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STANZAS OF VICTORY*

(Translated by *Bhikkhu Khantipālo*)

The Buddha taught that one is not a brahmin by birth but by deeds, a teaching mirrored in the story of Sunīta. He was born in a family of outcastes whose traditional work was to throw away the garlands and flowers used in peoples' homes, festivals and worship. One night as the Buddha sat in meditation of the Net of Great Compassion, Sunīta came to his knowledge and he saw the requirements for Arahantship in his heart, shining like a lamp within a jar. When dawn came the Buddha took his bowl and followed by the bhikkhus, set out on almsround, until he came to the place where Sunīta was working. He was sweeping up rubbish into heaps, putting it into baskets which he then took away on a carrying-pole. (Now according to caste laws, outcastes such as Sunīta must not come into contact with or approach those of the higher castes.) Sunīta seeing the Buddha was filled with joy and finding no place to hide in on that road, he placed his pole in a corner of a wall and stood as if stuck to the wall honouring the Buddha with his hands together. When the Buddha came near he said to Sunīta, "What is this wretched way of life to you? Can you bear to go forth?" And Sunīta, experiencing the rapture of one who has been sprinkled with the Deathless, said: "If even such as I, Exalted One, may in this life go forth, why should I not do so? May the Exalted One, having compassion on me, let me go forth!" And the Buddha said, "Come, bhikkhu!" and that was his Acceptance. After hearing the Buddha's instructions he won attainments in due order until Arahantship—and Sakka and Brahmā with their heavenly retinues came to pay him homage. Many bhikkhus hearing of his attainment, came to ask him questions—"From what family did you go forth?", "Why did you go forth?", "How did you penetrate the four Noble Truths?" Sunīta told them the whole matter in these words:

Extracts from a new anthology from the Thera-therī-gāthā—*Banner of the Arahants*—which will be published by the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy.

Humble the clan in which I was born,
 poor and having little food,
 lowly the work I had to do—
 I threw away the flowers.
 I was despised by men,
 disregarded, reviled by them,
 so making my mind humble,
 respectful was I to many folk.
 Then I saw the All-Enlightened One
 revered and leading the bhikkhu-sangha,
 the Great Hero as he was entering
 the chief city of the Magadhese.¹
 Laying down my carrying-pole
 I approached to honour him,
 out of compassion just for me
 the Best-among-men stood still.
 Having honoured the Teacher's feet
 then standing near at hand
 I requested the going-forth
 from the best-of-beings-all.
 Then the Teacher compassionate,
 compassionate with all the world,
 spoke these words to me, 'Come bhikkhu'
 and that was my Acceptance.
 Afterwards I lived alone
 in the forest, diligent
 I did the Teacher's bidding
 as the Conqueror exhorted me.
 And in the first watch of the night
 I recollected my former lives;
 then in the night's middle watch
 the Eye Divine² was purified;
 and in the last watch of the night
 I tore asunder the mass of gloom.
 Then as the day was dawning
 and the great sun arising
 hither came Indra³ and Brahmā too

1. Rājagaha (modern Rajgir in Bihar).

2. *Dibba-cakkhu*, one of the six 'higher spiritual powers' (*abhiññā*). A process whereby one is able to 'see' the rebecoming of beings according to their *kamma*.

3. A less widely used name for Sakka, the 'King of the Gods'.

their hands together revering me—
 'Homage to you, nobly born of men!
 To you homage, highest among men!
 Now your pollutions are destroyed,
 worthy of gifts you are, noble sir!
 Then the Teacher seeing me
 revered by the deva-hosts
 assembled there, revealed a smile
 and spoke about this matter:
 'By effort, by the Holy Life,
 by self-restraint and taming,
 by this one is a holy one,
 this is the highest holiness'.⁴ (620-631)

Brahmadatta was a bhikkhu who showed the power of his loving-kindness in the face of difficulties. He was a prince, son of the King of Kosala and saw the greatness of the Buddha when the Jeta Grove was presented. Having faith, he entered the Sangha and in due course attained Arahantship. One day on almsround, a brahmin abused him but the Thera continued in silence. Again the brahmin reviled him and people commented on the Thera's silence. At this, Brahmadatta taught them Dhamma:

How can anger arise for the angerless
 tamed and living evenly,
 freed by perfect knowledge
 tranquil, one who's 'Thus'?⁵
 For he is worse when vilified
 who then reviles the angry man
 but he who pays not back in kind wins a battle hard to win.
 For the benefit of both he lives—
 himself and the other one,
 knowing the other's anger
 mindful he is and calm.
 He is indeed healer of both,
 himself and the other one
 yet the people who know not Dhamma
 think he is a fool.

4. The words translated, 'Holy Life, 'holy one' and 'holiness' are *brahmachariyā*, *brāhmaṇo* and *brāhmaṇam*.

5. 'Thus' = seeing things as they really are.

That brahmin, hearing these words, asked both for forgiveness and for the Going-forth and practising the development of loving-kindness was taught in this way by Brahmadatta Thera:

If anger should arise in you
reflect on the Simile of the Saw,⁶
if craving for flavours should arise
remember the Son's flesh Simile.⁷
If your mind runs craving
pleasures and existences
bind it quickly with mindfulness
as a beast found eating corn.⁸ (441-446)

6. *Kakacūpama Sutta*, Majjhima Nikāya 21.

7. *Vide* Related Collection (Samyutta Nikāya) II, 63 (and Wheel Nos. 105-6, *The Four Nutriment of Life*).

8. Simile of the Lute—*vide* Related Collection IV, 205.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUTTA NIPATA

N. A. Jayawickrama

Some Suttas from the Aṭṭhaka Vagga

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Kāma Sutta

The *Kāma Sutta* which appears at the head of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* presents many problems. The four *suttas* consisting of eight stanzas each and called *Aṭṭhakas* by the compilers follow the *Kāma Sutta*. Judging from the evidence furnished by Pali sources alone, the natural inference is that these are the *true Aṭṭhakas* and the *vagga* including the rest of the *suttas* was named after them. The possibility of an alternative explanation has been suggested earlier.

As said above these four *Aṭṭhakas* form one group and the rest of the *suttas* form the other group (or groups). It is not possible to say whether these four *suttas* formed the foundation on which the superstructure of the rest of the *vagga* was built, or whether they formed an ornamental carving on the already existing edifice of the *vagga*, finally providing those characteristics which supplied the name to the *vagga* which it now bears. Linguistic evidence may perhaps furnish a clue to its solution.

The stanzas are examined individually below:—

Sn. 766; the cognate use in *kāmaṃ kāmayamānassa* (v. i. *kāmayānassa*) is old and poetic and is of restricted usage in subsequent literature; *ce* as a conditional conjunctive as in 767^a is restricted to *gāthā*. The ellipsis in *pada* 6 is *metri causa*. The *pada* has the ring of an old *gāthā*, specially the emphatic particle used.

Sn. 767; The medial ppr. *kāmayānassa* is old *gāthā* from Vedic origin. The gender of *kāma* is uncertain in this *sutta*; *kāmā* alternates with *kāmāni* (771^b). Of the 5 instances the word occurs in the *sutta* it is decidedly masc. at 768^a and 769^a and probably masc. in this stanza (though traditional grammarians recognise an —*ā* form in the neut. pl.). It may be either masc. or neut. at Sn. 766^a (acc. sg.), but is neuter at 771^b though the pronoun referring to it seems to recognize it as masc. (but *te* is occasionally used as neut. pl. nom. and acc.). The verb. *ruppati* dates back to an “r-dialect” in Vedic. (Cl. Sk. has *l-√/lup, lump.*). It is most frequently used in this phrase (cp. S. I. 198; *Th*1, 967; *Sn*. 331, etc.) and is not met with in later literature except in grammatical works in which a fanciful etymology is suggested for *rūpa*.

Sn. 768; *padā* is a shorter Vedic inst. sg. and *siro* is the Vedic acc. sg. (historical) as opposed to Pāli *sirasam* or *siram*. The only term, with a doubtful exception of *abalā* (770^a), to which a technical significance could be attached is *visattikam*.¹ It occurs 8 times in *Sn.* viz. *Sn.* 333^c, 768^c, 857^d, 1053^d=1054^d=1067^d=1085^d=1087^d. Where the evolution of the idea is concerned this line appears the oldest of them all, for its use here is non-technical.

Sn. 769; The collective *dvandva* cpds. are old. The word *porisam* belongs to an old stratum (v. I. *parisam*, cp. Sk. *paurusam*). It appears as a collective neuter. The contracted form *thiyo* is historical; and the word *puthū* is met with in the old language (cp. *Jātaka* verse).

Sn. 770; According to the Comy. the word *abalā* is technical (*tanhā*), but its use in any technical sense elsewhere is not met with. The phrase *abalā va nam baliyanti* could best be translated as, 'being weak themselves (i.e. *kāmā*) they overpower him' (cp. Chalmers' translation). A similar phrase is seen at J. IV, 84 (verse), *vātā baliyanti* (cp. Pv. II, 61). Line *c*, cp. *Dh.* 1, *ThI*, 735. The simile of the ship is continued in 771^d. The v. I. *silvā* may be compared with *Dh.* 369 (√*sri*? to depend on). All these instances show that the language of the *Kāma Sutta* is necessarily very old.

The metre of the poem is different from that of many other parts of the *vagga* (including the four *Aṭṭhakas*). It is in the Śloka metre like Nos. 7, 10, 15 and part of 16, i.e. (*Sn.* 814-823, 848-861, 935-954, 955-962). The majority of the *suttas* is in *tristubh* viz. Nos. 2-5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and part of 16 of the *vagga* (i.e. *Sn.* 772-779, 780-787, 788-795, 796-803, 824-833, 835-847, 862-877, 878-894, 895-914, 963-975). The *Jarā Sutta* (*Sn.* 804-813) and *Sn.* 834 are in *Vaitālīya*. It has been emphasised earlier that metre is no safe guide to the date of a poem in Pāli, for, not all *tristubhs* in Pāli date back to a pre-Śloka period. The lack of uniformity in metre in the whole *vagga* and the fact that essentially most of its *suttas* are linguistically old lead to the hypothesis that it was formed from already existing older material. The *Kāma Sutta* is one such instance, and the only conclusion that could be drawn (from the analogy of the *Ratana Sutta*) is that it was one of the last *suttas* to enter the *vagga*. On this account it cannot be proved late, for it may have had an independent existence prior to its introduction here which itself had taken place at a very early date.

The theme of this *sutta* is a very popular one in Pāli. Instances where monks and laymen are advised to give up *kāma* are too numerous and therefore need not be mentioned here. Although there are many passages in the Canon dwelling on this topic, there is hardly any section which

bears a resemblance to this *sutta*. J. IV, 167-172 contains a set of 9 *gāthās* of which the first is identical with the first *gāthā* here, but the other 8 are different—though in tone and theme they are similar. Again *DhA.* III, 284 commenting on *Dh.* 216,² contains a passage similar to this *sutta* but the words and the tone are quite different. (Also vide PTS s.v. *kāma*). The other instances where *gāthās* of this *sutta* are found repeated are either quotations or examples for commenting viz. *Sn.* 766-768 are commented at *Nett.* 69, *Sn.* 766^{ab} quoted at *PsA.* 50, *Vism.* 378; *Sn.* 767-771 commented at *Nett.* 6; *Sn.* 767 quoted at *SA.* I, 32, *Vism.* 576; and *Sn.* 769 quoted at *UdA.* 120. *Sn.* 768 is common with *ThI*, 457, 769^{ab} with J.IV, 240, 771^d with *Dh.* 123, J. IV, 173, and 771^b with *Dh.* 369. The lines and *pādas* that are common to *Sn.* and other works cannot be established as borrowings.

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The Aṭṭhakas

The four *suttas* following the *Kāma Sutta* consist of eight stanzas each and hence are called *Aṭṭhakas* in Pāli. It has already been shown that this fact has led Pāli compilers to designate these *suttas* by this name and take a further step to extend the name to the whole *vagga*. The theme of the first of these 'octaves' is closely related to that of the *Kāma Sutta*. In fact the *Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta* appears as a continuation of it and deals with the same question more comprehensively on a psycho ethical basis. The psychological concepts such as *guhā* and *mohana* (*Sn.* 772) are common to other schools of contemporary Indian thought. The term *satto* has a special significance, i.e. attached to the *guhā*. The psychological basis of this *sutta* is further seen in terms like *mamāyita*, *amama* (*Sn.* 777) *ubhosu antesu* (778), *diṭṭhasutesu* (778), and *saññaṃ* (779). As parallelisms with the previous *sutta* *Sn.* 779^a may be compared with *Sn.* 771,^c *parigga-hesu* (779^b) with *Sn.* 769, and *Sn.* 779^c with *Sn.* 770 while *appamatta* may be said to refer to the yogic ideal.

On account of the similarity of the themes of the *Kāma* and *Guhaṭṭhaka Suttas* it may be argued that the *Kāma Sutta* was placed in front of the *Guhaṭṭhaka* aiming at an arrangement in accordance with subject matter. This, however, has not met with much success, for *suttas* 6 and 7 of this *vagga* bear an appreciable resemblance to *suttas* 1 and 2 in this respect. If these two were placed immediately after the *Guhaṭṭhaka* the four *Aṭṭhakas* would not have remained as a group. In the same way the

1. cp. Ardhmāgadhī (Jaina) *visottiya*=Sk *visrotasika*.

2. *Tanhāya jāyatī soko, tanhāya jāyatī bhayaṃ,*
tanhāya vipamuttassa natthi soko kuto bhayaṃ.

subject matter of *suttas* 3, 4 and 5 resembles that of 8, 12, 13 and the discourse in 9. Instead of these *suttas* following one after the other they occur in three separate groups showing on the one hand the incompleteness of the classification, and the partial adherence to a method of arrangement according to external form, on the other.

The three *suttas* following *Guhaththaka* deal with the various aspects of one and the same theme. They indicate the Buddha's attitude to philosophical speculation. The *Dutthaththaka* points out the position of a *muni* who is beyond all censure and has become steadfast by casting off (\sqrt{dhu}) all philosophical views (*ditthi*). The *Suddhatthaka* ridicules the notion of attaining purity (*suddhi*) through metaphysical speculation and emphasises the importance of remaining aloof from biases and limitations. The *Paramatthaka* declares that philosophical disputation should be given up and that a true and steadfast sage needs no philosophical views to lean on.

In all these *suttas*, as well as in Nos. 8, 9, 12 and 13 and numerous other old *suttas* of the Canon the futility of metaphysical speculation is emphasised. The Buddha's attitude towards the subject is made evident in them. From a historical examination of the dominant ideas in them it could be inferred that they represent a very early stratum in Buddhist thought. The excessive indulgence in metaphysical subtleties of later Buddhism, specially that of Mahāyānic schools affords a clear contrast to the ideas and sentiments of these *suttas*. The main theme is the relinquishment of philosophical dogmas but other references to fundamental tenets of early Buddhism (e.g. *Sn.* 790^c, 792^{cd}, 793^a, 794^{cd}, 800^c, 801^{ab}, 803^{ab}, etc.) are clearly indicative of the spirit of early Buddhism that these *suttas* breathe. Disputation is condemned. It is not a knowledge of metaphysics that is sought after, but a life of selfless wandering free from attachments to the states of being (777^{cd}) and unmeasured by sense-impressions (778^d). The essentials on which early emphasis lay are summarised in *Sn.* 779. The *muni* is not sullied by "graspings" (*pariggaha*), he crosses the "flood" by the realisation of *saññā* (*SnA.* 518 *nāmarūpa*), has uprooted the dart, wanders diligently and yearns for neither world. Again, the *muni* has no *khila* (stubbornness, *Sn.* 780^c), he is serene and released and does not proclaim his attainments (783^{ab}). He has no theories which he has evolved and fabricated (784^a) and is not one whose peace is dependent on mutability (784^d). He is a *dhona* (he who has cast off everything) and is independent in every way (*Sn.* 786). He has reached that state when he has no views either to approve of or disprove any dogmas (*Sn.* 787^c).³

3. *SnA.* 523 comments on *attaṃ nirattaṃ* as: *attaditthi vā ucchedaditthi vā natthi*.

Many of the terms used in this section to describe the *muni* (both epithets and phrases) have a philosophical tone. They are in some instances technical, but the majority of them were yet to develop into technical expressions with definite values. The Commentary attempts to explain *khila* as *rāgādi khila* which shows a definite development of the term by the time of the compilation of *SnA.* (cp. *Sn.* 973^b, 212^c, 477^c 540^d, 1059^d and 1147^d). The only instances where it has a technical significance are *Sn.* 540 and 1147. A gradual process of crystallisation is to be seen in *ussadā* at *Sn.* 783^d. Its philosophical import is evident in all the occurrences of the term in *Sn.* viz. 515^d, 855^d, 624^b and 920^d. The usual seven *ussadā* are given at *Nd1*, 72. The term *dhona* in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* is used with reference to the shaking off of *ditthi* (*Sn.* 786^c, 813^a and 834^c); but at *Sn.* 351^b it is an epithet of the Buddha. *Nd1*, 77 explains it as *paññā* while the Commentator gives the interpretation of his day. The wider application seen usually in Commentaries (viz. *SnA.* 542, J. III, 160) is not to be met with in *Sn.* for it is solely used to signify the abandonment of *ditthi*. Equally abstract and semi-technical in use is the term *upaya* (also *anūpaya*, *Sn.* 787^{ab}, 797^c, 786^d) but it has not found much in subsequent literature. One of its cpds. *rūpūpaya* occurs at S. III, 53, etc. cp. *SnA.* 522, *tanhādittthi upayānaṃ dvinnam abhāvena anūpayo*. . *saṃ dvinnam bhāvena upaya* cp. *SnA.* 558 *upagantabbatthen upayaṃ rūpādisu ekaṃ pi dhammaṃ upeyya*. In both these instances the Commentator interprets from the level of his day, and the context does not justify the inclusion of *taṇha* in *SnA.* and *Nd1*. 82.

The two phrases *kuppa-paṭicca-santiṃ* (*Sn.* 784^d) and *attaṃ nirattaṃ* are also interesting. The Commentator has seen too deep into the meaning of *kuppa-paṭicca-santi* when after a long comment he explains it as; *tañ ca ānisaṃsaṃ tañ ca kuppatāya ca paṭic asamuppannatāya ca sammutisantatāya ca k.p.s. saṅkhātāṃ ditthim nissito va hoti* (cp. *Nd1*, 74-75). The phrase "characterising the peace which is dependent on mutability" describes the *santi* of him who sees virtues in himself on account of his speculative theories. E. M. Hare translates it as "Calm on quaking built". It is in fact no technical term. The Comy. is again seen giving the interpretation of its day to *attaṃ nirattaṃ* where it speaks of *attaditthi* and *ucchedaditthi* (*SnA.* 523 and *Nd1*, 82) taking *atta* to mean *ātman* and *nirattaṃ* the BSk. *nairātmyam* which is a later development. (*attaṃ*—*ātman*). The universe of discourse here is *ditthi* (philosophical views); and hence *attaṃ* and *nirattaṃ* cannot refer to anything else but the acceptance or rejection of *ditthi*. In the light of the subsequent elaboration of the *anatta* doctrine which was a *sine qua non* in the earlier teaching, this word has undergone a complete transformation.

That the term *upadhi* (*sopadhika Sn.* 789^c) has a definite connotation even in *Sn.* can be seen from the various instances in which it occurs. *Sn.* 728 makes it quite clear.⁴ Also cp. *Sn.* 1050^{cd} 1051, 33^c, 34^c, 546^a 572^a, 364^a, 33^d, 34^d, 642^b 371^c, 1057^b, 1083^b and 992^f. All these occurrences show that the term has undergone a definite crystallisation, and there is no doubt that the concept belonged to the earliest stratum of Buddhist thought.

The phrase, *diṭṭhe sute sīlavate mule vā* (in what is seen and heard, in ascetic practices and holy vows and in what is cognised—*Sn.* 790^b) is a curious combination of functions of the senses on the one hand and external practices on the other. In this context *diṭṭha*, *suta* and *muta* (*muta* from $\sqrt{\text{man}}$, I.E. * $\sqrt{\text{mn}}$) imply the sights, sounds and other undefined sense impressions respectively which are considered auspicious and pure (cp. *Sn.* 790^a *aññato suddhim āha:* and *Nd1*, 87II.: *SnA.* 527 comments, *muta ca uppanna micchāñāna*). Both *Nd.* and *SnA.* are not clear about *muta*. This idea occurs no less than 20 times in *Sn.* in similar words viz. *Sn.* 790^{ab} (=797^b=887^a), 793^{ab}=914^{ab} (793^b=A. II, 25), 798^{cd} (c=S. I. 203), 797^{ab} (790^b, 887^a), 887^{ab}, 910^{ab}, 1079^{bc} (=1080^{bc}, 1081^{bc}), 1082^{cd} (=1083^{cd}), 788^b (=789^a), 802^{ab}, 897^d, 778^d (=250^d). In all these instances the psychological basis of the reference to sense impressions is hidden by the nature of the context which either introduces or implies *sīlabbata* along with it. It is clear that all these references do not merely speak of the functions of the sense organs which produce the result but mention the result itself. Yet, *Sn.* 1086^a and 1122^{cd} seem to bring out the psychological aspect clearly viz. *idha diṭṭha-suta-muta-viññātesu* (in things that are seen, heard, sensed and perceived), and

*na tuyhaṃ adiṭṭhaṃ asutaṃ-mutaṃ vā
atho aviññātaṃ kiñcanam atthi loke*

(there is nothing that is not seen, heard or sensed or else not perceived—cognised—by you in this world) as at *D.* III, 134, 232, *It.* 121. In *Sn.* 897, *diṭṭha* and *suta* the functions of the two primary senses only are mentioned as at *Sn.* 778^d, 250^d, 1079^b 1080^b and 1081^b, although they

4. *Upadhīnidānā pabhavanti dukkhā
ye ke ci lokasmiṃ anekarūpā;
yo ve avidvā upadhiṃ karoti
punappunam dukkham upeti mando;
tasmā pajānam upadhiṃ na kayirā
dukkhassa jātippabhavānupassī.*

(Those diverse forms of sorrow which prevail in the world arise basing their origin on the material substratum. Indeed, the indolent fool who nurtures his material substratum repeatedly brings himself to sorrow. Therefore should he who discerns and comprehends the origin of the arising of sorrow not accumulate his substratum).

are intrinsically connected with *sīlabbata*. The same idea is expressed at *Sn.* 839^a and 1078^a as well as *Sn.* 840^{ab}//839^{ab}. Although these references are similar to each other in meaning, *diṭṭha* and *suta* (and *muta*) in combination with *sīlavatāni* mentioned or implied, are essentially different from *diṭṭha-suta-muta-viññāta* in their fundamentals. The latter has a more universal application and is primarily meant to describe the functions of the senses (*muta* representing those of the three senses not mentioned under sight and sound, and *viññāta* that of *manas*).

The early Buddhist emphasis on the detachment from both *puñña* and *pāpa* is seen at *Sn.* 790^c. It is aptly described as *attañjaho* in line *d* i.e. abandoning whatever is “grasped” (*ātta* cp. 800^a, 787^c not as at *Nd1*, 90 *attadiṭṭhijaho* nor *SnA.* 527 *attadiṭṭhiyā yassakassaci vā gahaṇassa pahīnattā attañjaho*, both of which being interpretations of a later level). The idea of “crossing over” which is so frequent in the early Pāli literature (*oghaṃ* $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ or *pāraṃ* $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$; vide the introduction to the *Pārāyana*, PBR, 1, 3, p. 146, is found here as at *Dh.* 412, 370, *Th1*, 633, *Sn.* 212, 473, etc. in its special reference to *saṅgam* (attachment). A *saññasatto* (*Sn.* 792) is one who is led by his senses; lit. “attached to percepts”. Both *SnA.* 527 and *Nd1.* 93 speak of him as the opposite of *vidvā*. The idea of a *sīmātiga brāhmaṇa* is common to all stages of Buddhism cp. also *tādi*, etc.

A comparison and analysis of all these ideas shows that they belong to the earliest strata of Buddhism. As pointed out earlier, some of them are in an early stage of development while others have undergone a certain degree of crystallisation. It is also noteworthy that some of these concepts as *upayo* which have not undergone any development here are scarcely found in later works or other works which may claim equal antiquity with *Sn.* On the other hand, elaborate theories and extensive treatises are to be found in later literature with regard to the more important of these concepts which developed fully under favourable conditions. A mere study of the ideology of these *Aṭṭhakas* and a careful examination of where the emphasis is laid in the poems reveal their very antiquity.

Linguistic data which form a very important factor for the determination of the age of the ballads confirms what has been arrived at by means of other criteria. In fact, in the case of these poems, linguistic data conclusively establish their antiquity. It is very significant that all the old forms in these *suttas* point to some Vedic dialect of Pāli rather than to the standard canonical Pāli. The language in general reflects a form of early Pāli. It is not proposed to examine every stanza individually. However, a brief survey will make the position clear. In this short section of 32 stanzas there are four full Vedic double forms with a dialectical (perhaps

Māgadhi) influence viz. *cutāse Sn.* 774^d, *avītatanhāse* 776^d, *sitāse* 791^a, and *paṭicchitāse* 803^b. There are 9 ppr. forms ending in *-am* and *-āna* viz. *tiṭṭham* 772^b, *jappam* 773^d, *caram* 779^c, *abhiñānam* 788^c, *vaḍḍanam* 789^d, *pamuñcam* 791^d, *paribbasāno* 796^a, *anupādiyaṇo* 800^a, and *anādiyaṇam* 802^c. There are some words which are restricted to the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* only e.g. *paribbasāno* at *Sn.* 796, 878, 880, and 895, three of which occur at the beginning of a *sutta* (i.e. except 880). There are archaic verbal forms as *jaññā Sn.* 775^b, *pāvā* 782^{bd}, and *pāva* 789^d. The middle base *kubba*-is preferred to *kar-*; *kubba* occurs at *Sn.* 777^d, 778^c, 781^c, 790^d, and 794^d; *kur-* at 796^b and *kar-* at 800^b and in *purekkharonti* at 803^a, 794^a and *purakkhata* 784^b. There are a few other unusual verbal or secondary forms as *suppahāyā* 772^d, *duppamuñcā*, *aññamokkhā* 773^b, *avadāniyā* 774^b, *pariññā*, *accayeyya* 781^a, *svātivattā* 785^a, *niccheyya* 785^b, 801^d, *vikappayeyya* 793^d, 802^d, *nissayeyya* 798^d, *kappayeyya* 799^a and *anūpaneyya* 799^c. There are also two medial optative 3 sg. forms, *sikkhetha* 775^a, and *maññetha* 799^d which are characteristically *gāthā* forms.

The syntax too points to an old idiom. There are at least 10 instances of the construction with the historical locative of relation in varying shades of meaning viz. at *Sn.* 772^a, 774^a, 776^{cd}, 777^d, 779^b, 783^b, 785^{bc}, 786^b, 787^a, and 793^a. All these are sufficient data to prove the antiquity of this section of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*.

70

Jarā Sutta

This *sutta* consists of 10 stanzas in *vaitālīya* metre. The only other *vaitālīya* verse in the *vagga* is *Sn.* 834. The theme of the poem is the transiency and impermanence of life. One is advised to leave the household life 'seeing that no worldly possessions are eternal and that everything is in a state of flux'. Emulating the sages—*munayo Sn.* 809—the wise man is exhorted not to form any egoistic attachment to anything conceived as 'one's own' since everything is left behind at death—*Sn.* 806. Death leaves behind only the memory of the dead.

The above ideas in *Sn.* 804-809 closely conform to the title of the *sutta*. Although the last four stanzas—*Sn.* 810-813—appear somewhat foreign to the *sutta* under its present title, all of them except the last stanza are connected with *Sn.* 809; and they fit in with the general theme on account of the similarity of ideas. *Sn.* 810^d is the logical extension of 805^d, and similarly 811^c is closely associated with 809^a. The sage is called a *dhona* in the concluding stanza; and in this respect 813^a may be compared

with 786^{ab}, line *c* with 824^b and the whole stanza with 790, 793-795, 914, etc. The line *d*, *na hi so rajjati no virajjati*, breathes the same air as the concluding lines of the *Suddhaṭṭhaka*,

*na rāgarāgī na virāgaratto
tassīdha n'atthi param uggahitaṃ.*

The uniformity of *metre* suggests that the poem as a whole dates back to the same period. The theme of the poem which is in praise of the *muni*-ideal is common with other poems of great antiquity in *Sn.* Sufficient has been said already on this topic and it not proposed to discuss it here.

The *language* of the *sutta* calls for particular attention. In discussing the stanzas individually any striking points in ideology and doctrine will be pointed out. *Sn.* 804 the ablative in *oram vassasatā* represents the old idiom. *miyyati* (lines *bd*)=impersonal medial cp. *Sk. mriyate*. An absolutive in adverbial function is seen in *aticca* (l.c); cp. *upādāya gacchati*, *samādāya rakkhati*, etc. The form *jarasā* can be explained in two ways; 1. inst. sg. of a noun *jaras*, an extension of the *-as* declension (besides *jarā* f. and *jara* m. or n.); 2. *-sā* adverbial suffix from the analogy of the adverbial inst. of *-as* nouns. The whole stanza is rather elliptical. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda*, points out 6 examples from the Vedas where *jara* (s) is masc. cp. also the inst. at *Rv.* X. 85. Thus this is an old form in *Sn.* going back to a Vedic dialect. *Sn.* 805 cp. *Mbh.* XII, 805 and *Aṣṭa Prajñā Pāramitā* 254. I. a, cp. 777^a, 809^b. Of the 17 occurrences of *mamāyati* or its verbal derivatives, as many as 9 are found in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*. *Mamāyita* is clearly the earlier word signifying egoism. The word *atta* is not so frequently used in this sense in *Sn.* The opposite idea *amama* occurs 5 times in *Sn.* whereas *anatta* occurs only twice viz. *anattani* (756^a) and *anattagarahī* (913^d). Of these two instances only *anattani* (756^a) has some connection with *amama*, but as this occurs in the relatively late *Dvayatānupassanā Sutta* it may be surmised that *amama* stood for *anatta* and *mamatta* for the parallel idea *atta* or *attaditṭhi*. The evidence at hand is insufficient to establish whether this really was the germ of the more comprehensive *anatta* theory of Buddhism. Another word which is in popular use in this *vagga* is *pariggahā* (five out of the seven occurrences in *Sn.* are in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*—viz. 393^c, 470^b, 809^c, 805^b, 871^b, 872^b, and 779^b). The use of this word is necessitated by the subject matter, and it is semi-technical. It is evident that the central theme is the transiency of life and the impermanence of worldly possessions. The title *Amama Sutta* or *Anagāriya Sutta* would equally fit the poem, for specially the last few stanzas emphasise this aspect. The cpd. in l.c appears to be

an expression of popular origin. *Sn.* 807^a *supinena* (with *samprasāraṇa* and *svarabhakti*). The consonant group *sva*-more frequently undergoes *samprasāraṇa* than assimilation in *Sn.* There are six instances of *samprasāraṇa* (viz. *supati* 110^c, *supitena* 331^b, *supina* 293^d, 360^b, 807^a, and 927^a) as contrasted with one instance of assimilation (*soṇā* 675^c) and one instance of *svarabhakti* and consonantal hardening (*supāṇā* 201^a). Metrical exigencies may have promoted this tendency, but the scarcity of assimilated forms may be significant as pointing to a particular dialect. I.c. *piyāyitaṃ* cp. *mamāyitaṃ*. *Sn.* 808^d: *akkheyyaṃ* has the appearance of a deliberate pun (i.e. from *ā+√khyā* or *a+√kṣi*). *SnA.* 543 comments, *Nāmaṃattaṃ eva tu avasissati*. (The mere name remains); *Nd* 1, 127, *Rūpagataṃ, vedanāgataṃ, saññāgataṃ, saṅkhāragataṃ, viññānagataṃ pahīyati.. nāmaṃ evāvasissati. Akkheyyanti akkhātum, kathitum, bhanitum, dīpayitum, voharītuntī, nāmaṃ evāvasissati akkheyyaṃ*. (All that pertains to the fivefold aggregates perishes.. only the name remains. *Akkheyyaṃ* means to name, to speak, to address, to elucidate and to employ in usage; and only the name remains to be spoken of (or understood). Also vide PTS s.v. *ā+√khyā*. It is quite probable that this is a gerund from *a+√kṣi* (vide Pāṇinī, VI, 1, 81), i.e. *kṣayya>kheyya*, cp. *śayyā>seyyā*. The *Bṛhadārayaka* has the same idea (*Bṛh.* III, 2, 12), *Yājñavalkyeti hovāca, yatrāyaṃ puruṣo mriyate, kim enaṃ na jahātī ti, nāmeti anantaṃ nāma* (Yājñavalkya said: when a man dies what is it that he does not give up?—It is the name for it is everlasting). Also cp. *Maitri Upaniṣad* II, 4, 6, 28 *ananto' kṣayyah* (endless and imperishable) which seem to suggest that Pāli *akkheyya* may be from *a+√kṣi*.

The *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* contains 9 out of the 11 references to the word *jantu* in *Sn.* The parallel word which is more frequently used in Pāli is *satta*⁵ (10 times in *Sn.*) and *janṭu* has almost gone out of use in later Pāli (s.v., PTS). It is only in one doubtful instance that *satta* (as referring to creature, being) occurs in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* i.e. *satto guhāyaṃ bahunābhicchanno*—*Sn.* 772^a (from *√sṛj*?).

Sn. 810. In line *a* is found one of the numerous instances where the word *bhikkhu* is used in the same connotation as *muni*. The word *bhavana* in line *d* is apparently a synonym for *bhava*. It occurs again at *Sn.* 685^b, 937^c and once in prose. *Sn.* 811, 812: The points of interest in these two stanzas are the similes in 811^d and 812^{ab}, which are in fact the same simile stated in different words. Along with 812b may be cited,

5. cp. *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta* (M.II. IV, 2): *satto pana gacchati yena kāmman* where *satta=jantu*.

padumaṃ va toyena alippamānaṃ (*Sn.* 71^c cp. 213^e), *nopalippati toyena, toyena padumaṃ yathā* (*Th1*, 701^{ed}), *puṇḍarikaṃ yathā vagga toyena upalippati* (*Sn.* 517^{ab}), *puṇḍarikaṃ va toyena saṅkhāre nopalippati* (*Th1*, 1180^{ab}):

and with *Sn.* 711^a and 812^a the following:
vāri pokkharapatte va (*Dh.* 401, *It.* 84, *Sn.* 625),
udabindu va pokkhare (*Th1*, 665^b),
bhikkhu yathā pokkhare vāribindu (*Sn.* 392^d),
udabindu va pokkharā (*Dh.* 336^d *Th1*, 401^d) and
vāribindu va (*M.* III, 300, *J.VI*, 595).

Sn. 811^{ab} is significant as showing the detachment of a *muni* (cp. 813^d already discussed).

The general tone of the *Jarā Sutta* is archaic. It definitely represents the old *gāthā*-language. The thought in the *sutta* like that in many other old pieces is representative of the times. The *Salla Sutta* may be cited as a close parallel to this poem in ideology. The only difference is that it deals primarily with death while *amama* is emphasised in the *Jarā Sutta*. All the available internal evidence is in support of its early composition, and it is quite probable that it is as old as the four *Aṭṭhakas*.

71

Māgandiya Sutta

The *Māgandiya Sutta* is a dialogue of 13 stanzas in *triṣṭubh* metre. The context of the *sutta* is the occasion of Māgandiya's futile effort to give his daughter away in marriage to the Buddha. The story is narrated in detail at *SnA.* 542-544. There is also a dialogue between the Brahmin Mākandika and the Buddha at *Divy.* 519-520 which is incorporated in a prose and verse mixed narrative (*Divy.* 515-521). The two narratives at *Divy.* and *SnA.* agree in general, but differ in details. In the Pāli Commentary the Buddha foresees the good fortune of the *brahmin* Māgandiya and his wife to attain *arahatship* (*arahatta phatupanissaya*) and contrives to meet the brahmin. In *Divy.* it is a chance meeting. The names of Mākandika's wife and daughter are given as Sākati and Anupamā respectively in *Divy.*, but the Pāli gives only the feminine of the family name as Māgandiyā. *Divy.* contains a full description of the conversation between the brahmin and his wife about their future son-in-law, and introduces a new character, and old man who eagerly offers to marry Anupamā when the Buddha refuses her hand. Mākandika refuses his offer and he vomits hot blood and dies. It states nothing further of the

Mākandikas while the Pāli mentions the attainment of *arahatship* of both husband and wife (*SnA*. 518).

The dialogue at *Divy*. 519-520 which consists of 5 stanzas shows some resemblance to a few corresponding stanzas in *Sn*. viz. st. 1 roughly corresponds to *Sn*. 835, st. 2 has some bearing on *Sn*. 836, and stanzas 4 and 5 together are somewhat parallel to *Sn*. 845. The ideas in st. 4^{ab} are similar to those at *Sn*. 845^{ab}, though they are not identical. The simile at stt. 4^{cd} and 5^{ab} is the same as at *Sn*. 845^{cd}. The idea expressed at *Sn*. 845^{cd} is found at st. 5^{cd}. The only difference between them is that in *Divy*. these two stanzas are uttered by the Buddha about himself, whereas in *Sn*. it is the *muni* who is described.

Again, *Sn*. 835 speaks of the three daughters of Māra as actual persons and not as mere personifications of ideas in an allegorical representation as at *Sn*. 436 (*Padhāna Sutta*) where *arati* and *taṇhā* are mentioned as the second and fourth *senās* of Māra. *Ragā* is to be identified with *kāmā* in *Sn*. 436. In the *Māgandiya Sutta* the three daughters of Māra are actual persons. In the *Divyāvadāna* their names are not mentioned, and the stanza runs,

drṣṭā mayā Mārasutā hi vipra, tṛṣṇā Na me nā'pi tathā ratiśca
chando na me kāmaguṇeṣu kaśchit, tasmād imāṃ mūtrapurīṣa pūrṇāṃ.

Although the daughters are alluded to, *taṇhā* (*tṛṣṇā*) and *rati* are qualities mentioned along with *kāmaguṇeṣu chandas* (cp. *methunasmiṃ chando*). Judging from this it is very difficult to state definitely which version preserves the older tradition. In both cases the personification seems to have been long forgotten and Māra is conceived as an actual being who had three daughters.

Judging from the abruptness of the change of topic and the transition from one subject to another in *Sn*. 836^{cd} it may be argued that *Sn*. 835, 836 are versifications of an old prose introduction. It is also a plausible explanation that the basis of the *sutta* is the Buddha's encounter with Māgandiya. This is common to both versions, and without falling into the error of presuming that the BSk. version is older than the Pāli, on account of its brevity, a common source may be assigned to both. From the evidence of *Divy*. any suggestion that the two opening stanzas were foreign to the *sutta* is untenable. Moreover, there is no difference in metre and language between *Sn*. 835, and 836 and the rest of the poem, and by no means are these two stanzas an interpolation of a compiler.

Yet, a closer comparison of the two versions shows that the main theme of the Pāli poem is not found in BSk. The *Māgandiya Sutta* praises

the *muni* who does not enter into disputes and has inward peace whereas the central topic in BSk. is Mākandika's quest for a son-in-law. The first three stanzas deal directly with it and the last two are given as the Buddha's own words of self-praise. These stanzas lack the detached and impersonal refined note struck in the stanzas of the Pāli in which the Buddha praises the *muni* when invited to speak about himself (*Sn*. 836^{cd}). It is evident that *Sn*. 837-847 can stand as an independent *sutta* without the two opening stanzas (*Sn*. 835-836). This leads to the inference that probably the Pāli *sutta* represents a fusion of two independent ballads of which *Divy*. 515-520 forms only one component, affording a parallel to *Sn*. 835-836.

PUCCHĀS OF THE PĀRĀYANA VAGGA

72

Ajita mānavaka-Pucchā

The *Vatthugāthā* and Commentarial literature state that Ajita was a disciple of the brahmin Bāvarī, although according to *AA*. I, 184 he was Bāvarī's nephew. *Theragāthā* (*Th*1, 20) mentions an Elder Ajita who had, in a former birth, offered a *kapittha* fruit to the Buddha Vipassi. The Commentary on this stanza (*Th*1 A. I, 78) refers to him as the son of the assessor (*agghāpaniya*) of the King of Kosala. *Apadāna* No. 509 (*Ap*. II, 449) also speaks of a Kapitthaphaladāyaka Thera (cp. *Th*1, 20), but there is another *Apadāna* of Ajita the pupil of Bāvarī (No. 397-*Ap*. I, 335). There is no attempt made in the Commentaries to identify Ajita, the Kapitthaphaladāyaka with Ajita of the *Pārāyana*. The subsequent growth of the Bāvarī-episode in connection with the *Pārāyana* (*PBR*, 1, 3, p. 146), the antiquity of the *Pārāyana* itself (*ibid*), and the vagueness with which some Commentators refer to it,⁶ are additional testimony to the fact that the Ajita of the *Pucchā* and the Ajita of *Th*1, 20 (cp. *Ap*. II, 449) are two different persons. The *Vatthu-gāthās* refer to the sixteen questioners as, *sissā soḷasa brāhmaṇā*. The name Ajita need not necessarily be that of a brahmin (*a-ji-ta*=unconquered); and it suits a *kṣatriya* equally well. It is significant that these sixteen are spoken of as *āyasmā Ajito*, *āyasmā Puṇṇako* etc. in the *pucchās*. They address the Buddha on equal terms as *mārisa* as do all *kṣatriyas* and the warrior gods of the Hindus (*Sakka*,

6. *AA*. IV, 35: *Adḍhatēyyagāthāsataparimāṇaṃ Pārāyanāsuttam* (P. *Sutta* which consists of 250 stanzas); but the entire vagga with its Prologue and Epilogue contains only 274 stanzas, *pucchās* alone being 92 stanzas. The *Pārāyana* is called a *sutta* here. Nd2 also refers to some *pucchās* as *suttas* and *pañhas*.

etc.). It is only in the titles of the *pucchās* that they are called *māṇavā* (the text of the prologue and the epilogue is of no consequence for obvious reasons). The word *māṇavā*, which often designates a young brahmin is no conclusive proof of these men being brahmins. Some of the names are decidedly *kṣatriya*; e.g. Ajita Bhadrāvudha, the names Nanda and Hemaka are doubtful, and Piṅgiya and Mogharāja are most probably nicknames of *kṣatriya* origin. Neumann (*Reden* 546) sees in the name Bāvārī a representative of the famous Kātyāyana school of the White *Yajurveda* (Bādārī). He says that among the *māṇavas* there are seven other *Yajurveda* priests of whom four belong to the White *Yajurveda*. He also mentions a still older Bādārī of the Black *Yajurveda* to whom reference is made in the *Baudhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra* (I, 7). Even if his suggestion is accepted there are still nine others who have to be proven brahmins. Moreover, a name like Dhotaka, which Neumann had in mind (his seven *Yajurveda* priests are not enumerated) is a fitting name for a disciple of the Buddha (√*dhu*, *dhunāti*, to shake off, to purge, etc. cp. the concept *dhona* which is often used as an epithet of the *muni* in *Sn.*). Likewise Mettagu, Upasīva, Ajita and Tissametteyya⁷ are very suitable names for the Buddha's disciples.

The first question asked by Ajita is very far-reaching.⁸ On the one hand it could be interpreted empirically to mean only the external objects of the world, on the other it implies Ajita's premonition of world-sorrow. The Buddha in his reply alludes to the First Truth: *dukkhaṃ assa mahabbhayaṃ*. In his next question Ajita goes a step beyond the answer and anticipates further. This clearly shows that Buddha's interlocutor was a person with a considerable previous metaphysical training. The second question is asked in a fashion that makes it possible to illustrate indirectly the Four Noble Truths. Because Ajita himself has some idea of the misery inherent in the world he is eager to know by what means it could be checked. Following the Buddha's reply (*Sn.* 1035) he shows his desire to know how *saṭi*, *paññā* and the individual *nāmarūpa* cease to exist. Here the question hints at *nirodha* (or perhaps *upekkhā* as well), and in the reply the very word *nirodha* is used. That Ajita thinks clearly ahead and anticipates the replies is evident from his question in *Sn.* 1036.

These questions are far too brilliant to be those of an insignificant disciple of a brahmin from the less-known and least-brahmanised zone of the Dakkhi-nāpatha which even during the time of the compilation of

7. There is another Tissametteyya in *Aṭṭhakavagga* 7.

8. Ajitapucchā is commented at *Netti*, pp. 70-72, under *Sodhanāhāra* *Netti*, III, 13. It states that Buddha's replies were in the form of *sodhanā* and not *ārambha* (on his own initiative) viz. *ti pañhe...ti Bhagavā padaṃ sodheti no ca ārambham*. Ajitapucchā is again commented at great length at *Netti*, 10-21.

the *Baudhāyana-nagr̥hyasūtra* was considered unfit for brahmins (*Baudh.* V, 15). Further, the trend of thought in these questions compares rather closely with the monistic principles of the *Upaniṣads*. The macrocosmic Brahman, identified with Ātman, the world-soul, gives place to the microcosmic Ātman which again is identified with the macrocosm. Though no such philosophical subtleties are in evidence here the progress from world-sorrow to *nāmarūpa* is reminiscent of the *Upaniṣads*. The picture of Ajita in the *pucchā* is not that of a typical brahmin youth but that of a mendicant initiated into the Upaniṣadic way of thinking. One would not be far wrong to conjecture that since the *kṣatriya* seers were the custodians of Upaniṣadic lore and as Ajita's mode of thinking resembles their's that he was a *kṣatriya* belonging to an Upaniṣadic school. The very fact that his name sounds like that of a *kṣatriya* or of a sage, 'The Unconquered', is no conclusive proof of his *kṣatriya* origin.

Linguistic and other Internal Evidence

The *sutta* generally bears the appearance of an old piece. There is a preponderance of the use of the particle *sū* (or *ssu*) as an emphatic interrogative. This is a general characteristic of many old dialogue-ballads in which the interlocutor continually asks questions. Among forms which may be assigned to a dialectical stratum are; *jappā* (*Sn.* 1033c) which is not confined to *gāthā* and *mārisa* (1038d) found equally well in prose. A double Vedic form with the Māgadhi ending is to be seen at *Sn.* 1038a, *sankhatadhammāse*. The sandhi *ki'ssa* (1032c) is probably dialectical viz. *kiṃ assa* > *ki assa* (nasalised *i*) > *kī'ssa* > *ki'ssa* cp. *Pv.* III, 5, 6. *ki'ssa vataṃ kiṃ pana brahmacariyaṃ* where *ki* perhaps contains an original nasalised vowel. In both these instances *ki'ssa* cannot be identified with the interrogative pronoun *kissa* in the oft-repeated formula *taṃ kissa hetu*. Also cp. *Pv.* II, 6, 1, *Uṭṭhehi Kaṇhe kī sesī*; the corresponding passage to it at *J.* IV, 79 reads as *kiṃ sesī*.

The other peculiarities are more of a purely grammatical nature, yet pointing to an old stratum of Pāli; e.g. short abl. singulars *vevichā*, and *pamādā* (*Sn.* 1033b), *pithiyyare* (1034d, 1035d) of Vedic origin (cp. Geiger § 122) with consonantal hardening.

The term *sota* (1034, 1035) is used in the sense of defilements such as *taṇhā* (*SnA.* 586). Of similar application is *sota* at *Sn.* 355

Acchecchi taṇham idha nāmarūpe (ti Bhagavā)

Kaṇhassa sotaṃ digharattānusaṃyitaṃ

(He has completely cut off the desire for name-and-form—individual existence—here, the stream of *Kaṇha* which had remained for long). Existence

is often spoken of as a stream; e.g. *bhavasota* at *Sn.* 736b, S.I, 15, IV, 128, etc. It is considered a positive attainment to rid one's self of this *sota*; e.g. *chinnasota* *Sn.* 715b, and also *sotam chindati* M.I, 226. The flux of mind is also a stream, *viññāṇasota* D. III, 105, etc.; and the Noble Eight-fold Path is called a stream (*sota*) at S.V. 347. The terminology of Ajita is allied to Buddhist terminology though at first sight the term appears to be used in a connotation different from that in Buddhism.

Style calls for no attention. The *pucchā* is in śloka metre (*anuṣṭubh*), and metrical irregularities are few viz. an *even* quarter at 1037^a, a short *pāda* at 1036^a, and extra-syllabic *pādas* at 1033^{ab}.

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The Other Pucchās

Like Ajita, the other 15 *māṇavās* too have questions to ask the Buddha. Tissametteyya wishes to know of the *mahāpurisa* who is unperturbed and perfectly contented. Puṇṇaka asks the Buddha about the efficacy of sacrifice and the reasons why men offer sacrifices. The Buddha replies that it is all futile and that it would not enable one to overcome birth and decay. Then he expresses his desire to know of them who have transcended birth and decay. Mettagu asks the Buddha the reason for the existence of suffering in this world and the method by which the wise cross the stream of birth, decay, sorrow and lamentation. Dhotaḥ invites the Buddha to preach to him to enable him to train himself for his release and remove all his doubts. Upasīva requests the Buddha to give him an *ārammana* (means, object) by which he may cross the Flood (*ogha*). Nanda asks whether it is knowledge or the mode of living that characterises a *muni*. He also wishes to find out whether those who profess metaphysical theories have overcome birth and decay. Hemaka tells the Buddha that he took no delight in the theories of the Viṇṇavādins, and requests him to preach to him the *dhmma* by which he may transcend 'this sinful bent'. Todeyya asks the Buddha about the nature of the emancipation of him who has no craving, is free from lust, and has overcome doubt. Kappa asks him of the island-refuge from the formidable stream confronting the mortal subject to decay and death. Jatukaṇṇi requests the Buddha to tell him of the *santipada* and to preach to him the *dhmma* to help him to leave behind birth and decay. Bhadrāvudha praises the Buddha and requests him to preach the *dhmma* to all. Udaya wishes the Buddha to declare to him the deliverance by transcendental knowledge and the destruction of ignorance. Posāla asks the Buddha about the state of knowledge of the person whose consciousness of form is extinct,

who has cast off corporeal form and perceives internal and external 'nothingness'. Mogharāja asks the Buddha how one should look upon the world so that Māra may not 'see' one. Pīngiya like Jatukaṇṇi asks the Buddha to preach the *dhmma* in order to leave behind birth and decay.

A striking feature of many of the *pucchās* is the eagerness of the questioners to listen to the Buddha. Some of them come with special problems that had confronted them. Their earnestness is seen in *Sn.* 1061, 1097, 1120. Nanda's question gives the Buddha the opportunity of stressing the superiority of a moral life (cp. 1070c). He declares that speculative knowledge leads one nowhere. This is in contrast to contemporary Brahmanism where Upaniṣadic seers begin to emphasise the importance of knowledge (*jñāna*) for the attainment of Brahman. *Vijjā* (knowledge) in Buddhism in some aspects is allied to *jñāna*, yet the Buddha is seen consistently to reject metaphysical speculation (cp. *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*, etc.).

In reply to Upasīva's request the Buddha gives a short survey of the essence of *vimokkha*. This *pucchā* appears the most abstruse in the whole *vagga*. The concentrated ideas in it are highly philosophical and bear the tone of the more systematised passages of the *Aṅguttara* of similar import. It perhaps represents in germinal form the doctrines further dealt with in the *Aṅguttara* and *Saṃyutta Nikāyas* and carried to a degree of perfection in the later Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

The *ārammana* which Buddha gives Upasīva is based on *ākiṇcañña* (cp. *na kiñcid anyat*). He has to cross the *ogha* by obtaining the release brought about by *saññāvimokkha* (cp. *saññāvedayitanirodha*). Then only does a *muni* 'go beyond reckoning' and obtain his release from *nāma* (*nāma-kāya*), for *rūpa* is eliminated at the stage of *ākiṇcañña*. Here is a brief reference to the *kāya* theory of the *Nikāyas*. The *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* in the *Dīgha* mentions the various *kāyas* as conceived by the divergent schools of animistic beliefs of the existence of a soul. The term *rūpakāya* occurs at S. III, 59 and *nāma-kāya* is that which corresponds to the entities designated as *nāma* in the division of the fivefold aggregates. Here is also to be seen a distant echo of the *kośa* theory of the *Upaniṣads*. There is nothing quite close to this in the *Nikāyas*, but the significant metaphor *asim kosiya pabbāheyya* (as one would draw the sword from the scabbard D. I, 77) seems to suggest an early connection of the same ideas.

The central ideas of the *pucchās* are discussed in the general remarks on the *Pārāyana Vagga* (PBR, 1, 3, p. 146). All the concepts in the *vagga* are doubtless very old. The passages of philosophical import do not show much growth. The occurrence of the terms *viññāṇa* (1055), 1073,

1110, 1111 and 1037, *nāmarūpa* (1036, 1100), *nāmakāya* (1074) and *nāma* and *rūpa* (1073), *ākiñcañña* (1070, 1071, 1072, 1115) has already been touched upon. The terms *kiñcana* (1098, 1099, 1104) and *akiñcana* (1059, 1091, 1094) are of no direct philosophical import. *Viññāta* (1086) in the phrase *diṭṭha-suta-muta-viññātesu* is a term common to passages dealing with sense-perception. The notion of going beyond *saṃkham* (1074), *pamāṇam* (1076), *kappam* (1101) agrees with the central theme of 'going beyond'. Like the *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* the *pucchās* denounce disputation (*takka* 1084, *kathamkathā* 1088, 1089) and philosophical (speculative) dogmas (1078-1083, 1098). Many of the *mānavas* use epithets in praise of the Buddha (1043, 1049, 1063, 1069, 1073, 1090, 1101, 1105, 1112, etc.). He is called *saṃantacakkha* at 1063c, 1069c, 1073b, 1090d. The other frequent epithets are *aneja* (1112, 1101, 1043), *vedagu* (1049, 1059), *bhāvitatta* (1049) and *oghātiga* (1096). None of these epithets appears extravagant and all could be ascribed to an early period. The *dhamma* is spoken of as *anītiha* (not based on hearsay—1053). *Santi* is to be experienced in this world itself (1066). The terms *itihītiham* and *itthabhāva* also occur. No attempt is made here to discuss other data from the language of these *pucchās*, for both language and metre show signs of antiquity and agree in the main with the *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*.

It is to be observed that only one (Puṇṇaka) out of these sixteen men asks a question about sacrifice, a thing which played a very prominent part in the lives of all the brahmins of the age. This question is the only justification to infer that Puṇṇaka was a brahmin; though in itself it is no conclusive proof. It has already been emphasised that some of the questions asked, definitely show that most of them have had a philosophical training in some system or other. It is quite probable that they may have belonged to some sects of *śramaṇas* or *ājīvakas* which cannot be easily identified on account of the scanty evidence at hand.

The only mention in the *Apadāna*, a considerably late work, of the celebrated Bāvari of the *Vatthugāthā*, with special reference to these *mānavas*, is made at *Ap. II*, 487 (Mogharāja), *Ap. II*, 342 (Mettagu) and *Ap. II*, 357 (Todeyya). It was stated earlier that the fact that some of the names are brahmin-names does not necessarily prove that the questioners were brahmins. Dhotaka in praising the Buddha calls him a *brāhmaṇa* and in the same stanza addresses him as *Sakya* (1063). At 1065 he calls him *brahme* (voc.). This presents no difficulty when the new significance attached to the word *brāhmaṇa* is taken into account (cp. *Dh. Brāhmaṇa Vagga*). The main purpose of these questions is to find out a solution to birth and decay and not the settlement of the differences between the theories of these interlocutors and Buddha's teaching, for none of them

comes to the Buddha as a disputant. All this evidence points to the lateness of the Bāvari episode as compared with the *pucchās* and shows the absence of any justification for the late tradition that these *mānavas* were brahmin-pupils.

The Apadāna and the Sixteen Mānavas

The only other source in which these *mānavas* are mentioned in a manner worth noting is the *Apadāna*. Only eleven out of the sixteen are specifically mentioned, viz. Ajita: *Ap. No.* 397 (I, 335), Tissametteyya: *No.* 398 (II, 339), Puṇṇaka: *No.* 399 (II, 341), Mettagu: *No.* 400 (II, 342), Dhotaka: *No.* 401 (II, 343), Upasīva: *No.* 402 (II, 345), Nanda: *No.* 403 (*Ap. II*, 350), Hemaka: *No.* 404 (II, 351), Todeyya: *No.* 405 (II, 354), Jatukaṇṇi (ka): *No.* 406 (II, 357), and Mogharāja: *Nos.* 35, 537 (I, 87; II, 486). There is no trace whatsoever, in the *Apadāna*, of Kappa who should have been mentioned after *No.* 405, of Posāla or of Piṅgiya. There is the story of one Udena occurring in the *Apadāna* immediately after Jatukaṇṇi (i.e. *No.* 407. *Ap. II*, 362). Following this comes the *Apadāna* of Bhaddālī (*No.* 408. *Ap. II*, 365). Although the names appear somewhat similar the stories yield no clue for the identification of Udena with Udaya and Bhaddālī with Bhadrāvudha. Moreover, the order in which these two stories occur is the inverse of that of the two corresponding *pucchās*. Even in the case of the eight *Apadānas* in which there is no mention of Bāvari (i.e. except Todeyya, Mettagu and Mogharāja) the text affords no positive evidence of a connection.

Further, Udena's *Apadāna* is the last number of the 41st (Metteyya) *Vagga* and Bhaddālī's opens the next chapter which is known by that name. This may be overlooked if there was any positive evidence of a connection, for Ajita's *Apadāna* ends the 40th (Pilinda) *Vagga* and therefore precedes the Tissametteyya *Apadāna*. The division of the *Apadāna* into *vaggas* being arbitrary and artificial, it is evident that *Ap. Nos.* 397-405 are meant to correspond to the nine *mānavas* from Ajita to Todeyya. The tenth, Kappa is omitted, and the eleventh, Jatukaṇṇi occurs as *No.* 406. Then comes Mogharāja the fifteenth *mānava* for whom there are two *Apadānas*. *Sn.* 1117 is quoted at *Ap. No.* 537, 25; and *Sn.* 1118-1119 at *Ap. No.* 537, 26-28. Though there are differences in details the two stories are practically the same. The fact that the Mogharāja *Apadāna* is so far away from the last story which has a bearing on the *mānavas* (Jatukaṇṇi) hardly sheds any light on *Sn.* on account of the lateness of *Ap.*

References in other works

From the nature of the questions and answers in the *pucchās* it is to be inferred that the *mānavas* entered the Order. This is stated in the late

Epilogue (*Sn.* 1128). Yet it is rather disappointing to see that *Th1* is silent about most of them. It has already been shown that Ajita at *Th1*, 20 is not the same as Ajita of *Sn.* Similarly, Puṇṇa (*Th1*, 70), Nanda (*Th1*, 157-158), Posiya (*Th1*, 34) nor any one of the three Tissas in *Th1*. (39, 97, 153-154) shows any connection with the men bearing similar names in *Sn.* It is also highly improbable that Bhaddali (*Th1*, 275-277) or Bhadda (*Th1*, 473-479) and Udāyī (*Th1*, 689-704) have any connection with Bhadrāvudha and Udaya. The degree of improbability is less in the case of Kappa of *Th1*, 567-576, though no direct evidence is forthcoming.

On the other hand, it is quite probable that Mogharāja of *Th1*, 207-208 is the same as Mogharāja in *Sn.* In fact he is the most frequently mentioned person out of all these sixteen *mānavas*. It has already been stated that he is mentioned twice in the *Apadāna* (I, 87, II, 486) and once in the *Theragāthā* (*Th1*, 207-208). *Samyutta*, I, 23 contains two stanzas, one by Mogharāja and the other the Buddha's reply, which are not found either in *Sn.* or *Th1*. It may have been quite probable that the original *Mogharājapucchā* was longer than what is now handed down in *Sn.* It is also probable that the *Samyutta* quotes from another recension of the *Mogharājapucchā* which is now lost. The quotation found at *Milp*, 412 of a saying by Mogharāja cannot be traced either in *Sn.* or *Th1*. It is probable that the source from which it was taken was known to the author of *Milp*. and was subsequently lost. The nature of these passages does not permit the inference that they belonged to another Mogharāja. This corroborates what has already been noticed in the case of the two *Apadāna* stories.

It is not proposed to give an analysis of the linguistic data. The few remarks made earlier show to some extent the antiquity of these poems. All the evidence from external sources points to the fact that Mogharāja was a prominent member of the community. The evidence from the *Samyutta* and *Milp*. does not help to establish the anteriority of the poem in *Sn.* to those respective works. It is quite probable that *Sn.* preserves only a fragment of a longer dialogue; and that the *Samyutta* and *Sn.* are complementary to each other in this respect.

(to be concluded)

THE MEANING OF THE WORD 'TATHĀGATA'

According to the Pāli Commentaries: Text and Introductory Essay

Bhikkhu Bodhi*

Introduction

In the whole of Buddhist literature the epithets of the Buddha are probably as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, but among these many names and titles none cuts deeper or takes in more meaning than the word "Tathāgata". It is the epithet the Buddha uses with greatest frequency in reference to himself, a fact of no small importance. It is never employed by others as a direct address for the Buddha, and only rarely as a third-person designation, as though its use was a privilege reserved for the Master alone. The context in which the Buddha uses it further heightens its significance. When he speaks about himself as a particular individual with a private background of experience, the Buddha generally employs the first-person pronoun "I" (*aham*). But when, in contrast, he speaks about himself in his other, supra-individual role—as the discoverer and teacher of the path to deliverance—he drops this personal mode of speech and refers to himself instead indirectly as "the Tathāgata." The very appearance of the word in the *suttas* thus signals a shift in perspective: a momentary flash from the tight analytical principles composing the discourse to the vast spacey backdrop against which its exposition unfolds. We see this already at the outset of the Buddha's career. When the newly enlightened Master first approaches the five ascetics in the Deer Park at Benares, he begins his teaching mission by announcing: "The Tathāgata, monks, is a Holy One, a perfectly enlightened Buddha." And so it is, day in and day out, all the way through the remaining 45 years of his ministry, right down to the *Pari-nibbāna*. Whenever his self-reference draws him out from the web of particulars in which his life is set to reveal him in the full breadth and majesty of his stature, time and again the words come: "The Tathāgata, bhikkhus,"

In recognition of its pre-eminence among the Master's epithets, the early Buddhist teachers and their successors have applied their wisdom and erudition to fathoming the multiple implications of this suggestive word. Their tradition of exegesis, transmitted and elaborated from one generation to the next, has reached its standard form in the detailed explanation set down by the great *ācariya*, Buddhaghosa Thera, in his polished editions of the ancient commentaries. In what follows we

present a translation from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the commentary (*aṭṭhakathā*) to the *Dīgha Nikāya*, of the standard scholastic exegesis of the word "Tathāgata." The same passage is reproduced verbatim in other commentaries to the Canon with the strict consistency typical of the Pāli tradition. When they were thought useful, further elucidations of this exposition in the sub-commentary (*ṭīkā*) of Ācariya Dhammapāla and the new sub-commentary (*abhinavaṭīkā*) of the Burmese elder Nāṇābhivamsa (early 19th c.) have been given. Even this analysis of the term, however, is not final, since subsequent teachers have attempted to discover in it still additional shades of meaning, but these lie beyond our present concern.

The commentary gives eight basic reasons why the Exalted One is called "Tathāgata." As a glance at these reasons will show, each seeks to relate this profound term to some core aspect of the theory or practice of the Dhamma. Such a procedure, though not strictly etymological, is all quite legitimate from the standpoint of inner realization taken by the teachers of old. Since from this higher, experiential standpoint the Buddha is apprehended not merely externally as a historical person, but in essence as the concrete embodiment of the Dhamma itself, it is only fitting that the ancient masters should see in his most preferred form of self-designation a compendium of the entire Doctrine and Discipline for which he stands. Thence the sub-commentary can say that "the word 'Tathāgata' contains the entire practice of the Dhamma as well as all the qualities of a Buddha."

How this is so a brief synopsis of each derivation to follow should make plain.

(i) The first, which divides the Pāli compound into *tathā āgata*, "thus come," points to the Buddha as the great arrival who appears in the world along the same primordial trail as his predecessors, the Buddhas of the past. The indeclinable *tathā* here indicates conformity to a pattern, the participle *āgata* the arrival at a goal. Together, the two show the advent of a Buddha to be, not a chance, unique phenomenon, but a regular outcome of the universal patterning of events. It is an occurrence which repeats itself, at rare intervals, ever and again across the vast ocean of cosmic time, making each Buddha simultaneously the heir to a double chain of succession: on the one hand, as the most recent member of the series of Buddhas extending back into the beginningless past; on the other as the last link in a single sequence of lives wherein he toiled to perfect all those qualities which issued in his great achievement. Both types of fulfilment, the individual and the universal, are implied by the term "Tathāgata." Since our present Buddha, the Sakyan Gotama,

arrived at his goal through the same course as his predecessors, the previous Buddhas, the word "Tathāgata," as the commentary explains, comprises the entire set of practices that go into the make-up of that ancient course: the great aspiration, the thirty *pāramīs*, the five relinquishments, the thirty-seven constituents of enlightenment, etc.

(ii) The second derivation, as *tathā gata*, "thus gone," is explicated in two ways. The first relates the traditional account of the bodhisattva's deportment at birth, explaining the symbolic significance of each element in the story. The second, like the derivation "thus come," draws upon the image of a journey. Only now the journey is viewed from the opposite perspective—not from the standpoint of arrival, but from the standpoint of departure. The focus here falls on the aspect of transcendence: the movement from the hither shore of peril, suffering, and death, to the further shore of the deathless, the realm of emancipation. Hence the commentary goes on to educe from the term "Tathāgata" the complete practice culminating in final deliverance: the abandoning of the five hindrances, the eight attainments of serenity meditation, the eighteen great insights, and the realization of the four supramundane paths, which sever all the fetters of existence and issue in deliverance from the round. Whereas the set of practices given in the first derivation is, in its completeness, peculiar to fully enlightened Buddhas alone, this present set, with minor variations, must be fulfilled by all who seek emancipation from *Samsāra*.

(iii) The third explanation, "come to the real characteristic," hinges upon both a tenet of philosophical understanding and a practice which transmutes that tenet into lived experience. The tenet holds that every real *dhamma*, i.e. every existent actuality, possesses a specific nature (*sabhāva*), characteristic mark (*lakkaṇa*), or formal essence (*sarūpa*), which provides its inner significance and the key to its comprehension. The earth element, for example, has the characteristic of hardness. Hardness is its nature or essence; hardness differentiates the earth element from other *dhammas*, so that the comprehension of the earth element is achieved by penetrating its significance as hardness. The same principle holds for all the other *dhammas*. Each has its own specific mark, which distinguishes it from every other *dhamma* and offers the inlet to its comprehension.

The practical application of this tenet lies in the fact that each of these characteristics can be experienced. It is, in fact, just through the experience of the characteristic that the *dhamma* can be known—seen in its bare actuality stripped of all subjective superimpositions. In the systematic development of wisdom, this phase of practice is called *ñātapariññā*,

full understanding of the known, or *nāmarūpa-vavatthāna*, the defining of mentality—materiality. It is the third stage along the path to purity known as *ditṭhivisuddhi*, purification of view, where the seemingly solid human organism is mentally dissected into its multiple components, and each component *dhmma* is defined and grasped by way of its characteristic, thereby exploding the illusion of a unitary self.

The discovery of this method of analysis, and of each characteristic of every real *dhmma*, was the work of the knowledge of the Buddha. Hence, in discovering these real characteristics, the Buddha is appropriately called “the Tathāgata.”

(iv) The next explanation, “awakened to real *dhmmas*,” takes us to the heart of the Buddha’s doctrine, the Four Noble Truths and Dependent Origination. Here the prefix *tathā* conveys the sense of reality, actuality, or truth, and the terminal *gata* the sense of knowledge. When fused into the compound “Tathāgata,” they signify the awakening to the real, most fundamental facts of sentient existence—to the truths of suffering, its origin, cessation, and the path to its end, as well as to the conditional arising of all phenomena of existence. The unknowing of these truths is ignorance, the root of delusion which drives beings through the round of birth and death. Their penetration is wisdom, the direct perception of things as they really are. Since it was the Buddha who first awakened to these truths, and who still awakens others to them through the medium of his Teaching, he gains the title “Tathāgata.”

“They are real, not unreal, not otherwise” (*tathā avitathā anaññathā*)—these three terms the Buddha uses to describe each truth, as also each link in the chain of conditionality, drive home their complete actuality. They are not in the Pāli texts, a mere introduction to his dispensation, as is too often thought, or a halfway house to some metaphysical absolute, as later Buddhist tradition was to hold, but the undistorted, undeceptive suchness (*tathatā*) itself. They are the actualities which must be seen, fathomed, and understood to bring the round of suffering to its final, momentumless halt.

(v) The next account, “a seer of the real,” discloses the Buddha’s knowledge of omniscience (*sabbāññutañāna*). He is a seer of all that is real—whatever can be seen, heard, sensed, or cognized by the mind. The quality of omniscience has sometimes been disputed by Pāli scholars as an attribute of the Buddha, on the grounds that the Buddha denies knowing everything simultaneously (see *Tevijja—Vacchagotta Sutta*, M. 71). But this denial of simultaneous all-knowledge does not bar out the possibility of another kind of omniscience, and the Buddha in fact says that

to quote him as denying the possibility of omniscience altogether is to misrepresent his Teaching, drawing an illegitimate deduction from what he has actually said (see *Kaṇṇakathala Sutta*, M. 90). According to the Theravāda tradition, the Buddha is all-knowing in that he can know whatever he wishes to know. The range of his faculty of knowledge coincides with the range of the cognizable. Whatever he adverts to enters immediately into the portal of his comprehension. This claim is supported by a number of *suttas*, such as the one cited here, which explains the Buddha’s omniscience in terms of his knowledge of the entire cognitive domain as seen, heard, sensed, and mentally cognized. The commentary goes on to elucidate each category by way of the Abhidhammic scheme of classification, thereby calling attention to the analytical precision of the Buddha’s knowledge as well as to its totalistic range. If the earlier explication in terms of the four truths reveals the depth and existential immediacy of the Dhamma, the present one reveals its breadth and impeccable perspicacity.

(vi) The rendering as “speaker of the real” hinges upon a slight mutation of the hard ‘t’ of *gata* into the soft ‘d’ of *gada*. *Gada* means speech or enunciation, so *tathāgada* becomes truthful speech or, by extension, one who makes truthful speech—a reference to the unerring veracity of every genuine utterance of the Master.

(vii) The seventh account, as “practising what he teaches,” expresses the perfect consistency between the conduct and teaching of the Buddha. He does not act in one way and teach his disciples to act otherwise. He does not inspire others with lofty principles while failing to fulfil them himself. Without need for self-justification or excuses, he practises what he teaches and teaches what he has practised. In his own person he provides the ideal exemplification of his Teaching, and he instructs others to emulate his example by rectifying their conduct in accordance with the Teaching.

(viii) The last rendition, as “surpassing” or “vanquishing,” springs from the purely fanciful etymology given in the commentary. Of greater value and interest is the following derivation, not separately enumerated, which relates the term “Tathāgata” to the four modes of penetrating the Four Noble Truths. Here the truth of suffering is equated with the world in its totality, for the deepest level of suffering or *dukkha* is found in the instability and essencelessness of the five clinging aggregates which comprise the world. The four penetrations are the *full understanding* of the nature of the world, by scrutinizing the impermanence, unsatisfactoriness, and selflessness of the aggregates; the *abandoning* of the origin of the world, the craving which generates the repeated cycles of becoming; the

realization of the cessation of the world, the unconditioned element of Nibbāna where the aggregates cease; and the *development* of the way leading to the cessation of the world, the Noble Eightfold Path. Because these modes of penetration can each be redefined by a word expressing movement, and the word *gata* signifying movement can in turn acquire a meaning of knowledge,¹ the term "Tathāgata," "thus gone," suggests the penetration of the Four Noble Truths in the mode of penetration peculiar to each truth. In this way once again the word "Tathāgata" implies the entire theory and practice of the Dhamma.

These brief remarks should suffice to warn us not to expect, in the commentary to follow, an etymological account of the type sought for by Western scholarship. To take the commentarial method of exegesis as an attempt to give a scientific explanation of the origin of a word, and then accuse the commentators of poor etymology, is to ascribe to the ancients a procedure quite foreign to their purpose. The aim of the commentators, in giving such elaborate disquisitions on key doctrinal terms, is not to show the historical derivation of a word, but to elicit from the word the various implications it contains for the spheres of understanding and practice. The aim, in short, is not so much scientific as spiritual. The key words of the doctrine are taken up as themes for contemplation and reflection, each a potential stimulus to the growth of wisdom. When allowed to sink into a clear, calm, receptive consciousness, gradually they unfold their hidden wealth of meaning, leading to deeper levels of comprehension.

The results of these reflections have been preserved for us by the ancients in their commentarial expositions, for the most part based on vast erudition and profound spiritual experience. To be sure, they need not (and should not) be accepted blindly in their entirety. They should be critically examined and screened, and only what is thought to be valid and useful for spiritual progress retained. But their value has to be properly appraised. If one approaches them with the demands of scientific scholarship, disappointment is bound to follow, for their aim is not scientific. But if one approaches them in the right spirit, as aids to understanding, as guides to the inner significance of the Dhamma stimulating meditation and insight, then one will find a rich and rewarding field yielding an abundant harvest.

1. In Pāli, words deriving from the root */gam* = "to go, and words deriving from the root */budh* = "to understand", are often treated as interchangeable in meaning. *Yo hi gatyattho so buddhyattho, yo ca buddhyattho so gatyattho*: "words signifying movement convey the meaning of understanding, and words signifying understanding convey the meaning of movement" (*Abhinavaṭṭikā*).

Particularly is this the case with the word "Tathāgata," the chief epithet of the chief of men, the Buddha. That a perfectly enlightened being would single out a specific term for self-reference cannot be a matter of chance but of deliberate choice—a choice based on a keen awareness of all that the word implies. The content is already there in the word itself—"the entire practice of the Dhamma as well as all the qualities of a Buddha"—locked up in it like the energy locked up in the atom. It is for us to draw it out. To this end the ancient teachers have helped us with their detailed exposition, in its thoroughness, clarity, and restrained eloquence one of the finest products of the commentarial genius. But to arrive at a full comprehension of the term there is for us still work to be done. The exposition must first be studied, then subjected to careful consideration. This will kindle faith and lay the grounds for understanding. But to deepen the understanding the term "Tathāgata" should then be taken up as an object of meditation—a form of *Buddhānussati*, "the recollection of the Buddha," one of the forty traditional subjects of *samatha* meditation. As such it should first be examined in each of its several implications, run through by the mind over and over until the essential flavour of each meaning stands out. When the flavour becomes clear, gradually the verbal scaffolding should be removed. Only the essential flavour should be retained, held fast by the mind, and repeatedly developed, until gradually, in stages, the term yields up its inner core of signification to direct intuition free from discursive thought.

Text

Note: All textual references are to the Burmese script *Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana* (Sixth Great Council) recension. The main body of the text is from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* = Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, Silakkhandhavagga Aṭṭhakathā, pp. 59-67. Selections from the sub-commentary (*Tīkā*) are prefixed by *Sub. Cy.*, and from the new sub-commentary (*Abhinavaṭṭikā*) by *N. Sub. Cy.* Since the latter in good part simply reproduces the standard sub-commentary, expanded and elaborated for the sake of clarity, clarifying phrases from the newer work have sometimes merely been inserted into the translated selections from the old sub-commentary, marked off by square brackets.

The Exalted One is called "the Tathāgata" for eight reasons:

- (i) because he has "thus come" (*tathā āgato*);
- (ii) because he has "thus gone" (*tathā gato*);
- (iii) because he has come to the real characteristic (of *dhammas*) (*tathalakkhaṇam āgato*);

- (iv) because he has awakened to real *dhammas* in accordance with actuality (*tathadhamme yāthāvato abhisambuddho*);
- (v) because he is a seer of the real (*tathadassitāya*);
- (vi) because he is a speaker of the real (*tathavāditāya*);
- (vii) because he practises what he teaches (*tathakāritāya*);
- (viii) and in the sense of vanquishing or surpassing (*abhibhavanaṭṭhena*).

(i) Why is the Exalted One called the Tathāgata because he has “thus come”?

Because he has come in the same way that the previous perfectly enlightened Buddhas came, engaged in exertion for the welfare of the whole world—that is, the Exalted Vipassī, Sikhī, Vessabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa.¹ What is meant? Our Exalted One (the Buddha Gotama) has come through the very same aspiration (*abhinīhāra*)² that these Exalted Ones came through. Or just as the Exalted Vipassī... the Exalted Kassapa came after they had fulfilled the full thirty *pāramīs*—i.e. the ten basic, ten intermediate, and ten ultimate *pāramīs* of giving, virtue, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truthfulness, determination, loving-kindness, and equanimity; made the five great relinquishings—i.e. the relinquishing of limbs, eyes, wealth, kingdom, and children and wife; fulfilled the preliminary effort, the preliminary conduct, the preaching of the Dhamma, conduct for the good of kinsmen, etc.; and reached the summit in conduct developing intelligence—exactly *thus* has our Exalted One come (*tathā amhākam pi Bhagavā āgato*). Or else, just as the Exalted Vipassī...Kassapa came by developing and cultivating the four foundations of mindfulness, the four right endeavours, the four bases of spiritual success, the five faculties, the five powers, the seven factors of enlightenment, and the Noble Eightfold Path—exactly *thus* has our Exalted One come. Thence he is the Tathāgata because he has “thus come.”

As Vipassī and the other great sages of the past
Came to the state of omniscience in the world,
In that very same way the Sakyan sage came.
Thence he, the all-seeing, is called “Tathāgata.”

1. These are the six Buddhas mentioned in the most ancient canonical texts as the immediate predecessors of the Buddha Gotama. See *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, D. 14. Later canonical works mention twenty-seven preceding Buddhas, and trace the original aspiration of our present Buddha back to the twenty-fourth, the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. See esp. *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Sacred Books of the Buddhists: Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, III.

2. A technical term for the original aspiration made by a Buddha-aspirant at the feet of a living Buddha, appearing in later canonical works and the commentaries.

Sub. Cy. Though the five great relinquishings belong to the perfection of giving, they are mentioned separately in order to show that they are distinct forms of relinquishing, that they are extremely difficult to practice, [and that they are distinct requisites for enlightenment]. For the same reasons, the relinquishing of the eyes is mentioned separately from the relinquishing of the limbs. And though they all involve possessions, the relinquishing of children and wife is mentioned separately from the relinquishing of wealth and kingdom. The “preliminary effort” (*pubba-yoga*) is the achievement of the meditative attainments and the (five) *abhiññas*,¹ together with the preliminary portion of practice for these consisting in the duties of advancing and retreating (to and from the village for alms). The “preliminary conduct” (*pubbacariyā*) is the achievement of extraordinary practice in giving, etc., included in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*.² But some say the preliminary effort is the aspiration, and the preliminary conduct either the practice of giving, etc., or solitary wandering by way of bodily seclusion. The “preaching of the Dhamma” is talk which establishes and matures beings in the three types of enlightenment¹ by explaining to them the practice of giving, etc., fewness of wishes, etc., the unsatisfactoriness of Saṃsāra, and the benefit of Nibbāna. “Conduct developing intelligence” is the widening of knowledge by means of the knowledge of the ownership of action (*kammasakatāñña*), the study of blameless occupations and blameless fields of knowledge, the study of the aggregates, bases, etc., and the scrutinization of the three characteristics. In denotation it is the same as the perfection of wisdom, but is mentioned separately in order to show the requisite of knowledge.² By mentioning the foundations of mindfulness (and the other thirty-three constituents of enlightenment), he shows the way of arrival that has been brought to its climax, [for those states can be understood as the constituents of the supramundane paths and fruits]. Or the foundations of mindfulness, etc. can be considered only as the accompaniments of insight [by taking them

1. The five mundane *abhiññas* are: the modes of psychic power, the divine eye, the divine ear, the power of reading the minds of others, and the recollection of past lives. The sixth, supramundane *abhiññā*, the knowledge of the destruction of the cankers, is not mentioned here, for that is only attained with the achievement of enlightenment.

2. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is a late text of the Khuddaka Nikāya dealing with the practice of the *pāramīs*. The “etc.” after “giving” implies the other nine *pāramīs*.

1. *Bodhittaya*: the enlightenment of a disciple, of a paccekabuddha, and of a sammāsambuddha. It should be mentioned that in the Pāli tradition this triad of enlightenments, and its corresponding triad of *yānas* or “vehicles,” do not make a distinct appearance until the late commentarial and sub-commentarial stage of literature. They are only adumbrated in the basic commentaries, while in the four Nikāyas they are not even suggested.

2. There are two sets of requisites (*sambhāra*) for enlightenment the requisites of merit and the requisites of knowledge.

as the preliminary (mundane) portion of practice].³ And here it should be understood that by mentioning the aspiration he shows the beginning of the way of arrival, by mentioning the *pāramīs* he shows the middle, and by mentioning the four foundations of mindfulness, etc. he shows the consummation.

(ii) Why is he called the Tathāgata because he has 'thus gone'?

Because as soon as he was born, he went in the same way that the Exalted Vipassī. . . Kassapa went as soon as they were born. And how did the Exalted One go? As soon as he was born he stood with his feet planted evenly on the ground, and then, facing north, went (*gata*) forward with a stride of seven steps. As it is said: 'As soon as the bodhisatta was born, Ānanda, he stood with his feet planted evenly on the ground; then, while a white parasol was held over him, facing north, he went forward with a stride of seven steps. Having surveyed all the directions, he then uttered the roar of the Leader of the Herd: 'I am the foremost in the world. I am pre-eminent in the world. I am supreme in the world. This is my last birth. There is now no renewal of existence.' (D. 14).

His way of going was real (*tatham*), not unreal (*avitatham*), for it foretold his numerous achievements of spiritual distinction, as follows. When, as soon as he was born, he stood with his feet (*pāda*) planted evenly on the ground, that was the foretoken of his obtaining the four bases of spiritual success (*iddhipāda*). When he walked facing north (*uttara*), that was the foretoken of his supremacy in all the world (*sabbalokuttara-bhāva*).¹ His stride of seven steps foretold his obtaining the gems of the seven factors of enlightenment; the golden-staffed chowries that appeared, his defeat of all the sectarian teachers; the white parasol, his obtaining the stainless white parasol of the supreme deliverance of Arahatsip. When he stood surveying all the directions after completing the seventh step, that foretold his obtaining the unobstructed knowledge of omniscience. And his uttering the roar of the Leader of the Herd was the foretoken of his setting in motion the supreme, irreversible Wheel of the Dhamma.

3. The thirty-seven constituents of enlightenment (*bodhipakkhiyadhammā*) are developed in two distinct stages. The first, the preliminary portion, consists in their development at the time of practising insight (*vipassanā*) on the five aggregates as impermanent, suffering, and not-self. This portion is mundane since its object, the aggregates of the psycho-physical organism, is mundane. The second portion of development consists in their maturation in the four supramundane paths. Here the factors come to prominence as components of these momentary, climactic acts of path-consciousness which realize Nibbāna and break the fetters of the round. On these occasions, and in the subsequent fruits, they are supramundane, since their object, Nibbāna, is a supramundane *dhamma*.

1. *N. Sub. Cy.* 'Either his supremacy within all the world, or his transcendence over the entire world.'

Just as the previous Exalted Ones went thus, exactly *thus* did the present Exalted One go (*tathā ayaṃ Bhagavā pi gato*). And his way of going was real, not unreal, for it foretold the above achievements of spiritual distinction. Thence the ancients have said:

The very moment the master bull was born
He stood upon the earth with even feet.
Beneath the parasol the Maruts held,
Gotama took a stride of seven steps.
When he finished taking seven steps,
He surveyed all directions with his gaze,
And like a lion poised on a mountain top,
Uttered his roar complete in factors eight.

Thence he is the Tathāgata because he has 'thus gone'.

Or alternatively, as the Exalted Vipassī. . . Kassapa went, exactly *thus* did the present Exalted One go. That is, abandoning sensual desire by renunciation, ill-will by benevolence, sloth-and-torpor by the perception of light, restlessness-and-remorse by non-distraction, and perplexity by the defining of *dhammas*; shattering ignorance with knowledge, dispelling discontent with joy; (1) knocking away the panel of the (five) hindrances with the first *jhāna*, (2) making applied and sustained thought subside with the second *jhāna*, (3) making rapture fade away with the third *jhāna*, and (4) abandoning pleasure and pain with the fourth *jhāna*, (5) surmounting perceptions of material forms, impingement, and diversity with the attainment of the base of infinite space, (6) the perception of the base of infinite space with the attainment of the base of infinite consciousness, (7) the perception of the base of infinite consciousness with the attainment of the base of nothingness, and (8) the perception of the base of nothingness with the attainment of the base of neither perception nor non-perception.¹

Then he went abandoning (1) the perception of permanence with the contemplation of impermanence, (2) the perception of pleasure with the contemplation of suffering, (3) the perception of self with the contemplation of non-self, (4) delight with the contemplation of disenchantment, (5) lust with the contemplation of fading away, (6) origination with the contemplation of cessation, (7) grasping with the contemplation of relinquishment, (8) the perception of compactness with the contemplation of destruction, (9) accumulation with the contemplation of fall, (10) the perception of stability with the contemplation of change, (11) the

1. These are the eight attainments (*aṭṭha samāpattiyo*) of serenity meditation, four pertaining to the fine material plane and four to the immaterial plane.

sign with the contemplation of the signless, (12) wish with the contemplation of the wishless, (13) adherence with the contemplation of emptiness, (14) adherence due to grasping at substance with the higher wisdom of insight into *dhammas*, (15) adherence due to confusion with the knowledge and vision of things as they really are, (16) the adherence due to reliance with the contemplation of danger, (17) non-reflection with the contemplation of reflection, and (18) adherence due to bondage with the contemplation of the round's end.²

Then he went demolishing the defilements co-existing with wrong view with the path of Stream-entry, abandoning the gross defilements (of lust, hate, and delusion) with the path of the Once-returner, extirpating the defilements accompanied by subtle (sensual lust and ill-will) with the path of the Non-returner, and eradicating all defilements with the path of Arahatsip.³ Thence he is the Tathāgata because he has "thus gone."

Sub. Cy. In the first case, the participle "gone" (*gata*) in the word "Tathāgata" is explained in the sense of bodily movement. In the second case it is explained in the sense of the movement of knowledge. Here he first shows the Exalted One's state of Tathāgatahood [distinguished by its movement of knowledge] by way of the preliminary practice for the first *jhāna*, stated as the abandoning of the five hindrances, sensual desire and the rest: next by the eight meditative attainments (*aṭṭha samāpatti*) together with their means; and then by the eighteen principal insights (*mahāvipassanā*). Since the perception of impermanence and the rest come to perfection for one established in the full understanding of the known, which drives away the delusion obstructing the discernment of mentality-materiality and the overcoming of doubt, the "shattering of ignorance" is the means for insight. So too, since the *jhānas*, etc. are easily achieved when discontent is dispelled by joy based on delight in the attainments, the dispelling of discontent is the means for the meditative attainments.

The "contemplation of impermanence" is a name for the insight apprehending the impermanence of the *dhammas* pertaining to the three planes. The "perception of permanence" is the wrong perception of conditioned *dhammas* as permanent or eternal. Under the heading of perception, (wrong) views and (wrong) cognition should also be included.

2. These are the eighteen principal insights (*mahā-vipassanā*), shown in contrast to the deluded perceptions and defilements they eliminate.

3. It is of interest to note that according to the commentary here, the Buddha, on the night of his enlightenment, must pass through all the four paths crossed by his disciples—the paths of Stream-Entrance, Once-Returner, Non-Returner, and Arahatsip. These paths are thus not a particularity of the disciples' course, but a necessity for all who attain liberation from the round, since it is the wisdom in these four path attainments that cuts off the binding defilements.

The same method applies to the cases that follow. The "contemplation of disenchantment" is the contemplation that occurs in the mode of becoming disenchanted with formations. "Delight" is craving accompanied by rapture. The "contemplation of fading away" is contemplation that occurs in the mode of fading away. "Contemplation of cessation" is either the contemplation of the cessation of formations, or the contemplation that "formations cease only, and do not arise again by way of a future re-origination"; thence it is said, "by the contemplation of cessation he makes (formations) cease and does not originate them." This is powerful desire for liberation. The "contemplation of relinquishment" is contemplation that occurs in the mode of relinquishing; [this is the establishing of reflection]. "Grasping" is the apprehension (of formations) as permanent, etc. The "perception of compactness" is the apprehension of identity (in a complex of factors) because of continuity, aggregation, (sameness of) function, or (sameness of) object. "Accumulation" is the forming (of *kamma*). "Change" is the attainment of distinct stages. The "perception of stability" is the apprehension of lastingness. The "sign" is the apprehension of formations as graspable entities, due to the compactness of their aggregation, etc., and to the delimitation of their individual functions. "Wish" is the wishing of lust, etc.; in denotation, it is the inclination towards formations because of craving. "Adherence" is the settled view of a self. "Higher wisdom of insight into *dhammas*" is the scrutinization of all *dhammas* as impermanent, suffering, etc. "Adherence due to grasping at substance" is the perversion of apprehending a substance in the insubstantial. "Adherence due to confusion" is the adherence (to the view that) the world originated through the creative play of God, etc. "Adherence due to reliance" is the apprehension of formations as a shelter and a haven; the reliance is craving. The "contemplation of reflection" is the knowledge that "formations of such and such a kind are being relinquished." The "ending of the round" is Nibbāna, the departure from the round. The "contemplation of the ending of the round" is "change-of-lineage" (*gotrabhū*), the contemplation which occurs taking Nibbāna as its object.¹ The "adherence due to bondage" is the adherence to formations due to being bound.

(iii) Why is he called the Tathāgata because he has come to the real characteristics (of *dhammas*)?

(The six elements:) The earth element has the characteristic of hardness—that is real, not unreal (*tatham avitatham*). The water element, of

1. See *Visuddhimagga*, XXII. 1—14. Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, trans. *The Path of Purification*, (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1975), pp. 785—788.

flowing; the fire element, of heat; the wind element, of distending; the space element, of intangibility; the consciousness element, of cognizing.

(The five aggregates:) Material form has the characteristic of deformation; feeling, of being felt; perception, of perceiving; the mental formations, of forming; consciousness, of cognizing.

(The *jhāna* factors:) Applied thought has the characteristic of application of mind; sustained thought, of continued pressure; rapture, of pervading; happiness, of gratification; one-pointedness of mind, of non-distraction; contact, of touching.¹

(The five faculties:) The faculty of faith has the characteristic of resolution; the faculty of energy, of exertion; the faculty of mindfulness, of awareness; the faculty of concentration, of non-distraction; the faculty of wisdom, of understanding.

(The five powers:) The power of faith has the characteristic of not wavering because of faithlessness; the power of energy, of not wavering because of laziness; the power of mindfulness, of not wavering because of forgetfulness; the power of concentration, of not wavering because of restlessness; the power of wisdom, of not wavering because of ignorance.

(The seven factors of enlightenment:) The enlightenment factor of mindfulness has the characteristic of awareness; the factor of investigation of *dharmas*, of investigating; the factor of energy, of exertion; the factor of rapture, of pervading; the factor of tranquillity, of subsiding; the factor of concentration, of non-distraction; the factor of equanimity, of detached observation.

(The eight factors of the noble path:) Right View has the characteristic of seeing; Right Intention, of application of mind; Right Speech, of embracing; Right Action, of originating; Right Livelihood, of cleansing; Right Effort, of exertion; Right Mindfulness, of awareness; Right Concentration, of non-distraction.

(The twelve factors of Dependent Origination:) Ignorance has the characteristic of unknowing; *kamma*-formations, of volition; consciousness, of cognizing; mentality, of inclining, and materiality, of deformation; the six sense-bases, of actuating; contact, of touching; feeling, of being felt; craving, of causing; clinging, of holding; existence, of accumulating; birth, of production; aging, of decaying, and death, of passing away.

The elements have the characteristic of emptiness; the sense-bases, of actuating; the foundations of mindfulness, of awareness; the right endeavours, of endeavouring; the bases of spiritual success, of succeeding;

1. Contact (*phassa*), though included in the *jhānic* consciousness, is not a specific *jhāna* factor, but is included with the *jhāna* factors perhaps for the sake of convenience.

the faculties, of predominance; the powers, of unwavering; the enlightenment factors, of emancipating; the path, of being a cause.

The truths have the characteristic of reality; serenity, of non-distraction; insight, of contemplation; serenity and insight, of having a single flavour; the pairs of complementary opposites,¹ of not exceeding one another.

The purification of virtue has the characteristic of restraint; purification of mind, of non-distraction; purification of view, of seeing.

The knowledge of destruction has the characteristic of eradication; the knowledge of non-arising has the characteristic of tranquillity.²

Desire has the characteristic of being the root; attention, of being the originator; contact, of collecting together; feeling, of convergence; concentration, of eminence; mindfulness, of predominance; wisdom, of supremacy; deliverance, of being the essence; and Nibbāna, the plunge into the deathless, of being the consummation.

All these characteristics are real, not unreal. Through the movement of his faculty of knowledge he has come to the real characteristic (of all *dharmas*); he has reached it without falling away from it, fully arrived at it—therefore he is the Tathāgata.

Thence he is the Tathāgata because he has come to the real characteristic.

(iv) Why is he called the Tathāgata because he awakened to real *dharmas* in accordance with actuality?

It is the Four Noble Truths that are called “real *dharmas*”. As it is said: “These Four Noble Truths, bhikkhus, are real, not unreal, not otherwise (*tathāni avitathāni anaññathāni*). What four? ‘This is suffering’, bhikkhus—this is real, not unreal, not otherwise,” and so on, in detail (S. V. xii. *Sacca Saṃyutta*, 2.10). The Exalted One awakened to those truths. Therefore, because he awakened to real *dharmas*, he is called the Tathāgata; for here the word “gone” has the meaning “awakened” (*abhisambuddhattha*).

Further, the fact that aging and death originate and commence with birth as condition is real, not unreal, not otherwise. (And so forth, until:) The fact that the *kamma*-formations originate and commence with ignorance as condition is real, not unreal, not otherwise. The fact that ignorance is the condition for the *kamma*-formations, the *kamma*-formations for consciousness, . . . birth for aging and death, is real, not unreal, not otherwise. All that the Exalted One awakened to. Because he awakened to real *dharmas*, he is called the Tathāgata.

1. Sub. Cy. “Serenity and insight. Some say faith and wisdom, and exertion and non-distraction.”

2. Sub. Cy. “‘Destruction’ is the path, for it destroys the defilements; ‘non-arising’ is the fruit, for it is the conclusion with no further arising.”

Thence he is the Tathāgata because he awakened to real *dharmas* in accordance with actuality.

Sub. Cy. The four truths are “real” because their specific nature is undistorted (*aviparītasabhāvatā*), “not unreal” because their specific nature is not false (*amūṣasabhāvatā*), “not otherwise” because they do not admit of any alteration (*aññākārahitattā*).

N. Sub. Cy. Having first shown the fourth reason by way of the truths, he next shows it by way of the factors of Dependent Origination functioning as conditions and conditionally arisen phenomena, which are “real” because of the non-distortion of their specific nature. “Awakened” is said because the root “go” (*gamu*) has the meaning of understanding (*buddhi*).¹

(v) Why is he called the Tathāgata because he is a seer of the real?

In this world together with its gods, etc., in this generation with its rulers and its men, whatever visual-form object there is that enters the threshold of the eye-door of the innumerable beings throughout the innumerable world-systems—that the Exalted One knows and sees in all its modes. And knowing and seeing it thus, he has analysed it under numerous names, in thirteen sections, and by fifty-two methods, as desirable or undesirable etc., and as found under the applicable term among the seen, heard, sensed and cognized, according to the method given thus: “What is the material form that is the visual-form base? The material form derivative upon the four primary elements that is of coloured appearance, visible, impinging, blue, yellow,” etc. (*Dhammasaṅgaṇī* 616 (*Rūpa-kaṇḍa*). This is real, not unreal. The same method in regard to sounds entering the threshold of the ear-door (and the other sense-objects in their respective sense-doors). For the Exalted One has said: “In this world, bhikkhus, together with its gods, etc., in this generation with its rulers and its men, whatever is seen, heard, sensed, cognized, reached, sought after, or examined by the mind—that I know. That I have directly known. That the Tathāgata has understood. But the Tathāgata does not take a stand upon it” (A. *Catukka-Nipāta*, i. 3. 4, *Kālakārāma Sutta*). Thence he is the Tathāgata because he is a seer of the real. Here the term “Tathāgata” should be understood to mean a seer of the real.

Sub. Cy. “Under numerous names”: the visual-form object is described as desirable, undesirable, neutral, inferior, past, future, present, internal, external, seen, cognized, visual-form, visual-form base, visual-form element, a coloured appearance, visible, impinging, blue, yellow, etc. “In thirteen sections”: this is said in reference to the thirteen expository

1. On this interchangeability of words signifying movement and knowledge see above, p. 70.

sections which have come down in the chapter on material form (in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*). “By fifty-two methods”: this is said in reference to the four methods of defining contained in each of the thirteen sections.¹ “This is real”: because of the undistortedness of his vision and the incontrovertible character of his teaching. The analytical derivation of the word “Tathāgata” should be understood thus: he goes to (*gacchati*)—i.e. he sees and knows—these *dharmas* beginning with the visual-form object, in the very way (*tathā*) they exist in their specific nature and mode.

(vi) Why is he called the Tathāgata because he is a speaker of the real?

In the forty-five year interval between the night when the Exalted One, sitting in the invincible posture on the terrace of enlightenment, crushed the heads of the three Māras² and awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment, and the night when he attained final Nibbāna in the Nibbāna-element without residue while lying between the twin Sāl trees, whatever the Exalted One spoke whether in the first, middle, or final periods following the enlightenment—the discourses, songs, expositions, stanzas, joyous exclamations, sayings, birth-stories, wonders, and miscellanies¹—all this is irreproachable in meaning and in phrasing, free from excess and deficiency, perfect in all its modes, crushing the vanity of lust, hatred, and delusion. There is not even as much as a hair’s tip in this that is defective. It all appears as though it had been stamped with a single seal, measured with a single ruler, or weighed upon a single pair of scales. It is all real, not unreal, not otherwise. As it is said: “Between the night when the Tathāgata awakens to the supreme perfect enlightenment and the night when he attains final Nibbāna in the Nibbāna element without residue, whatever he speaks, utters, or expounds—all that is real, not otherwise. Therefore he is called the Tathāgata” (A. *Catukka-Nipāta*, i. 3.3, *Loka Sutta*). For here the word *gata* has the meaning of enunciation (*gata*).

Thence he is the Tathāgata because he is a speaker of the real.

Further, the word *āgata* or *āgadana* means pronouncement; that is, a statement (*vacana*). His pronouncement is real and undistorted: Thus, changing the letter ‘d’ to a ‘t’, the derivation of the word “Tathāgata” may be understood in this sense.

(vii) Why is he called the Tathāgata because he practises what he teaches?

1. The thirteen sections are expounded according to the various mental factors, such as feeling, contact, consciousness, etc., which originate with each sense-quality as their objective basis. The four methods obtain from the differentiation of the cognitive act into past, present, future, and future possibility.

2. The “three Māras” are the defilements, *kamma*-formations, and the malign deity. The Māras of the aggregates and of death are defeated with the attainment of final Nibbāna.

1. This is the traditional ninefold classification of the Word of the Buddha.

The bodily action of the Exalted One conforms to his speech, and his speech conforms to his bodily action; therefore he is one who practises what he teaches and teaches what he practises. Since he is of such a nature, his bodily action has "gone thus" (*tathā gata*), proceeding in accordance with his speech, and his speech has "gone thus," proceeding in accordance with his bodily action; thus he is the Tathāgata. As it is said: "As the Tathāgata says, so he does; as he does, so he says. Therefore he is called the Tathāgata." (*Ibid*).

Thence he is the Tathāgata because he practises what he teaches.

(viii) Why is he called the Tathāgata in the sense of vanquishing or surpassing (*abhibhavana*)?

From the pinnacle of existence¹ downwards, and from the Avīci hell upwards, throughout the innumerable world-systems, the Tathāgata surpasses (*abhibhavati*) all beings in regard to virtue, concentration, wisdom, deliverance, and knowledge-and-vision of deliverance. There is none his equal or measure. He is unequalled, immeasurable, incomparable—the king of kings, the god of gods, the Sakka above all Sakkas, the Brahmā above all Brahmās. Thus it is said: "In this world, bhikkhus, together with its gods, etc., in this generation with its rulers and its men, the Tathāgata is the vanquisher, the unvanquished, the universal seer, the wielder of power. Therefore he is called the Tathāgata." (*Ibid*).

Here the word-derivation should be understood as follows: *Agada* is, as it were, a kind of medicine. What kind? His elegance of teaching and his accumulation of merit. For by means of these, he vanquishes all the rival teachers as well as this world together with its gods in the same way a powerful physician vanquishes snakes with a divine medicine. Thus his medicine (*agada*) for vanquishing all the world is his real, undistorted elegance of teaching and his accumulation of merit. Changing the letter 'd' to a 't', the derivation of the word "Tathāgata" may be understood thus: he is the Tathāgata in the sense of vanquishing.

Furthermore,² he is the Tathāgata because he has "gone through reality" (*tathāya gato*) and because he has "really gone" (*tatham gato*). Here "gone" (*gata*) has the meanings of undergone (*avagata*), gone beyond (*atīta*), attained (*patta*), and practised (*paṭipanna*). Thus he is the Tathāgata because he has gone through—i.e. undergone—reality

1. *Bhavagga*: the base of neither perception nor non-perception, the highest plane of phenomenal existence, the ontological equivalent and kammic consequence of the fourth immaterial meditative attainment.

2. This derivation, though perhaps the deepest and most suggestive of all those given, is not separately enumerated in the text.

by fully understanding the entire world³, through the scrutinization (of its essential characteristics, as impermanent, suffering and not-self). He is the Tathāgata because he has gone through—i.e. gone beyond—reality by fully understanding the world through the abandonment of its origin. He is the Tathāgata because he has gone through—i.e. attained—reality by realizing the cessation of the world. And he is the Tathāgata because he has really gone along—i.e. practised—the way leading to the cessation of the world. Thence the Exalted One has said: "The world, bhikkhus, has been awakened to by the Tathāgata; the Tathāgata is detached from the world. The origin of the world has been awakened to by the Tathāgata; the Tathāgata has abandoned the origin of the world. The cessation of the world has been awakened to by the Tathāgata; the Tathāgata has realized the cessation of the world. The way leading to the cessation of the world has been awakened to by the Tathāgata; the Tathāgata has developed the way leading to the cessation of the world. Whatever there is in this world together with its gods, etc.—all that has been awakened to by the Tathāgata. Therefore he is called the Tathāgata." (*Ibid*).

The meaning of the word "Tathāgata" should be understood as given. But this is the mere introduction to the explanation of the nature of a Tathāgata. For only a Tathāgata himself can explain the nature of a Tathāgata in its completeness.

Sub. Cy. Why is this the mere introduction? Because the word "Tathāgata" like the word "diligence" (*appamāda*, referring to the Buddha's last words), contains the entire practice of the Dhamma as well as all the qualities of a Buddha.

3. *N. Sub. Cy.* "The 'world' here is the noble truth of suffering." The following items should likewise be connected with the remaining three noble truths, in their respective sequence.

* Bhikkhu Bodhi is now residing at the Retreat House, Rural Delivery Route 1, Box 306 A, Washington, New Jersey 07882, U.S.A., where he is translating the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* together with its commentary. His translation of the *Brahmajāla Sutta* and its commentary is now ready for the press (in Kandy) whilst his collection of essays on Buddhist ethics, *Nourishing the Roots*, will form Wheel No. 259 and appear from the BPS, Kandy, later this year.

Russell Webb

6. Italy

The first known Italian researcher in this field was Fr. Vincente Sangermano (1758-1819) who spent some years in Burma where he made translations from Burmese Pali manuscripts. His Latin writings included a short account of Buddhism together with a translation of the *Kammavācā*. The latter text was translated into English by Francis Buchanan-Hamilton who published it in *Asiatick Researches* (VI, Calcutta 1799) in his article, "On the Religion and Literature of the Burmas". An earlier translation of this text had been effected by Fr. Maria Percoto which was published in Italian under the title, *Kammuva, ossia trattato della ordinazione dei Talapoini del secondo ordine detti Pinzi* (Rome 1776).

The first Pali scholar as such, however, was Paolo Emilio Pavolini who was born in 1864 in Livorno and died in 1942. He graduated in Literature from Pisa University in 1886 and thereafter studied under Weber, Franke and Leumann in Germany where he mastered Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. He held the position of Professor of Sanskrit at Florence between 1892 and 1935 and included the Civilisation of Ancient India in his syllabus. He translated the Dhammapada, Itivuttaka and Sutta-Nipāta under the collective title, *Testi di morale buddhistica* (Lanciano 1912, 1933), and seven chapters from the Rasavāhinī for the *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiani* (Florence: VIII, 1894; X, 1896-7). A popular exposition, *Il Buddismo* (Milan 1898), included a translation of the Dhaniya Sutta from the Sutta-Nipāta.

Giuseppe de Lorenzo was born in Lagonegro in the southern Italian province of Basilicata in 1871. He first read of Buddhism in Carlo Puina's book, *Il Buddha, Confucio è Lao-tze* (Florence 1878), and a few years later himself wrote on *India è Buddismo antico* (Bari 1896) followed the next year with a translation of Subhadra's *Buddhistischer Katechismus*. During this period he graduated from Naples University in geology and geography and was appointed professor in 1905.

His real "awakening", however, was only to be realised with his meeting the great Austrian translator, Neumann (*vide* PBR 3, 1, p. 35). In 1898 de Lorenzo was the guest of Neumann in Vienna and in the following year Neumann visited Naples where plans were made to translate the Majjhima Nikāya into Italian. In spite of Neumann's death in 1915, all three volumes appeared between the years 1907-27 under the

title, *Discorsi di Gotamo Buddho* (Bari; reprinted 1969). A lesser-known essay of Neumann's (*Das buddhistische Kunstwerke*) was also translated by de Lorenzo, appearing as *L'opera d'arte Buddhista* (Naples 1951).

De Lorenzo also translated Burlingame's anthology of *Buddhist Parables* as *Parabole buddhiste* (Bari 1926) and the Salla Sutta from the Sutta-Nipāta for the periodical, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (VIII, 1, Rome 1946), and wrote a study on Buddhist ethics which included a translation of the Sigālovada Sutta, *Morale buddhista* (Bologna 1920). He died in Naples in 1957.

Of all the indigenous Buddhist writers, however, probably one of the most penetrating, if not formative influences, was Giulio Cesare Andrea Evola. A Sicilian by birth, he acquired some notoriety for his directorship (until 1943) of the *Istituto di Mistica Fascista* in Rome. In that year, however, Laterza of Bari published his *Dottrina del Risveglio: saggio sull'ascesi buddista*. (It was reprinted in Milan in 1965.) This work has remained the most radical interpretation of the ascetic ideal in Pali Buddhism, unashamedly "elitist" in spirit and undoubtedly owing something to Nietzsche's concept of the Superman. What is of added importance to English readers is the fact that it was this study that converted two British Army officers to Buddhism—Osbert Moore and Harold Musson—who read it during their war service in Italy. Musson subsequently translated the book, which appeared as *The Doctrine of Awakening* (London 1951), and thereafter he accompanied Moore to Ceylon where they received ordination as Bhikkhus Nāṇavīra and Nāṇamoli respectively.

A substantial number of Pali texts have been translated by various hands. Eugenio Frola (died 1962), the Professor of Geometry at Turin's Polytechnic College, rendered the Dīgha Nikāya into Italian under the title, *Canone buddhista. Discorsi lunghi* (2 vols., Bari 1960—1; reprinted Turin 1967). He also produced another version of the Dhammapada—*L'orma della Disciplina* (Turin 1962). Vincenza Talamo translated the Itivuttaka (*Così è stato detto*, Turin 1962) and Sutta-Nipāta (*Il Sutta in sezioni*, Turin 1961). Pio Filippini-Ronconi translated the Dhammapada, Sutta-Nipāta, Itivuttaka, Udāna, together with selections from the Thera-therī-gāthā, under the title, *Canone buddhista. Discorsi brevi* (Turin 1966). The Professor of Religions and Philosophies of India at the *Istituto Universitario Orientale* (an autonomous college of Naples University), he has also written a popular exposition, *Il Buddismo* (Naples 1959). The Milindapañha was translated under the title, *Dialoghi del Re Milinda* by G. Cagnola in 1923.

At a more popular level, two Buddhists appeared briefly on the scene to contribute some papers on Theravāda Buddhism. Americo Berta financed the single issue of *Buddhismo—Sentioro di Liberazione* in September 1959 which was intended to be the organ of his (equally short-lived) *Società degli Amici del Buddhaddhamma* in Rome. The journal comprised translations of Pali texts and articles by the bhikkhus, Nārada, Nyāṇaponika and Nyāṇatiloka. In the following year, and also in the capital, Cino Poli published his translation of Nārada's rendering of the Sigālovada Sutta—*Codici di Disciplina Morale per i Laici*—in an unrealised series of popular expositions, *La Ruota*.

More successful endeavours have been fulfilled by the *Associazione Buddhista Italiana* which was founded in Florence in 1966 by Dr. Luigi Martinelli. A retired ophthalmic optician, he financed the journal, *Buddismo Scientifico*, which appeared every quarter for the two years 1967-8. This featured translations from the Samyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas and Udāna, whilst B. Jasink contributed a study on the Theragāthā, *Canti dei Monaci buddisti*. Dr. Martinelli himself has produced a unique rendering of the Dhammapada which included a long commentary on the possibility of a working relationship with Christianity in an Italian context—*Etica Buddista è Etica Cristiana* (Florence 1971). Apart from popular and shorter compositions, he has also translated Nyāṇaponika's classic study, *L'essenza della meditazione buddista* (1973).

Apart from Naples, it would appear that the only other university where relevant courses are held is that of Turin. The 'Institute of Indology' was constituted as recently as 1962 under the direction of Prof. Oscar Botto (who teaches Sanskrit). His assistant, Mariangela Chiodo d'Onza, concentrates on teaching Pali. G. Borsani-Scalabrino is the Professor of Sanskrit at the *Università Cattolica del Sacra Cuore* in Rome. However, for the same institution, he compiled a survey of the Pali Canon: *Prospetti e indice del Tipiṭaka* (Milan 1942). Elsewhere, the Theravāda may well be included in the degree course on the 'History of Religion' which is offered by a few universities.

Finally, mention should be made of those occasional but well-documented reports that emanate from official departments of the Roman Catholic Church. For example, the *Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere* in Milan have published the following surveys: *Il Buddismo nella Società Birmana* (1971) by Fr. Pasquale Anatriello, and *Il Buddismo Lao, mondo e missioni* 1973-6 by Fr. Marcello Zago. The former had an earlier account, *Buddismo Birmano*, published by a branch of the 'Institute' in Naples (1969), whilst Fr. Zago saw two surveys published by the Greg-

orian University in Rome: *Foi et dévotion dans le bouddhisme Theravāda vécu* (1971) and *Rites et cérémonies en milieu bouddhiste Lao* (1972).

The 'Pontifical Institute' is an international missionary society with branches in other Italian towns and even in other European countries. In 1973 the *Istituto Studi Asiatica* was formed as a part of the Milan branch on the Via Mosè Bianchi. Under its General Superior and President, Mgr. Aristide Pirovano, it engages in ecumenical dialogue with Asian religions.

N.B. Although, strictly speaking, the 'h' should be omitted in the Italian renderings of 'Buddhism' and 'Buddhist', indigenous writers have nowhere maintained a consistency in spelling (as illustrated above).

BOOK REVIEWS

Nyanatiloka Centenary Volume. ed. Nyanaponika Thera. Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy. 71pp. 70p or \$ 1.40

On the occasion of the birth centenary of the great German scholar-bhikkhu, Nyāṇatiloka Mahāthera, on 19th February a volume of personal tributes and articles on Theravāda Buddhism has been edited by his devoted pupil and worthy successor, Ven. Nyāṇaponika.

A concise biography of this pre-eminent bhikkhu (the first German and third Western) is given by Ven. Nyāṇaponika. Readers of this journal need only refer to Vol. 2, No. 2 (pp. 117-8) for details of his life and work pertaining to Buddhism. Suffice it to say here that, by establishing the Island Hermitage near Dodanduwa in Ceylon, Ven. Nyāṇatiloka provided the only successful training centre for Western monks. And this can be attributed to three factors: his longevity (as a bhikkhu from 1904 until his death in 1957), his erudition, and his tenacity of purpose—a quality which, unfortunately for the Buddhist movement in the West, seems still to be a characteristic peculiar to central Europeans.

His important literary heritage is described with an emphasis being laid on the *Dhammaduta* skill with which he chose “the subjects of his writings and translations which were meant to give the greatest benefit to a serious study and correct understanding of the Buddhist doctrine. His books provide reliable guidance to the study of Theravāda Buddhism. Many misinterpretations in modern writings and translations could have been avoided by consulting the Mahāthera’s Buddhist Dictionary.” Those English and German publications of his still in print are listed below.

A life dedicated to the Dhamma is brought out in the reminiscences of Ven. Nyāṇasatta, “Nyanatiloka and His Methods of Teaching Dhamma”. The Czech pupil from 1938 stresses his teacher’s proficiency in Pali and profound knowledge of the Dhamma related to daily life. Once, when at the Hermitage a cat had leapt on to a ledge to bring down an open tin of milk, Ven. Nyāṇatiloka asked his pupils to explain the connection between the milk and the cat who drank it in Abhidhamma terms. Suggestions of Object/Presence/Root Conditions were put forward before the teacher stated that none of these factors were powerful enough: “It was a strong Inducement Condition that made the cat jump so high for lapping up the milk”.

Two brief tributes from Guido Auster and Myanaung U Tin are followed by a long and, indeed, exhaustive, paper on “Pali Buddhist Studies in Thailand Today” by Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa. This well researched essay covers the field of academic and private literary composition, monastic and secular educational facilities, in Pali and Buddhism, from the time of Mongkut (early 19th century). The writer fully intends to incorporate this paper with others that he has published to form a volume on the Pali literature of Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, which will thus complement those classic works on Burmese and Sinhalese Pali literature by Bode and Malalasekera.

In “The Kiss and the Name”, Miss I. B. Horner refers to those few occasions related in the Nikāyas where disciples practised the ultimate in personal devotion to the Buddha: kissing his feet and humbly pronouncing their names.

The renowned meditation master, Mahasi Sayadaw, clarifies the relationship between “The Contemplation of the Internal and the External in the Saṭṭipathāna Sutta”. Thus, it is only following proficiency in awareness of one’s own body, feelings, mind and mind-objects, that one can successfully contemplate these phenomena in others.

Prof. O. H. de A. Wijesekera reminds us that it was primarily the “way of heaven” through the means of social ethics that constituted “The Goal of Asoka’s Dharma”.

Finally, Ven. Nyāṇaponika provides us with two new and inspiring translations: “The Great Twin Virtues”—Compassion and Wisdom (from the *Paramatthamañjūsā-ṭīkā*, the Commentary to the Visuddhimagga) and Compassion and Equanimity (from the *ṭīkā* to the Majjhima Nikāya). Explaining these virtues as embodied in the Buddha, a sequence from the former work represents the Theravāda position and offers a fruitful comparison to the ideal of the bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna tradition:

“Through Wisdom He understood the suffering of other beings;
through Compassion He endeavoured to remove it.

“Through Wisdom He Himself crossed the Ocean of Saṃsāra;
through His Compassion He helped others to cross it.”

The contribution from Sayadaw U Thittila—“World Peace through Buddhism”—is out of place in a volume of this nature. His many friends outside Burma would undoubtedly have preferred a paper clarifying some intricate points of Abhidhamma of which he is an acknowledged master.

On reflection, one cannot help comparing this all-too-slim volume with the *Festschrift* in honour of Ven. Nyāṇaponika—*Des Geistes Gleichmass* (reviewed in this journal in Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 181). In both cases, however, the academic establishment seem to have ignored the monumental and permanent achievements of both these *theras*. Fortunately, we have the BPS which has twenty years experience of Dhamma translation and propagation behind it to perpetuate their literary treasures.

RBW

Extant works of Nyāṇatiloka

English: (available from the BPS, P. O. Box 61, Kandy, Sri Lanka, the London Buddhist Vihāra, 5 Heathfield Gdns., London, W4 4JU, and the Buddhist Vihāra Society, Inc., 5017 16th. St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20011, U.S.A.)

The Word of the Buddha

Path to Deliverance

Buddhist Dictionary

Guide through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka

Fundamentals of Buddhism

Karma and Rebirth

The Significance of Dependent Origination

German: (Aṅguttara Nikāya) *Die Lehrreden des Buddha aus der Angereiheten Sammlung* (Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, Cologne); from Verlag Christiani, D-7750 Constance, Hermann-Hesse-Weg 2, West Germany.

Der Weg zur Reinheit (Visuddhimagga)

Das Wort des Buddha

Der Weg zur Erlösung

Buddhistisches Wörterbuch

The Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara. Tr. Margaret Cone and Richard Gombrich. The Clarendon Press, Oxford 1977. xlvii + 111pp. £11.00

“The selfless generosity of Vessantara, who gave away everything, even his wife and children, is the most famous story in the Buddhist world. It has been retold in every Buddhist language, in elegant literature and in popular poetry; it has been represented in the art of every Buddhist

country and has formed the theme of countless sermons, dramas, dances and ceremonies. In Sri Lanka and the Buddhist countries of South East Asia it is still learnt by every child.

“Margaret Cone’s translation of the original Pali introduces this Buddhist epic in its oldest extant version to the English-speaking world. The poetry, which constitutes the basis of all other versions, was composed in India, probably orally, over two thousand years ago; the prose passages followed several hundred years later, apparently composed in Sri Lanka. It is from this text that other Sinhalese and South East Asian versions are derived.

“The story is a living part of Buddhist culture, and to show how one particular contemporary Buddhist audience visualizes it, the book is illustrated with a wide range of hitherto unpublished paintings from Sinhalese temples. They make a substantial contribution to the history of Buddhist art.

“Richard Gombrich’s introduction analyzes the story to suggest reasons for its success, and sketches its development and diffusion.”

NEWS & NOTES

PTS

The Council of the Pali Text Society were re-elected at their AGM in June, the President remaining Miss I. B. Horner with Mr. K. R. Norman as Hon. Secretary.

New published texts comprise the *Indexes to Samantapāsādikā* by Hermann Kopp—including a table of contents—which cover the set of seven volumes, and the *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu* by N. A. Jayawickrama. The Representative of the Society for Sri Lanka, Prof. Jayawickrama will be spending a sabbatical year in London from the autumn.

New translations include the first part of a *Guide to Conditional Relations*, a commentary to the *Paṭṭhāna* by U Nārada Sayadaw of Rangoon. The slow process of translating the *Aṭṭhakathā* continues in Burma, with the commentaries to the *Sutta-Nipāta* (Vol. I), *Theragāthā* (Vol. I), *Apadāna* (both vols.) and *Petavatthu* having been completed in MS.

The *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (1882-1927) has been reprinted in eight volumes and is now on sale (for £65) at the Society's agents, Kegan Paul, 39 Store St., London, WC1E 7DD.

Path of Freedom

Under this title, the second edition of the translation of the *Vimuttimaggā* has been published by the BPS, Kandy at £3.50 or \$7.00 (plus 80p or \$1.50 for registered surface mail charges).

This manual of meditation by an unknown Sinhalese bhikkhu living in the 1st century A.C., was translated from its 6th century Chinese recension (the only one extant) by N. R. M. Ehara, Soma and Kheminda Theras. It was first published by Dr. D. Roland Weerasuria in Colombo in 1961.

BPS

On the occasion of its twentieth anniversary, the Pali Buddhist Union salutes the invaluable work and unique achievements of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, in disseminating the *Saddhamma* throughout the world. Without the inspiring leadership, tireless energy and erudition of the founder-editor, Ven. Nyānaponika, combined with the devoted and practical assistance of the main Secretary, Richard Abeyasekera, the Society would not have lasted as long as it has. May they both be blessed with good health and many more years of active life!

Over 250 Wheels and nearly 100 Bodhi Leaves, covering every aspect of Theravāda Buddhism, have been distributed to over 80 countries. These quarterly series are also available in bound volumes (13 and 4 respectively) whilst three volumes of *Selected Buddhist Texts* reproduce the many original and eminently readable translations from the Pali Canon that have appeared in the Wheel series.

Twenty Book Publications include the timeless anthology of Nyānatiloka, *The Word of the Buddha*, Nāṇamoli's *Life of the Buddha* from canonical sources, translations of the *Visuddhimaggā* and *Vimuttimaggā*, together with original studies on the Abhidhamma and meditation.

The April 1978 catalogue may now be obtained direct from the Society in Kandy.

The Dhammapada in the West

Four additions to the article that appeared in the previous issue of the *Review* (3, 1, p. 20):

- Finnish: tr. Pekka Ervast from Max Müller's version (Tampere 1925)
- German: tr. Nyānatiloka (MS)
- Italian: Max Müller's version translated for inclusion in Lin Yutang's *La saggezza dell'India* (Bompiani 1960)
tr. P. Filippini-Ronconi and included in *Canone buddhista. Discorsi brevi* (Turin 1966)

Pali Grammars

1. Until his retirement in 1968, the Italian Jesuit, Fr. V. Perniola, taught Pali for many years at St. Aquinas College, Colombo. His *Grammar of the Pali Language* was published by the College in 1958 and subsequently appeared in two Sinhalese editions.

Some years ago he prepared a revised and enlarged edition of the English text which still awaits publication for want of £250 or \$500. Since countless Sri Lankan citizens are being permitted to visit the West with double this amount in their pockets, it seems extraordinary that no one body has come forward to enable this MS to be printed.

Financial assistance or offers of publication should be sent direct to Fr. Perniola at the Jesuit Juniorate, Averiawatta Rd., Wattala, Sri Lanka.

2. *A Pali Reader* by Dines Andersen, which was largely based on the *Jātaka* collection, first appeared in Copenhagen and Leipzig (Part I, 1901; Glossary, 1904-7). It was reprinted in Kyoto in 1968 although this edition was not widely publicised. Although this is a prescribed textbook for those B.A. students of Sanskrit at the (London) School of Oriental and African Studies who opt for Pali as a second language, parts of this tome have had to be photostated where the need arose. Now the Indian publishers, Motilal Banarsidass of Delhi, have announced that this classic text will be reprinted by the end of the year.

3. Ven. Dr. Dickwelle Piyananda, the Head of the Washington Vihāra, is contributing a 'Pali Made Easy Series' for their quarterly journal *Washington Buddhist*.

OUR LATEST MONUMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

RAJPUT PAINTING: 2 Vols.—ANAND K. COOMARASWAMY,

—with a Foreword by KARL J. KHANDALAVALA

pp. 108 text. 7 Multi-coloured plates, 96 plates, Delhi, 1976 Cloth Rs. 500

A valuable guide to understand Rajput Painting of the 14th Century A.D.; the book portrays the popular religious motifs and offers information on Hindu Customs, Costumes & Architecture.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: 5 Vols.—S. N. DASGUPTA

pp. 2,500: Delhi, 1975: Rs. 200

A comprehensive study of Philosophy in its historical perspective. The author traces the origin and development of Indian Philosophy to the very beginnings, from Buddhism & Jainism, through monistic dualistic and pluralistic systems that have found expression in the religions of India.

THE HINDU TEMPLE: 2 Vols.—STELLA KRAMRISCH

pp. 308, 170 (text)+81 plates, Delhi, 1976, Cloth Rs. 250

The work explains the types of the spiritual significance of the Hindu Temple architecture, traces the origin and development of the same from the Vedic fire altar to the latest forms, discusses the superstructure, measurement, proportion and other matters related to temple architecture.

TAXILA: 3 Vols.—SIR JOHN MARSHALL

pp. 420, 516, 246 plates, Delhi, 1975, Cloth Rs. 400

The book records the political and cultural history of N.W. India (500 B.C.—A.D. 500), the development of Buddhism, the rise and fall of political powers—Aryans, Greeks, Sakas etc. and illustrates the archaeological remains by 246 photographs.

JAIN AGAMAS: Volume 1 Acaranga and Sutrakrtanga (Complete)

Ed. by MUNI JAMBU VIJAYA JI, pp. 786: Delhi, 1978, Cloth Rs. 120

The volume contains the Prakrit Text of the two agamas, Exposition by Bhadrabāhu in Prakrit, the Sanskrit Commentary by Śilāṅka, Introduction Appendices etc. by Muni Jambu Vijaya Ji Mahārāja.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRADITION AND MYTHOLOGY (in English translation) (Mahāpurāṇas)—General Editor: PROF. J. L. SHASTRI. App. In Fifty Volumes: Each Vol. Rs. 50 Postage Extra: pp. 400 to 500 each Vol.: Cloth-bound with Gold Letters and Plastic Cover.

In this series 12 Vols. have been published: Clothbound with Gold letters. Vols. 1-4 Śiva Purāṇa; Vols. 5-6 Liṅga Purāṇa, Vols. 7-11 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Vol. 12 Garuḍa Purāṇa (Part I).

INDIA AND INDOLOGY: Collected Papers of PROF. W. NORMAN BROWN—

Ed. by PROF. ROSANE ROCHER: pp. 38+304, Cloth Rs. 190

The book contains important contributions of Prof. W. Norman Brown to Indology: Vedic Studies and Religion, fiction and folklore, art and philology, the book contains a biographical sketch of Prof. Norman Brown and a bibliography of his writings.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHIES: Ed. KARL H. POTTER

Vol. I Bibliography. pp. 811, Rs. 80, Vol. II Nyāya Vaiśeṣika pp. 752, Rs. 150

This is an attempt by an international team of scholars to present the contents of Indian Philosophical texts to a wider public. Vol. I contains the Bibliography of the works on Indian Philosophies. Vol. II gives a historical resumé, nature of a philosophical system and summaries of works beginning from Kāṇāda.

SERINDIA: Demy Quarto, Vols. I-III Text, Appendices, Indices, Illustrations 545, (pp. 1-1580): Vol. IV Plates 175, Vol. V. Maps 94 (Shortly)

This book is based on a report of explorations carried out by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia and Western most China and contains scholarly analysis of the finds by experts in their respective fields.

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