

CONTENTS

Stanzas of Victory—tr. <i>Bhikkhu Khantipālo</i>	97
A Critical Analysis of the Sutta Nipāta— <i>N. A. Jayawickrama</i> ..	100
The Distinction between Sopādhiṣeṣa and Nirupādhiṣeṣa Nirvāṇa — <i>Arvind Sharma</i>	114
Cetovimutti, Paññāvimutti and Ubhatobhāgavimutti— <i>Lily de Silva</i>	118
Pali Buddhist Studies in the West— <i>Russell Webb</i>	146
Book Reviews	154

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STANZAS OF VICTORY*

(Translated by *Bhikkhu Khantipālo*)

Vāsetṭhī was a mother who grieved over her dead son. Born to a good family and married to a young man of equal status, she lived happily with her husband and bore a son. When able to run about he died and while relatives were consoling the father, Vāsetṭhī ran away raving and wandered about until she came to Mithilā. There she saw the Buddha and, at the sight of the Great One, regained her normal mind. Hearing Dhamma in brief, she asked to become a bhikkhunī and soon after, an Arahant. Reflecting on her attainment, she exalted in this way:

With my mind deranged, crazed by grief
for my son and out of my senses,
naked, with dishevelled hair
I wandered here and there.
On heaps of rubbish from the streets,
on charnel-grounds and chariot-roads,
there I lived for three long years
given over to hunger and thirst.
Then I saw him, the Sugata,¹
Come to Mithilā's city
the tamer of the untamed
Enlightened, without fears at all.
Having then regained my mind
I bowed to him and sat nearby
and out of compassion did Gotama
teach me Dhamma, which having heard
I went forth to the homeless state.
Devoted to the Teacher's word
I realised the State secure,
all griefs completely cut right out,
abandoned, brought to an utter end,
for known to me are the causes
from which all griefs are born. (113-138)

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

1. The Well-farer, one whose going was always auspicious, in this world and beyond all worlds.

Vaddhamātā, the name means Vaddha's mother—parents often being nicknamed after their children, was born in a good family in the town of Bharukacchā (=Bharoch). When married, she bore one son who was known as Vaddha. After hearing a bhikkhu teach Dhamma she handed her child over to relatives and became a bhikkhunī. Afterwards she won Arahantship and in due course her son became a bhikkhu, learned and eloquent in preaching. One day, negligently, he went alone and without his upper robe to see his mother. She rebuked him for both these things so that he returned to his own quarters and sat in meditation there, attaining Arahantship.

This incident is interesting in view of the prohibition on bhikkhunīs instructing bhikkhus, but perhaps this prohibition only covers formal sermon-type instruction and not more informal conversation of this sort:

Vaddha's mother: Do not, Vaddha, ever get entangled
in jungle-lusts² regarding the world!
My son, do not again and again
become a sharer of *dukkha*!
Happy indeed are the Wise Ones, Vaddha,
having no craving, cut off doubt,
become quite cool, taming attained,
unpolluted now they live.
The way that Seers have practised
for attaining insight,
for putting an end to *dukkha*,
that, Vaddha, you should develop.

Vaddha: You have spoken confidently to me
concerning this matter, mother.
I think, indeed, my mother,
no jungle-lust in you is found.

Vaddha's mother: Whatever conditioned elements are,
whether middling, low or high³
for them not a speck, even an atom,
of jungle-lust in me is found.
My pollutions, all destroyed
by meditating diligently,
possessed of triple knowledge
done is the Buddha's Sāsana.

2. One word in Pali means both jungle and lust and refers generally to the tangle of sexual passions.

3. This world, all worlds, everything known through the senses and the mind, is conditioned. The Unconditioned is Nibbāna.

Vaddha: Splendid is the goad indeed,
these verses on the Highest Goal,
which out of her compassion
my mother applied to me.
Having heard her words,
the instructions of my mother,
I was aroused in Dhamma
to reach security from bonds,
I resolved to exert myself,
unrelaxing, day and night;
incited by my mother
touched the Peace Supreme. (204-212)

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUTTA NIPĀTA GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

N. A. Jayawickrama

§1. In the series of contributions to the *PBR* concluding with the present article, an attempt has been made at an analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta in the light of Higher Criticism. Various factors of the latter were grouped under the categories of 'criteria' which enabled us to estimate the single *suttas* as well as groups of them from the angle of literary, doctrinal and linguistic development. Special attention was paid, in the application of these criteria, to view the *Sutta Nipāta* under the aspect of historical development, illustrating its gradual growth. Wherever possible, external evidence was adduced in the historical interpretation of the data furnished by internal sources.

A study of methodology was one of the main concerns of this undertaking. Copious examples of each category have been given to illustrate and (as far as possible) prove the propositions; and special attention has been paid to samples of textual interpretation. Exegesis was both synthetic and analytic and the foundation on which it was built is the historical background of Indian (Hindu and Brahmanic) ideas around and prior to the time of Asoka.

By 'growth' is implied the gradual formation of a separate anthology called the *Sutta Nipāta* by the incorporation of *suttas* belonging to diverse strata.

For purposes of investigation this work has been divided into four parts. *Part I* (Introductory). The chief criteria (which fall under the heads of linguistic, metrical and literary evidence, doctrinal developments, growth of ideas and external and indirect evidence) employed in the examination of the ballads and other poems of the *Sutta Nipāta* were discussed in *PBR* 1, 2. The remarks (*ibid*) dealing with the title 'Sutta Nipāta' and its form and contents are also of an introductory nature, *Part II*. A brief study of the five *Vaggas* of the *Sutta Nipāta* was made in *PBR* 1, 3. Special attention has been paid to explain the present arrangement of the *suttas* in their respective *vaggas*. A few topics of general importance such as the seven *dhammapaliyāyas* of Asoka's Bhabra Edict, the Chinese version of the *Arthapadam* (*Aṭṭhaka Vagga*), the title 'Aṭṭhaka Vagga' and the relation of the *vatthugāthā* to the *pucchās* of the *Pārāyana* were also discussed there. *Part III*. The contributions in *PBR* 2, 1 to 3, 2 dealt with the analysis of a few *suttas*

representative of the various types of poems of the *Sutta Nipāta*, with the aid of the criteria detailed in *PBR* 1, 2. The poems examined were: three ballads from the *Uruga Vagga*, (*Uruga*, *Khaggavisāṇa* and *Muni Suttas*), five *suttas* of popular character (viz. *Parābhava*, *Vasala*, *Maṅgala*, *Metta* and *Ratana*), the Yakkha-ballads (*Hemavata*, *Āḷavaka* and *Sūciloma Suttas*), the Pastoral-ballads, *Dhaniya* and *Kasibhāradvāja Suttas*, the narrative-ballads, *Pabbajjā Padhāna* and *Nālaka Suttas*, *suttas* from the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* and the *Pucchās* of the *Pārāyana*. Now, *Part IV* is devoted for general observations and conclusions.

The composition of the majority of these poems can be assigned to the period 400-300 B.C. On the evidence available, it is clear that individual *suttas* have to be taken on their own merits though to some extent particular types of *suttas* can be vaguely generalised as belonging to distinct strata. The results which this investigation points to fall under the following headings:—(1) an early nucleus of a more or less floating tradition; (2) several intermediate redactions incorporating *suttas* drawn from the Buddha-legend and Buddha-worship; (3) a final redaction made for the purpose of propagating the Buddhist faith through its ecclesiastic representative, the Saṅgha.

§2. In the analysis of the *suttas* (*loc. cit.*), with the aid of the criteria detailed in *PBR* 1, 2, a few general tendencies have been observed. Many of the poems, on linguistic grounds, appear to be old; but it is not always that the evidence from other sources is in support of this. Generally speaking the poems of the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas* and many of the pieces of the *Uruga Vagga*, in addition to those poems which can be termed as the 'Muni-ballads', represent the oldest stratum in the *Sutta Nipāta*. Before finally enumerating the results which this investigation has led to, a short synthesis of the various data will perhaps be helpful in obtaining a better perspective of the *Sutta Nipāta* as viewed from the angle of Higher Criticism. This synthesis will be mainly devoted to some aspects of linguistic data; and the characteristics of the later compositions can be inferred thereby. No special attention will be paid to the nominal forms and the few remarks made in isolated instances on the vocabulary are deemed sufficient. Yet, some interesting nominal forms have been touched upon. On the other hand, a study of the verb and the verbal derivatives sheds further light on the *Sutta Nipāta* as a whole. However, dialectical variations, Vedic characteristics, style and metre will again be touched upon in passing. Sufficient has been said in the individual *suttas* taken up for analysis on the doctrinal developments; and comparisons with similar poems (in *Sn.*) and classes of ballads have to some extent shown the general trends in *Sn.* A short survey will be

made of the epithets and other terms used in *Sn.* to describe the *muni* and the Buddha.

§3. The *Sutta Nipāta* is rich in verbal forms and shows a very wide range. There are over 2,364 finite verbs in *Sn.* leaving aside variant readings and p.p.p.'s. used in a finite sense. Of special interest are the verbs in the Optative and Imperative Moods and the Aorist and Future Tenses.

Optative.—The most favoured inflexion for the opt. in *Sn.* is -e for 3 sg. In all, about 192 forms end in -e, but as many as 31 of them are either causals or medials (of the 10th class) with the element -ay- (i.e. -aye); e.g. *hāraye*; *ādiye*, *cintaye*, etc. A small number of these optatives in -e belongs to the first and second person singular; e.g. *sikkhe*, *Sn.* 1061a, 1062d, etc. Next in number come the forms in -eyya. Considering the fact that this is the most popular conjugational element for opt. in Pali, (vide Geiger, § 128) it is surprising to note that there are only 135 such forms. Geiger (*ibid.*) does not class these forms as very early, for -eyya is a generalization of the Sk. -eya which underwent universal application in Pali. Of the 135 forms, no less than 115 are 3 sg. Another inflexion used frequently is ā for 3rd sg. (Sk. -āt); 71 times. Its use however, is restricted to a few roots, e.g. √jñā, 33 times, √as, 27 times (*assa* and *siyā*), √kr (kayirā) 7 times, etc. The opt. 3 sg. in -etho occurs 57 times, and the 2 sg. in -etho only once (*Sn.* 833c). Opt. 1 sg. in -aṃ occurs 6 times (*vijaññaṃ*, *Sn.* 482a, 1020d, 1022e, 1065b, 1090c, 1097d). The first pl. in -mu or -ma occurs 8 times (*jānemu*, *Sn.* 76d, 559f, 999ad, *jāniyāma* 873d, *namassemu* 995e, *sikkhema*, 89c and 32b v.l. *carema-se*). The 3rd pl. in -u or -uṃ (// Sk. -uh) occurs 10 times. It is evident that these forms are old. As seen above, some of the forms ending in -uṃ have also the element -eyy- which can be directly traced to Vedic (and Sk.) -ey. Besides those belonging to the type *kathayeyya* (*Sn.* 980d) which are accepted as old (Geiger § 139), the majority of the 135 forms in -eyy cannot be classed with the later types enumerated by Geiger (*ibid.*) viz. 1 sg. *manteyyaṃ* (*Sn.* p. 103), 2 sg. *āroceyyāsi* (M. II. 210), *dhāreyyāsi* (*Milp.* 47). 3 sg. *jāleyya* (M. II. 203) and *dasseyya* (*Milp.* 47).

Imperative.—The imp. in *Sn.* can be tabulated as follows:—

- 2 sg. in -a, 43; in -hi, 110; in -ssu, 23;
- 2 pl. in -tha, 40; in -vho, 3;
- 3 sg. in -tu, 16;
- 3 pl. in -ntu, 6.

All these forms are historical in varying degrees, but are used in all stages of the language, and therefore are of no great value.

Aorist.—*Parasmaipada:* Following Geiger's classification (Geiger, 159) 37 verbs can be said to belong to type I (33, aor. 3 sg., 3, aor. 2 sg., 1, aor. 3 pl.), 63 to type II (40, aor. 3 sg., 2, aor. 2 sg., 5, aor. 1 sg., 13, aor. 3 pl., 3, aor. 1 pl.), 90 to type III (72, aor. 3 sg., 5, aor. 2 sg., 3, aor. 1 sg., 10, aor. 3 pl.) and 119 to type IV (67, aor. 3 sg., 5, aor. 2 sg., 7, aor. 1 sg., 38, aor. 3 pl., 2, aor. 1 pl.) which make a total of 309. *Ātmanepada:* There are 18 *A'pada* aor. forms. Of them 11 belong to type II (3 sg.), 4 to type II (1 sg.), 2 to type IV (3 sg.) and 1 to type IV (1 pl.)—vide Geiger, *ibid.* Among these forms are a few augmentless aorists. Some original pf. forms can still be distinguished, eg. *āha*, *vedī*, etc. The impf., lost in Pali, is represented by type II and the characteristics of the impf. are preserved in many of them.

Future Tense. The sign of the future tense conjugation *i-ssa-* and the terminations -mi, -mo, -si, -tha, -ti, -nti are used in 46 future tense verbs. A form with *issāmase* occurs once (*Sn.* 814d). The future 1. sg. -issam occurs 9 times, and *ssam* (without the connecting vowel, i) is used twice with thematic roots (*upessam*, *Sn.* 29c, and *soṣsam* 494c). The other historical forms are:—*anupadassati* (*dā-sya-ti*, *Sn.* 983b). *kāhasi* (*kār-sya-si*, -ss-> -h- 427d, 428d) *gañchisi* (*gam'sya- i/y, 665d), *dakkhiti* (*drākṣyoti*, i/y, 909a), *dakkhinti* (p. 14), *pavakkhāmi* (*vakṣyāmi*, 701c, 963d, 1050b), *bhāsihi* (*bhōs-ya-* i/y, analogical 719a), *dakkhinti* (cp. *dakkhinti* 28c) and *sagghasi* (√śak. 834d). This brings a total of 72 future forms.

§4. The verbal derivatives too show an old phase of the language. The Agent Noun, Absolutive, Present Participle, and the Future Passive Participle will be discussed below. The Past Participle Passive will not be touched upon as it yields no definite information. The Infinitives and other forms of Vedic or dialectical origin will also be mentioned.

Agent Noun.—There are 21 agent nouns in *Sn.* distributed in the following manner in the five *vaggas*:— 8, 1, 6, 4 and 2 respectively.

Absolutive (Gerund).—There are 389 absolutes in the whole of *Sn.* *gāthās*. Of them as many as 187 end in -ya, i.e. 111 formed with vowel-ending roots in Pali, in addition to 2 with -āya > ā (*pariññā*, *Sn.* 779a, *palikhaññā* 968b), 66 with consonant-ending roots and assimilation, in addition to 3 with -yy- (*pappuyya*, *Sn.* 593b, 829d, 482d) and 7 forms with the *svrabhakti* vowel (a-r-i). Of these 187 forms, 185 contain prefixes conforming to the Sk. rules. The two forms without prefixes are:—*gahāya*, *Sn.* 791d, and *yāciya* 295b. Of the others, there are 117 formed with -tvā, directly from the root. There are 8 forms with -tvā assimilated (*labh+tvā > laddhā*). There are 26 forms formed directly from the base. Of the 48 forms with -tvāna, 45 are formed directly from the root, two

with the base and one form with assimilation (*laddhāna*, *Sn.* 67c). The form *daṭṭhu* occurs 3 times (*Sn.* 424b, 681d, 1098b). Of these 202 as many as 36 forms contain prefixes. It is clear that the majority of these forms go back to a very early stratum in the language.

Present Participle.—In all, there are 350 present participial forms. Of them as many as 139 are medial (107 contain the suffix *māna* and 32 *-āna*, both of which are highly archaic and go back to Vedic dialects). The occasional pronominal terminations of ppr. forms with *-māna* (e.g. *Sn.* 434a, and *mānassa*, 7 times) do not indicate that they were late, for in early Sk. too *-smīn* and *-sya* are the terminations for the sg. of loc. and gen. respectively for ppr. medials in *-māna*. Of the rest of the 211 ppr. forms as many as 191 are historical. The total lack of forms like *gacchan-tassa* and *gacchantam* and the exclusive use of forms like *gacchato* and *gacchataṃ* for the gen. sg. and pl. respectively show that the ppr. too represents an old stage of the language. The 20 forms which cannot be considered equally old consist of 17 nom. singulars in *-anto* and 3 loc. singulars in *-ante*. But in Pali these endings came to be fixed for their respective cases rather early. Though they are not pure historical forms they may be old. The nom. sg. in *-aṃ* occurs 83 times as contrasted with that in *-anto*, 17 times. The nom. sg. *-āno* occurs 21 times (passives included) while that in *-māno* (passives included) occurs 67 times. The nom. sg. neut. *-antaṃ* occurs once (*Sn.* 208b *jāyantam*). The nom. pl. in *-antā* occurs 13 times, in *-mānā* 12 times, and in *-ānā* 9 times. The gen. sg. in *-ato* occurs 44 times as contrasted with that in *-antassa nil* and in *-mānassa* 7 times. The gen. pl. *-ataṃ* is to be met with 20 times (*tāṃ* once *metri causa*, *Sn.* 763d), as contrasted with *-antānaṃ nil*, and *-mānānaṃ* only once (*Sn.* 569c). The acc. sg. in *-antaṃ* occurs 24 times (including passives and one instance of the final nasal omitted *metri causa* -*Sn.* 689c) as against the acc. sg. in *-mānaṃ* 12 times and that in *-ānaṃ* twice (*Sn.* 789d, 802c). The acc. pl. in *-ante* is to be seen three times, that in *-māne* twice and neut. *-mānāni* once. The inst. sg. in *-tā* occurs twice (*asatā*, *Sn.* 861b, 950c) and that in *-tyā* (fem.) once (*santya*, *Sn.* 872c). The loc. sg. in *-ante* and *-māne* occur three times each and in *mānamhi* once (*Sn.* 434a). The loc. pl. *-mānesu* is seen only once (*Sn.* 434c).

Future Passive Participle.—There are 63 f.p.p. forms in *Sn.*; of them 46 are formed with *-ya* (17 assimilated forms), 6 from *-tabba* and 11 from *-anīya*. A noteworthy feature is that 46 out of a total of 63 are formed with *-ya*. Speaking of Sk. the derivatives with *-ya* are formed in all periods of the language whereas the other two are of later origin—being almost entirely absent in the Vedas (Whitney § 962a). The same holds good with Pali.

The infinitive in *-tuṃ* is the commonest, but there is an appreciable number of Vedic forms in *-tave*. (Dative Infinitive); e.g. *unnametave* (*Sn.* 206b), *dātave* (*Sn.* 286d), *vippahātave* (*Sn.* 817d) and *sampayātave* (*Sn.* 843d).

Vedic and Dialectical Variations

§ 5. It is not only in the verb that Vedic and dialectical forms are preserved in *Sn.* Nominal themes too, both in their composition and declensional terminations show Vedic and dialectical characteristics. Many examples of such forms have been noted in the analysis of the *suttas*. To give a few more instances, the indicative 3 pl. (*A'pada*) in *-re* is seen to occur several times (vide Geiger, § 122. 2), e.g. *upadissare* (*Sn.* 140d), *dissare* (688d), *paṭijānare* (601b), *pithiyyare* (1034d, 1035d), *miyyare* (575b), *vijjare* (20a), and *socare* (445d). There are a few instances of the ending *-āmase* (1 pl.), e.g. *carāmase* (*Sn.* 32b), *sikkhissāmase* (814d). The Vedic *-as* has already been noted in *jaras* (*Sn.* 804d, 1123b), also cp. *lūkhasā* (*Sn.* 244a) and *damasā*, besides forms like *manasā* which are in frequent use in Pali.

There are at least 22 double Vedic forms in *Sn.*: of them as many as 17 belong to the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas*; viz. *cutāse* (*Sn.* 774d), *avīta-tanhāse* (776d, 901d), *sitāse* (791a), *paṭicchitāse* (803b), *pañhavīmamsakāse* (827b), *paṇḍitāse* (875d, 876b), *pavādiyāse* (885b), *upaṭṭhitāse* (898b), *saṅkhataḍḍhamāse* (1038a), *samaṇabrāhmaṇāse* (1079a-1082a), *anāsavāse* (1082f, 1083f)—in the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas*—and *samūhatāse* (*Sn.* 14b, 369b), *paccayāse* (15b), *upāsakāse* (367d), *samuppilavāso* (670d); also cp. the sg. *rakkhitamānasāno* (63b).

Dialectical variations are too numerous to give a comprehensive list here. The Māgadhī nom. sg. has been noted earlier. Besides this, various other forms belonging to dialectical strata have been pointed out. However, the following words are of special interest not only for the study of the *Sutta Nipāta*, but of the whole Canon. The *Sutta Nipāta* preserves many forms the parallels of which are to be found either in *Sn.* itself or elsewhere in the Canon. The word *akalya* occurs at *Sn.* 692a, (*akalya-rūpo*, 691b) besides *akalla* at 456d; but in the case of *tulya* 377c, 85b, 683b there is no parallel form *tulla* in *Sn.* (cp. J. IV, 102), whereas *tulya* occurs frequently in the Canon (s.v. P.T.S.). Such combinations of semi-vowels do not present a standard form in Pali (vide Geiger, §54). cp. also *-annaya* (*Sn.* 243c) and *-anvaya* (*Sn.* 36b, 254a, 556b). The forms *aggi*, *aggini* and *gini* have been noted earlier. The form *aggi* occurs at least 8 times in *Sn.* in addition to the proper name *Aggikabhāradvāja*;

aggini, 3 times (*Sn.* 668d, 670bd) and *gini* twice (*Sn.* 18c, 19c). The parallel observed (*loc. cit.*) was *atta*, *ātuma*, and *tuma*; *atta* occurs at least 45 times leaving aside cpds., *ātuma*, 3 times (*Sn.* 782d, 888b, 918d), and *tuma* twice (*Sn.* 890b, 908c). Substitution of consonants is to be noted in *anītika* (3 times) by the side of *anītiha* (also 3 times). The parallel form *abhikkhaṇaṃ* to *abhiṇṇaṃ* (7 times in *Sn.*) is not to be met with in *Sn.* cp. *tiṇha* 3 times, but *tikhīna* and *tikkha* do not occur; also cp. *timisa*, *Sn.* 669c. Similarly *aṅga* does not occur though *iṅgha* is found 5 times. The particle *iva* (usually after original *h*, *m*, or inorganic *r*, *m*, or in combination with *a+i>e-sseva* only—occurs 37 times, whereas *va* occurs 58 times (7 times after *-ā* 4 after *-ī* 3 after *-e*, 20 after *-o* and 24 after *-m*). But the later Pali form *viya* occurs only 5 times in the whole of *Sn.* The form *chamā* occurs at *Sn.* 401b, but *samā* the rarer form does not occur. Other parallel forms of interest are, *iha* at *Sn.* 460a (in *tasmāt iha*) as opposed to *idha*, over 90 times; *uju* and *ujum* once each as opposed to *ujju*—7 times; *ubho*, the original dual 8 times as against *ubhaya* 5 times; *eva* 61 times as opposed to *va* 23 times (mainly *metri causa*) while *yeva* is seen 4 times; *kasira* and *kiccha* both occur once each (*Sn.* 574c, 676a); *kukkuciya* occurs once (*Sn.* 972d) and *kukkucca* twice (*Sn.* 925b, 1106d); *agiha* occurs 4 times, *gihī* at least 6 times, *gaha* (cp. *Rajagaha*, 408a) in *gahaṭṭha*, 9 times, *geha* (*nissita*) at *Sn.* 280b and *ghara* 6 times; *taccha* occurs at *Sn.* 327d and 1096d, while *tathiya* at *Sn.* 883a and 368c; *tatra* occurs 4 times as opposed to *tattha* about 40 times; *tamanudo* is found at *Sn.* 1136a besides *tamonudo* at 1133a; *thiyo* at *Sn.* 796c has been noted earlier, and *itthi* occurs at *Sn.* 112a; *divya* occurs twice and *dibba* 4 times (cp. *kalyā*); *dhañña* is seen 4 times as against *dhāniya* twice; *usabha* occurs 5 times whereas *asabha* occurs thrice in cpds.; the form *nariyo* (3 times) is probably a metrical variation of *nāriyo* and *nāriṃ* occurs at *Sn.* 836b; *nahā-taka* is found at *Sn.* 646c whereas *nhā-* is seen at *Sn.* 518b, and 521d; *pāda* occurs 14 times (inclusive of cpds.) while *pada* 17 times (cp. *padā* and *pādā*); the form *bhiyyo* (11 times) is preferred to *-bhuyyas* (only once in prose); the forms *sacchi-* and *sakchi-* have been discussed earlier; *Sakka* occurs 6 times, *Sakya* 10 times and *Sākiya*, twice; *sāmin* and *suvāmin* occur once each (*Sn.* 83b, 666b). The group *sav-* has been dealt with earlier.

§6. Sufficient has been said on the style of the *suttas* in general, as well as that of the individual *suttas* taken up for discussion in Part III. The general inference made earlier is that a more ornate and 'finished' style is an indication of lateness in composition. The table of alliteration and assonance in the *gāthās* given by Mr. Hare (*Woven Cadences*, pp. 220 ff.) and his list of *śleṣas* (*ibid.* pp. 218 ff.) clearly show that these poetic devices are employed most in the pieces which cannot be stated to be the oldest

sections of *Sn.* On the other hand, onomatopoeia is not restricted to any one type of composition, yet it is apparently less in the earlier ones. Metre has been dwelt on at length in *PBR* 1, 2. The excellent analysis of the metres of *Sn.* by Helmer Smith (*Sn. A.* pp. 637 ff.) is a useful guide for the interpretation of the metres of *Sn.*

The *doctrinal trends* point to the realization of *attha*; the overcoming of birth, of misery ('III'), and of notions of self (*mamāyita*); the ascetic life and the Way Beyond are all attendant on the realization of this *summum bonum*. A comprehensive study of this aspect of *Sn.* has been made by scholars and it is not proposed to discuss it any further. (*Vide* Chalmers, Fausböll, Ilare and Katre).

§7. The terms and epithets used in *Sn.* usually reflect an old phase. The following synthesis will be mainly restricted to the *gāthās*. The term *muni* is used 77 times in the *gāthās*. It is distributed in the five *vaggas* in the following manner; 26, 2, 17, 18 and 14. In 24 instances it is an epithet of the Buddha. It is significant that 8 of the 17 references in *Mahā Vagga* are to the Buddha, and a noteworthy feature is that the least references to *muni* are in the two *vaggas* which are not the oldest sections in *Sn.* (i.e. 2 in *Culla Vagga* and 9 excluding the 8 references to the Buddha in *Mahā Vagga*). Besides these, *mona* occurs at *Sn.* 718c, 723cd, *moneyya* at *Sn.* 484c, 698c, 700d, 701a, 716a and *monapatha* at *Sn.* 540c. *Bhikkhu* occurs 80 times in the *gāthās*, i.e. 22, 19, 15, 18 and 6 times respectively in the five *vaggas* in addition to over 15 times in the prose. Just as the term *muni* occurs a large number of times in *Muni Sutta* (18), *bhikkhu* is frequently used in the *Uruga*, *Tuvaṭṭaka* and *Sammāparibbajaniya Suttas* (17, 9, and 8 times respectively). The term *sāvaka* occurs only 12 times, and it is significant that it is not used in the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas*. Besides, these references are to be found in *suttas* which cannot be called particularly old. Five of these references are in the *Dhammika Sutta*, in which *bhikkhu* occurs 8 times but *muni* not once. *Samaṇa* occurs 31 times in the *gāthās*, and over 10 times in the prose (7, 1, 11, 8 and 4 respectively in the five *vaggas*). It is used in a wider sense than a Buddhist *samaṇa* in at least 17 out of the 31 occurrences. In the combined phrase, *samaṇabrāhmaṇo* it occurs 7 times in verse and once in prose. It is again curious to note that the word occurs only once in the *Culla Vagga*. The word *brāhmaṇa* occurs 141 times in verse and 12 times in prose (12, 16, 82, 8 and 23 times respectively in the five *vaggas*). The extraordinarily large number of references in the *Mahā Vagga* is due to the fact that it deals mainly with brahmin interlocutors; and in the *Pārāyana*, the majority of the references are in the *vatthu-gāthā*. *Brahma* occurs 43 times in the *gāthās* and 7 times in prose; i.e. *brahma* (Sk. *brāhma*)

once, Brahmā 6 times, as an appellative (voc. brahme) 3 times, and the rest in cpds. including *brahma-cariyā* 19 times in *gāthā* and 9 other references connected with *brahma-cariyā* in both prose and verse. *Brahma loka* is mentioned 6 times. There are only 3 references in the *Uraga Vagga* and one in *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*. *Thera* occurs only twice, and both in prose (discussed earlier). The word *saṅgha* occurs only 7 times apart from the 8 references in *Ratana Sutta*. It refers to the Saṅgha (apart from *Ratana S.*) probably only at *Sn.* 569d, 1015b (*Pār.* v.g.) and p. 16 (prose). The term Buddha occurs 39 times in the *gāthās* (i.e. 10, 5, 14, 1 and 9 times respectively in the five *vaggas*). Of these the personal Buddha is referred to 7, 3, 5, 1 and 9 times respectively in the five *vaggas*. All the references in the first three *vaggas* go with other epithets while the 9 references in the *Pārāyana* are to be found in the v.g. and epilogue. *Bodhisatta* occurs only once in the late *vatthu-gāthā* of the *Nālaka Sutta*. *Sambodhi* occurs 5 times. *Sambuddha* occurs 3 times in *Uraga Vagga*, 7 times in the *Mahā Vagga* and 9 times in the v.g. and epilogue of the *Pārāyana*. *Bhagavā* occurs 54 times in the *gāthās* and over 20 times in the prose. It does not occur in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*. *Satthā* occurs 12 times in verse and *Sugato* 4 times while each epithet is used at least twice in prose. *Tathāgata* occurs 21 times in both prose and verse; but it does not occur in the *gāthās* of the *Uraga* and *Aṭṭhaka Vaggas*.

In all the above instances it is quite clear that the early emphasis is on the *muni* or the *bhikkhu* and not on the *saṅgha* or the 'perfect' disciple nor on the personality of the Buddha. These aspects are taken up by the later poems.

§8. Coming to a few terms of general interest *atta*, *dhamma*, *attha*, *saddhā*, *patha*, *magga*, *nibbāna* and *samsāra* (*bhava*, etc.) demand attention. The words *atta* (by itself and in cpds.) *ātuma* and *tuma* occur 105 times in the *gāthās* (i.e. 11, 14, 44, 29 and 7 times respectively in the five *vaggas*). *Anatta* has already been referred to. *Atta* meaning body or soul in the Brahmanic sense is found at *Sn.* 508b (*Māgha's* words), and 919a (a denial) and 800a (a doubtful context); *atta* (self) tending towards the Brahmanic concept is found at *Sn.* 514a and 709a; *attānaṃ*, the reflexive in objective case in 10 instances (and probably also at *Sn.* 709a). The possessive of the (pronominal) reflexive occurs in 13 instances, the reflexive agent *attanā* in 5 and the loc. of the reflexive *attani* in 3 instances and the ethic dative at *Sn.* 368a. All the three occurrences of *ātumānaṃ* appear to be reflexives (*Sn.* 782a, 888b, 918d). *Mamatta* (or *mamāyita*) occurs 12 times in the *gāthās*; 9 of these references are in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*. *Amama* also occurs 5 times. The word *dhamma* occurs 188 times in diverse meanings. *Attha* occurs 48 times in *Sn.* The significant references are

Sn. 190d, 453c, 326c, 324d, 176a, 219a, 191c. 323c, 37b, 126a, 159d, and 320b. *Saddhā* occurs 16 times, but there is not a single reference to it in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* and the *Pucchās*. The words *patha*, *magga* and *yāna* have been discussed earlier. *Nibbāna* by itself and in cpds. occurs 15 times in *Sn.* The references are equally distributed in the five *vaggas*. There are 5 references to *samsāra* in the *Mahā Vagga* and *bhava* occurs 23 times in the *gāthās* (i.e. 6, 2, 5, 8 and 2 times respectively in the five *vaggas*) in addition to *bhavābhavataṃ* at *Sn.* 6b, *itthabhāvaññāthābhāvaṃ*, 3 instances, *vitathaṃ* 9b-13b and *vinābhāva* at 588c, and 805c.

Conclusions

§9. As regards definite results which this investigation has yielded, one is confronted with various difficulties. Firstly, the diversity and disparity of the constituent parts of *Sn.* lead to contradictory data which result in conflicting conclusions. Secondly, the various religious elements which are not clearly separable rather tend to confuse the issue and are not helpful in any way in deciding the diverse strata these poems belong to. To give an example, the Buddha is referred to in many ways; *Tathāgata*, *Gotama*, *Sakya* and *Buddha*. Though these terms are interlinked there is an inherent subtle distinction as seen in phrases such as, *Tathāgata-sāvaka*, *Gotama-sāsana*, *Samaṇa Gotama* and *Buddha-vacana*. Thirdly, the archaic character of the language is sometimes very deceptive. It is not always that poems bearing an archaic stamp, linguistically, are genuinely old. This fact has been stressed before and instances of this nature have already been noted; (e.g. *Ratana Sutta*). The Pali of the *gāthās* represents the standard vehicle of poetic expression, the archaic colouring being the outcome of a close adherence to what may be termed as the *gāthā*-style. Yet, the Vedic elements in *Sn.*, as a rule, are generally confined to those sections to which an early date can be assigned on *collective data*. On the other hand, the late linguistic characteristics have yielded definite information. Finally, no definite and precise information can be gathered from the haphazard arrangement of the *suttas* in *Sn.*, for, no final decision can be made from the present state of *Sutta Nipāta* which contains *suttas* put together at various dates and presenting no uniformity whatsoever. The different traditions in Pali and BSk., show that the development of these *suttas* is many-sided with divergent roots both in contents and form.

§10. In spite of these limitations the diverse strata as regards compilation as opposed to those of composition are discernible to some extent in the light of the information gathered in the course of our investigation. It is not our aim to determine the dates of composition of every *sutta*.

The internal and external evidence of the *suttas* selected for analysis in Part III has shown that the *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*, the *Pucchās* of the *Pārāyana* and the ballads in praise of the Muni-ideal (found chiefly in the *Uraga Vagga*) are about the oldest sections in *Sn*. The general didactic poems found scattered in the first three *vaggas* and usually named after a simile or metaphor represent a subsequent phase. To the same period can be assigned the two opening *suttas* of the *Mahā Vagga* dealing with the Buddha's early career, the older dialogues in the *Mahā Vagga*, the dialogue-ballads of the *Uraga Vagga* and the Yakkha-ballads. Four of the five *suttas* of popular character (i.e. excluding *Ratana*, *PBR* 2, 2), the *Cunda Sutta* and the *Kokāliya Suttas* appear to be a little younger but were definitely pre-Asokan. The *Ratana*, *Vijaya*, and *Dvayatānupassanā* were probably the youngest *suttas* in *Sn*. while the *vatthugāthās* (excepting those of the *Rāhula Sutta*) represent the latest compositions in *Sn*.

S. N. Katre in his *Early Buddhist Ballads and their Relation to the older Upanishadic Literature* assigns the period 500-300 B.C. to the ballads of *Sn*. From the data now available and the fact that due allowance should be made for the arising of Buddhist literary activity among the adherents of Buddhism (for, the pieces in *Sn*. are decidedly literary compositions) the age of composition of the bulk of the poems may be narrowed down roughly to the period 400-300 B.C. This does not deny the possibility of a few ballads being anterior to the earliest limit of 400 B.C. Although it is not possible to estimate by what length of time the various classes of poems were separated it is evident that the earliest and the youngest poems show a great disparity as regards their respective ages of composition. On the evidence available it is clear that individual *suttas* have to be taken on their own merits, though to some extent particular types of *suttas* have been vaguely generalised as belonging to distinct strata.

§11. This disparity in the dates of composition of respective *suttas* clearly implies a 'growth'. The stages by which the present anthology has come into existence underlie the various strata in *Sn*. Firstly there appears to have been an early nucleus of a more or less floating material quite similar to the traditional Brahmanic knowledge of pre-Buddhistic and early Buddhist times on which were based the subsequent *Dharma Śāstras* and the early didactic literature of the Hindus. It is not only in thought and ideology that these early ballads of the Buddhists bear kinship with early Brahmanic literature (*vide* Katre) but also in phraseology and literary modes, all of which reflect a common background. This is not confined to the so-called 'unsectarian' ballads of *Sn*. which deal with general Indian or 'Āryan' teachings (embracing the ethical principles o

Brahmanic teachings and Upaniṣadic lore) but is much in evidence even in poems which are considered as being distinctively Buddhist.

The earliest attempt at a collection as such belongs to a subsequent period. Many of the poems in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* and the *Pucchās* of the *Pārāyana* are of a sectarian character on a broad basis. Although the general outlook of these poems is rather wide there is something characteristically Buddhist underlying them, as contrasted with poems of common Brahmanic and Buddhist origin. There is no doubt that the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana Vaggas* and the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* formed the foundation on which this collection of *suttas* was built. In doing so the compilers have drawn freely from a floating tradition.

The transitional stage (or stages) of the formation of a *nipāta* was (or were) marked by the incorporation of these *suttas* as well as many others deemed as being truly representative of the Buddha's teaching. No definite conclusions can be arrived at regarding these intermediate stages. The present arrangement of the *suttas* in the *Uraga Vagga* (with the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* occupying the third place in it) shows a certain amount of re-shuffling to furnish a more effective presentation of the *suttas*; for, *Uraga* with all the mysterious significance attached to it was probably considered as a suitable *sutta* to be placed at the head of the anthology.

As noted earlier (*PBR* 1, 3), the *Uraga Vagga* appears to be older than the next two *vaggas*. In view of the internal changes that have taken place in the various *vaggas* (*ibid.*) it is quite clear that the final redaction of *Sn*. has been preceded by several intermediate redactions (though they cannot be easily enumerated). The *Culla Vagga* and the *Mahā Vagga* have not come into their present form by any historical sequence. As suggested earlier (*loc. cit.*), the two *vaggas* (perhaps together with *Uraga*) probably replaced an older group (or *vagga*) which contained *suttas* of popular appeal. The final phase was marked by the prefixing of *Uraga*, *Ratana* and *Pabbajjā* (and *Padhāna*) *Suttas* to the three respective *vaggas* under the editorial hand of monastic redactors for the purpose of propagating the Dhamma.

§12. Thus, the results of this investigation can be briefly summarised under the two heads (a) tradition and (b) growth:—

Sets of *suttas* with reference to tradition:

1. Unsectarian:

- (a) General Indian, 'Āryan' or Brahmanic (Upaniṣadic) teachings;
- (b) The ascetic ideal.

2. Sectarian ('Buddhist'):
 - (a) *Suttas* purporting the Buddhist point of view;
 - (b) *Suttas* with special Buddhist interpretations of then-current themes, values and concepts;
 - (c) Buddhist Dogmatics; and *suttas* representative of the ecclesiastical phase.
3. Popular Buddhism; *Suttas* of the Life of the Buddha, and legend.

The main trends of growth:

1. An early nucleus of more or less floating material.
2. Several intermediate redactions incorporating *suttas* of popular Buddhism, dialogues, Buddhist ethics, life of Buddha and Buddhist worship.
3. A final redaction made for the purpose of propagating the Buddhist faith through its ecclesiastical representative, the Saṅgha.

Postscript

Prof. Jayawickrama had agreed to contribute a recapitulation of the salient features of his *Analysis* that would incorporate the findings of other scholars made during the last thirty years. Unfortunately, his sabbatical leave in the West will be largely spent in lecturing at Cambridge and at Carleton College, Minnesota. Moreover, he had been engaged in preparing a new edition of the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* together with a translation of the *Papañcasūdanī* (the Commentary to the Majjhima Nikāya).

However, since very few students have specialised in this field the Editor feels that he can but draw the attention of readers to those translations and studies that have appeared subsequent to the acceptance of the author's dissertation by London University in 1947. In passing, however, it should be emphasised that the discussion on linguistic terminology and pre-monastic features by Fausböll (*A Collection of Discourses*) and Chalmers (*Buddha's Teachings*) was substantially incorporated into Prof. Jayawickrama's *Analysis*.

All the English translations, in whole or in part, of the *Sutta-Nipāta* are listed in the Editor's *Analysis of the Pali Canon* (BPS, Kandy 1975) and the two subsequent supplements. Straightforward descriptive surveys of this text as a whole are best found in M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature II* (University of Calcutta 1933; Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi 1972, pp. 92-98) and B.C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature I* (London 1933; Bhartiya Publishing House, Delhi 1974, pp. 232-260).

A chronological analysis of the component parts of this anthology has been performed by G. C. Pande in his unique *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (University of Allahabad 1957; Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1974, pp. 51-65). A similar survey was conducted by G. F. Allen in *The Buddha's Philosophy* (George Allen & Unwin, London 1959, pp. 73-82).

Outstanding exegetical works on specific sections are represented by P. D. Premasiri, *The Philosophy of the Aṭṭhakavagga* (BPS, 1972), and Nyānaponika Thera, *The Worn-Out Skin* (BPS, 1977)—which includes the text and translation of the *Uraga Sutta*.

In her study of asceticism from Pali canonical and commentarial literature, *The Paccekabuddha* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1974), Dr. Ria Kloppenborg has included a translation of the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* together with its Commentary (pp. 79-125).

Finally, in order to present what is hoped to prove an illuminating comparison with the Pali text, studies of and translations from the Sanskrit and Chinese recensions, together with related materials, are planned for eventual publication in the *Review*.

Editor

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SOPADHISESA AND NIRUPADHISESA NIRVANA

Arvind Sharma*

I

Edward J. Thomas has shown that the description of attainment of enlightenment in life as *nirvāna* and upon the death of the *arhat* as *parinirvāna* is a misnomer. The correct terms to represent the in-life enlightenment and post-enlightenment life are *sopādhiśeṣa* and *nirupādhiśeṣa* *nirvāna*.¹ The purpose of this paper is to examine the nature of the distinction between the two.² Nalinaksha Dutt suggests that "It is called *sa-upādiseśa-nirodha* when an *arhat* removes all his impurities and realizes the truth but still retains the body, the last remains of his past *upādhi*. When he lays down his mortal frame he is said to have *anupādiseśa-nirodha* and after this he never takes rebirth."³ Thus here we have a simple way of distinguishing between the two types of *nirvāna*. The only difference is that in one case the body continues to exist and in the other when the body perishes, *nirvāna* without a substrate is attained.

It will be noticed that Dutt refers to the body "As the last remains of his past *upādhi*". Moreover, he also clearly implies that there can be no lapse from the state of *nirvāna* between the two *nirodhas* mentioned. For the first statement no source is cited by Dutt.⁴ As for the second, it can be suggested, even asserted, that "The state called *nibbāna* could be lost."⁵ The story of Godhika, for instance, "who attained temporary release six times, but fell away"⁶ is well-known.

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1. Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc. 1971) p. 121 fn. 4.

2. When Nāgārjuna discusses the question of *nirvāna* in chapter twenty-five of his *Mūlamādhyamikakārikā*, "The commentator first gives a fair statement of the Hinayāna view. 'Now with regard to this the Lord has described a twofold *Nirvāna* of individuals who have practised the religious life, followed the teaching of Buddha, acquired the greater and lesser doctrines, namely, *Nirvāna* with the remainder of a substratum of a rebirth (*upādhi*) and *Nirvāna* without a remainder. The first is understood as due to complete abandonment of the depravities, ignorance, passion, etc.... It is like a village in which all the gangs of robbers have been destroyed. But the *Nirvāna* in which even the mere *skandhas* no longer exist is *Nirvāna* without such a remainder. It is like a village, which after the gangs of robbers have been destroyed, has itself been annihilated.'" (*ibid.*, p. 224). Thomas also notes two interesting aspects of this account: (1) that the simile of the village and the robbers goes back to Samy. IV 175 and that (2) the "word *parinirvāna* sometimes supposed to be the term for complete *nirvāna* is not used." (*ibid.*, fn. 1, 2.)

3. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism* (Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 1960) p. 138—139.

4. As a matter of fact, this interpretation seems to show traces of Hindu influence, see T.M.P. Mahadevan, *Outlines of Hinduism* (Bombay: Chetana Ltd., 1971) p. 124.

5. Rune E. A. Johansson, *The Psychology of Nirvāna* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969) p. 74.

6. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

It is clear, therefore, that Dutt's distinction cannot be sustained. He is more concerned with the effect of past birth but, as we shall see, Buddhist analysis is more concerned with future birth on this point.

II

Thomas also tries to tackle this issue in the context of *Dhammapada* 89 and writes:

The commentator here explains "attained *Nirvāna*" as attained by the two attainings of *Nirvāna* (*dvīhi parinibbānehi*), (1) that which is with a remainder of substrate of rebirth after reaching arahatship and getting rid of the course of the depravities, and (2) that which without a remainder of substrate of rebirth with the cessation of the last thought and getting rid of the course of the *khandhas*. What is to be understood by this substrate of rebirth has been disputed, for in Pali the term is *upādhi* and in Sanskrit *upadhi*. It is now generally agreed to be a collective name for the *khandhas*, the elements constituting the individual, which at death, unless dispersed by knowledge of the truths, continue their existence in a new birth. The form that they have at the moment of conception is consciousness (*viññāna*, *citta*), and with enlightenment it is said to cease. It is not said to be annihilated, but it stops or ceases (*nirujjhati*) to transmigrate. What that implies may be still argued, but it is known only to the *arhat*.¹

He does, however, seem to overlook one point to which attention has been drawn by Rune Johansson. He agrees with Thomas that it is the cessation rather than annihilation of *khandhas* which is involved when an *arhat* dies. Thus he remarks on the description found in *Udāna* 93 of the death of the *arhat* Dabba Mallaputta that "The choice of verbs is interesting, since most of them suggest stopping or reaching immobility rather than annihilation. This is in good agreement with the Buddhist view of the process-nature of personality, and it suggests that the psychological factors may 'go home' and continue to exist, just as the body will exist in a different form after death."¹

The point which Thomas does not seem to take into account is that "After all, something happens to the *khandhā* when a man attains *nibbāna*"² and by *nibbāna* here is meant *saupādiseśa nibbāna*. In a

1. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 131—132.

1. Johansson, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

2. *ibid.*, p. 68.

nutshell, to use Thomas' phraseology of the 'substrate of rebirth', the substrate persists till death, but its ability to generate rebirth has been neutralized. As Johansson points out:

Although complete cessation of *viññāna* will take place only in death, the word cessation is still adequate for *nibbāna* in this life, since *viññāna* is a series or processes, and the meaning is not different from what is said in the continuation of the text: *viññānūpasamā bhikkhu nicchāto parinibbuto ti*, 'by calming *viññāna* the monk becomes satisfied and attains *nibbāna*.' *Nirodha* probably means no more than 'stopping' = 'making still and immovable'.

An interesting description of the *viññāna* of the arahant is found in D I 223, where it is asked, where name and form cease without remainder. Answer:

*Viññāṇaṃ anidassanaṃ anantaṃ sabbato paṇaṃ:
Ettha āpo ca paṭhavī tejo vāyo na gādhati,
Ettha dīghañ ca rassañ ca anuṃ thūlaṃ subhāsubhaṃ,
Ettha nāmañ ca rūpañ ca asesam upasujjhati,
Viññāṇassa nirodhena etth' etaṃ uparujjhati.*

'The consciousness that is without attribute, endless, drawing back from everything: there water, earth, fire and wind find no footing; there long and short, fine and coarse, pleasant and unpleasant—there name and form stop without remainder: by the stopping of consciousness this also stops.' In *nibbāna viññāna* is said to be stopped, i.e. the flow of conscious processes has ceased and consciousness has been emptied, either by means of meditation or simply by means of *paññā*, 'understanding'. It is therefore undifferentiated (i.e. free from attributes), endless (because a resting consciousness contains no sense of limits), and being undifferentiated, it cannot contain separate things like water and earth. And so no further processes are produced and no rebirth can take place: for... in rebirth, *viññāna* is said to enter the mother's womb and give rise to name and form there (D II 63). But in *nibbāna*, *viññāna* is stopped: its processes do not flow anymore, there are no more desires manifest and it can therefore not be stationed in this way: *Yato ca kho... no ceteti no ca pakappeti no ca anuseti, ārammaṇam etaṃ na hoti viññāṇassa thitiyā, ārammane asati paṭiṭṭhā viññāṇassa na hoti* (S II 66).

'But when somebody neither plans, nor decides, nor has a sub-conscious leaning, then this basis for the settlement of *viññāna* does not exist; and without the basis *viññāna* will not become established.'¹

III

An attempt to distinguish between the two kinds of *nirvāṇa* was also made by Henry Clarke Warren who noted that "So far as mental groups are concerned, *Nirvāṇa* can be obtained in the present life, but from the form-group deliverance can only be attained at death because... 'whereas there are sensations, perceptions, etc. [i.e. predispositions and consciousness] which are not subject to depravity, it is not so with form.'²

But if this be so then it follows that only partial *nibbāna* can be achieved in this life—relating to *nāma* alone and never to *rūpa* if the five *skandhas* are so grouped.³ Nowhere is *nibbāna* referred to as being achieved in a piecemeal fashion thus in the Pali texts. Moreover, if *nirvāṇa* cannot be attained so long as the form-group does not dissolve then how is *sopādhiseṣa nirvāṇa* achieved, as this form of *nirvāṇa* is achieved while still alive? It is clear, therefore, that Warren's attempt to distinguish between the two *nirvāṇas* is rather misleading.

IV

To conclude: the distinction between *sopādhiseṣa* and *nirupādhiseṣa nirvāṇa* hinges on the fact that in the former case, after *nibbāna* is achieved, the *upādhis* or conditionings persist but are no longer a part of the conditional nexus¹ (or *paṭicca-samuppāda*) as they were before the attainment of *nirvāṇa*. At the time of Nibbānic death, the conditions also dissolve.²

1. *ibid.*, p. 75-76. "The fate of the *khandhā* in *nibbāna* can to a great extent be deduced from what we already know. In the living individual the factors must be intact, and functioning. The body is not changed, and the perceptual apparatus must function, but it will not be permitted to stimulate desire and passion. Activity must to a certain extent go on, but it must be of a kind that produces no more *kamma* effects. *Viññāna* must be reduced to such a state that it will not 'flow over' into a new existence." (*ibid.*, p. 73).

2. Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* (New York: Atheneum, 1970) p. 114. Also see p. 156.

3. S. G. F. Brandon, ed., *Dictionary of Comparative Religion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970) p. 394.

1. Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy* (London: Rider & Company, 1961) p. 55.

2. "... a distinction must be made between *nibbāna* in this life, where *upādāna* still remains, and the state of *nibbāna* reached by the arahant in the moment of death, when the *upādāna* is destroyed". (Johansson, *op. cit.*, p. 59) "In this life the fire can flare up again, as there is fuel left: this is impossible after death when there is no more fuel." (*ibid.* p. 60).

CETOVIMUTTI PANNAVIMUTTI AND UBHATOBHAGAVIMUTTI

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An attempt is made in this paper** to study the concepts of *cetovimutti*, *paññāvimutti* and *ubhatobhāgavimutti* as represented in early Buddhism. *Cetovimutti* is generally translated as freedom of the mind or heart, *paññāvimutti* is translated as freedom by understanding or through intuitive wisdom, while *ubhatobhāgavimutti* is translated as freedom in both ways. In this paper synonyms such as freedom, liberation, release and emancipation are used with hardly any discrimination in translating the word *vimutti*. For the purpose of studying these concepts it seems desirable to start with a brief account of the nature of the untrained wordly mind as explained in early Buddhist texts.

Puthujjana—The Untutored Wordly Man

The untutored wordly man is always described as working under the influence of *lobha* 'greed',¹ *dosa* 'ill-will',² and *moha* 'delusion'. The *Mahātaṇhāsāṅkhasutta* (M I 266) explains that reactions by way of attachment or hatred are caused by pleasant and unpleasant sense data respectively (*piyarūpe rūpe sārājati appiyarūpe rūpe byāpajati*). A person reacting thus, does so because he is not mindful of his own physical activities. As a result, his mind gets circumscribed or limited in scope (*parittacetaso*). Possessed of attachment and hatred towards sense data he experiences feelings, he revels in these feelings, entertains them and gets overwhelmed by them. As a result of this process, passionate delight (*nandī*) arises in him which itself becomes the basis or fuel (*upādāna*) for his continued existence through birth, decay, death and all accompanying misery.

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** All Pali works referred to in this paper are editions of the Pali Text Society, London. All Roman figures denote volume numbers and the Arabic figures denote page numbers. The following abbreviations are used:-

- A Aṅguttaranikāya
- AA Aṅguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūraṇī)
- D Dīghanikāya
- DA Dīghanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsini)
- Dhp Dhammapada
- M Majjhimanikāya
- S Samyuttanikāya
- Sn Suttanipāta
- Vin Vinaya Piṭaka

1. Sometimes given as *abhihā* 'covetousness', or *rāga* 'lust'.

2. Sometimes given as *vyāpāda* 'malevolence', or *paṭigha* 'aggressiveness'.

It is relevant to emphasise that the mind of one who is thus wallowing in a world of his own sense experience gets necessarily circumscribed and limited in scope. When the mind is constantly bombarded by sense data and it ceaselessly reacts by way of attachment towards the pleasant, by way of repugnance towards the unpleasant and by way of ignorance towards the neutral sense data,³ the mind gets pegged on to sense objects so tenaciously that it calls for the greatest sustained human effort to free it from the entanglements of this cramped world.⁴ This tenacious binding aspect of sense data is variously emphasised in the Pali Canon by way of similes,⁵ metaphors⁶ and psychological terminology.⁷ Mental phenomena generated by the interplay of sense organs and sense objects show surprising variations. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* (214-5) enumerates a lengthy list of emotions which spring from the root causes of *lobha*, *dosa* and *moha*.

A discourse in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (A I 268) analyses the state of the worldling from another point of view. According to this he is beset by *silavipatti*, *cittavipatti* and *diṭṭhivipatti*, 'moral, emotional and intellectual perversions'. The Buddha teaches a course of training whereby the mind is emancipated from these perversions and the limitations imposed by sense experience, a course whereby it could be developed into infinite glory and absolute freedom.

Salient Features of the Course of Training

This course of training is gradual and systematic, and it has to be ceaselessly applied. Just as a carpenter's adze gets gradually worn out through constant use, even though the rate of its wearing off itself cannot be measured, the adept progresses gradually, eliminating defilements step by step but the rate of progress itself cannot be strictly determined (S III 154-5; A IV 127). At the culmination of this course of training which consists of *adhivāsanikkhā*, *adhicittasikkhā* and *adhipaññāsikkhā*, training in higher morality, concentration and understanding respectively, the adept is able to acquire, by an act of deliberation,⁸ wisdom and insight (*ñānadassanāya cittaṃ abhinharati abhininnāmeti* 'he directs and inclines his mind to get wisdom and insight', D I 76, 147, etc., etc.). When understanding is complete the mind gets liberated from the obsessions (*evaṃ jānato evaṃ passato āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccati*—A I 165; M III 30-2,

3. M I 303.

4. M I 111-112, 449-451.

5. *māluvālatā*—the fast growing *māluvā* creeper.

6. *cetokhila*—pegs or stumps of the mind.

7. *saṃyojana*—yoke or fetter; *bandhana*—bond.

8. Rune E. A. Johansson, *The Psychology of Nirvana* George Allen and Unwin, London, 1969, p. 88.

etc.), as an automatic result of the course of training. The adept has no power to determine when his mind should attain emancipation. A farmer may plough the field, sow the seeds, and supply water in a great hurry, but he cannot accelerate growth and maturity of the crop. It is the natural result of a conditioned process, and so is *vimutti* 'emancipation', the natural result of a controlled process (A I 239-40).

Favourable Conditions

Having observed the nature of the untrained mind and the important features of the process leading to emancipation, it is appropriate to inquire into the preliminary conditions conducive to the attainment of emancipation. While the Pali Canon abounds in information regarding this question, it would suffice if a typical relevant passage is cited. The *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A IV 357) enumerates the following as favourable conditions conducive to maturity of *cetovimutti*: (a) virtuous companionship, (b) moral behaviour, (c) serious conversation pertaining to austere living, which opens up the mind (*yāyaṃ kathā abhisallekhikā cetovivaraṇasappāyā*), (d) sustained application, and (e) intelligence. These conditions reveal the social impact on an individual's spiritual progress as well as personal responsibility and enthusiasm.

Types of Vimutti

Vimutti 'emancipation' is looked upon in Buddhism as the supreme goal of the higher life (*ariyā paramā vimutti*—D I 174). The *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* which enumerates the advantages of recluseship in ascending order maintains that there is no higher or better reward than *vimutti* (D I 84-5). It is the very essence of all endeavour (*vimuttisārā sabbe dhamma*—A IV 339). It is the ultimate purpose, the essence and culmination of the noble life (*yā ca kho ayaṃ bhikkhave akuppā cetovimutti, etad atthaṃ idaṃ bhikkhave brahmacariyaṃ etaṃ sāraṃ etaṃ pariyosānaṃ*—M. I 197).

Nevertheless the word *vimutti* is sometimes used, especially in compounds, without the connotation of final emancipation. In the controlled process of mental culture the mind is successively purged of its impurities and contents, and the notable achievements made during this exercise are designated *cetovimutti*. Broadly speaking Pali literature makes reference to two types of *cetovimutti*, (a) temporary and pleasant (*sāmāyikaṃ kantaṃ*—A I 64; M III 110), (b) inviolable or permanent (*akuppā cetovimutti*—D III 273; S III 27; A I 259 etc.). When *cetovimutti* is used in conjunction with *paññāvimutti* (A I 108) emancipation is final and inviolable, and *akuppā cetovimutti* is also used in the same sense. Though *paññāvimutti* alone also refers to final emancipation (S II 121;

A IV 452) *cetovimutti* alone is hardly used in that sense. *Ubhatobhāga-vimutta* is another expression meaning final emancipation (D II 71; M I 477; A IV 453).

The *vimutti* types that emerge from the texts can be tabulated as follows:-

i	<i>cetovimutti</i>	—temporary liberation
ii	<i>akuppe cetovimutti</i>	—final liberation
iii	<i>paññāvimutti</i>	—final liberation
iv	<i>paññāvimutti</i> and <i>cetovimutti</i>	—final liberation
v	<i>ubhatobhāgavimutti</i>	—final liberation

Cetovimutti is repeatedly said to be derived from *samatha* 'calm, tranquillity', while *paññāvimutti* is said to be the result of *vipassanā* 'introspection' (A I 61). It is also emphasised that *samatha* and *vipassanā* should be developed for the purpose of fully comprehending the nature of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* and their total destruction (A I 100). By the elimination of *raga* 'sensuality' *cetovimutti* is gained, by the elimination of *avijjā* 'ignorance' *paññāvimutti* is gained (*rāgavirāgā cetovimutti avijjāvirāgā paññāvimutti*—A I 61).

Cetovimutti—Temporary

The texts contain many references to temporary *cetovimutti* of different degrees and types. According to the *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A V 139) even an immoral person (*dussīlo*) might experience temporary release (*sāmāyikaṃ pi vimuttiṃ*) if he has studied the Dhamma. According to the *Mahāsuññotasutta* (M III 110), a life of seclusion away from the crowds conduces to *cetovimutti* which is pleasant but temporary (*sāmāyikaṃ vā kantaṃ cetovimuttiṃ*). The *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A I 64) maintains that a monk with moral behaviour, who lives restrained according to monastic rules, endowed with suitable conduct in suitable habitat, seeing danger even in the slightest fault, training himself according to monastic discipline, may live having attained a certain pleasant state of *cetovimutti* (*so aññataraṃ santaṃ cetovimuttiṃ upasampajja viharati*). If no further spiritual progress is made, at the dissolution of the body, he may be born in a celestial sphere, departing whence he may not return (*tato cuto enāgāmī hoti*). It could be summarised that solitude, moral behaviour, scrupulousness and monastic discipline promote temporary freedom of the mind which is a pleasant experience. According to the *Nivāpasutta* (M I 156) physical weakness causes deterioration of moral strength and the consequent loss of *cetovimutti* which has already been won. The *Samyuttanikaya* (S I 20) records that Godhika could not retain the *cetovimutti* which he won six times, and when he attained it on the seventh

attempt, he committed suicide. In the *Aṭṭhakanāgarasutta* (M I 351) Ānanda reasons out that *cetovimutti* is subject to conditions and therefore to change as well. Seeing the impermanent, unsatisfactory and substanceless nature of this *cetovimutti* one must develop intuition and eradicate obsessions (*āsavānaṃ khayaṃ*) in order to gain final emancipation.

Types of Cetovimutti

The *Mahāvedallasutta* (M I 296-7; also S IV 296) records eight types of *cetovimutti* namely *adukkhamasukhāya cetovimutti*, four *appamāṇā cetovimuttī*, *ākīñcaññā cetovimutti*, *suññata cetovimutti*, and *animitta cetovimutti*, and goes on to explain the factors which constitute them. It can be summarised that these different types of *cetovimutti* comprise the following meditational levels:- the *catutthajjhāna* 'the fourth level of concentration', the four *brahmavihāras* 'sublime states', the *ākīñcaññāyatana* 'the sphere of nothingness', reflection on emptiness, and *animitta cetosamādhi* 'signless concentration of the mind' respectively. The *Sutta* goes on to explain that these *cetovimuttis* can be considered different in meaning and different in terminology (*nānatthā c' eva nānābyañjanā ca* insofar as the mental phenomena involved in the various *cetovimutti* types are concerned, but they can be considered identical in meaning only different in terminology (*ekatthā, byañjanam eva nānan ti*) in so far as they share the common characteristic of the eradication of *rāga, dosa* and *moha* at their highest level.

The different types shall be taken up for discussion one by one in collaboration with other relevant textual data.

Adukkhamasukhāya Cetovimutti

The fourth *jhāna* which comprises the *adukkhamasukhāya cetovimutti* has the positive characteristics of *upekkhā-sati-pārisuddhi* 'perfect equanimity and mindfulness'. During this state of meditation the mind is inwardly settled, calmed, focussed and concentrated (*ajjhātam eva cittaṃ saṅghapeti sannisādeti ekodikaroti samādahati*—M III 111). When it is thus concentrated it is described as pure, excellent, blemishless, free from defilements, supple, efficient, steadfast and firm (*evaṃ samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte anaṅgane vigatupakkilese mudubhūte kammaniye ṭhite ānejjappatte*—D I 76). It is compared to burnished gold which is pliable and ready to be fashioned into any intricate design (M III 243). Its efficiency and pliability are such that it could be diverted with ease for the realisation of higher forms of knowledge (*abhiññā*) through extra-sensory faculties (D I 77, etc.). The *Jhānasamyutta* (S V 308) maintains

that a monk who has developed the four *jhānas* is prone towards *nibbāna*, is inclined and bent towards *nibbāna* just as the river Ganges is prone towards the east. The *Pañcattayasutta* (M II 237) points out that it is even possible for the adept to be mistaken at this stage to have attained *nibbāna*.

The fourth is the lowest of the *jhānas* to be designated a *cetovimutti*, and none of the first three is so described anywhere. At this level of meditation respiration is also said to stop, and that means the cessation of all physical activity (*catutthajjhānasamāpannassa assāsapassā niruddhā honti*—D III 266; *āssāsapassasa kayasankharo*—M I 301). Another noteworthy observation is that it is the *adukkhamasukha* aspect of the fourth *jhāna* which has been termed *cetovimutti*. *Adukkha-m-asukha* means the absence of pain and pleasure, and this state has been achieved by emptying the mind of its affective contents of pleasure, pain, elation and dejection (*sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā pubbeva somanassa-domanassānaṃ atthaṅgamā*...D I 75). Unencumbered by physical activity, having transcended the dichotomy of pleasure and pain, the mind has arrived at complete hedonistic neutrality. This is quite a significant achievement in the process of mental culture, for, it is reactions by way of pleasure and pain which distort the realistic perception of sense data (*. . phassa-paccayā vedanā, yaṃ vedeti taṃ sañjānāti* . M I 111). This freedom of the mind from the affective principle, which generates translucent clarity of vision leading to realisation of truth and consequent emancipation is designated *adukkhamasukha cetovimutti* 'liberation of the mind through hedonistic neutrality'.

Further it should be noted that, by the time of the fourth *jhāna*, in addition to *vacīsaṅkhāra*⁹ 'verbal activity' and *kāyasaṅkhāra* 'physical activity' which have ceased to operate, the mind is emptied of some of the *citta-saṅkhāra* 'mental activity', as well. It is said that *saññā* 'ideation' and *vedanā* 'feeling' form part of *cittasaṅkhāra* (M I 301). As the *sukha* and *dukkha vedanā* elements of the *cittasaṅkhāra* are eliminated, this is the first *jhāna* experience at which some of the mental activity is arrested, and the stage is therefore meaningfully called *adukkhamasukha cetovimutti*—the first level of mental freedom.

Appamāṇā Cetovimutti

The four *appamāṇā cetovimutti* 'infinite liberation of the mind' comprise the four *brahmavihāra* 'sublime states'. They are *mettā cetovimutti*, *karuṇā cetovimutti*, *muditā cetovimutti* and *upekkhā cetovimutti*, 'liberation

9. *vitakkavicāra vacīsaṅkhāro*—M I 301, *vitakka* and *vicāra* cease during the second *jhāna*, D I 74.

of the mind through benevolence, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity' respectively. *Āṅguttaranikāya* (V 299) gives the following lucid description of a monk engaged in *mettābrahmavihāra* 'the sublime state of benevolence':- A noble disciple who has given up covetousness and ill-will remains unconfused, alert and mindful, suffusing with his benevolent mind first one quarter, then the second, third and fourth, then upwards, downwards and across, in every way, everywhere, the entire world. Radiating thoughts of benevolence in great abundance, with great intensity, without any reservations he dwells in peace and amity. He knows thus: 'Formerly my mind was limited and undeveloped, now it is limitless and well-developed. No activity imposing limitations is left behind in it, and no such activity lingers there.'¹⁰

Such is the description of a mind liberated through benevolence (*mettā cetovimutti*) and the adept similarly develops *karuṇā*°, *muditā*° and *upekkhā cetovimutti* as well.

The state of this limitless well developed mind is further clarified with a simile in the *Subhasutta* (M II 208=S IV 322=D I 251). It is just like a strong conch-shell-blower who makes himself heard far and wide without difficulty, and petty actions which impose limitations find no place in a mind so liberated. Perhaps what is meant by this simile is that, just as petty small noises get drowned by the all-pervading sound of a conch-shell, petty emotions such as attachment and aversion associated with sense data find no foothold in a well developed mind suffused with infinite benevolence (S IV 120). Further *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* are said to be traits which impose limitations (*rāgo pamāṇakaraṇo*, *doso pamāṇakaraṇo*, *moho pamāṇakaraṇo*—M I 298), for they keep the mind confined to a small world circumscribed by sense data (*parittacetaso*—M I 267). The mind radiating *mettā*, *karuṇā*, etc. is liberated from the cramping confines of sense objects (*appamaṇa cetaso viharati*—M I 270; S IV 120; A V 299 etc).

The *Bojjhaṅgasamyutta* (S V 118-121) records an important discourse on the nature of *brahmavihāras* from the Buddhist point of view, in reply to a question asked by the heretics on the difference between Buddhist and non-Buddhist practice of *brahmavihāras*. The Buddha elucidates (a) the method of developing *brahmavihārā*, (b) the attitudes to be entertained during the course of meditation, (c) the highest achievements associated with them, and (d) the final results, and fearlessly proclaims that no human or divine being outside the pale of Buddhism is capable of understanding the sublime states in this manner. The discourse on *mettābrahmavihāra*

10. *Yaṃ kho pana kiñci pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ, na taṃ tatrāvasissati, na taṃ tatrāvatiṭṭhatī*—A V 299.

is as follows:- 'A monk, accompanied by benevolence develops the seven factors leading to Enlightenment (*sambojjhaṅga*), dwelling in seclusion, free from passion, bent on the cessation (of suffering), and having relinquishment as its culmination (*vossaggaparīṇāmiṃ*). During the course of this meditation it is possible for the adept to entertain the following attitudes at will: (i) to be conscious of the loathsomeness of what is not loathsome, (ii) to be conscious of the agreeable nature of what is loathsome, (iii) to be conscious of the loathsomeness of what is loathsome and what is agreeable, (iv) to be conscious of the agreeable nature of both the loathsome and the agreeable, or (v) regard everything with equanimity being mindful and alert. He could also abide having attained the *subhavamokkha* 'deliverance called the beautiful'. *Mettācetovimutti* has the *subhavamokkha* as the highest achievement (*subhāparamā*). If the adept has not realised a higher state of liberation, he has gained only mundane wisdom.'¹¹

Similarly *karuṇācetovimutti*, *muditācetovimutti* and *upekkhācetovimutti* could be developed in conjunction with the seven *bojjhaṅgas*, entertaining the same attitudes towards agreeable and loathsome sense data. They have *ākāsānañcāyatana* 'sphere of infinite space', *viññāṇañcāyatana* 'sphere of infinite consciousness' and *ākīñcaññāyatana* 'sphere of nothingness' respectively as their highest achievement. In the absence of further spiritual progress the knowledge they have gained still remains within the mundane sphere.

An important observation regarding this method of developing the four *appamāṇā cetovimutti* is that these are strictly considered as means to an end and not the end itself. Once the psychological maturity desired through these exercises is attained, the exercises themselves have to be relinquished (*vossaggaparīṇāmiṃ*), for however advanced, they still remain world-bound. The non-Buddhist attitude was evidently to regard these sublime states as final salvation. The concurrent development of the factors of Enlightenment is extremely important and functional. A monk whose mind is freed from the circumscribed world of sense data, is now expected to develop great presence of mind (*sati*), a spirit of investigation into the truth (*dhammavicaya*), energetic application (*virīya*), joy (*pīti*, i.e. interest in his spiritual exercise), tranquillity (*passaddhi*, physical and mental relaxation), concentration of mental energies (*samādhi*) and philosophical neutrality (*upekkhā*)¹². Thus a monk is expected to work for Enlightenment inspired by the love of truth, propelled by unswerving determination, but cautioned by philosophical impartiality.

11. SA III 172 . *Idha-paññassāti . . . lokiyapaññassāti attho*.

12. Here *upekkhā* cannot mean emotional neutrality, as *upekkhāsambojjhaṅga* is to be developed concurrently with *upekkhābrahmavihāra*.

The *Anuruddhasutta* (M III 146) refers to *mahaggaṭā cetovimutti* in addition to *appamāṇā cetovimutti*. *Mahaggaṭā cetovimutti* literally means 'liberation of the mind grown great'. Differentiating the two types of *cetovimutti*, the *Sutta* explains that *appamāṇā cetovimutti* is the limitless development of *mettā*, *karuṇā*, etc., while *mahaggaṭā cetovimutti* is the intense development of these qualities enveloping a limited area big or small.

By the development of *appamāṇā cetovimutti* the mind is purged of evil emotions. It no longer harbours emotions of attachment and aversion towards sense data (*piyarūpe rūpe na sārājati, appiyarūpe rūpe na byāpajati*—M I 270). Freedom from emotions is gained by the sublimation of emotions, *vyāpāda* 'malice' is replaced by *mettā*, *vihesā* 'violent dispositions' by *karuṇā*, *arati* 'envy' by *muditā* and *rāga* 'sensuality' by *upekkhā* (D III 247-9; M I 424; A III 290-292, etc.). The *Kakacūpamasutta* (M I 129) illustrates the ideal of the replacement of *vyāpāda* by *mettā*. Even if the limbs are sawn into pieces, the monk with self-control and emotional maturity entertains no evil thoughts towards the tormentors. The experience of Nandamātā recorded in *Āṅguttaranikāya* (IV 65-67) is another example of the nature of this emotional freedom. She has developed meditation up to the fourth *jhāna* and destroyed the five *orambhāgiya saṃyojanas* 'fetters of degradation'. She explains that she watched her one and only son being tormented, without experiencing any change in her emotions. Again the apparition of her dead husband who was very near and dear to her earlier, made no change whatsoever in her heart. Though the word *cetovimutti* is not used in this context, it is quite likely that she has gained emotional liberation through the fourth *jhāna* which replaced *rāga* by *upekkhā*, and by the elimination of *vyāpāda* resulting from the destruction of *orambhāgiya saṃyojanas*.

As emotions are intimately connected with sexuality it would be appropriate to inquire into the Buddhist ideas regarding the emotional attraction between the sexes. The *Āṅguttaranikāya* (IV 57-8) gives the following explanation:— 'A woman ponders over the femininity in herself, ponders over her feminine behaviour, attire, ways, impulses, voice and charm. She gets impassioned (with femininity) and finds delight therein. Thus impassioned and delighted she ponders on masculinity outside, and ponders over masculine behaviour, attire, ways, impulses, voice and charm. She gets impassioned and delighted therein. Being thus impassioned and delighted she wishes for external union and longs for the pleasure and joy resulting from such union. Being in love with her own sex (femininity) she goes into union with men. Thus she has not gone beyond her own femininity.' The case is the same with the male. With this explanation

it becomes quite clear that self-love plays a basic role in sensuality. The same is emphasised by the words of Mallikā that none is dearer than one's own self.¹³ When equanimity is developed to perfection all forms of self-conceit disappear and one is able to rise above sexuality, and *rāga* 'sensuality' loses its very foundations. *Mettā* is often described in terms of mother-love. It is admonished that infinite *mettā* should be cultivated towards all beings without exception, like a mother who protects her one and only son even at the cost of her life.¹⁴ Such *mettā* replaces *dosa/vyāpāda/paṭigha*, aggressiveness in general which in a broad sense is considered a masculine trait.¹⁵ It can be maintained that an adept with emotional freedom is a human being who has transcended sexual differences and replaced emotions usually associated with sexuality by sublime human emotions. When compared with the *puṭhujjana*, an adept with *appamāṇā cetovimutti* is a noble human being who has gained liberation from *raga/lobha* and *dosa* which are two of the three root causes of all *dukkha*.

Ākiñcaññā Cetovimutti

The *ākiñcaññā cetovimutti* 'liberation of the mind through meditation on nothingness' comprises *ākiñcaññāyatana* 'the sphere of nothingness' which is the seventh stage of meditation (M I 297). This is realised by the purified mental faculty, unencumbered by the five sense faculties, when it is directed towards nothingness (*Nissaṭṭhena pañcohi indriyehi parisuddhena mcnoviññānena n'atthi kiñceti ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ-neyyan ti*—M I 293). According to the *Āneñjasappāyosutta* (M II 263-4) it is possible for the adept who has developed the *ākiñcaññāyatana* to entertain the following three attitudes:— (a) the cessation of all ideations is peaceful and pleasant, (b) this (personality) is devoid of a soul or anything in the nature of a soul, (c) I am not anywhere, of anyone, in any place, nor is there anything of mine anywhere, nor attachment in anything (*Nāhaṃ kvacani, kassaci, kiñcanatasmim, na ca mama kvacani, kismiñci kiñcanaṃ n'atthīti*). Despite this advancement, at the dissolution of the body, if nothing further has been attained, his evolving consciousness (*saṃvattanikaṃ viññānaṃ*) is said to be reborn in the sphere of nothingness. A question arises as to why, after developing *ākiñcaññā cetovimutti*, the adept cannot realise *akuppā cetovimutti* 'inviolable or permanent emancipation of the mind.' Though this is not directly answered, an inference could be made

13. *N'atthi ko'e' añño attanā piyataro*—S I 75.

14. *Mātā yathā niyaṃ puttaṃ
āyusā ekaputtam anurakkhe
evam pi sabbabhūtesu
mānasam bhāvaye aparimānaṃ
mettañ ca sabbalokasmim
mānasam bhāvaye aparimānaṃ*

—Sn. verses 149-50.

15. L. M. Terman, *Sex and Personality*, New York & London, 1936, p. 389.

from what follows in the *Sutta*. Ānanda inquires from the Buddha whether a monk who has developed *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* 'the sphere of neither-ideation-nor-non-ideation' would attain *parinibbāna* if he develops *upekkhā* 'equanimity' after reflecting that: "(this state) would not (continue to) be, it would not (continue to) be mine, it will not become (stable?) and it will not become mine. I give up whatever there is and whatever there has been." (*no c'assa, no ca me siyā, na bhavissati, na me bhavissati, yad atthi yaṃ bhūtaṃ taṃ pajahāmi*—M II 264). The Buddha replies that the possibility is there that he may or may not attain *parinibbāna*. The reason is that if he takes delight, if he welcomes and stands overwhelmed by the equanimity so developed, his consciousness would find support there, and that means there is fuel for existence. When there is fuel for existence one does not attain *parinibbāna* (. . . *taṃ nissitam hoti viññānaṃ tad upādānaṃ saupādāno na parinibbāyati*). Though clinging to *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* is said to be the noblest form of clinging (*upādānaseṭṭhaṃ*) that too has to be got rid of for final emancipation. Perhaps *ākiñcaññā cetovimutti* is not transformed into *akuppā cetovimutti* for the same reason.

Ākiñcaññāyatana is the meditational level at which the mind is emptied of its thought content by concentrating on nothingness. This is an important achievement in the psychological investigation into the nature and function of the mind. The nature of the river-bed of the mind cannot be understood in the presence of the ceaselessly gushing stream of thought activity. As the mind is functioning concentrating on the absence or vacuity of thought contents, this level of meditation is designated *ākiñcaññā cetovimutti* 'liberation of the mind through nothingness'. A series of similes in the *Bojjhaṅgasamyutta* (S V 121-124) illustrate the nature of the mind, the inability to view it realistically when it is incessantly reacting to sense data, and the necessity of bailing out the contents to understand its true nature. Just as water that is coloured, boiling, moss-covered, turbulent or turbid, cannot reflect shadows accurately, so a mind overwhelmed with sensuality, aggressiveness, lethargy, agitation or scepticism respectively cannot function with realistic comprehension. The water must be purified of its foreign matter and it should be rendered calm for it to be a good reflector. Similarly the mind too should be purged of its contaminants for efficient functioning. The *ākiñcaññā cetovimutti* is so called because the mind is liberated from its thought contents.

Suññatā Cetovimutti

Suññatā cetovimutti 'liberation of the mind through meditation on emptiness' is described in terms of the reflection that "this (personality)

is devoid of a soul or anything in the nature of a soul" (*suññam idaṃ attena vā attaniyena vā*).

Animitta Cetovimutti

The last of the *cetovimuttis* enumerated in the *Mahāvedallasutta* is *animitta cetovimutti* which comprises the *animittā cetosamādhi* 'signless mental concentration'. The *Sutta* itself states that *akuppā cetovimutti* is the highest as far as these *animitta cetovimuttis* are concerned. The *Cūlasuññatāsutta* (M III 108) maintains that *animittā cetosamādhi* is conditioned by causes and characterised by thought activity. What is conditioned by causes and characterised by thought activity is impermanent and is liable to cease. The *Moggallāna Saṃyutta* (S IV 269) warns that great vigilance should be exercised to maintain the signless state of meditation as the danger is ever present of consciousness having recourse to a sign (*nimittānusārī viññānaṃ hoti*). Though *animitta* meditation is regarded as the means of warding off unskilful evil thoughts (A I 82), it is also possible for one who has developed this meditation to come under the grip of *rāga* again (A III 397). If a king's army camps in a forest, the sound of crickets may cease in that area during that period, but this does not mean that the sound of crickets is banished from the forest for good. Similarly lust can well up again even if a monk has advanced so far as the signless meditation, as in the case of Citta Haṭṭhisāraputta. Despite this impermanent nature, it is described in the *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* as the path to *nibbāna* (S IV 360). When *animittā cetovimutti* is fully mastered it is said to be impossible for consciousness to have recourse to a sign again (A III 292). A monk who has developed this *samādhi* can win the purpose of recluseship if he dwells in suitable lodgings, associating with noble companions, controlling his sense faculties (A IV 78). The most important step which transforms *animittā cetovimutti* into *akuppā cetovimutti* seems to be the eradication of the ego-notion (A III 292).

Animittā cetovimutti seems to be the liberation of the mind from objects of thought. In the *ākiñcaññāyatana* concentration was fixed on nothingness, and nothingness was the *nimitta*, the object of concentration. In the *animittā cetovimutti* the mind is liberated even from this object of concentration. It seems to be a state of pure objectless consciousness with great insight and intellectual clarity.¹⁶

When all eight types of *cetovimutti* mentioned in the *Mahāvedallasutta* are taken into consideration, *suññatā cetovimutti* stands out conspicuous among the others as it is the only *cetovimutti* type of which *akuppā cetovimutti* is not specified as the highest. *Suññatā cetovimutti* is said to com-

16. MA IV 153 explains *animittasamādhi* as *vipassanācittasamādhi*.

prise reflection on the non-existence of an ego or anything in the nature of an ego in the human personality, and it is relevant to recall that this is the most crucial and indispensable intellectual realisation for final emancipation. Therefore it is possible to theorise that *suññatā cetovimutti* might also be *akuppā cetovimutti*. However, it remains a puzzle as to why the *Mahāvedallasutta* and also the *Cittasamyutta* (S IV 296) which appear to enumerate the various *cetovimutti* types in their ascending order, assigns the penultimate position to *suññatā cetovimutti* while *animittā cetovimutti* is placed last. The *Cūlasuññatāsutta* (M III 109), on the other hand, lists *parisuddham param'uttaram suññatam* 'the absolutely pure and unique state of emptiness' as the highest attainment. According to *Mahāsuññatāsutta* (M III 111) the Buddha attains to a state of internal emptiness by not paying attention to all signs (*sabbanimittānaṃ amanasikārā ajjhataṃ suññatam upasampajja viharitum*). It should be recalled that *animittā cetovimutti* too is developed by paying no attention to all signs (*sabbanimittānaṃ amanasikāro*—M I 296). Therefore both *suññatā cetovimutti* and *animittā cetovimutti* share the common characteristic of not paying attention to signs. However, *suññatā cetovimutti* seems to be the superior of the two because (a) it comprises the most subtle realisation of soullessness (*suññam idaṃ attena vā attaniyena vā*—M I 297), (b) it is never said to be conditioned as a product of thought activity (*ibid*; S IV 296), and (c) it is not a state or a type of which *akuppā cetovimutti* is said to be the highest (*ibid*). On the other hand *animittā cetovimutti* is specifically said to be conditioned and a product of thought activity, therefore impermanent and liable to change (M III 108). Therefore it seems plausible to surmise that *suññatā cetovimutti* belongs to the order of *akuppā cetovimutti* while all other forms of *cetovimutti* mentioned in the *Mahāvedallasutta* are only stages in the process leading to liberation and they have to be stabilised by means of intellectual introspection (*vipassanā*).

Vipassanā

Having considered the significance of *cetovimutti* it is now appropriate to take *paññāvimutti* into consideration. Just as *cetovimutti* is derived from *samatha* 'tranquillity' produced by the concentration of mental energies, *paññāvimutti* is said to be the result of *vipassanā*. Therefore it would be most helpful if an attempt is made to learn what comprises *vipassanā*. The word *vipassanā* comes from *vi*+*√paś* to see, and it means seeing through and beyond superficial appearance. It is usually translated as insight or introspection.

The pure spotless eye of truth which is said to dawn on a disciple when he is first introduced into the real nature of things, is described in terms

of the deep awareness that whatever has the nature of arising also has the inherent nature of passing away (*virajam vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhum udapādi, yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodhadhamman ti*—Vin I 11, 16, etc.). It is this insight into the never-ceasing rise and fall of phenomena, the coming into being and the passing away of all phenomena which go to form the life unit called man, which paves the way to emancipation (*pañcasu upādānakkhandhesu udayabbayānupassī viharati, iti rūpam, iti rūpassa samudayo, iti rūpassa atthaṅgamo, iti vedanā . . . iti saññā . . . iti saṅkhārā . . . iti viññānaṃ . . . atthaṅgamo ti*—A IV 153, D III 223, etc.). An untutored worldly man too might see the growth, decay and disintegration of the physical body and be disenchanted with it. But he can never adopt the same attitude towards what is called the mind (*citta, mano* or *viññāna*), because, he is so used to cherishing and grasping it as his own self. In reality, the mind changes with far greater velocity than the body, and it may have been more sensible, the Buddha says, if the body were clung to as the self as it appears to remain the same even for a couple of years, rather than the mind which changes from moment to moment. The well-informed noble disciple regards the entire psychophysical unit called man and all his sense experiences in terms of causality. All pleasant, unpleasant and neutral sense experiences are causally produced, when causes are removed they cease to exist. It is the insight into the causal origination and cessation of all phenomena which paves the way to emancipation (*vipassanāmaggo bodhāya yad idaṃ nāmarūpanirodhā viññānanirodho . . . D II 34; also S II 95-7*). He who sees causality sees the truth, he who sees the truth sees causality (*yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati, yo dhammaṃ passati so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati*—M I 190-1). Because of the nature of coming into being and passing away of all things in the world (*lokassa nātvā udayabbayaṇ ca*—S I 46), the human being as well as the entire world of his sense experience is impermanent (*anicca*), what is impermanent is necessarily unsatisfactory (*dukkha*) and what is impermanent and unsatisfactory should not be identified as one's self (*anatta*). Insight into this *anicca, dukkha* and *anatta* nature of things leads one to emancipation (S III 1, 21, etc., etc.). If one dwells reflecting on the pleasures of life (*assādānupassanā*) one gets more and more steeped in lust and all accompanying misery and anxiety. It is like adding fuel to an already blazing bonfire (S II 85). But if one dwells reflecting on the evil consequences of sense pleasures (*ādināvānupassī*), *taṇhā* 'thirst/craving' ceases and paves the way to the end of suffering. Therefore the adept is constantly urged to train himself to reflect on impermanence, passionlessness, cessation and relinquishment (M I 425).

These are the perspectives and attitudes which comprise *vipassanā*. The basic truth which has to be intuitively discovered and seen with the

inner eye, is the rising-and-falling-nature of all phenomena in accordance with causal laws. The average man sees permanency in continuity and divides things into the three tenses of past, present and future, and regards them as existing always through the course of time. But *vipassanā*—the new perspective of constant change—shows that what is credited with permanency and clung to with ego-centric possessiveness, is, in reality, nothing but a mere phantom. Viewed through this mirror of truth, the psycho-physical unit of man shows itself to be utterly empty,¹⁷ and devoid of any soul or anything in the nature of a soul (*suññam idam attena vā attaniyena vā*— M II 263).

This newly-found deep insight into the real nature of things has a profound effect on the adept and brings about a radical change in his attitude and outlook. On the one hand, a great revulsion, a deep sense of disgust (*nibbidā*) towards all sense experience arises in him. Just as it is natural for one who partakes of food to answer the calls of nature, it is equally natural for one who sees the loathsomeness, the impermanence and the rising-and-falling-nature of the sense objects, sensory experience and the five aggregates of clinging respectively, to experience a deep sense of disgust towards all of them (A III 32).¹⁸ Being disgusted, he detaches himself from all clingings and his mind gets liberated (*Evaṃ passam ariyasāvako rūpasmim pi nibbindati... nibbindam virajjati, virāgā vimuccati* ...S III 21, etc., etc.).

On the other hand, great joy, a deep sense of satisfaction arises in him that he has at long last seen the real nature of things which was so abstruse and difficult to see, and which remained illusive for so long a time.

*Suññāgāraṃ pavitṭhassa santacittassa bhikkhuno
amānusī ratī hoti sammā dhammaṃ vipassato*

*Yato yato sammāsati khandhānaṃ udayabbayaṃ
labhati pītipāmojjaṃ amataṃ taṃ vijānataṃ*—Dhp. vv. 373-4.

'Superhuman joy arises in a monk who has entered a lonely hut with a tranquil mind, when he sees with insight the real nature of things. The more he reflects on the rise and fall of the aggregates and understands that state of deathlessness, the more joy and delight arise in him.'

*Pañcaṅgikena turiyena na rati hoti tādisī
yathā ekaggacittassa sammā dhammaṃ vipassato—*

—*Theragāthā*, verse 398.

17. *Dhammādāsaṃ gahetvāna nānadassanapattiyā
paccavekkhiṃ imaṃ kāyaṃ tucchaṃ santarabāhiraṃ*—*Theragāthā*, verse 395.

18. ...*Pañcasu upādānakkhandhesu udayabbayānupassino viharato upādāne
paṭikkūlyatā sañṭhāti, eso tassa nissando ti*—A III 32.

'Orchestral music of five instruments cannot evoke such pleasure as that experienced by a monk with one-pointedness of mind, seeing the real nature of things.'

The *Thera*-and *Therīgāthā* abound in triumphant joyful exclamations that the veil of ignorance is at last torn asunder.

*Pītisukhena ca kāyaṃ pharivā vihariṃ tadā
sattamiyā pāde pasāresim tamokkhandhaṃ padāliya*

—*Therīgāthā*, verse 174.

'I dwelt with a body suffused with blissful joy and on the seventh day after the destruction of ignorance I stretched my legs.'

So delightful is insight and realisation of truth!

Types of Adepts

The *Kīṭāgirisutta* (M I 477; also M I 439) classifies and defines seven types of adepts according to their attainments. They are as follows:-

- Adepts who are described as *ubhatobhāgavimutta* have gained physical experience of the peaceful deliverances (*santā vimokkhā*) which transcend material form and which belong to the non-material sphere; and they have their obsessions destroyed, having seen them with wisdom.
- Adepts who are *paññāvimutta* 'emancipated through wisdom' do not have such physical experience of the peaceful deliverances, but have the obsessions destroyed with intuitive wisdom.
- Those who are described as *kāyasakkhi* 'having physical testimony' have fully experienced the peaceful deliverances, with only partial eradication of obsessions.
- Adepts who are *diṭṭhippatta* 'gained vision' have no experience of the deliverances, but have partial destruction of obsessions.
- Adepts who are described as *saddhāvimutta* 'released through faith' experience no *vimokkha*, but possess partial destruction of obsessions and firmly-rooted genuine faith in the Buddha.
- Adepts who are *Dhammānusārī* 'Dhamma followers' have neither *vimokkha* nor destruction of obsessions, but they have genuine intelligent appreciation of the Dhamma and the five controlling faculties of *saddhā* 'faith', *virīya* 'energy', *sati* 'mindfulness', *samādhi* 'concentration' and *paññā* 'wisdom'.
- Saddhānusārī* 'faith-followers' have no *vimokkha*, no eradication of obsessions, but are endowed with genuine faith in the Buddha, and the five controlling faculties.

These seven types are taken up for discussion in their reverse order for convenience of elucidation. The last two classes comprise only disciples who have not made any special spiritual progress and are not of any interest for the present topic. The preceding three types, *kāyasakkhi*, *diṭṭhippatta* and *saddhāvimutta*, according to *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A I 120), may comprise noble disciples belonging to the *sotāpatti*, *sakadāgāmi* or *anāgāmi* levels, as well as those who have embarked on the attainment of arahantship. Therefore it is not possible to state categorically which of them is superior. But it is observed that *kāyasakkhi* have the controlling faculty of concentration (*samādhindriya*) best developed, the *diṭṭhippattā* have the controlling faculty of wisdom (*paññindriya*) best developed, while *saddhāvimuttā* have the controlling faculty of faith (*saddhindriya*) best developed (A I 118-9). According to the *Indriya-saṃyutta* (S V 203) the complete and balanced development of the five controlling faculties results in *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti*, while partial development results in the attainment of *sotāpatti*, *sakadāgāmi* or *anāgāmi* levels in accordance with the degree of development (S V 201). Differences in the development of controlling faculties (*indriyavemattatā*) give rise to differences in results (*phalavemattatā*), which in turn differentiates personality types (*phalavemattatā puggalavemattatā*—S V 201). The *Laṭukikopamasutta* too seems to classify personality types on the same criteria (M I 453). It is interesting to note that in the *Mahāmālunkyasutta* (M I 437) the Buddha is asked why some monks are *cetovimuttino* and some are *paññāvimuttino*, and the answer is that this is due to *indriyavemattatā*.

Indriyavemattatā

It seems appropriate here to focus some attention on a few discourses on the five controlling faculties. While the complete and balanced development of all faculties is repeatedly said to result in the attainment of final emancipation, *paññā* is looked upon as the single faculty the sole development of which leads to the same supreme goal. It is explained that, with the maturity of *paññā*, other faculties follow suit, even if no special attempt is made to develop them (S V 222). Again, the parallel development of *paññā* and *ariyā vimutti* (explained in the *Sutta* itself as *samādhindriya*—S V 223), the combined development of *sati*, *samādhi* and *paññā* (S V 224), as well as the combined development of *virīya*, *sati*, *samādhi* and *paññā* are also said to culminate in arahantship. As *paññā* remains the constant common denominator in all combinations, it is unquestionably the most important of all the faculties (*paññāindriyaṃ aggamaṃ akkhāyati yad idaṃ bodhāya*—S V 237-9). Except *paññā*, the one-sided development of no other single faculty is regarded as fruitful. Over-enthusiastic Soṇa Koviḷisa was advised to tone down his faculty

of *virīya* (Vin I 184) while Vakkali was rebuked for excessive *saddhā* (*kin te iminā pūtikāyena diṭṭhena*—S III 120), as both had their respective over-developed virtues blocking their spiritual progress. The indiscreet development of *samādhi* without a specific goal in view is considered fruitless, as far as final emancipation is concerned. Such exercise is even compared to the aimless wandering of a foolish mountain cow who ventures into strange pastures out of curiosity without any common sense or bearing (A IV 418). The realistic understanding of the various levels of meditation, together with their limitations, bliss and cessation is a necessary condition for emancipation (A III 417-8). *Jhānas* have great instrumental value (*ānisaṃsa*), but they can be a hindrance for emancipation (*ādinava*) if considered as possessing intrinsic value (A IV 438-48). Therefore each *jhānic* accomplishment is considered an obstacle (*sambādha*) to be got rid of, in favour of the attainment of successive levels and the final goal of emancipation (A IV 449-51). All this evidence displays the fact that *samādhindriya* alone is inadequate without the direction of *paññāindriya*. The simile of the untrained horse and the thoroughbred seems to illustrate the non-Buddhist and Buddhist attitudes towards meditation (A V 325-6). The untrained horse thinks of the fodder itself while feeding, whereas the thoroughbred ponders on his service to the master. Similarly the untutored ascetic bases his thoughts on the *jhāna* he has developed (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati*). But the noble disciple, on the other hand, observes and objectively understands the subtle mental processes involved in the meditational levels (*bhadrassa purisājānīyassa...nevasaññānāsaññāyatane nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ saññā vibhūtā hoti*—lit. the *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*-perception [involved] in the sphere of neither-ideation-nor-non-ideation becomes clear to the noble high-born man. A V 326). According to the *Mahāmālunkyasutta* (M I 435) the adept has to intuitively see (*samanupassati*) all phenomena belonging to the psycho-physical unit of the five aggregates, associated with the various meditational levels in terms of their true nature, namely that they are impermanent, unsatisfactory, unhealthy, alien, subject to disintegration, empty and soulless.¹⁹ Having understood the true nature he withdraws his mind from those phenomena and inclines towards the deathless state; he then tries to establish emotional freedom (*taṇhakkhayo virāgo*) and the cessation of this on-going process of life (*nirodha*). Thus it becomes quite clear that *samādhindriya* alone is quite insufficient for emancipation, it has to be geared and steered towards the goal by the

19. ...paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati. So yad eva tattha hoti rūpagaṃ vedanāgaṃ saññāgaṃ saṅkhāraṃ viññānagaṃ, te dhamme aniccato dukkhato rogato gaṇḍato sallato aghato ābādhato parato palokato suññato anattato samanupassati—M. I. 435.

direction-giving *paññindriya*. In short it is *paññā* which gives stability and co-ordination to all other controlling faculties (S V 228).

The role of *saddhā* as a controlling faculty has been clearly explained by *Sāriputta* in the *Indriyasamyutta* (S V 225-6). Genuine faith in the Buddha and his teachings would lead a disciple on and on with ceaseless application for the acquisition of proficiency in mindfulness, concentration and wisdom. The compelling power of faith brings him ultimately to a position where he can physically experience and intuitively see everything which he originally only believed in (*kāyena phusitvā viharati, paññāya ca ativijja passati*). In the *Kīṭāgirisutta* (M I 480-1) the Buddha explains that for a disciple with faith, the teaching is a source of nourishment and strength (*rumhaniyaṃ satthu sāsanaṃ hoti ojavantaṃ*). Such a disciple strives with undaunted courage to attain that which has to be won with human strength and valour. Such a one would either attain profound knowledge here and now, or become a non-returner.

Sati 'mindfulness' as a controlling faculty too has to be properly channelled by *paññā*, for the danger of coming to wrong conclusions by the untutored development of *sati* is ever present. For example, all erroneous views regarding eternalism and annihilationism, according to the *Brahmajālasutta* (D I 17f, II 32), are the results of misinterpreting retrocognition (*pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇa*) which is a highly developed form of *sati*.

From this discussion on the five *indriyas* it becomes quite clear that *paññā* on account of its supremacy, and *saddhā* on account of its compelling emotional force, could lead an adept to *vimutti*. Thus *indriya vemattatā* or the differences in the development of controlling faculties have given rise to different classifications such as *paññāvimutta* and *saddhāvimutta*, wisdom-based and faith-based arahants respectively. It was already shown in the earlier part of this essay that *cetovimutti* is based on *samādhi*, i.e. *samādhindriya*.

Ubhatobhāgavimutti and Paññāvimutti

Of the seven types of adepts described in the *Kīṭāgirisutta* the first two, namely the *ubhatobhāgavimuttā* and *paññāvimuttā* are undoubtedly arahants. In addition to the definitions provided in the *Sutta* itself, *Aṅguttaranikāya* (A IV 452-3) sheds considerable light on these two types. According to this discourse, the arahant with *ubhatobhāgavimutti* is capable of attaining and abiding by any or all the *jhānas* from the first to the *saññāvedayitanirodha* 'the cessation of ideation and all that is felt', physically experiencing them to their full capacity, and understanding

them with wisdom (...*paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati, yathā yathā ca tad āyatanam, tathā tathā naṃ kāyena phusitvā viharati, paññāya ca naṃ pajānāti*). He has also seen the obsessions with wisdom and eradicated them. The arahant who is *paññāvimutta*, on the other hand, is incapable of the physical experience of the *jhānas* to their full capacity, but is able to attain and abide by any or all of them from the first to *saññāvedayitanirodha*; he understands their nature with wisdom and has seen and eradicated the obsessions with wisdom.

Now the feature which distinguishes the two types of arahants, according to this passage, is the physical experience of the *jhānas* to their full capacity. It is therefore appropriate to inquire into what is meant by this statement: *Yathā yathā ca tad āyatanam tathā tathā naṃ kāyena phusitvā viharati*. Literally it means whatever be the nature of that faculty/sphere, in accordance with that nature he experiences with the body. It is relevant to recall that *Aṅguttaranikāya* (A II 183) also maintains that the eight *vimokkhas* should be realised or experienced by the body (*aṭṭha vimokkhā bhikkhave kāyena sacchikaraṇīyā*). The involvement of the corporeal body in the process of meditation is quite obvious as one of the aims of meditation is also to bring about *kāyapassaddhi*, complete physical relaxation. The *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (D I 74-6) amply illustrates the physical experience of the first four *jhānas* with four beautiful similes. During the first three *jhānas* the body is filled, saturated and suffused with *vivekajapītisukha* 'joy and happiness born of seclusion from sense pleasures', *samadhijapītisukha* 'joy and happiness born of concentration', and *nippītikasukha* 'joy-less happiness', like water in a well-kneaded lump of wet bathing powder, a pond filled to the brim with cool spring water and a lotus fully immersed in water respectively. No part of the body remains unaffected by these experiences, as by water the objects of the three similes. During the fourth *jhāna* the entire body is pervaded by the absolutely pure and bright mind, and just like a man who has covered himself from head to foot with a white cloth, no part of the body remains unaffected by the *jhānic* experience. Though the extent to which physical experience involved in the *arūpa* 'non-material *jhānas* is not obvious, the last of the *jhānas*, *saññāvedayitanirodha* implies that there is some extremely subtle degree of physical experience left even during the penultimate stage of neither-ideation-nor-non-ideation. Thus the expression *kāyena phusitvā viharati* seems to mean full physical experience of the various meditational levels.

The *Mahānidānasutta* (D II 71) seems to furnish evidence regarding the mastery of these attainments. According to this, a monk who is *ubhatobhāgavimutta* can attain the eight deliverances (*aṭṭha vimokkhe*) in

the progressive order, regressive order, and in both progressive and regressive orders. He can attain wherever he wishes, whatever he wishes, for any length of time he wishes. Similarly he can rise from them also at will. He has destroyed the obsessions, and having won *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti* he abides in that obsession-free state. The full command of the meditational levels irrespective of place, time, duration and order is the speciality of the arahant with *ubhatobhāgavimutti*. In fact this is no exclusive speciality of such arahants, as *kayasakkhī* too have the same proficiency, and pre-Buddhist sages too may have had such skills. The *paññāvimutta* arahant, on the other hand, can attain all meditational levels but does not command such proficiency and mastery (A IV 452-3). However, according to the *Mahānidānasutta* (D II 70) he realistically understands the seven stations of consciousness and the two spheres of unconscious beings and neither-ideation-nor-non-ideation, in terms of their arising, passing away, pleasures, perils and escape, without clinging to any of them he is liberated (*yato... bhikkhu imāsañ ca sattannaṃ viññānaṃ ṭhitināṃ imesañ ca dvinnāṃ āyatanānaṃ samudayañ ca atthaṅgamañ ca assādañ ca ādīnavañ ca nissaraṇaṃ ca yathābhūtaṃ vidityā anupādā vimutto hoti, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhu paññāvimutto*—D II 70). While proficiency in the attainment of *jhānas* thus remains an optional skill as far as the realisation of *āsavakkhaya* is concerned, the realistic and intelligent understanding of each meditational level is considered indispensable (*paññāya ca naṃ pajānāti*). All phenomena belonging to the five *khandhas* associated with the various meditational levels, have to be understood according to their true nature, i.e. as impermanent (*aniccato*), unsatisfactory (*dukkhato*), unhealthy (*rogato, gaṇḍato*, etc.), alien (*parato*), subject to decay (*palokato*), empty (*suññato*), and substanceless (*anattato*) (M I 435; A IV 422f, A V 34; also A III 417, etc). According to the *Mahāmālunkyasutta* and several other texts cited so far a monk is able to attain arahantship from the *samatha* basis of any of the *jhānas* from the first to the ninth *saññāvedayitanirodha* state, provided he understands, in short, the impermanent, conditional, changeable and substanceless nature of all or whatever *jhāna* he has already developed (M I 350-2). Once this is intuitively understood the mind gets emancipated from all emotional and cognitive obsessions.

The *Nidāna Saṃyutta* (S II 121-128) sheds more light on the question of *paññāvimutti*. Susīma puts a series of questions to a group of monks who had just declared their attainment of supreme knowledge (*aññā*) in the presence of the Buddha.²⁰ The new arahants reply that they have

20. When *aññā* is declared the Buddha knows whether the declaration is factual or not—A V 156. If the declaration is the result of over-estimation, the Buddha preaches the doctrine—M II 105. Here in Susīma's episode the Buddha has accepted the declaration of *aññā* as factual.

no miraculous powers, no divine ear, no ability to read others' minds, no knowledge of previous lives, no divine eye, no physical experience of the bliss of non-material state of deliverance (*ye te santā vimokkhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te kāyena phusivā viharathāti? No hetam āvuso*). But they maintain that they are freed through knowledge (*paññāvimuttā*) whether Susīma can understand it or not.

Baffled by this reply Susīma requested the Buddha to clarify the position. The Buddha replied that the knowledge of causality (*dhammaṭṭhitiñāṇa*, lit. knowledge regarding the existence of things)²¹ arises first and then the knowledge of *nibbāna*. On request the Buddha explained further that the realisation of the *anicca, dukkha* and *anatta* nature of the five *khandhas* makes one completely detach oneself from the *khandhas*. This detachment, this passionlessness brings about emancipation, and knowledge regarding his emancipation arises in him who is thus emancipated. Then the Buddha went on to show that for one who has understood the true nature of the *khandhas* and realised causality, superhuman faculties such as miraculous powers, divine ear, thought-reading, retrocognition, clairvoyance and the physical experience *vimokkhas* hardly have any value or attraction. Thus by way of explaining *paññāvimutti* to Susīma, the Buddha has delivered a discourse leading to emancipation without any reference to the five higher faculties (*pañcābhiññā*) or non-material states of deliverance (*arūpa vimokkha*).

But according to the *Nidāna Saṃyutta* (S II 117-8), Nārada has gained correct knowledge of *paṭiccasamuppada* without depending on *saddhā* 'faith', *ruṇi* 'partiality', *anussava* 'traditional authority', *ākāraparivitakka* 'deductive reasoning', or *diṭṭhinijjhānakkhanti* 'congruency with already accepted views'. Though he has correctly seen the causal process with right understanding as it really is, he still does not claim to have attained arahantship (*Bhavanirodho nibbānan ti kho me āvuso yathābhūtaṃ sammāpaññāya sudiṭṭhaṃ, na c' amhi arahaṃ khīṇāsavo*). He likens himself to a thirsty man who has found water in a deep well in a desert, but without means of cooling himself. It appears that he has mastered theoretical knowledge without cultivating mental tranquillity which should normally accompany such knowledge.

This passage reminds one of a discourse in the *Anguttaranikaya* (A V 99) according to which it is possible to gain *adhipaññā dhammavipassanā* 'insight into the nature of things with superior wisdom' without *ajjhata cetosamatha* 'internal mental tranquillity'. Such a one is advised to establish himself on the supreme wisdom he has acquired and strive for mental tranquillity. Thus *samatha*—the actual cultivation of tranquillity—

21. *dhammaṭṭhitaṭā = idappaccayatā*—S II 25.

is indispensable for the attainment of *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti*. The *Sekhasutta* (M I 358) divides the entire course of monastic training into two parts, namely *carāṇa* 'conduct' and *vijjā* 'knowledge'. The former comprises *sīla* 'moral behaviour', *indriyesu guttadvāratā* 'restraint of sense faculties', *bhojane mattaññutā* 'moderation with regard to food', *jāgariyaṃ anuyuttatā* 'alert awareness', *satta saddhamma* 'seven noble qualities such as *hiri* etc., and mastery of the first four *jhānas*. *Vijjā*, on the other hand, comprises *pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇa* retrocognition, *dibba-cakkhu* clairvoyance and *āsavakkhayañāṇa* knowledge of the destruction of obsessions. A noteworthy point is that the ability to attain the four *jhānas* at will with untroubled ease is also put under the category of *carāṇa*. According to *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A II 163) it is an adept endowed with noble conduct who can see reality (*carāṇasampanno yathābhūtaṃ jānati passati*), and in the same *Sutta* Sāriputta scoffs at the idea that *vijjā* alone could put an end to suffering. This means that the four *jhānas* form an essential basis for emancipation.

With this background if Susīma's episode is recapitulated, attention is drawn to the fact that the monks with *paññāvimutti* disclaimed only the five *abhiññās* and proficiency in the *arūpa jhānas*. It could therefore be inferred that they had mastered the first four *jhānas* in addition to *āsavakkhayañāṇa*. The mastery of *āsavakkhayañāṇa* immediately after the fourth *jhāna* is explained in the *Chabbisodhanasutta* (M III 36) as well, without however, any reference to *paññāvimutti*. In the case of Nārada (S II 117-8) it appears that he was a monk who had first developed *adhipaññādhammavipassanā* (mentioned as a possibility in A V 99)—thus had seen water in a deep well—but lacked *ajjhata cetosamatha* which was essential for further spiritual progress—thus was unable to cool himself with the water he had seen. Without completing the actual cultivation of discipline belonging to the *carāṇa* category which culminates in the mastery of the four *jhānas* which engender purity of mental phenomena and perfect physical well-being (*catunnaṃjhānaṇaṃ abhicetasikānaṃ diṭṭhadhammasukhavihārānaṃ nikāmalābhī hoti*—M I 358), he could not have attained arahantship. *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A II 157) recognises the possibility of spiritual progress even when mental tranquillity is preceded by insight and Nārada seems to belong to this type (*bhikkhu vipassanāpubbaṅgamaṃ samathaṃ bhāveti, tassa vipassanāpubbaṅgamaṃ samathaṃ bhāvayato maggo sañjāyati*).

The next important point which merits consideration is whether *paññāvimutti* could be attained without *cetovimutti*, for *ubhatobhāgavimutti* is sometimes taken to mean the realisation of both *paññāvimutti* and *cetovimutti*.²² Then, an arahant who claims to have attained only *paññāvimutti* cannot be expected to have gained *cetovimutti* as well.

But this view which seems to be superficially plausible cannot be accepted as quite accurate for several reasons. *Cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti* are mentioned together in numerous places in the Pali Canon without any reference to *ubhatobhāgavimutti* or the eight *vimokkhas* which is the speciality of arahants with this two-fold emancipation. But of course it should not be forgotten that the definition of *ubhatobhāgavimutti* contained in the *Mahānidānasutta* (D II 71), whilst emphasising the physical experience of the eight *vimokkhas*, does mention the attainment of both *paññāvimutti* and *cetovimutti*, while in the definition of *paññāvimutti* in the same *Sutta* no reference is made to *cetovimutti*. *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A III 84), on the other hand, which gives a number of epithets applicable to a monk who has attained both *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti*, does not cite *ubhatobhāgavimutti* which could have found a fitting place there had such usage been acceptable. The epithets which appear there are only descriptive of the eradication of ignorance, rebirth, craving, five fetters of degradation and egoism, and there is no mention of any special distinction because of the realisation of both *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti*. Moreover, *Āṅguttaranikāya* (A II 87) contains definitions of two types of arahants called *samaṇapūṇḍarika* 'white-lotus-like-ascetic', and *samaṇapaduma* 'red-lotus-like-ascetic', and the feature which differentiates them is the absence and the presence of the physical experience of the eight *vimokkhas* respectively. Now, it is this same factor which distinguishes the *paññāvimutti* arahants from *ubhatobhāgavimutti* arahants, and *samaṇapūṇḍarika* and *samaṇapaduma* could very well be new terms to designate the same dyad. The important information furnished by this passage is that both types of arahants are credited with *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti*. If the identification of *samaṇapūṇḍarika* with *paññāvimutti* and *samaṇapaduma* with *ubhatobhāgavimutti* is accepted as correct, *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti* cannot be recognised as the two-fold *vimutti* types which comprise *ubhatobhāgavimutti*.

The different types of *cetovimutti* discussed earlier in this essay showed that the mind was successively relieved of its contents through a systematic process of meditation, and the notable achievements were designated *cetovimutti*. In the *Mahāvedallasutta* (M I 298) it was stated that all these *cetovimutti* types have *akuppā cetovimutti* as the highest achievement. This meant that none of the *cetovimutti* levels (possibly except *suññatā cetovimutti*) was stable and permanent. They could be stabilised only by the intellectual understanding of the working of the mind even during these meditational levels. When this is clear, the causal and soulless nature of the mind is driven home with such clarity and force that the mind gets detached from its anchors and attains supreme inviolable freedom. This seems to be what is meant by the statement *pahitatto*

22. Rune Johansson, *The Psychology of Nirvana*, op. cit., p. 90.

samāno kāyena c'eva paramam saccam sacchikaroti paññāya ca nam ativijja passati (M I 480). Though temporary bliss of a very high order is realised with full physical experience, so much so that the state is called *cetovimutti*, its nature has to be understood with intellectual penetration for final inviolable emancipation.

The *Mahāvedallasutta* (M I 298) further clarifies that, at the highest level, all *cetovimutti* types are equal in the sense that they are all devoid of sensuality, ill-will and ignorance (*suññā rāgena suññā dosena suññā mohena*). This has to be necessarily so because all *āsavā* 'obsessions' are also eradicated. In some of the stock phrases which express the attainment of arahantship the word *cetovimutti* is not used, instead its implications are spelt out in greater detail—*kāmāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccati bhavāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccati avijjāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccati* (D I 84; A I 165, etc.). This freedom from emotional (*kāmāsava*, *bhavāsava*) and cognitive (*avijjāsava*, sometimes *diṭṭhāsava* is also given) obsessions is certainly superior to the *cetovimutti* realised through meditational levels. It is this emancipation from emotional and cognitive obsessions which is expressed by statements such as *rāgavirāgā cetovimutti*, *avijjāvirāgā paññāvimuttīti* (A I 61). This type of *cetovimutti* is common to all arahants and it is called *akuppā cetovimutti*. Therefore the factor which distinguishes an arahant with *ubhatobhāgavimutti* from one with *paññāvimutti* is proficiency in the eight *vimokkhas* or the non-material meditational levels. Therefore it is wrong to assume that the two-fold *vimutti* types which comprise *ubhatobhāgavimutti* are *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti*.

Though the compound *ubhatobhāgavimutta* is generally translated as 'freed in both ways' it does not seem to be an accurate rendering. The word *bhāga* means 'part/portion/share', but the Pali-English Dictionary published by the Pali Text Society takes *bhāga* in this compound to mean 'way' or 'respect' figuratively. This figurative usage however is not attested in any other compound listed in the Dictionary. The accurate literal translation would be 'freed in both parts'. When proficiency in the eight *vimokkhas* or the *arūpajhānas* is accepted as the criterion which differentiates *ubhatobhāgavimutti* from *paññāvimutti*, and these *vimokkhas* are expressly stated to be realised by the body—*aṭṭha vimokkhā kāyena sacchikaraṇīyā* (A II 183), one of the two *bhāgas* contained in *ubhatobhāgavimutti* seems to be the *rūpakāya*—the physical part, the other *bhāga* being of course *citta* (*kāmāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccati* etc.) i.e. *nāmakāya*—the *psychical* part.²³ Thus *ubhatobhāgavimutti* means freedom from both parts, i.e. body and mind. This conclusion is further substantiated by the fact that the *brahma* worlds which correspond to the *arūpajhānas*

23. *evaṃ muni nāmakāyā vimutto*—Sn. verse 1074.

are *arūpabrahmalokas*, non-material sublime modes of existences where the physical aspect of the being is regarded as non-existent. The arahant with *ubhatobhāgavimutti* is one who could lead an existence characteristic of any of the *arūpa brahma* worlds wherever he wishes, whenever he wishes, for any length of time he wishes, while his corporeal body still continues to exist. This is exactly the traditional commentarial explanation as well—*ubhatobhāgavimutto ti dvīhi bhāgehi vimutto, arūpasamāpattiyā rūpakāyato vimutto, maggena nāmakāyato vimutto ti*—DA II 514; also AA IV 207). Therefore *ubhatobhāgavimutti* means freedom from the entire psycho-physical unit—through the attainment of non-material meditational levels freedom from the material body is secured; through the development of the Noble Path freedom from the psychical body is established.

Types of Arahants

The *Vinaya Cullavagga* (Vin II 161) contains the following enumeration of saints in their ascending order: *sotāpanna* 'stream-enterer', *sakadāgāmi* 'once-returner', *anāgāmi* 'non-returner', *arahā* 'worthy one', *tevijjā* 'worthy one with three-fold higher knowledge', and *chalaḥhiññā* 'worthy one with six-fold higher knowledge'. Of these, the last three types have attained final emancipation while the *anāgāmi* is said to attain *parinibbāna* in a *brahma* world without returning to this world.²⁴

The *Vaṅgīsa Saṃyutta* (S I 191) subdivides the *arahā* group into *ubhatobhāgavimuttā* and *paññāvimuttā*. Thus there are four types of arahants and their important attainments can be summarised as follows:-

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>Chalaḥhiññā</i> | — Four <i>jhānas</i> or more as <i>samatha</i> basis. Six-fold higher knowledge, namely <i>iddhividha</i> 'psychic powers', <i>dibbasota</i> 'divine ear', <i>paracittavijānanañāṇa</i> 'thought-reading,' <i>pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇa</i> 'retrocognition or recollection of former births', <i>dibbacakkhu</i> 'divine eye', <i>āsavakkhayañāṇa</i> 'knowledge of the destruction of obsessions' (M I 34; D III 281; A I 255, 258, III 17,280, IV 421, etc.). |
| <i>Tevijjā</i> | — Four <i>jhānas</i> or more as <i>samatha</i> basis. Three-fold higher knowledge, namely retrocognition, divine eye and knowledge of the destruction of obsessions (M I 22,497, etc.). |

24. A II 160—An adept who has developed *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* does not return if he has eliminated the five fetters of degradation (*orambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni*).

- Ubhatobhāgavimutta* — Physical experience and full mastery of eight *vimokkhas* or nine *jhānas*. Knowledge of the destruction of obsessions (M I 160, 174, 204, 209, etc.).
- Paññāvimutta* — Any or all of the first four *jhānas* as *samatha* basis. Knowledge of the destruction of obsessions (M III 36).

While the positive attainments of an arahant are summarised above, the *Pāsādikasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (D III 133) enumerates nine deeds which an arahant is incapable of committing. It is just impossible that an arahant would kill, steal, indulge in sex, utter falsehood, enjoy household life or fall into error on account of partiality, ill-will, ignorance or fear. As the bases of unwholesome physical, verbal and mental activities (*akusalamūlā—lobha, dosa, moha*) and all emotional and cognitive obsessions (*kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā avijjāsavā*) which are the mainsprings of worldly activity have been eradicated without remainder, it is logically impossible that an arahant would commit any of these deeds.

Moreover, by the sublimation of emotions an arahant loses all psychological characteristics associated with sexes. Sexual attraction becomes meaningless and impossible for him because not only self-love which is recognised as the foundation of sex attraction (A IV 57-8) but also the very idea of self—*asmi-māna*—has been uprooted. It is categorically stated that even physiological sexual functions become extinct with the attainment of arahantship *aṭṭhānaṃ etaṃ anavakāso yaṃ arahato asuci moceyyāti*—Vin I 295). To be born human means to find oneself identified with one or the other of the sexes. To realise freedom from birth seems to be the attainment of freedom from the limitations imposed by sexuality as well. The words of Somā Therī²⁵ recorded in the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* provide further testimony to establish that arahants transcend sexuality (S I 129).

Regarding sense perception of an arahant it is said that many sense objects may come within the range of an arahant's sense faculties, but they do not obsess his mind. He stands unconfused with perfect clarity of vision and his mind remains unmoved like a firmly-planted monolith (Vin I 184-5, A IV 404). Feelings (*vedanā*), ideations (*saññā*) and thoughts (*vitakkā*) arise in him with his full awareness, they exist and pass away also with his full awareness (*tathāgatassa veditā vedanā uppajjanti veditā*

25. *Itthibhāvo kiṃ kayirā cittamhi susamāhite
nānamhi vattamānamhi sammā dhammaṃ vipassato*

*Yassa nūna siyā evaṃ itthāhaṃ puriso ti vā
kiñci vā pana asmīti taṃ Māro vattum arahatīti.*

upaṭṭhahanti...M III 124). His mind knows no restrictions or limitations (*vimariyādākatena cetasā viharati*—S II 173, III 30, A V 151f.), as it has gained infinite freedom (*appamāṇacetaso*—M I 270). The nature of this emancipated mind stands in strong contrast to the worldly mind which quivers and flutters like a fish thrown on dry land (*Dhp.* verse 34). An arahant is described as diamond-minded (*vajirūpamacitto*, A I 124).

PALI BUDDHIST STUDIES IN THE WEST

Russell Webb

7. France

As elsewhere in Europe, Pali studies trailed well behind those of Sanskrit and no more so than in France, the Western "home" of research into the Indian Mahāyāna systems of thought. And yet the potential for Pali scholarship was present at the inception of scientific Orientalism in the early 19th. century. Allowing also for the eclectic temperament of many students in this field, notable achievements have been made under French auspices.

Probably the first survey of Theravāda Buddhism was contained in a book written by Simon de La Loubère, the ambassador of Louis XIV to Siam in 1687-8. In *Du Royaume de Siam* (2 vols., Paris 1691), he described the life of the bhikkhus and gave a synopsis of the Vinaya: "An explication of the Patimouc or Text of the Vinac—the Principal Maxims of the Talapoins of Siam". An English version of this book appeared under the title, *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam* (London 1693; reprinted by OUP, Kuala Lumpur 1969). Two translations were also made in German: "Die vornehmsten Lebensregeln der Talapoeng in Siam" and "Erklärung des Patimuk oder des Textes des Winak" (*Sammlung asiatischer Originalschriften* I, Zürich 1791.)

Nearly two centuries later Bishop Bigandet was contributing to an understanding of Buddhism in Burma. Paul-Ambroise Bigandet was born 1813 in Malan, Doubs, in eastern France. Ordained in 1837, he trained as a missionary to Malaya and Burma becoming Superior of the mission to the latter in 1852. Four years later he was accorded the title Bishop of Ramatha. After the First Vatican Council in 1870, he became Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu. However, Bigandet is best known for his monumental study, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*, "the Buddha of the Burmese. The Ways to Neibban, and Notice on the Phongyies or Burmese Monks" (2 vols., Rangoon 1858; London 1911-2). The major biographical part of this book constituted a translation of an 18th. century Burmese Pali text, the Mālāṅkāravatthu (which was compared with another text of the same period—the Tathāgata-udāna—and included in the second edition of Bigandet's book, Rangoon 1866). His *Life* was subsequently translated into French by Lt. Victor Gauvain under the title, *Vie ou Légende de Gaudama, le Bouddha des Birmans* (Paris 1878). Bigandet himself died in Rangoon in 1894.

Although the father of Buddhist studies in France, Eugène Burnouf (1801-52), is mainly remembered for the first European translation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra (*Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*—Maisonneuve, Paris 1852; reprinted 1973), he emphasised the importance of studying materials in both Sanskrit and Pali. From 1832 until his untimely death, he occupied the Chair of Sanskrit at the Collège de France in Paris. In collaboration with the Norwegian Indologist, Christian Lassen, he contributed an *Essai sur le pāli, ou langue sacrée de la presque ile au delà du Gange* (1826) which included a note of those Pali manuscripts that had been deposited in the Bibliothèque du Roi. This was the first work of its kind in the West and in the following year Burnouf published some *Observations grammaticales sur quelques passages de l'Essai sur le pāli*. Thereafter, he translated the Sandhikappa section (dealing with the euphonic combination of letters) from the Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa together with the Abhidhānappadīpika (a lexicography from Ceylon). From Burmese Pali recensions, he translated the Bhuridatta, Nemi and Suvanṇa Sāma Jātakas, together with extracts from the Mahājanaka Jātaka and the Pātimokkha-nissaya. A précis of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta and the complete version of the Mahānidāna Sutta from the Dīgha Nikāya were included in the appendices to *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*. Although he planned a Pali dictionary and grammar, apart from an analysis of the Pali texts in Ceylon, Burnouf was impelled to commence editing and translating those Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts that Hodgson had recently sent to Paris.

From 1859 to 1865 the French Consul in Ceylon, Paul Grimblot, collected a large number of Pali manuscripts (*vide* Saint-Hilaire, "Du bouddhisme et de sa littérature à Ceylan", in *Journal des Savants*, Paris 1866). He planned to publish these in a *Bibliotheca Pālica* but his death prevented full implementation of this course. His "Extraits du Paritta" were published posthumously in 1871 by Feer in the *Journal Asiatique* and off-printed in the following year. *Sept suttas palis* appeared in 1876. Although this compilation from the Dīgha Nikāya was edited by Grimblot, in fact the only French contribution came from Burnouf in the form of his renderings of Suttas 2 and 15 (copied from *Le Lotus*). The remaining *suttas* (1, 2, 20, 31 and 32) were reproduced from the pioneer English versions of Gogerly.

With Léon Feer (1830-1902) we are confronted with almost the only French Pali scholar, despite his official positions as Professor of Tibetan at l'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes (1864) and Lecturer in Tibetan and Mongolian at the Collège de France (1869). Born in Rouen, he eventually entered the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque

Nationale in 1872 and became Assistant Keeper two years before his death.

For the *Journal Asiatique*, Feer translated the following texts under the general heading of "Études bouddhiques": "Le Sūtra des quatre Préceptes" and "Des premiers essais de prédication du Bouddha Cākyā-muni" (1866); "L'ami de la vertu et l'amitié de la vertu" (from the Saṃyutta Nikāya, 1873); "Le Sūtra de l'Enfant (= Dahara Sutta from the Saṃyutta) et la conversion de Prasenajit" (from Pali and Tibetan sources, including Jātaka 345—1874); "Maitrakanyaka-mittavindaka: la piété filiale" (from the Maitrakanyaka-avadāna and Jātakas 41, 82, 104, 369 and 439—1878); various *apadānas* and *avadānas* (1880-84); "Le Sūtra d'Upāli" (= Majjhima Nikāya 56, 1887); "Le commentaire de l'Upāli-Suttam" and "Nātaputta et les Nigaṇṭhes" (from the Papañcasūdanī, 1888). For the same journal, Feer also translated "Le Enfer indien" (from the Saṃyutta, 1892), "Le Chaddanta-Jātaka" (1895) and "Ciñca-Mānavicā Sundarī" (from Thai Pali texts, 1897). In *Fragments du Kandjour* (AMG, Paris 1883), he included the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta from its Pali and Tibetan recensions together with extracts from the *peritta* which had been translated into Tibetan.

For The Pali Text Society (London) he edited the Saṃyutta Nikāya (5 vols., 1884-98; reprinted 1970-76) and Pañcagati-Dīpana (JPTS, 1884), and submitted a "List of Pali MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris" (*ibid.*, 1882). At the First Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in 1873, Feer contributed a translation of the Cūlapaduma Jātaka which was subsequently published in the proceedings of the Congress—*Compte-rendu* (3 vols., 1874-76). Marcelle Lalou analysed his literary contributions in "L'oeuvre de Léon Feer" (*Bibliographie Bouddhique* II, 1929-30).

Emile Senart (1847-1928), the President of the Société Asiatique, translated the Kaccāyanappakaraṇa (JA, 1871), whilst Léon de Milloué (1842-1912?), the first Curator of the Musée Guimet, translated Mutu Coomaraswamy's rendering of the Dāṭhāvaṃsa—*Histoire de la dent relique du Bouddha Gotama* (AGM, 1884) and Paul Carus' anthology, *L'Evangile du Bouddha* (AMG, 1902).

Louis Finot (1864-1935), the Director of l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, furthered the revival of Pali Buddhist studies in Cambodia and Laos. To this end he contributed a long paper to the *Bulletin of the School* (BEFEO): "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne" (Hanoi 1917). A short, pioneer article on "Pali Works by Siamese Authors" appeared in *The Buddhist Review*, the journal of The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London 1917). He translated the first

three books of the Milindapañha—*Les Questions de Milinda* (Editions Bossard: Les classiques de l'Orient VIII, Paris 1923).

The "Resident Superior" in Cambodia, Adhémar Leclère (1853-1917), was probably the first to compile accurate and detailed reports of that kingdom. These were incorporated into *Le Bouddhisme au Cambodge* (E. Leroux, Paris 1899; reprinted by AMS Press, New York 1975) and *Histoire du Cambodge* (Paul Geuthner, Paris 1914; reprinted by AMS Press, 1975). Indigenous lives of the Buddha and Devadatta, together with local recensions of the Mahā-, Jinaka, Nimarāja and Dimi Jātakas, were translated by him to form *Les livres sacrés du Cambodge* (AMG, 1906).

The revival of Buddhism in Cambodia and Laos was due in large measure to the persistence of Suzanne Karpelès (died 1969). A graduate of the University of Paris in Pali, Sanskrit and Tibetan, she studied in Bangkok and finally, in 1930, persuaded the French authorities to establish the Buddhist Institutes of Cambodia and Laos—situated in Phnom Penh and Vientiane respectively. (L'Ecole Supérieure de Pali had been founded in the former capital in 1914.) She then supervised the printing of the Tipiṭaka in Pali and Khmer and, for twenty years, acted as General Secretary of both Institutes.

A later Director of EFEO (1929-47), and acknowledged authority on local epigraphy, was George Coedès (1886-1969). Between 1918 and 1926 he was the Chief Librarian at The National Library of Siam and was thereby instrumental in acquiring for the country a central collection of Pali and Thai manuscripts for future reference purposes. To facilitate co-operation he compiled a survey of the activities and contents of *The Vajirañña National Library* (Bangkok 1924). (He was appointed Secretary-General of the Royal Institute of Siam 1927-29 and became President of the Société Asiatique in Paris in 1964.)

Apart from numerous papers on Khmer and Thai inscriptions, Angkor Vat and the regional languages, he contributed a "Compte-rendu sur les manuscrits pâli du Cambodge" (BEFEO, Hanoi 1912) and essays on "Les ouvrages pâli composés en pays thai" (*ibid.*, 1918), "Religions indiennes du Cambodge et du Laos" for *Un Empire colonial français: I. l'Indochine* (ed. G. Maspero, Paris and Brussels 1929), "La littérature cambodgienne/laotienne en Indochine" for *Les littératures de l'Indochine* (ed. Sylvain Lévi, Paris 1931) and "Les civilisations de l'Indochine française" for *Indochine française* (Hanoi 1938). His study of "Un vie indochinoise du Bouddha: la Paṭhamasambodhi" appeared in *Mélanges d'indianisme* (E. de Boccard, Paris 1968), a volume edited by Paul Mus in memory of Louis Renou. Towards the end of his life, Coedès assessed

the contents of the manuscripts from Thailand deposited in the Danish Royal Library in his *Catalogue des manuscrits en pâli, laotienne et siamese provenant de la Thaïlande* (Copenhagen 1966).

Working in the same field, Etienne-François Aymonier (1844-1929) produced *Textes khmèrs* (Saigon 1878) whilst a missionary, Auguste Pavie, contributed “Recherches sur la littérature du Cambodge, du Laos et du Siam” for *Mission Pavie. Etudes diverses* (E. Leroux, Paris 1898). Pierre-Bernard Lafont has surveyed “Les écritures Pâli au Laos” (BEFEO, Paris 1962) and compiled an “Inventaire des manuscrits des pagodes du Laos” (*ibid.*, 1965). His *Bibliographie du Laos* was also published by EFEO in 1964.

A newcomer to Pali studies, Jacqueline Ver Eecke, has edited and translated the *Dasavatthupparakāraṇa* (EFEO, 1976). This almost unknown *sīla* text from Sri Lanka comprises stories on the “ten objects” that may be offered to the Sangha.

In France itself, Buddhist studies have always been concentrated in the capital. At the Faculty of Letters in the University of Paris, Victor Henry (1850-1907) was Professor of Indian Language and Literature from 1888 until his death. He compiled a *Précis de grammaire pali accompagnée d'un choix de textes* (E. Leroux, 1904) which remains the only indigenous Pali grammar and is still used in teaching the language at university level. He also wrote on *Les littératures de l'Inde. Sanscrit-Pâli-Prâcrit* (Hachette, 1904). At l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes (which shares the Sorbonne building with the Faculty of Letters but is administratively independent of the University), the IVth. Section—“Historical and Philological Sciences”—caters for Pali studies. As a subject secondary to Sanskrit, Jean-Michel Agasse is the present lecturer in Pali.

François Martini (born 1895) was Lecturer in Cambodian at l'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes. Specialising in non-canonical or apocryphal Buddhist literature, he translated the *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa* and *Anāgatabuddhavaṃsa* (BEFEO, Hanoi 1936). He also contributed an essay on “Les jātakas et la littérature de l'Indochine bouddhique” for *Présence du Bouddhisme* (ed. René de Berval, *France-Asie*, Saigon 1959).

Until her retirement, his wife, Ginette Terral-Martini, used to teach Pali at l'Ecole pratique and to this end the Collège de France published her *Éléments de grammaire pali—explication du Mahāummagga-jātaka* (1974). She compiled a *Choix de Jātaka* (6th. edn., Collection UNESCO: Connaissance de l'Orient, Paris 1958), and continued the tradition of her late husband by translating (for BEFEO) the *Samuddaghosajātaka*

(together with the edited text from the Paṇṇāsajātaka collection, 1956, which formed part of her Sorbonne dissertation in 1952), *Velamajātaka* (1959), *Pañcabuddhabyakaraṇa* (1969) and “Un Jātaka concernant le dernier repas de Buddha” (1972). She also compiled a list of “Les titres des jātaka dans les manuscrits pâli de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris” (BEFEO, 1963). In similar vein, the Asian art historian, Pierre Dupont (1908-55), translated *La version môme du Nārada-Jātaka*. This dissertation for the University of Paris in 1953 was published by EFEO in the following year.

André Bareau (born 1921) was Director of Studies in Buddhist Philology at the Sorbonne and is now Professor of Buddhist Studies at the Collège de France. He gained doctorates from the University of Paris for his translation of the *Dhammasaṅgani* (1950) and a thesis on “L'absolu en philosophie bouddhique: évolution de la notion d'*asaṃskṛta*” (1951). The many Buddhist studies to his credit include “Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule et leur Abhidharmapiṭaka” (BEFEO, 1951), *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule* (EFEO, 1955, 1975), *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques* (AMG, 1955), *La vie et l'organisation des communautés bouddhiques modernes de Ceylan* (Institut français d'Indologie, Pondicherry 1957), *Bouddha* (Editions Seghers, Paris 1962), *Die Religionen Indiens III* (with Walter Schubring and Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, in the series, *Die Religionen der Menschheit*, Stuttgart 1964), *Les religions de l'Inde: III. Bouddhisme, Jainisme, religions archaïques* (Payot, Paris 1966), “Quelques ermitages et centres de méditation bouddhiques du Cambodge” (BEFEO, 1969), “La jeunesse du Bouddha dans les Sūtra-piṭaka et les Vinaya-piṭaka anciens” and “Le parinirvāṇa du Bouddha et la naissance de la religion bouddhique” (*ibid.*, 1974) and “Les récits canoniques des funérailles du Bouddha et leurs anomalies” (*ibid.*, 1975).

Bouddha comprises an introduction followed by a wide choice of translated texts, mainly from the Pali Canon but including many from other Hīnayānist recensions, based on “the life and legend of the Buddha”, the Four Noble Truths and “the organisation of the community of monks”. Special attention should be paid to his comprehensive study of the materials used in preparing his life of the Buddha: *Recherches sur la biographie du Bouddha dans les Sūtra-piṭaka et les Vinaya-piṭaka anciens: I. de la quête de l'éveil à la conversion de Sāriputra et de Maudgalyā-yana* (EFEO, 1963); II. *les derniers mois, le parinirvāṇa et les funérailles* (2 vols., EFEO, 1970-1). This study resulted from a comparative examination of the texts of the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, together with the Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra and parallel texts.

The Pali Canon has been analysed by Marie Gallaud in *La vie du Bouddha et les doctrines bouddhiques* (Paris 1931) and by Taymans d' Eypernon in *Les paradoxes du Bouddhisme* (Brussels 1947). However, few of the texts themselves have been translated in full. From the Dīgha Nikāya, apart from Burnouf's renderings of Suttas 2 and 15, only four other Suttas have been published: Nos. 1-3 were edited and translated for *Canon bouddhique pâli* (Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris 1949) by Jules Bloch, Jean Filliozat and Louis Renou—three of the most prominent French Indologists in this century; No. 31 was translated by Alexandra David-Neel for her popular expositions of early Buddhism: *Le Modernisme bouddhiste et le Bouddhisme du Bouddha* (Editions Alcan, Paris 1911) and *Le Bouddhisme, ses doctrines et ses méthodes* (Librairie Plon, Paris 1936; reprinted as *Le Bouddhisme du Bouddha*, 1960); this Sutta also appeared in Walpola Rāhula's introduction, *L'Enseignement du Bouddha* (Editions du Seuil, Paris 1961).

Jean Bertrand-Bocandé translated the first ten *suttas* from the Majjhima Nikāya in *Les textes du Canon bouddhique pâli: I. Les Moyens Discours* (Les Editions Véga, Paris 1953). Sponsored by Les Amis du Bouddhisme and largely financed by the Buddhist Association and Buddhist University of Thailand, it was hoped that the remaining *suttas* from this collection would be translated but lack of interest or support has prevented the appearance of further volumes. Suttas 2, 7 and 10 were also published in Rāhula's primer (*op. cit.*—not unnaturally since Bocandé had worked "under the direction" of the latter), whilst Nos. 3, 11, 75 and 121 have appeared in various Buddhist journals.

XXXV, 28 and LVI, 11 from the Saṃyutta Nikāya were included in Rāhula's exposition whilst XXXV, 200 appeared in *Cahiers Bouddhistes* (Lausanne 1971). Michel Dufour's translation of the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta (Mâcon 1973) remains in MS.

Coming to the Khuddaka Nikāya, however, no less than six translations of the Dhammapada have been made, four of which have been published in Paris: those of Fernando Hû (1878), R. and M. de Maratray (Paul Geuthner, 1931), P. S. Dhammārāma (BEFEO, 1963) and André Chedel (*Les Vers de la Doctrine*, Dervy Livres, 1978). The English version of Nārada was translated and serialised in *Sagesse* (the short-lived journal of Monastère de la Mahā Prajñāpāramitā, Gretz 1968-9) and *Cahiers Bouddhistes* (the quarterly journal of Groupement Bouddhiste Romand, Lausanne, from 1972). A collective original translation was undertaken by the leaders of the Centre d'Etudes Bouddhiques in Grenoble and their efforts were duplicated in the form of *Versets du Dhamma* in 1976.

From the Sutta-Nipāta, the Dhaniya and Salla Suttas and the Vasala and Mahāmaṅgala Suttas respectively appeared in David-Neel's books (*op. cit.*), with the Mahāmaṅgala appearing with the Metta Sutta in Rāhula. From the Jātaka, one story was included in each issue of *Le Bodhisat* (the quarterly journal of the WFB Regional Centre in Paris) from 1972. The Cariyāpiṭaka was translated and bound with the Dhammapada translated by Dhammārāma, one of the most gifted scholar bhikkhus from Cambodia who must, on that account, be presumed murdered by the Khmer Rouge.

The Treasurer of Les Amis du Bouddhisme and Editor of *La Pensée Bouddhique* from its inception in 1939 until her death in 1958, Marguerite La Fuente, translated Nyānatiloka's classic anthology, *La parole du Bouddha* (A. Maisonneuve, Paris 1935, 1948) and *Pirit-Nula, suttas de protection* (*ibid.*, 1941, 1951). The only other wholly relevant anthologies would appear to be E. H. Brewster's *Gotama le Bouddha* (1929) and E. J. Thomas' *Les écrits primitifs du Bouddhisme* (Editions Adyar, Paris 1949), translated by G. Lepage and S. Glachant respectively.

Few original works on Theravāda Buddhism have appeared, reliance being placed on translations of works by Evola, Grimm, Nārada, Nyānapoṅika, Nyānatiloka and Oldenberg. Michel Dufour, a young Buddhist school-teacher from Mâcon, has translated a large number of Wheel and Bodhi Leaves booklets from the BPS (Kandy), whilst S. Stork translated six Wheels and four Bodhi Leaves for commercial publication under the title, *Initiation au Bouddhisme* (Editions Albin Michel, Paris 1968).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Buddhist Concepts of Karma and Rebirth. Sunthorn Na-Rangsi. Mahāmakut Rājavidyālaya Press, Bangkok 1976. xix+301pp. Baht 80, \$4.00.

This is a well-printed and produced book which covers all aspects of the subject. The author submitted an earlier form of the same as a Ph.D. thesis to the Dept. of Philosophy at Banaras Hindu University. It was awarded the Metaphysics Prize for being the best dissertation submitted on philosophy in 1970. It is, however, somewhat ironical that a work on Buddhism, that most unmetaphysical of teachings, should receive such a prize!

The author has combed the Pali *suttas* and Abhidhamma, together with the Commentaries in some places, for references to his subject and one must admit that he has not omitted many. But one should not give the impression that his work is a string of quotations for he has very ably threaded all of them together with his own writing.

Chapter One gives the historical antecedents to the Buddhist teaching on *kamma*. Relationships with so-called "orthodox" Hindu systems are discussed, also the famous six teachers of the Buddha's day. Perhaps the author does not quite make clear here that the Buddha has not "borrowed" the teaching of *kamma* from the existing ways of thought but rather *verified* what was true and rejected what was false. In India the theory of "borrowing" seems very prevalent!

The Karma-doctrine in Buddhist Scriptures forms the subject matter of Chapter Two. Both the *suttas* and the Commentaries have been searched for references. *Kamma* and Dhamma are defined, the inexorability of the former stressed and the implications of *kamma* as a law well-stated. The author has given some useful examples of the categories he describes to illustrate their meaning.

Karma and Rebirth is discussed in Chapter Three. The perennial question of "How can I be reborn if there is no self?" is answered here. Death is also analysed together with the process of death and grasping at a new existence. A final section to this chapter gives scriptural proofs for rebirth, that is, inasmuch as words can be proof for such experiences.

The following chapter, the fourth, deals with Rebirth and the Planes of Existence. These are fully described with many references and the sections on the planes of misery should convince any reader that certain actions must certainly be avoided—so that these experiences are avoided! Similarly, all the material on human and heavenly birth has also been

collected here—to convince one that the precepts should be kept and generous gifts given so that they may be enjoyed.

More philosophical and less descriptive, the fifth chapter is on The Wheel of Becoming. Dependent Origination is discussed in general and then factor by factor. The author's references in this discussion are all from the *suttas*—which in Thailand find more students than the Abhidhamma. Though the writing of this chapter has more Pali words than elsewhere, the author has always given translations and a careful reader will not find the meaning difficult to understand.

Chapter Six relates Karma and Rebirth as the basis of moral principles. The criteria are given (quoting the famous Kālāma Sutta) and then vicarious salvation is discussed and contrasted with Buddhist methods of self-help. Accumulation of wholesome *kamma* and the benefits of believing in it are made clear.

Nirvāṇa as the end of Karma and Rebirth is the subject of the last chapter. *Dukkha* is briefly reviewed and then the two kinds of Nibbāna. This is then looked at from different angles. How to approach it is listed as the Eightfold Path and the seven stages of purification are each commented upon.

A full bibliography and a good index round off this book which, it is hoped, will come into the hands of many people. Publications from Bangkok are often overlooked in other countries simply because they are so poorly distributed. A book of this calibre does not deserve that fate!

Phra Khantipālo

Individual and Society in Buddhism. W. G. Weeraratne. Metro Printers Ltd., Colombo. 101pp £2 (copies are available directly from the author at 71 Mihiri Pedesa, Asiri Uyana, Moratuwa, Sri Lanka. These will be despatched by registered surface mail, post free).

Books on Buddhist subjects published in English in Sri Lanka often receive little or no publicity in Buddhist and related journals published in Western countries. One hopes that Dr. Weeraratne's excellent work will not suffer similar obscurity.

The theme of this short work, which is based on the author's doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Lancaster, is the rôle of the individual, and the relationships between individuals, in society, according to the teachings of the Pali Canon. The brief summary of each chapter given below will help to illustrate how this theme is developed.

After discussing the ideas current in India during the lifetime of the Buddha the opening chapter presents a description of the ideal of life as taught in Buddhism, together with an analysis of the path leading to the realisation of this ideal. The author demonstrates how this path is directly relevant to man in society and how the individual who follows this path may eliminate ignorance and selfish tendencies in himself, thus enhancing not only his own well-being, but also the well-being of others.

The second chapter considers Buddhism's emphasis on the fundamental equality of humans, and the supremacy of man as potential master of himself, possessing freedom in thought and action; as opposed to one whose destiny is presided over by a divine creator. It is demonstrated how Buddhism aims to liberate man from all types of physical, environmental and psychological bondage, so that he can think and act in an unbiased and balanced way.

The norms of good and evil in man's social dealings is the subject of the third chapter. The various criteria taught by the Buddha to determine whether an act is good (*kusala*, *puñña*, etc.) or evil (*akusala*, *pāpa*, etc.) are discussed in detail. According to these criteria, the perfection and well-being of the individual are directly related to those of others in society and the consideration of both aspects provides the ultimate basis in deciding whether an act is beneficial or not.

The fourth chapter treats the development of mutual relationships and the duties and obligations of an individual to society so as to ensure social progress and the harmony, peace and happiness of all, within that society. All mutual relationships (between ruler and subject, between parent and child, etc.) are discussed in the context of this social ideal.

The final chapter discusses the development of character: how the disciplining of body, speech and mind leads to the moulding of a strong character and all-round personality capable of facing and solving the problems of life and successfully performing one's social duties and obligations.

This book provides a lucid and stimulating treatment of an important aspect of Buddhist ethics, and it could usefully be read in conjunction with the Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa's masterly work on that subject. Dr. Weeraratne succeeds in giving us a scholarly study, soundly based on canonical texts, which is at the same time an instructive and practical guide to living.

G. M. Jones

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