Grammar School twenty years later. He studied classical philology and general linguistics at Copenhagen University and was awarded his doctorate in 1892 for a dissertation on Sanskrit verbs.

On his appointment as a librarian in the University Library in 1891, he was entrusted with Trenckner's lexicographical materials and transcripts. Deciding on the necessity to produce a Pali dictionary on truly philological principles, he embarked on a thorough study of the original texts. The initial results were published in the form of the first Pali texts to be translated into Danish: six stories from the *Rasavāhīnī* in *Studier fra Sprog-og Oltidsforskning*, I, 6 (Det philologisk-historiske Samfund, Copenhagen 1891) and the Padhāna Sutta from the *Sutta-Nipāta* in *Kort Udsigt over det philologisk-historiske Samfunds Virksomhed*, III (1899-1904).

Andersen's best-known compilation, however, is his *Pali Reader* (Copenhagen and Leipzig: Part I, 1901, Glossary, 1904-7; reprinted in Kyoto 1968). This premier textbook for learning Pali contains an annotated selection of twenty-eight *jātākas* and other texts, whilst the glossary incorporates the vocabulary of the *Dhammapada*. With Helmer Smith, he edited the *Sutta-Nipāta* (PTS 1913; reprinted 1965) and the medieval Sinhalese grammatical works, *Dhātumañjūsā* and *Dhātupaṭṭha* (Copenhagen 1921).

Andersen held the position of Professor of Indian Philology at Copenhagen University between 1903-27. Although he succeeded in gaining potential supporters to his idea of international collaboration towards realising the Pali dictionary, the First World War prevented implementation of his plan. Instead, he persuaded Helmer Smith (Professor at Uppsala University) to work with him from 1916 onwards. The appearance of new editions of the Pali texts from the PTS, Ceylon and Siam, necessitated the compilers of the Critical Pāli Dictionary—as it was known from the publication of the initial fascicle in 1924—to convert Trenckner's materials into a corporate whole of textual criticism based on the various recensions of the Pāli literary tradition.

Poul Tuxen (1880-1955) succeeded Andersen as Professor of Indian Philology in 1928 and devoted his life to research in this field. He translated the *Dhammapada* in 1920 which was reprinted in Copenhagen in 1953 and included translations of the *Cūla Mālunkya*, *Dhammacakkapavattana* and *Dhaniya Suttas*. From the *Jātaka*, he translated thirty-one "Tales from Ancient India": *Aeventyr fra det Gamle Indien* (1924).

Tuxen is also remembered for a completely original study on relativity in Buddhism (which includes a discussion on Nāgārjuna's philosophy): *Indledende bemaerkninger til Buddhistisk Relativisme* (Copenhagen University 1936); together with the clearest and most comprehensive exposition on Buddhism in Danish, based on an analysis of the original source materials: *Buddha. Hans laere, dens overlevering og dens liv i nutiden* ("The Buddha. His teaching, its handing down and its present state"—1928). He also contributed the chapters on Buddhism to a couple of tomes on Comparative Religion, both entitled *Illustreret Religionshistorie*: the first, edited by Prof. Johannes Pedersen (1948), with the second, edited by J. Peter Asmussen and Jørgen Laessøe (2 vols., 1968), being essentially a revised and enlarged version of the original compilation.

A quarter of *Buddhas vej til Nirvāṇa* (1961) consists of an anthology of texts translated by Tuxen. The author, Frits Pullich, was a professor of the History of Religions.

The Critical Pāli Dictionary (*Pāli-Ordbogen*) undoubtedly constitutes Denmark's major contribution to Oriental studies. Under the auspices of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, the following fascicles have appeared: Vol. I Prolegomena and A-asota (11 parts) and Epilegomena (1924-48) Vol. II Ā-upakkama (9 parts to date, 1960-75). It is worth singling out the Epilegomena for special mention since it catalogues the texts and secondary works used in compiling the Dictionary. It also includes an exhaustive bibliography of Pali, Buddhist Sanskrit and Prakrit texts that were published in Asian countries and in the West.

Although the compilation of the CPD was initially based on the material assembled by Trenckner, today, as revealed in the Epilegomena, its basis has expanded to include all known, edited texts that have a bearing on the lexicographical task involved. Even at the present time, no more than a handful of scholars—drawn from Denmark, Germany (L. Alsdorf and H. Kopp) and Czechoslovakia (Ivo Fiser)—are working on this project full time. Fortunately, liberal financial aid has been forthcoming from the Danish Government, the Carlsberg and Rask-Orsted Foundations, and UNESCO, whilst each participating scholar's salary is met by his own sponsoring university.

Prof. L. L. Hammerich (1892-1975) was Editor-in-Chief until his death whereupon Prof. Alsdorf was appointed to co-ordinate the work. Apart from Kaj Barr and N. Warmdahl, other Danish participants have included the following: Elof Olesen (1877-1939) assisted in the editing of fascicles 8-10 of Vol. I (1936-39). He graduated from Copenhagen



University in Sanskrit and classical philology in 1895 but did not begin to study Pali until thirty years later. Hans Hendriksen (born 1913) has been Professor of Indology since 1951 and was co-editor, with H. Smith, of the CPD from 1944-57. Although he prepared a study of the *Syntax of the Infinite Verb-Forms of Pali* (1944), he no longer works in this field. Prof. F. Möller-Kristensen contributed to Vol. II and now occupies the post of Librarian at the Royal Library.

Else Pauly also contributed to Vol. II and continues to teach Pali and Buddhism at the *Institut für indisk filologi*. Textbooks used are Andersen's *Pali Reader*, Geiger's *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Mayrhofer's *Handbuch des Pali*, Warder's *Introduction to Pali*; Conze's *Buddhism and Buddhist Texts Through the Ages*, Rāhula's *What the Buddha Taught* and H. W. Schumacher's *Buddhismus: Stifter, Schulen, Systeme*. Buddhist Sanskrit is also taught for which Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* is the sole guide.

#### For further reading:

Peiris, William: *The Western Contribution to Buddhism* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1973). *Vide* pp. 185-212 for further details of the CPD and fuller biographies of Rask, Fausböll, Trenckner, Andersen and Tuxen. Most of Peiris' material for his chapter on Denmark is to be found in Vol. I of the CPD.

Chaudhury, Sukomal: "A Critical Pali Dictionary" in *PBR* I, 2, p. 69.

(This was a revised version of an article that first appeared in *The Maha Bodhi*, Vol. 81, Nos. 5-6—May-June 1973—p. 199).

Corrigenda to *Pali Buddhist Studies in the West*, 3 Germany (pp. 114-122)

116, line 17: substitute 1970 for 1969

117, line 18 from below: *Das Wort des Buddha* was first published in Leipzig in 1906 whilst a revised and enlarged edition was published by Oskar Schloss in Munich c. 1925.

line 13 from below: delete entry for *Pali-Anthologie und Wörterbuch*. The German version of the *Buddhist Dictionary* was first published in Constance in 1954 and reprinted in 1976.

lines 9 and 2 from below: *Geistestraining durch Achtsamkeit* and *Kompendium der Dingwelt* were correctly prepared by Nyāṇaponika.

line 3 from below: delete the Therīgāthā translation which did not materialise.

118, line 10: correctly *Buddhistisches Wörterbuch*  
line 13: *Buddha und seine Jünger* correctly deals with lives the Buddha's disciples.

line 5 from below: substitute Colombo for Dodanduwa.

119, line 11: Prof. Hamm died three-four years ago.

120, line 15: the indexes are applicable for all three volumes the

Theragāthā Commentary but are contained in Vol. I. and  
Dr. Kopp's indexes to the *Samantapāsādikā* from Vol. VII the  
were published by the PTS in 1977. His revised edition in  
Cariyāpiṭaka Commentary (PTS, 1939), including indexes, in  
the press. From c. 1958 he has also worked for the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Pali Buddhist Texts—explained to the Beginner.** Runc. E. A. Johansson. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 14 Curzon Press, London, Second edition, revised and enlarged, 1977 160 pp. £4.00.

Pali students will have the opportunity of reading a relatively small selection of these ancient but still fascinating and exciting stones in the original language of texts down the centuries. They have proved a wonderful means of conveying the Teaching of the Buddha to ordinary men and women: and the veneration they have commanded in the Buddhist lands of South East Asia is equalled only by the affection they inspire as they are read in the family circle or retold under the palm trees.

Who knows Pali needs no other key to open the message of Aryan antiquity before the present world. A reader can select any text of the book that takes his fancy: he can, for instance, read the translations and then select a text he likes or finds simple enough. There are 52 fairly brief texts to study as an introduction to Pali and also as an introduction to the authentic Dhamma. These texts each of which includes the text, vocabulary, translation and notes, are selected to indicate essential points.

Buddhism has a great mission to fulfil. This is the spirit which the texts wish to convey to you. They call upon you to study with attention, and indeed with devotion. The interest in the Pali language and literature has been steadily growing in the West during the last few decades, and the main part of the canonical literature has been published both in the original language and in translation. Behind this we find a growing concern with Buddhism: its dynamic conception of man, in a analysis of human psychology, its empirical and anti-metaphysical attitude, its tolerance, its demand for personal development—all this has made a deep impression on the Western mind.

The Buddha Saddhamma is profound and extensive, the Tipiṭaka is understandable in its essence by the simple man as well as by the deepest thinker. Thus, this volume presents "A Summary of the Way".

sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ kusalassa upasampadā  
sacittapariyodapanam etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ. (p. 68).

Through these writings the original Pali words of twenty-five centuries ago come vividly alive. You are struck by resemblances to our own era as you read the splendid words of great wisdom. They will give to each that which he is able to derive from them in accordance with his

talents and abilities. They offer themselves as a companion for silent hours. We must thoroughly chew the nourishment received, so that it may be well digested: it is indeed worth-while to study the noble Pali language from the selection by Rune Johansson.

Have you ever wondered how the truly great works have become classics? First, because they are so studiable. They would not have survived unless they were studied: they would not have been studied unless they were useful. To be interesting they had to be easy to understand. And those are the very qualities which characterize these selections: Deep Wisdom always valid Common sense and Way of Life, Simplicity. The authentic Words of the Buddha never grow old. In these dramatic expressions of Eastern wisdom you learn not only how to read the texts, but how to take the best possible advantage of life.

Wladyslaw Misiewicz

**An Analytical Study of Four Nikāyas.** Dipak Kumar Barua. Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta 1971. xviii + 626 pp.

This voluminous and all-embracing analysis of the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas is an extension of the author's doctoral dissertation accepted by the University of Calcutta in 1966.

Although Indian publications are generally difficult to acquire in the West, this tome proved exceptionally elusive and was only secured after a personal application to the Vice-Chancellor of Rabindra Bharati University, Dr. P. C. Gupta. Moreover, it was only the chance sight of its (sole?) review in *Prajñā* (the quarterly journal of the Buddha-Gaya Temple Management Committee) that brought this study to light.

It is difficult to determine how much the book is a product of original research and how much a plagiarism of earlier authorities. The author—a lecturer in the Department of Pali at the University of Calcutta and an active leader of the Buddhist movement—has, however, admitted the sources for his material despite the tedious nature of numerous footnotes. Whilst the reader is probably conversant with, or at least aware of, the main authorities in the field of early Indian Buddhism—N. and S. Dutt, B. C. Law, G. C. Pande, T. W. Rhys Davids, E. J. Thomas, A. K. Warder and M. Winternitz—the present compilation undoubtedly represents the first attempt to incorporate all the elements of the main texts of the Theravāda school, both sacred and secular, into a single volume.

In view of the foregoing, therefore, a summary of the chapters is warranted:



“The Four Nikāyas”: unfortunately this begins with the (superseded rather than discredited) chronological list of texts in the Pali Canon compiled by T. W. Rhys Davids nearly 100 years ago. For a much more detailed analysis of early and late material in the main Nikāyas, the reader’s attention is drawn to Pande’s excellent and indeed unique survey in *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1974). Nevertheless the necessary historical scene is set with the bulk of this chapter devoted to a comparison between the Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese recensions of the Nikāya texts, together with a detailed study of the phonetic structure of the Pali language. “Discourses to the Laity”: after distinguishing between the *gahapati* (the ordinary layman) and the *upāsaka/upāsikā* (the ‘committed’ lay devotee) and defining the traditional duties of the latter, the author skilfully collates all available and relevant material under three headings—ethical, religious and secular. Nonetheless, the lines of demarcation between these categories cannot always be accurately drawn.

“Discourses on Sīla, Samādhi and Paññā”: here again, Dr. Barua has collected the relevant material and presented it under the traditional three-fold schema of training, practice and resultant realisation. The persistent use of Pali terminology in the text, however, makes this chapter especially difficult to read, whilst the section on *samādhi* is far from clear.

“Discussions on Secular Matters” and “Historical and Geographical Materials in the Nikāyas” reveal the little-known and hitherto unappreciated social and economic daily life of 6th. century B.C. India. The (Buddhist) objection to the inclusion of these two lengthy chapters (200 pages in all), however, is that they tend to distract attention from the main import of the Nikāyas: the message of detachment, release, Nibbāna.

Two appendices describe the “Mutual Relations of the Four Nikāyas” and “Treatment of Similes in the Four Nikāyas”, whilst a third appendix forms a fitting climax: “Brief Contents of the Suttas in the Four Nikāyas” (pp. 403-596). This section undoubtedly constitutes the most detailed analysis of the canonical texts in English—double the extent of Law’s treatment in his *History of Pali Literature* (reprinted by Bhartiya Publishing House, Varanasi 1974).

A “Select Bibliography” and name and subject indexes complete an enthralling study which, in the absence of any advertised distributors, would seem to be obtainable only from the publishers: Rabindra Bharati University, 6/4 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta 7.

**A Companion to Middle Indo-Aryan Literature.** Sures Chandra Banerji. Firma KLM Private Ltd., Calcutta. xii+351pp. Rs. 60.

It is presumed that the author of this recently-published work is quite different from the compiler of *An Introduction to Pali Literature*, S.C. Banerji (or Banerjee), who was described as Professor at Maulana Azad College, Calcutta. Certainly, that work does not appear in the bibliography of the *Companion* which has been compiled by the (retired) Senior Professor of Sanskrit in the Department of Education of the Government of West Bengal.

As its title suggests, this book is essentially a reference work for the scriptures of Buddhism and Jainism, comprising those texts in Pali, and Prakrit with a note of their published translations and a list of additional works in Buddhist Sanskrit. However, as with Dr. Barua, the author very largely relies on Law and Winternitz for his source materials.

The Introduction consists of brief surveys of the Pali and Prakrit linguistic structures and the wide and varied literatures which were subsequently developed. A masterly description of the Buddha and his teaching is contained within nine pages.

A list of the known authors of Buddhist and Jain texts is given which is then followed by a detailed index of Pali Buddhist and Jain texts. As far as the former category is concerned, although some European translations have been given, printing errors and omissions abound. For example, under the entry for the *Dhammapada* (pp. 66-67), where, as elsewhere no chronological order is observed, one may justifiably make the following comments: P. L. Vaidya supplemented his edition with a translation; Copenhagen should replace the misleading Latin form, Hauniae; Suriyagoda Sumaṅgala (Thera) should replace S. S. Thera (throughout, as with most non-Buddhist writers in Asia, the monastic title is confused with the ordination name); a further thirty English translations alone are entirely omitted (*vide* the reviewer’s *Analysis of the Pali Canon*) whilst details of the numerous European translations are either missing or garbled—e.g. V. N. Toporov produced the only complete Russian translation in 1960 for the Bibliotheca Buddhica series whereas Prof. Banerji simply inserts “see JSAI. 25, 1912, p. 324” (presumably GSAI was intended); with regard to the Prakrit recension, B. M. Barua and S. Mitra only published an annotated edition (University of Calcutta 1921) whilst John Brough edited *The Gāndhārī Dhammapada* in 1962 (OUP, London).

The next section, “Characters and Mythological Figures”, features the *dramatis personae*, although Malalasekerā’s *DPPN* remains the most comprehensive authority in this field. A glossary of “Technical Terms”, follows.

The Appendices include the "Buddhist Councils", "Schools and Sects of Buddhism", "Contribution of Buddhists to Sanskrit Literature", "Gleanings of historical material from the Piṭakas", "Buddhist Philosophy" and "Prominent Non-Indian Scholars who made notable contributions to the study of Pali and Prakrit languages and literatures".

The last-named appendix, as with the "select Bibliography", omits many essential references and contains numerous printing errors. Apropos the confusion of titles with proper names, "L. Sadaw" = Ledi Sayadaw (the latter term being the Burmese equivalent of *mahāthera*), whilst "Terunnanse (C.)" Silālaṅkāra, "Unnanse, M.S." = Sapaṇṭissa, and "Unnanse, V." = "Vimalasāra; in each case, *unnanse* was the (now outmoded) Sinhalese term for a bhikkhu teacher who was usually a *thera* or *mahāthera*. ("Punnanse, J.N.", would seem to be a corrupt identification with Vimalasāra, since only the latter is credited with modern Sinhala edition of the *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*—in 1880).

Altogether, this is a deficient and carelessly assembled work whose value is limited to those not in possession of the accepted authoritative textbooks (mentioned in the review of D. K. Barua's book above). Since it is painfully obvious that few, if any, Indian publishing houses retain the services of a knowledgeable Buddhist reader, it should be incumbent upon those insisting on rushing into print to first check their accumulated data with more highly qualified personnel.

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