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DHAMMAPADA
(Translated by Ven. B. Ananda Maitreya)

XIV

The Buddha

1. The Buddha whose conquest cannot be outdone, who is not pursued in the world by passions he has subdued, whose range of vision is infinite, who has no feet of passions—that Buddha, on what feet will you lead? (179)

2. The Buddha who crushed the net-like and sticky craving which could lead astray, on what feet will you make this footless Buddha move on? (180)

3. Even gods hold dear the Buddhas who are vigilant, meditative, wise and delighted in the peace of passionlessness. (181)

4. Hard it is to obtain birth as a man. Hard is the upkeep of mortals’ life. Rare is the chance for hearing the Dhamma. Rarer still is the appearance of a Buddha. (182)

5. To shun all evil, to do good, to purify one’s own mind—this is the teaching of the Buddhas. (183)

6. Forbearance which is long suffering is the best austerity. Nirvāṇa, the Buddhas say, is the highest. He who hurts another is not a hermit. Nor is he a recluse, who insults another. (184)

7. Not to speak ill, not to harm, self-restraint according to disciplinary rules, moderation in food, abiding in remoteness and in solitude, devotion to higher meditation—this is the teaching of the Buddhas. (185)
8. Not by a shower of gold pieces can craving be satisfied. Sensual pleasures bring little sweetness and cause much suffering. Thus aware, the wise man rejoices not even in the delights of heaven. Delighted in the extinction of craving, is the disciple of the Supreme Buddha. (186, 187)

10. Men indeed, driven by fear, seek many a refuge. They resort to mountains, forests, so called sacred parks and trees. (188)

11. Surely no such refuge is safe, no such refuge is great. There is no release from all suffering by resort to such refuge. (189)

12, 13. But whosoever resorts to the Buddha, Dhamma and the Holy Order and thereby realizes with clear insight the four great truths to wit, dukkha, its cause, the cessation of dukkha and the way thereto, the Noble eightfold Path, this realization, indeed, is the safest, the best refuge. By resorting to this refuge, one releases oneself from all dukkha. (190, 191, 192)

15. Hard is it to find a Supreme Being. Not everywhere is such an one born. Wherever such a wise one is born, that family thrives in happiness. (193)

16. Blessed is the appearance of the Buddhas. Blessed is the preaching of the Doctrine. Blessed is the concordance amongst the Order. Blessed is the disciplined life of the concordant. (194)

17, 18. No one can measure the merit acquired by a person through worshipping the worshipful, be they the Buddhas or their disciples, who have passed over all obstacles, crossed over the ocean of sorrows and lamentations, and achieved inward peace and perfect security. (195, 196)

1. ‘Resorts to the Buddha’ implies ‘to take the Buddha as the teacher of the way and follow the path shown by him’. Dhamma is the way and the goal (i.e. Nirvana). Resorting to Dhamma refers to going along the path aiming at nirvana. Resorting to the Order refers to taking the members of the Holy Order, the Buddha’s disciples, for example, and to follow their path. To follow the path is implied here in three forms of expression.

2. Dukkha—suffering, sorrow, pain, unsatisfactoriness. ‘Du’ means ‘mean’, ‘Kha’ means ‘voidness’. Thus, dukkha means unsatisfactoriness which is mean because of its delusive nature. Philosophically, dukkha refers to the whole world except craving which is the cause of the continuity of dukkha.

1. Verily we live in happiness, not hating among hating beings! Amid hating people, we live free from hatred. (197)

2. Verily we live in happiness, not sick among the sick! Amidst the sick people, we live free from sickness. (198)

3. Verily we live in happiness, toil-free among the toiling! Amidst the toiling people, we live free from toil! (199)

4. Verily we live in happiness, we who have no obstacles at all! We shall feed on joy, like the radiant gods! (200)

5. Victory begets enmity, for the defeated live in grief. Giving up both victory and grief, the calmed minds live in happiness. (201)

6. There is no fire like lust, no evil like anger. There are no calamities like the aggregates of existence. There is no happiness higher than the peace of Nirvana. (202)

7. Hunger is the severest ailment. Components are the worst calamity. Seeing this as it is, one realises Nirvana the highest bliss. (203)

8. Health is the highest gain. Contendedness is the best wealth. The loyal friend is the best relative. Nirvana is the highest bliss. (204)

9. Having tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquility, one becomes sorrowless and sinless, meanwhile drinking the Nectar of the joy of spiritual excellence. (205)

3. Here sickness implies mental sickness, i.e. passions, delusions of mind, lust, anger, etc.

4. Toiling in search of sensual enjoyment.

5. Obstacles—lust, anger, etc, which stand on the path of Spiritual progress.

6. Radiant gods—a kind of beings in a higher celestial abode, who live on ecstatic joy produced by their Jhana-practice.

7. Aggregates of existence—in Buddhist terminology these refer to the psychophysical process which is but man himself. Man is a composition of five aggregates, viz. material qualities, feelings, perceptions, motivations and consciousness.

10. To see holy ones is good.
   To live with them is bliss forever.
   By not seeing the low-minded one will always remain happy. (206)

11. Long suffers he who consorts with the mean-minded.
    Ever distressful is association with the low-minded as that with
    an enemy.
    The company of the wise is like the meeting with kinsfolk. (207)

12. Therefore, like the moon that follows the track of the stars,
    let one follow a good person
    wise, erudite, enduring, dutiful and holy. (208)

XVI

The Pleasant

1. A man who takes to the wrong way and avoids the proper path,
   forgets the real aim and is attached to sensual pleasures.
   But seeing another set on the proper path, will make him reproach
   himself
   (reproaching his own imprudence). (209)

2. Link not with what is pleasant
   and never with the unpleasant.
   For the absence of the pleasant causes grief,
   and the presence of the unpleasant too causes grief. (210)

3. Therefore, let one cling not to anything as pleasant,
   for the separation from the pleasant is unwholesome. (211)

4. From the pleasant springs sorrow.
   From the pleasant springs fear.
   To him who is free from the pleasant,
   there is neither sorrow nor fear. (212)

5. From affection springs sorrow.
   From affection springs fear.
   To him who is free from affection
   there is neither sorrow nor fear. (213)

6. From sensuality springs sorrow.
   From sensuality springs fear.
   To him who is free from sensuality
   there is neither sorrow nor fear. (214)

7. From sensual pleasures springs sorrow.
   From sensual pleasures springs fear.
   To him who is free from sensual pleasures
   there is neither sorrow nor fear. (215)

8. From craving springs sorrow.
   From craving springs fear.
   To him who is free from craving
   there is neither sorrow nor fear. (216)

9. Possessed of morality and right understanding,
   established in the Norm,
   knowing the truth and minding his own duty—
   such is the person that people hold dear. (217)

10. Whosoever wish for the Ineffable (Nirvāṇa),
    whosoever has pervaded it with his mind,
    whosoever has his mind detached from sensual pleasures,
    such an one is called ‘‘One Gone Upstream’’. (218)

11, 12. Kinsmen, companions and friends welcome joyfully a man
   returned from abroad after a long absence.
   In exactly the same way,
   the results of good deeds will welcome the doer,
   when he has left this life for the next one,
   like a dear relative (coming from abroad). (219, 220)

XVII

Anger

1. One should eschew anger.
   One should discard pride.
   One should pass beyond every fetter.
   Suffering never overtakes the man who does not cling to mind
   and body,
   who possesses nothing. (221)

2. He who holds back his uprisen anger,
   as one checks a rolling chariot,
   such an one do I call a charioteer.
   Others are but holders of reins. (222)
3. Conquer anger by loving-kindness.
   Conquer evil by good.
   Conquer the stingy by liberality.
   Conquer the liar by truthfulness. (223)

4. Speak truth.
   Give no way to anger.
   Give even though a little, when asked for,
   even from your meagre store.
   By these three steps,
   you will go to the presence of the Shining Ones.9 (224)

5. The sages that are harmless,
   and ever-restrained in body (word and mind),
   reach the Deathless lot,10
   getting where they will sorrow no more. (225)

6. They end their taints, who are vigilant,
   who train themselves day and night, and yearn for Nirvāṇa. (226)

7. This, O Atula11 is a thing of old, and not only of today:
   they blame him who is silent;
   they blame him who speaks too much;
   they blame him who speaks in moderation,
   There is no one in the world who is free from blame. (227)

8. There never was, and never will be, nor is there now
   one who is exclusively blamed or who is wholly praised. (228)

9, 10. Whosoever the wise observe and praise every day,
   whosoever is flawless in life,
   who is wise, possessed of insight and good conduct,
   who is pure like unto a coin of pure gold—
   who would blame such an one!
   Even angels praise him,
   nay, even the God (Brahmā) praises him. (229, 230)

11. Guard yourself against bodily perturbance.
    Be restrained in body.
    Shun misconduct of speech
    and do good deeds. (231)

XVIII

Blemishes

1. You are now like a sear leaf.
   Death's messengers are near at hand.
   You are standing at the point of departure.
   But you have not made provision for the need of the journey. (235)

2. Make for yourself an island.
   Strive hard.
   Be prudent.
   With stains blown away, free of passions,
   you shall enter the realm of the Holy.12 (236)

3. Now, you have come to the close of your age.
   You have reached the presence of Death.
   But you have neither resting-place upon the road,
   nor provision for journey. (237)

4. Make for yourself an island.
   Strive hard.
   Be prudent.
   With stains blown away, be free of passions
   and never return to birth and death. (238)

5. Let the wise man blow away
   the stains of his mind little by little,
   moment by moment,
   even as a smith does with the dross of silver. (239)

9. Shining ones—devas, the inhabitants of the deva-realms. The bodies of the devas (Shining ones) are formed of very subtle form of shining matter. They are regarded as belonging to quite a different dimension.
10. Deathless lot—Nirvāṇa.
11. The Buddha spoke these words to a man named Atula.
12. Realm of the Holy Suddhāvāsa, a higher abode where the non-returners (Anāgā- minis) are reborn.
6. Just as the rust produced by iron eats away the very iron, even so the transgressor of the moral law is led to the state of woe (by his own misdeed). (240)

7. Lack of recitation is the taint of the scriptures learnt by heart. Neglect (of dwellers) is the taint of houses. Sloth is the taint of body. Negligence is the taint of the watcher. (241)

8. Lewdness is the taint of woman. Stinginess is the taint of the giver. Evil ways of life, indeed, are taints both in this and the next world. (242)

9. There is a taint worse than all this. Ignorance, indeed, is the worst taint. Remove this, O Brethren and become taintless. (243)

10. Life is easy to live for an impudent man who is forward as a crow, who is an interloper, who is arrogant and corrupt. (244)

11. Life is not easy to live for a modest man, seeking for purity, free from attachment, humble, of pure livelihood, and seeing clearly. (245)

12, 13. Whosoever in the world takes life, utters lies, takes what is not given, goes to another’s wife or is addicted to the drinking of liquor or spirits, such a man digs up his own root in this very life. (246, 247)

14. Know this, O man, that those of evil nature have no restraint in themselves. So, let not greed and anger subject you to suffering for long. (248)

15. Men give according to their devotion, according to their appreciation. Whosoever finds fault with the food or drink given by others (owing to his jealousy), such an one will not get peace of mind by day or night. (249)

16. But in whomsoever this habit is overthrown and rooted out, he verily will get at the peace of mind by day and night. (250)

17. There is no fire like lust, no grip like hatred, no snare like delusion and no (rushing) river like craving. (251)

18. Easy to see are the flaws of others, though hard to see one’s own. He exposes the flaws of others as one winnows the chaff, but hides his own faults, even as a cunning gambler his die. (252)

19. Whosoever sees others’ faults but himself is ever sensitive to reproof, taints increase in such a man. He is far from removal of those taints. (253)

20. There is no track in the air. There is no true monk outside (the eightfold way)\(^{14}\). People are addicted to obstacles. The Perfect Ones are free from obstacles. (254)

21. There is no track in the air. There is no true monk outside (the eightfold way). There are no component things that are unchanging. There is no variableness in the Buddhas. (255)

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**XIX**

**The Righteous**

1. He is not righteous, if he decides a case rashly. But whosoever distinguishes between right and wrong, he is righteous. (256)

2. Whosoever leads others by equal justice, but not by force, he, the wise guardian of justice, is called ‘righteous’. (257)

3. A man is not regarded as wise because he talks much. But he who is secure, not hateful and harmless—he is called wise. (258)

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\(^{13}\) “Peace of mind” here refers to the blissful state attained by means of javanas as well as phalas (four holy stages) to be attained immediately after destroying the passions on four occasions.

\(^{14}\) Eightfold Way—the way consisting of eight factors: right understanding, right aspiration, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration.
4. A man cannot be regarded as a holder of Dhamma (the teaching of the Buddha) merely by his abundant talk. But whosoever realizes Dhamma for himself, though having heard a little, and who doesn’t neglect the practice of virtue, such an one is to be considered as the holder of Dhamma. (259)

5. Grey locks do not make a man an elder.
He is but ripe in age.
He may be called but a dotard. (260)

6. Whosoever possesses truthfulness, righteousness, harmlessness, restraint, self-control, who is stainless and wise—such an one is called an elder. (261)

7. Neither by mere talk,
nor by fine complexion,
does a man become comely,
if he is envious, stingy and dishonest. (262)

8. Whosoever has cut down and rooted out all these, such an one that has removed all such blemishes, who is wise, is called comely. (263)

9. The shaven head does not make a man a recluse, if he is undisciplined and untruthful.
How can a man be a monk, if he is given to hankering and greediness? (264)

10. He who quiets all his evil propensities minute or large is called a recluse (monk), as he has withdrawn himself from all evil tendencies. (265)

11. One is not a bhikkhu (mendicant) merely because one lives on alms given by others. If one takes upon oneself the ill-smelling things (i.e. bad manners), one is not a bhikkhu merely by living on alms. (266)

12. He who lives the higher life with understanding in this world, putting away all merit and demerit, he, indeed, is called a bhikkhu. (267)

13. A foolish and ignorant man is not to be called a calmed person merely because he is silent. Whosoever weighs the matter, as it were, like one holding the scale, and makes his choice wisely, he is called a sage. (268)

14. A sage who rejects evil is called a calmed one (muni) by that reason. Whosoever discerns both the worlds (i.e. both the internal and external sides of his life), by that reason he is called a sage (muni). (269)

15. One cannot be regarded as a noble one, if one harms living beings. Because of harmlessness towards living beings one is called a noble one. (270)

16. O monk, not merely by discipline or vows, nor by erudition, nor again by acquiring the mental state of deep concentration, nor by living in solitude, should you be self-assured, thinking “I enjoy the bliss of passionlessness” which is never experienced by the unholy”. (271, 272)

XX

The Way

1. The eightfold path is the best of ways.
The four-worded truth is the best of truths.
Passionlessness is the best of states.
The one with the eye of wisdom is the best of bipeds (men). (273)

2. This is the only way
and none other is there leading to purity of insight.
Go along this path.
This routs out Māra (the temptor)²⁵. (274)

3. Gone along this path
you shall put an end to suffering.
After realising it,
I have pointed out to you this way, which leads to the removal of the arrows of Passion. (275)

¹⁵. Māra, the temptor—passions personified.
4. You yourselves must make the effort.
The Tathāgatas (Buddhas) are but expounders of the way.
The meditative that go along this way
will become free from the bonds of the Temptor (Māra). (276)

5. "All component things are impermanent."
When one acquires insight of this fact,
one looks down upon this world of suffering.
This is the way of purification. (277)

6. "All component things are subject to suffering."
Whenever one sees this fact with insight,
than will he look down upon this world of suffering.
This is the way of purification. (278)

7. All things are unsubstantial (or unreal).
Whenever one sees this fact with insight,
then one looks down upon the world of suffering.
This is the way of purification. (279)

8. The lazy man, weak in mind’s resolve,
indolent and given over to sloth,
who is not up and doing at the due time,
though young and strong, never finds the path of wisdom. (280)

9. Let one guard one’s speech.
Let one be well restrained in mind.
Let one not commit any evil deed.
Let one purify these three paths of action
and strive for the way made known by the seers. (281)

10. From contemplation is wisdom born.
From lack of contemplation is there loss of wisdom.
Knowing this two-fold path of gain and loss,
let one place oneself suchwise that one’s wisdom may mature. (282)

11. Cut down the whole forest of craving,
but not a single tree in the forest.
Danger springs from the forest of craving.
Cut down the trees of passions both strong and weak
and be free, O Brethren, from the whole forest. (283)

12. As long as even the least clinging
of man to womankind remains unrooted,
so long does he remain in mental bondage,
like the milch calf unto its mother. (284)

13. Cut off self-love
even as an autumn lily with the hand.
Proceed on the way of peace,
for it leads to Nirvāṇa
pointed out by the Well-gone One. (285)

14. "I shall live here in the rains,
there in the winter
and yonder in the summer”—
thus fancies the fool,
but is not aware of his (nearing) death. (286)

15. Death carries off the man
while he is still solicitous for children and flocks,
whose mind is distraught—
just as a great flood a sleeping village. (287)

16. For one who is seized by death,
children are no refuge,
not father, nor relatives.
Kinsmen can give no shelter.
Knowing this fact, the wise are restrained by good conduct,
and make no delay to clear the way that leads to the Summum
Bonum (Nirvāṇa). (288, 289)

(to be concluded)

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16. *All things (sabbe dhamma)* here refer to all component things (*sankhāras*) and concepts (*pāñcāhitas*) such as *kasina*-light, etc.
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUTTA NIPATA

N. A. Jayawickrama

Additional Abbreviations

Aor.—aorist
Bṛh. Ār.—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
Dh.—Dhammapada (PTS, 1914)
E./W.Pkr.—Eastern/Western Prakrit
J.—Jātaka (PTS, 7 vols., 1877-97; reprinted 1962-64)
JA—Jātaka Commentary (ibid.)
Mbh.—Mahābhārata
P.—Pāli
PBR—Pali Buddhist Review
Pva—Pavatathādi Panji (Pavatathū Commentary, PTS, 1894)
PtS—Saddharmapālakāsīni (Paṭisambhidāmagga Commentary, PTS, 3 vols., 1933-47)
S.A.—Sāraṭṭhapakāsīni (Samyutta Nikāya Commentary, PTS, 3 vols., 1929-37)

THE URAGA SUTTA

It is now possible to proceed to the analysis of a few individual suttas of the Sutta Nipāta with the aid of the criteria detailed earlier. The following analysis is restricted to a proportionately small number of suttas and further inferences regarding those that are left out may be drawn on similar lines. Every opportunity will be taken to discuss problems of general application to the whole work under the discussion of these suttas so that most of the problems connected with the majority of the suttas, will be eventually touched upon. An attempt has been made to make the selection as representative as possible. A few suttas from each vagga and from each type in the classification on pp. 88-90 in PBR 1, 2, are taken up for analysis. Wherever possible the suttas will be discussed in the order in which they occur in Sn., and at the same time those that bear some similarity to one another will be arranged in some order so as to bring out the properties they share in common.

The title Urage Sutta is undoubtedly derived from the simile, urago jinam iva tacam purāṇam (as a serpent—discards—its old and worn-out slough) in the refrain that runs through the whole length of the poem. Its ability to cast off its slough, an important characteristic of the uraga, has been introduced here to describe the action of the bhikkhu who renounces both “Here and the Beyond.” There seems to be some mysterious significance attached to this creature which is described as uraga (lit. belly-crawler). Some uragas are considered to belong to a class of semi-divine beings: they are kāma-rūpi (SnA. 13, capable of changing their form at will). The semi-divine characteristics are usually attributed to nāgas rather than to uragas. There are numerous instances in the Pāli Canon of nāgas changing their form or appearing in disguise. The Commentary (SnA) refers to Saṅkhapālaṅkārājā in Saṅkhapālajātaka J.A. V. 161-177). At Vinaya I, 86 a nāga is said to have received ordination disguised as a young man. An equally mystic significance is associated with the uraga’s casting off of the slough. The Commentary (SnA. 13-14) describes in detail the four ways in which it does so. PAv. 61-62 commenting on PAv. I, 12, 1, urago va tacam jinam hitva gacchati sam tanum (he goes abandoning his body—corporeal form—as a serpent discards its worn-out slough) says that a serpent casts it off whenever it wishes to do so, as easily as removing a garment, with no attachment to it whatsoever. Here the simile of the serpent’s slough is employed to describe the body at death. The mysterious significance of the uraga is more pronounced in a passage occurring at Sah. 69. It describes four young creatures (dahara) which should not be despised nor abused viz. a khattiya, an uraga, aggi and a bhikkhu. A khattiya when he becomes king can inflict heavy punishment on man, woman or child that despises him; an uraga can sting them; therefore he who holds his life dear should not despise it. Fire with necessary fuel (upādāna) can blaze forth into a huge flame and burn them who despise it. The virtuous bhikkhu can burn with his flame-like majesty. The uraga is also described as, ucchāvecha vaṃceti urage carati tejas (v. 1. tejasā) in the Samyutta (In diverse appearances the uraga roams in its own splendour). It is described here as a mysterious and wonderful creature demanding respect and adoration. The Commentator is silent about the pāda, urago carati tejas, and does not confine the quality of tejas to uraga alone. Fire too possesses the same quality. The tejas (splendour or better, power) of the uraga is perhaps due to one or more of the following reasons:

Uraga is almost synonymous with nāga, a creature equally gifted with miraculous powers and great strength. Some of them are semi-divine. Nāga is often used as an epithet for arahants and sometimes of the Buddha. Popular etymology explains nāga as “āgum na karoti” (cp. Sn. 522a); and the origin of the epithet is perhaps based on the great power of the nāga. The phrase hathhi-nāga suggests an equally mystic significance. Yet, it is noteworthy that the word nāga is hardly or never used in the Pāli Canon in the same simile of its shedding the slough. Though sappa, ahi, āsivisa and bhujāngama are synonyms for uraga, they fall short of the connotation of the latter term. There is no real magical power attributed to them, unlike the uraga or the nāga. The last of the four synonyms bhujāngama, though not in frequent use in canonical Pāli seems to be nearer uraga than ahi. Sappa is treated as a mere poisonous snake in similes. It should be avoided; e.g. Sn. 1b, 768b, Th 1. 457, and J.J.V. 18. Āsivisa is employed in similes to describe kāma and similar evil tendencies; e.g. Th 2. 451, J. III. 525, cp. 267 and S. IV. 172-174. It is called uggatejas at S. IV. 172 ff. and is a synonym for the mahādhātus.

It has already been remarked that the emphasis on uraga in the refrain has been the basis of the title Uraga Sutta. There are three other suttas in Sn. named after a simile or metaphor occurring in them; viz. I. 3 (Khāgasivāna), II. 8 (Nāvā) and III. 8 (Salla). Over half the number of suttas in Sn. are named after the interlocutors mentioned in them. There are 36 such suttas; viz. Sn. I. 2, 4, 5, 9, 10; II. 5, 11, 12, 14; III. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11; IV. 7, 8(?), 9, 16; and V. 2-17. To this may be added I. 7 which is called

2. Here fire and the uraga both possess tejas. A. K. Coomarasawamy in his Hinduism and Buddhism makes out that the Dragon is the sacrificer and the sacrifice, i.e., connected with the smoke coming from the sacrificial altar. Referring to S.B. I. 6.3.14 ff., he attempts to identify the Dragon with the Progenitor. Some such mystical significance may be among the reasons for ascribing tejas to the uraga.

At Vin. IV. 108 a nāga (Vin. I. 24, nāgarājā) is described as iddhist: but in each case he was overcome by the (greater) tejas of his opponent (Sāgata and the Buddha) cp. J.I. 360. It is also told at AA. I. 324 ff. how Sāgata tamed the fierce nāgarājā. (Note by Miss I. B. Horner.)


Aggikabhāravāja Sutta in the Commentary. Of the above list Pasūra Sutta is rather doubtful, for Pasūra may not be a proper name as Neumann (Reden p. 528) suggests. He favours the commentarial gloss paḷi-sūra and says that it is pa-sūra (pra-sūra) like pācarīya at M.I. 509. There are 15 suttas named after the topics or themes discussed in them; viz. Sn. I. 6, 7, 8, 12; II. 1, 2, 4, 7, 13; III. 1, 2, 12; and IV. I. 6, 11. To this may be added the alternative names given in the Comy. for I. 11 (Kāyavichchandanika) II. 8 (Dhamma), II. 12 (Nirodha-kappā), II. 13 (Muni or Mahāsamaṇa), III. 4 (Pāraḷīsa) and III. 11 (Moneyya). In addition to the six suttas mentioned in the note on p. 79 in PBR 1, 2, as being named after their opening words, Sn. IV. 10 (Purābheda) is named after the opening word of the second stanza (i.e. Buddha’s reply). The four Āṭṭhakas have already been mentioned (PBR 1, 3, p. 143) to contain in their opening lines the words after which they are named. This makes a total of 11 suttas that are named after an opening line. The titles of 9 of these suttas (i.e. except Purābheda and Attadanda) have direct bearing on the topics discussed in them. The other four suttas in Sn. viz. I. 11, IV. 12, 13 and 14 are given descriptive titles. It is significant that all the four suttas named after a simile occurring in them are pure didactic ballads and all the suttas named after persons are dialogue ballads. Those that are named after topics discussed in them belong to various types. There are dialogue ballads like Vasala and Brāhmanadhammikas suttas, didactic poems such as Muni and Kāma Suttas, narratives like Pabbajī and Padhāna Suttas and doctrinal dissertations such as Devatāmupassāna Sutta belonging to this group. All the suttas, named after their opening words are didactic poems.

Coming back to the Uraga Sutta, the effectiveness of the simile of the serpent’s skin may have been one of the reasons for placing this suṭṭa at the head of the vaggas, which in turn derives its name from the former. This is the only vagg in Sn. which is named after a suṭṭa. However, the practice of naming vaggas after suṭṭas is not rare in other parts of the Canon. There are two Yodhājīva Suttas occurring in the Pañceka Nipāta of the Anguttara, viz. II. 89 ff. and 93 ff., and the vagg in which they occur is called Yodhājīva (III. 84-110). Similarly, the second vagg in the Majjhima, Sīhanāda, I. 63-122) is named after the opening suttas Cūlasihanāda and Mahāsihanāda (Nos. 11 and 12) and the eleventh vagg (Devodaha, II. 214-226, III. 1-24) derives its name from the opening Devadaha Sutta (No. 101). In such instances as these it need not be the opening suṭṭa that is always responsible for the name of the vagg. In the Udāna, the third vagg, (Nanda, U. 21-33) derives its name from the second udāna in it, its fifth vagg Sonattthera, U. 47-61) from its sixth member, its sixth vagg (Jaccandha, U. 62-73) from the simile in the fourth piece in it, and the last vagg (Pātaligāma, U. 80-93) from the sixth
udāna in it. The first two vaggas of Pṛ. are named after their concluding members. Uragapetavatthu and Ubbaripetavatthu respectively. Of them the Uraga Vaggas is of special interest here. The first verse of the vatthu at Pṛ. 11 (I. 12. 1) contains the simile of the serpent’s worn-out slough, and this is the only reason for naming the vatthu and the vagg, Uraga. The Comy. associates this vatthu with an uraga (serpent) which was responsible for the death of the individual referred to in the story. The illustrative story in the Comy. is the same as that at J. III. 162-168, which also contains the text at Pṛ. I. 12 in full.

The simile of the snake casting off its slough seems to be rather popular in Pāli verse. The line at Pṛ. I. 121 is also found at Ap. 394, 13. In Mora Jātaka (J. IV. 341) the hunter renounces his career as a hunter even as a serpent discards its old worn-out skin (tucam va jīnma urago purūnaṁ). Pṛ. IX. 28 contains the same line. This simile is also employed to describe how Fortune keeps the fool at bay at J. V. 100 and VI. 361:

Sirī jahati dummedham jīnnaṁ urago tucam

36

The 17 stanzas of the text describe the bhikkhu who overcomes anger, lust, craving, arrogance, hatred, doubts and perplexities and other impediments, has found no essence (sāra) in all forms of being, sees everything as void being free from covetousness, passion, malevolence and delusion, has eradicated all evil tendencies with no leanings whatsoever towards them, is free from all such qualities which form the basis for earthly existence, and has destroyed all obstacles. He verily is “the bhikkhu who shuns both Here and the Beyond as a serpent its old and worn-out skin.”

The tone of the sutta is generally archaic and the language preserves an early stratum of Pāli. The words and forms of interest are:—Oraparam (Sn. 1o-17c), a simple dvandva cpd. meaning “here below”-cp. Sk. avara- and the beyond,” cp. parāvaram (Sn. 353, etc.). The ora and the pāra are the limitations (simā) to a true bhikkhu. If he wishes to go beyond them (simātigo, cp. Sn. 795a) he should rid himself of all obstacles and leanings which act as causes (lit. causal antecedents) for his downfall (cp. Sn. 15b). The concept ora has already been noted (PBR 1, 3, pp. 147-8) as being the opposite of pāra; but pāra in this context is quite different from that of the Pārāyana and other places in Sn. Here it merely denotes birth in other existences whereas elsewhere (loc. cit.) it is almost a synonym for nibbāna. Udācchida (Sn. 2a, 3a) cp. Sk. ud-achid-at; augmented radical Aor. 3 sg. cp. Vedic. The change -a+ch->-aceh- is due to

metrical reasons and for preservation of quantity. This is a pure gāthā-form not met with in canonical prose. There are four other such augmented radical Aor. forms in this suttā: viz. udabbadhī (Sn. 4a), ajjhagamā (Sn. 5a), accagamā (Sn. 8b) and accasāri (Sn. 8a-13a). This type of Aor. is very frequent in Sn. and other old (gāthā- Pāli.4 Udabbadhī is usually explained as being formed from ud+√vadha cp. udavadhīt. It is probable that this verb is associated with ud+√vṛh, brhṇati, to tear, cp. A.V. abharhī and Brh. Ar. avṛksat, P. udbhāhe (Sn. 583b, opt. 3. sg.) and abbhā (Aor. 3 sg.) in the phrase abbhā vata me sallam used frequently in Th 1 and Th 2. The probable development of udabbadhī from ud+√vṛh is as follows:—Vedic udabharhit ud-a+√vṛh (v. in vṛh)>P. udabha:- Vedīc -h-> P. -dha- cp. Vc. iha>P. idha. It may be possible that this form is the result of a contamination of the two roots vadh and vr̥ but either of the two can give this form directly and makes the explanation of a contamination superfluous. Ajjhagamā (adhī-a-gam-at) and Accagamā (ati-a-gam-at) cp. abbhādahā (J. I. 247), āsādā (Th 1.774), acchidā (Sn. 357c) and udacchidā (suprā). Accasāri (occurring in both nācasaari and paccasaari) ati-a-sār-īt, from √sr, sarati. Neumann (Reden, p. 406) suggests atyasāsāri and pratyasāsāri, but the explanation in the Comy., na atiddhā and na ohiyi is preferable. Samūhastāse (Sn. 14b) cp. paccayāse (Sn. 15b), double Vc. nom. pl. from-āsas>-āso>-āse; -o>-e is a dialectical variation influenced by E. Pkr. (Māgadhī). This double nom. with Māgadhī -e is rather frequent in early Pāli poetry. In Sn. alone it is seen to occur 20 times, 10 of which are in the Āthākha Vagga. Neumann (Reden, p. 407) says that such forms as samu-hatāse are not “Māgadhism” but periphrastic perfects; samūhata-āse. It would be rather straining to construe a perfect in such contexts as these, and his suggestion, however useful, is not tenable. Hetukappā— “which act as a cause” (Sn. 16b). The cpd. appears to be dialectical and nearer the older language, cp. khaggavisānakappo “resembling a rhinoceros” (Sn. 35d-75d).

The Uraga Sutta is written in a metre described as Aupachandasaka by Helmer Smith (SnA. 463). The regular Aupachandasaka metre differs from the Vatāliya which consists of two half verses with 30 mōrae each, in that it has an extra long syllable added to each line of 14 and 16 mōrae respectively in the Vatāliya. The metre of these stanzas is rather irregular. The number of mōrae in the first half-verse varies from 32 to 36, but the average seems to be 33, as in the case of the common second half of all these stanzas. The extra syllables in the longer lines may be explained

4. Vide Geiger, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, 159 ff.
as anacrusis. Helmer Smith (ibid.) further notes padaś Sn. 6b, 7a, 8a-13a and 14b as irregular. Though this metre is similar to Aupacchandasika which became fixed in the Classical period of Sanskrit literature this particular rhythm cannot be considered so late as that, for it may have been in use long before a metre as such came to be fixed.

Another noticeable feature here, as well as in all Pāli poetry is the apparent disregard of metrical rules. This probably may be the result of the composers being guided more by the ear (rhythm) than by such artificial means as fixed metres. Moreover, in all popular poetic metrical rules are not strictly observed. However, the beat and rhythm of these lines resemble those of dance metres which are usually free and easy metres not subject to artificial regulations.

The style of this sutta has already been commented upon. It is a ballad in every respect, though it is used for a didactic purpose. The purpose of the refrain in lines cd in each stanza is to lay emphasis on the central theme. There is a refrain in the initial line and the greater part of the second line of stanzas 8-13,

Yo nācasaṇī na paccassāri
sabbam vittātham idam ti vīta—

There is perfect antithesis in the two halves of all these stanzas. Invariably the stanza begins with yo and the second half with so bhikkhu. In spite of this and the lucidity of diction there is no poetic extravagance which characterises later compositions. Popular similes are freely used to describe the bhikkhu who leads a life in accordance with Buddhist ethics. Neumann (Reden, p. 408) points out a few parallels in Mbh. and other early literature, viz. jirnām ivaca sarpa ivāvumeyu (Mbh. V. 39, 2; op. XII, 250, 11) and yathā pādodarās tracāvininmuyata (Prāśnpaniṣad, 5, 5; also vedi Brh. Ar. IV. 4.10). Other similes are at Sn. 1b, 2b, 3b, (compared by Neumann with Rgyveda I, 32, 8) and 5b.

There is nothing extraordinary in thought and ideology in the sutta. The emphasis is on the conduct of the bhikkhu. It is noteworthy that there are 80 references to bhikkhu in the gathas of Sn. (in addition to over 15 in the prose), 77 to muni (24 of which refer to the Buddha) and over 40 to sāmaṇa, at least 17 of which are used without any specific reference to a Buddhist sāmaṇa. The Sūṇgha is mentioned 8 times in the Ratana Sutta and 4 times elsewhere in both prose and verse. All the references to bhikkhu, muni and sāmaṇa amply justify Fausboll’s statement “we see here a picture not of life in monasteries but the life of hermits in its first stage.”

The Uraga Sutta like Tuvaṭaka and Sammāparibbajjana Suttas is a splendid example of a poem that describes the true bhikkhu just as Muni Sutta describes the muni.

The few technical expressions used indicate a phase of development in the doctrine. The terms ora and orapāraṇam have already been discussed. The terms kodha, rāga, tanhā, mōna bhuvāsā sāra (cp. bhavārāna), kopa and vitakka (Sn. 1-7) have not undergone the later systematization and arrangement in groups. Usually the three rāga, dosa and mohā occur in one group in the more systematised texts and are called the three akusala-mālānī (fundamental blemishes of character). At some places kodha and upanācha are added to these three, while at others kilesa and kodha and still others māna together with or without diṭṭhi. Similarly the occurrence of papanca, vitāthā, lobha, rāga, dosa and mohā in Sn. 8-13 seems to presuppose a time prior to the scholastic classification of the three akusala-mālānī as rāga/lobha, dosa and mohā. Besides Sn. 14 seems to associate mālā akusala with anusaya.

On the other hand the technical significance of daratha and vanatha (Sn. 15 and 16 respectively), the mention of pāca nivaraṇa (Sn. 17), and the emphasis on iman papańca (Sn. 8) seem to suggest a development in terminology. These are the only references to them, in the form as they are, in this work, though Sn. 514d mentions the nivaraṇa and Sn. 66a the pācavaraṇa. This seemingly developed terminology may probably point out that this sutta presupposes a time when some form of systematization and arrangement has just set in. Another interesting word is titābavabhavatam (Sn. 6) which is translated by Fausboll as ‘reiterated existence’ and by Neumann as ‘being and non-being’. The explanation in the Comy. (Sn. A 20), sampallivipatti-vuddhihāni-sassatucceda-puṇa-papavasena iti anekappakāra bhavābhavati does not make it clear at all. It seems to be somewhat different from bhavābhava which occurs in 8 other places in Sn.6 in the sense of ‘reiterated existence’ or re-birth. Its meaning in this context is apparently nearer the idea of the fluctuating changes of fortune in the course of re-birth. The term is not strictly technical.

An examination of Uraga Sutta in the various aspects of language, metre, style, doctrine and ideology shows that it is a comparatively old sutta. The lack of linguistic forms that may be classed as late and the presence of old Vedic and dialectical forms suggest that the sutta preserves an old stratum of Pāli. The syntax of the stanzas is also simple. The flexibility of metre also suggests an early date for the sutta. The lucid and simple style which is by no means heavy or laboured is characteristic of old poetry. The doctrinal emphasis too speaks of an early date for the sutta; and the
few technical expressions reflect the “germs of a philosophical system which came to be more logically and consistently systematised”\(^7\) later on. Nothing could be gleaned regarding the social conditions of the time from this *sutta*; all other available evidence points to an early date.

**THE KHAGGAVISĀṆA SUTTA**

38

This *sutta* like the *Uraga Sutta* derives its name from the simile used in the refrain.

*eko care khaggavisāṇakappo*

(let him wander alone like a rhinoceros). The lonely habits of the rhinoceros are symbolic of the solitary wanderings of the ascetic—*muni*. Rhinoceroses like elephants expelled from the herd are known to lead a solitary life. Yet, there seems to be some disagreement about the title which is often rendered as “The Horn of the Rhinoceros” following the explanation in the Comy., *ettha khaggavisāṇam nāma khaggamiga-sīngam* (khaggavisāṇa in this context means the horn of the rhinoceros—SnA. 65). This explanation may be accepted on the mere coincidence that both species of the rhinoceros seen in India, viz. the “Indian” and the “Javanese” possess only one horn,\(^6\) and that the animal itself is called *khagga* in Pāli and *khođa* in Classical Sanskrit. The explanation of khaggavisāṇakappo at Nd2. 129, *yathā khaggassa nāma visāṇam ekam hoti adutiyam* (just as a rhinoceros possesses only one horn and not a second...) also justifies the explanation in the Comy. In spite of all this the simile would be considered more apt if the life of the lone-sojourner was compared with the lonely habits of the rhinoceros than with its single horn.

In other places in the Pāli Canon the idea of wandering alone is compared with the movements of animals of solitary habits rather than with parts of their anatomy. The simile employed at J. II. 220 is with reference to an elephant that wanders alone—*gajam iva ekacārīnām*. The simile, *eko care mātaṅga-araṇī va nāgo* (let one wander alone as an elephant in the forest frequented by mātaṅga-elephants) at M. III. 154, Dh. 329, 330 and J. III. 488 cp. V. 190 too makes it clear. The similes, *migo arahāṁhami yathā abaddho yenicchākam gacchati gocarīya* (as an untethered deer in the forest-glade roams at will for pasture) at Sn. 39ab, and *nāgo va yūthāni vivajjayitvā* (as an elephant that forsakes the herds) at Sn. 53a can be compared with that in the refrain. It will be clear from these examples that the point of contact of the comparison is an action (i.e. the wandering—*cariyā*) and not an object. Moreover, even in the similes employed in the poem where inanimate objects are compared it is rather some action that stands for comparison than those objects; e.g. *vamsākātra va asajja-māno* (like a bamboo-shoot not clinging to anything) at Sn. 38c, *samsāṇapatto yathā koviḻāro* (like a koviḻāra tree with its scattered leaves) at Sn. 41ab, *agī va dāḍhaṁ anivatamāno* (like fire not returning where it had burnt) at Sn. 62c and *saṭhīnnapatto yathā pārichatto* (as a pārichatta tree with its leaves cut off) at Sn. 64b.

From these examples it is rather convincing that the point of contact in the simile of the khaggavisāṇa is not *khaggassa visāṇa* (rh.’s horn) nor the *cariyā* (movement) of the *visāṇa* (horn) of the khagga; but the *cariyā* of the khaggavisāṇa, the sword-horn (the rhinoceros) itself. It is quite probable that the rhinoceros was known in earlier Pāli as khaggavisāṇa—that which possesses a sword-like horn\(^10\) and that the term khagga came into usage later on. This is further testified by the few comparatively late passages in which the animal is called *khagga* viz. Nd2. 129, SnA. 65, Jv. 406, 416, VI. 277 and 538. It would therefore, be more correct to interpret the word khaggavisāṇa as “rhinoceros” and not “rhinoceros’ horn”.

39

The *sutta* on the whole deals with a life of solitude. It advocates the cessation from attachment to family life, friends and companions and society in general. The refrain *eko care* is employed to exhort one to adopt a life of solitude. The idea so colourfully painted in the simile is stressed over and over again in other similes.\(^11\) All the stanzas are connected with the central theme, yet in certain places the connecting thread appears rather thin. A few apparent repetitions and the interruption of the logical trend seem to suggest that the present *sutta* is an enlarged version of an earlier nucleus. It is of interest here to note that the Khaggavisāṇa Gāthā at Mvastu. I. 357, consist of only 12 stanzas. A comparison of the two versions shows that both deal with the same topic and that the BSk. *sūtra*, though short, discusses the question of solitude as fully as the Pāli version with all its digressions and apparent contradictions. While the central idea of the Pāli *sutta* is the giving up of friends and companions, sons and household life and all forms of *samsāga* and *santhava* (ties and attachments), there are occasional references to an “ideal companion”\(^12\) an idea which appears to be an importation to the

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11. *At Sn*. 38, 39, 44, 46, 53, 62, 64, 71 and 72.
12. *At Sn*. 45, 47 and 58.
original *sutta*. There is also other extraneous matter such as the mention made of certain recluses (*paribbajakas*) who are virtually householders (*Sn. 43a,b*), the reference to the theory of *metta* at *Sn. 42a* and the four items of the *brahma-vihāras* at *Sn. 73*, a digression on kāma and other *upaddavas* (hindrances) at *Sn. 50-56*—though the stanzas conform to the central theme, the repetition of the idea at *Sn. 46* in different words at *Sn. 57* thus re-introducing the topic of *mittam utāram* (a noble companion), and the introduction of a complete list of Buddhist terms at *Sn. 60*. Besides these, there are numerous repetitions of ideas and wholesale lines and phrases.

The 12 stanzas in *Mvastu* roughly correspond to 7 stanzas in *Sn.* in the following manner:—St. 1// *Sn. 68*, st. 2// *Sn. 73*, st. 3ab// *Sn. 35ab*, st. 3c// *Sn. 64*, st. 4// *Sn. 64*, st. 5ab// *Sn. 62ab*, st. 5c// *Sn. 64*, st. 6ab-10ab// *Sn. 36ab*, st. 11ab// *Sn. 36c*, st. 12 with *jhāti* for *putram* in line c. This table is not quite complete, for there are many words in the two versions which are quite different in their corresponding lines. Stt. 6-10 are mere repetitions of the same idea with a different word in line c. in each stanza. In the 12 stanzas of the *Khādgaviṣṇapa Gāthā* could be seen the theme of the Pāli *sutta* fully discussed and developed, and likewise the seven corresponding stanzas in the Pāli deal with the topic to a satisfactory degree. The rest of the stanzas express the same ideas in different words dwelling on the theme at length.

There is an apparent contradiction in *Sn.* 45 when it mentions a *nipakāṃ sahāyaṃ* as contrasted with *na putram iccheyya kuto sahāyaṃ* (*Sn. 35c*, cp. *Sn. 37*, 40 and 41). This *kalyāṇa mitta*, as other texts would have it, is not to be categorised as a *saṃhāra*, according to the *sutta*. The same idea is reflected at *Sn. 94*, 185, 187, 254 and 255; and *Sn. 338* in *Rāhula Sutta* makes specific mention of *kalyāṇa mitta*. It is interesting to note that this topic is discussed at two different places in the *sutta* (viz. *Sn. 45-47* and *Sn. 57-58*). This shows that either the intervening stanzas were interpolated at a certain stage or *Sn. 47* marks the end of the section dealing with *mitta* and that *Sn. 57-58* were added later. (The concluding stanza too makes a casual reference to this type of "noble companion"). The internal evidence of the *sutta* does not necessarily warrant such a conclusion if the criticism is based on linguistic data and other evidence alone. The *sutta* differentiates between two kinds of friends those in the household life; e.g. *Sn. 40-41* and those in the *brahma-carīya*; e.g. *Sn. 45, 47, 50*. Perhaps it is possible that the "friends in *brahma-carīya*" is an allusion to the *ācārya-antevāsika* and *upādīrāya-saddhivihārika* relationships in monastic life. The insistence on a life devoid of any associates was perhaps felt to be too exacting and therefore a compromise was reached by putting forward the "ideal companion".* 13 A. K. Coomaraswamy (H. O. S. Misselanny of Pāli Terms, s.v.) equates *kalyāṇamittata* to *mahittma* or *mahattā*; but this is not very convincing. The uniformity of the language of these stanzas and the absence of other evidence prevents one from classing some verses to be earlier or later than the rest. It may be only *probable* that the stanzas in *Mvastu* preserve an older version, though both Pāli and BSk. may be traced to an older source which is now lost.

It is also noticeable, from the repetitions in stanzas 6-10 and 11-12 (in *Mvastu*) that the version there is also an enlargement of an earlier *sūtra* but it seems, on the whole, to represent an earlier stratum than the Pāli, though the latter will be seen later to be considerably old. The possibility of the BSk. being a condensed version of an earlier *sūtra* is out of the question for as a rule, no such tendency could be observed in BSk. works, and it is customary for them to contain expanded and enlarged versions of the same sections that are found more briefly in Pāli. What is significant here is that the *gāthās* in *Mvastu* are far less enlarged than the corresponding *sutta* in Pāli, and besides, the stanzas do not occur in the order in which the corresponding stanzas occur in *Sn.* A stanza parallel to *Sn. 36* occurs at *Divy.* 294. It runs:

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Saṃsevamānaṇaṣya bhavanti snehān
snehānvayaṃ sambhavatiha dūkhhamān/
ādīnavāṇa snehagatam vidītā
ekaṃ kare khaḍgaviṣṇaṃakapalāḥ
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(Attachments arise to him who associates with companions; misery in this world comes into being through attachment. Realizing the evil consequences bound up with attachments let him wander alone as the rhinoceros. The stanza that bears the closest resemblance in *Mvastu* is st. 10,

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Saṃsevamānaṇaṣya siyādi snehān
snehānvayaṃ dūkhhamāṇaṃ prabhottita
putreṣu ādīnavāṃ saṃmṛṣyanta
ekam khaḍgaviṣṇaṃakapalo
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The occurrence of this stanza in *Divy.* may equally suggest that both *Mvastu* and *Divy.* have drawn from an original Khādgaviṣṇāṇa Sutta which is perhaps preserved in entirety in *Sn.* along with subsequent additions and there is sufficient proof to show that the Pāli version is an enlargement of an earlier existing nucleus. The fact that the Pāli *sutta* abounds in lyrical

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13. I am indebted to Miss J. B. Horn for this observation.
beauty and that its general diction of poetical expression is highly refined, the existence of a super-abundance of similes and the use of illustrative examples (e.g. Sn. 48) are in support of it. The uniformity of the stanzas in language, syntax, style and metre shows that the expansion has taken place very early. Both Nd2 and Ap. (I. 8-13) contain the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta in full, and this shows that the sutta as it is found now was known from comparatively early times.

40

Before examining linguistic and other internal data it would be of some use to see how later writers looked upon this sutta. The Comy. and Nd2 divide it up into four vaggas. The division is as follows:—

Comy. Vagga I, Sn. 35-44; II, Sn. 45-54; III, Sn. 55-64; IV, Sn. 65-75.
Nd2. Vagga I, Sn. 35-44; II, Sn. 45-55; III, Sn. 56-65; IV, Sn. 66-75.

The Commentator states that all the stanzas were uttered as udāna by Pacceka Buddhas and gives the attihuppatti (context) of each stanza with the stories of these Pacceka Buddhas, some of whom he mentions by name. The 41 stanzas of the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta are incorporated in the Pacceka-buddhāpadāna (Ap. I, 7 ff). The additional gathās there (i.e. 1-7 and 50-58) serve as an introduction and a conclusion respectively. An extra stanza is added to the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta proper, i.e. stanza 8 which differs from 9 (=Sn. 35) only in line c: mettena cittena hitānukampī (= Mvaṣtu. st. 2c). The Comment. of the Apādāna too mentions the names of several Pacceka Buddhas, but they are different from those given in SnA. The inclusion of this sutta in Ap. and the fact that it is commented in Nd2 prove that it was known to the compilers of these respective works as it exists to-day. The independent existence of this sutta prior to the compilation of Sn. is seen from Nd2 and Mvaṣtu. which do not place it in a particular group such as the Uraγa Vagga.

41

This sutta, like the Uraγa Sutta, is undoubtedly meant for the benefit of the muni and belongs to that category of suttas which may be termed the “muni-class”. Forty of the forty-one stanzas contain the refrain exhorting one to lead a life of solitude.14

14. Sn. 45 which contains no refrain is to be found at Vin. I, 350, M. III, 154, Dh. 328, 329, J. III, 488 and Dha. A. 1, 52 along with Sn. 46. In the above instances the line eko care mātangaraṭṭhā na vida (vide I) is to be seen in place of the usual refrain. It is probable that the simile with the elephant was earlier than that with the thinnoceros whose solitary habits were not so well-known as those of the elephant. It is significant that in the older “lists” of wild animals khoppa is not mentioned. (J.V. 416 is obviously late). In view of the above facts it is highly probable that Sn. 45 and 46 were importations to this sutta and that the line d of Sn. 46 was changed to suit the sutta.

The language of the sutta, on the whole is rather old, and may be said to belong to stratum of early gathā-Pali. Old forms, both verbal and nominal, archaic compounds, the vocabulary free from any late words, the simple constructions and very easy syntax suggest that the gathās are rather old. The easy and fluent style and the diction which is definitely poetic add much to the lyrical beauty of the poem. The abundance of similes and the occasional imagery used may lead one to assign a more recent date to the poem, but these two facts merely emphasise the merits of the sutta as a ballad. The absence of anything artificial or laboured removes all doubts of its early date. The external evidence from Nd2 and Ap. is quite overwhelming in favour of a comparatively early date, though Mvaṣtu. seems to suggest that there may have existed a version still earlier than that found at Sn., from which both Sn. and Mvaṣtu. developed their respective versions.

The metre of the poem is regular Trisūṭhī with anacrusis15 and jagati-pādas16 in a few lines. Neumann (Reden, p. 413) points out tmesis in Sn. 53b, which should normally read, sahājapadumānkhādo vāma. Tmesis is a very old poetical device which is rather frequent even in the Ṛgveda.

The sutta contains many linguistic forms that may be classified as old. There are three old prp. forms in -aṇ, old absolutives as chetvāna Sn. 44c, bhīva Sn. 62b, agent nouns like sahāti Sn. 42c and sammaṇatī Sn. 69c, many historical absolutives ending in -ya, e.g. ahhāya, vīneyya, Sn. 58c, abhībhuya, Sn. 45c, etc., optative 3rd singulars in -itha, e.g. labhetha, Sn. 45a, 46a, etc. (usually confined to the poetic language), probable dialectal forms as kammatāra Sn. 48b, suhajja Sn. 37a, and poetic forms as seritam Sn. 39c, 40c, vaco (Vedic) Sn. 54c, rakhitamānasō Sn. 63b, upekaṃ Sn. 67c, 73a, apeekā Sn. 38b, and many elements which can be traced to Vedic, e.g. atha, etc. Some of the numerous cpds. used in the sutta seem to have become stereotyped already. Metrical lengthening is to be seen at Sn. 38c vansākāliro, Sn. 49a sahā, Sn. 61c muddā and Sn. 70b Satimī. Dukha is found for dukkha at Sn. 67a probably on the analogy of sukha or for purposes of metre. Similarly atthānāmi and karaṇattāha are contracted to attāna Sn. 54a and karaṇattā Sn. 75a respectively. Judging from these instances the sutta as a whole bears a stamp of antiquity.

A few linguistic forms and other peculiarities of interest are:—Khaggavisāṇa-kappo Sn. 35d-44d and 46d-75d (already discussed), vide Nd2. 129 and SnA. 65. This sutta abounds in cpds; some of them like yenicchakāya Sn. 39b, itariśarena Sn. 42b, yathābhārāntam Sn. 53c, analaṃkarītāvā Sn. 59b, are of special interest here as they occur in the prose canonical idiom.

15. Vide Helmer Smith, SnA. 638. He points out anacrusis in Sn. 35b, 40c, 41c, 45c, 59b, 63c, 68c, 69c, and 71c.
16. ibid. Sn. 47a, 50a, 60ab, 66a and 70c.
as well. Snēha Sn. 36a cp. 36c. Both sneha and sineha occur in this sutta: see sinhadosam at Sn. 66c. There is no hard and fast rule regarding the consonantal group sn- in poetry, though prose generally prefers the forms with svarabhakti; (also vide Geiger, §52). Statistics would throw hardly any light on this point, for the use of forms with or without svarabhakti is mainly governed by metrical exigencies and poetic idiosyncrasies. Phahoti Sn. 36b is used in both prose and verse in the sense of "arise!" though pabhavati is restricted to poetry (s.v., P.T.S.). Pekkhamāno Sn. 36c, etc. There are 18 medial ppr. forms in māna in this sutta. Of the 350 ppr. forms in Sn. as many as 139 are medial, 107 of which end in -māna. The fact that this form is used in all periods of Pāli does not preclude the possibilities of the stanzas being old when other corroborative evidence is taken into account. Suhāje Sutta 37a (ep. kosajja) appears to be a dialectical word. The Pāli word parallel to Sk. suhṛd is suhāda, but this form probably was an analogical derivation from the abstract sau-hṛd-ya>-sohajja. The other possibility is that sohajja the secondary form from suhāda became suhajja by the weakening of the vowel o; o>u cp. Sk. asaur>-Māgadhī aso>-P. asu also Gen. pl. guṇam (Sk. goṇam) and Sk. sadyah>-P. saju. Sahitā Sn. 42c (ep. saṃmāsitā Sn. 69c). There are 21 historical agent nouns in Sn, which should all be ascribed to an early stratum in Pāli though canonical and later prose also contains them. Atho Sn. 43b, atho is formed from the copulative (and adverbial) particle atha and the enclitic u, and can be traced back to the later hymns of the Rgveda and the Śatapatha Brāhmana. This compound particle appears to be restricted to poetry and occurs no less than 25 times in Sn. alone. Saddhiṣcaraṇa Sn. 45b, 46b, saddhiš-cara (the adjectival suffix from ś-cara) cp. dada in paññadāda Kh. VIII 10 or kāmadada P. V. II, 9.1. As the cpd. is formed from the indeclinable saddhi and it retains the nasal as in anālakārtīvī Sn. 59b, ratiṁdīvaṁ Sn. 507c, 114b it is of special interest. Kammāra Sn. 48a is a Prakritism used in all stages of the language, in the specialised meaning of "smith". Sk. karma-kāra>P. Itānima-kāra>"kamma-āra (cp. ajja-utta for uyyāputra)>P. kammāra; cp. Kṣiṇagāra>P. Kusināra. Phassaye Sn. 54b is probably a dialectical form. The root spṛṣ is treated as a verb in class X, perhaps on the analogy of forms like cintaye. The direct historical forms should be phāse and phuse. Rakkhitaṁmaṇaśana Sn. 63b, nom. sg. is formed by adding the adjectival six. -na to mānasā the secondary form of manasā. This too is a pure poetic form.

The doctrinal import of this sutta has already been touched upon. It has been emphasised earlier that the quest of the secluded life pertains to the earliest stage of Buddhism and sheds much light on the life of the hermits (munāya). A noticeable development in doctrine in the sutta is the concept of a noble companion (39). It has been pointed out above that the Khaddāgaviśāṇa Gāthā in Mvastu, make no mention of this type of companion. If the version in Mvastu is considered as representing an earlier form of this sutta, perhaps a form nearer the nucleus out of which the present long sutta has developed, it may be justifiable to infer that this concept is a later accretion. On the other hand, it is more probable that the idea of a kalyāṇa-mitta developed in the Theravāda School before the time of composition of the Pāli Khaggavīśāṇa Sutta. The references to kalyāṇa-mitta (virtuous companion) at Sn. 338a, mittasampadā (good companionship) at Kh. VIII, 14, sahāya-sampada at Sn. 47a, etc. (s.v., P.T.S. for more references) do not make it clear whether the idea developed early or not, but the idea of the kalyāṇa-mitta as the spiritual advisor or guide appears frequently in younger contexts (s.v., P.T.S.). The term parallel to the earlier concept in Buddhism is to be found in sādhusaṅgā of the epics (Mbh.). It is not in the latter developed meaning that these terms occur in this sutta. Although this idea is rather contradictory to that of ekacariya it cannot be considered as late. The uniformity in language and metre makes the possibilities of a wholesale interpolation improbable. The lack of consistency in the logical trend of the sutta may indicate that the verses had existed earlier in some unsettled order and that the present order is due to the efforts of a monastic editor.

Another important concept that is taken for granted is mettā. It is alluded to at Sn. 42a, Cattudissapapatiha ca hoti. (He has no conflicts from the four quarters), and is mentioned later on in the sutta at Sn. 73 along with upekkhā, karunā, vimutti and muditā. The idea of mettā (friendliness, amiity) is a central concept in Buddhism, both early and late. Four of the five items mentioned at Sn. 73 came later to be classified as the brahmavihāras. Besides the fact that no specific mention of the brahmavihāras is made, the four items which constitute it do not occur here in their classified order; i.e. mettā, karunā, muditā and upekkhā. There is no doubt whatsoever that these concepts go back to the earliest phase of Buddhism and perhaps Mrs. Rhys Davids is right when she speaks of brahmavihāra as a later term for these four items, though the name itself is not late and is applied to mettā alone at Sn. 151d. This sutta thus reflects a time prior to these concepts being labelled as brahmavihāras.

The expression aṭṭhāyā attihāni at Sn. 58c (having known the attah) demands attention. The explanation at Nā2, 85, attata, para'ttha, ubhaya'ttha, didhāhamma'ttha, sampārayika'ttha and paṇama'ttha (own
welfare, others' welfare, welfare of both, welfare in this world, welfare after-death and highest welfare), merely suggests the various implications. Sn. 111 agrees with this explanation. It is quite probable that attha here meant not only paramattha—the summum bonum in Buddhism, but embraces a still wider meaning as suggested by the commentaries and is probably connected with the attha suggested earlier in connection with the Aṭṭhaka Vagga (PBR 1, 3, p. 143).

All the other terms and topics of doctrinal import in the sutta are to be met with in other Pāli works, both old and young, and therefore demand no particular attention. Worldly attachments and ties (Sn. 35 ff.), lustful tendencies (Sn. 50), materialistic leanings (Sn. 54), and perverse views (Sn. 55), are denounced. The five obstacles to progress (mentioned by number only) are to be abandoned (Sn. 66) and upekkhā is to be developed (Sn. 67). The positive side of the life of a muni discussed in Sn. 65-74 necessitates the mention of many terms which have acquired a technical significance. The complete list of instructions at Sn. 69 may seem to appear rather late on account of the fact that many important concepts are heaped together, but the haphazard manner in which the items occur does not show any sign of lateness. Moreover, all the topics mentioned there are quite consistent with the general theme of the sutta as well as the life of the early hermits. Rāga, dosa and moha which are mentioned at Sn. 74a suggest that they have almost reached the stage of being classified into the stereotyped group of the three akusalamulānī; but the term as such does not occur here. Generally speaking, the sutta on doctrinal evidence represents an early phase of Buddhism.

43

Other internal evidence consists of social conditions reflected in the sutta and other casual references. As far as social conditions go not many data can be gathered, as the sutta paints a picture of the life of recluse only. The reference made to some (ekā) discontented pabbajitas at Sn. 43 may be an allusion to a contemporary sect or class. It is difficult to say who these recluse were from the scanty evidence available. The stanza seems to bear a faint connection with Sn. 45ab, which can be considered as referring to the philosophy of such a sect. Yet, it is not possible to establish a definite link between the two, as sānuyikā vimuttin may not refer to any particular view, but to temporal joys. It is only probable that these two stanzas refer to a sect of materialists (Cārvākas). There are numerous references to materialists and their doctrines in the Nikāyas (Sāmaññaphalā Sutta, etc.), and according to Rhys Davids, they must have preceded Buddhism as early Buddhist literature mentions them. The line Sn. 75b, nikkāraṇā dullabhā aja mitta (friends without a motive are rare today) seems to refer to the time of composition of the sutta. This by itself is of no great significance, for human nature has been the same through the ages. Along with this may be compared Th. 1, 949-980 where Phussa prophesies that the future of the Sangha would be gloomy. The passage is a condemnation of the white-robed ascetics, and shows the rivalry between the ascetics and the monks. The prophecy actually alludes to the time of compilation of these gāthās. In the Sutta Nipāta the significant point is the mention of the word aja, though it does not in any way help to determine the date of the sutta.

44

Taking all the evidence into consideration an early date may be assigned to the sutta. Linguistically, it is seen to preserve an early stratum of Pāli. Doctrinally, it represents an early phase of Buddhism, tinged with the germs of some important tenets of that phase of Buddhism which came to be termed Theravāda. External evidence within the Pāli Canon itself suggests an early date for all the stanzas of the sutta, but evidence from Mvastu and Divy seem to indicate that the Pāli sutta was an enlargement of an earlier nucleus. Metre shows that all the stanzas in the poem should belong to the same period if not to one author. The style too is uniform throughout the sutta.

THE MUNI SUTTA

45

The Muni Sutta portrays certain characteristics of the muni—the sage. The poem agrees in theme with the Uraga and Khaggavisāna Suttas. These three suttas together with Moneyya Sutta (i.e. Nālaka excluding its vaṭṭhugāthā) can be considered as the proper "Muni—ballads", though there is constant mention of the attributes of the muni in the greater part of the Sabhīya Sutta and many stuttas of the Aṭṭhaka Vagga such as Jāra, Tissaṃetteyya and Māgandiya. It has already been noted that the Uraga Sutta resembles this sutta in many respects. While the Uraga Sutta describes the ideal bhikkhu, the Muni Sutta gives a descriptive definition...

19. Vide Sn. 105, sānuyikā vimuttin tī lokiyasamāpattinī, sā tu appicchitaśāmaye eva paccanīkehi vimuccanato sānuyikā vimuttī tī rocatti (Cp. PsA. III, 552 ff.)—Temporal emancipation means worldly attainments. It is called temporal emancipation because whenever one indulges (in these pleureus, cp. Sn. 54b) one is emancipated from what is unpleasant.

of the \textit{muni}. Generally speaking, there appears no fundamental difference between the \textit{muni} and the \textit{bhikkhu} in early Buddhism, and the terms are interchangeable, except when \textit{muni} specifically refers to the Buddha. The qualities attributed to the \textit{muni} are often associated with the \textit{bhikkhu}, and sometimes with \textit{brāhmaṇa}, \textit{khattiya}, \textit{vedaqa} and \textit{sottiya} in a strict Buddhist sense. Although \textit{bhikkhu} and \textit{muni} are virtually synonymous there seems to be a subtle difference between the two. While renunciation, \textit{pabbajjā} (becoming a religious mendicant), detachment and \textit{ekacariya} (life of solitude) are emphasised of the \textit{bhikkhu}, the \textit{muni} is described as a person who plays a more important rôle. This is quite evident from his description in the \textit{Muni} and \textit{Moneyya Suttas}, and the type of epithets used about him. In addition to the possession of all the characteristics of the \textit{bhikkhu}, there appears something nobler and more positive about him than about the \textit{bhikkhu}. He is a more evolved being (\textit{bhavittata} who has reached spiritual attainments and instructs others as well. The term \textit{muni} in \textit{Sn.} is used in a much wider meaning than \textit{bhikkhu} in \textit{Th. 1}. As regards the epithets, the \textit{muni} is called a \textit{mahesi} (\textit{Sn. 208}) and is described as \textit{tādi} (\textit{Sn. 219a}), \textit{yatatta} (\textit{Sn. 216b}), \textit{sāṅhātatta} (\textit{Sn. 216c}) and \textit{tiṭatta} (\textit{Sn. 215b}). Besides the eight references\textsuperscript{22} where Buddha is called \textit{mahesi}, the true \textit{brāhmaṇa} (in the strict Buddhist sense) is spoken of as \textit{mahesi} at \textit{Sn. 646},\textsuperscript{23} also the \textit{khinnāsava} is referred to as a \textit{mahesi} at \textit{Sn. 82} and \textit{481}, though the allusion is to the Buddha. The \textit{epībjet tādi} is rather puzzling as it cannot be easily differentiated from \textit{tādi} (Sk. \textit{tādāk} also \textit{P. tādio}) the demonstrative adjective. Yet, there are sufficient instances in \textit{Sn.} itself where \textit{tādi} is clearly used in the pregnant sense of \textit{ecce homo}. The \textit{muni} is \textit{ubhayaevanā tādi} at \textit{Sn. 712} (unchanged under both circumstances) in the \textit{Nālaka Sutta}. \textit{Paramaṭṭha} speaks of the \textit{bhikkhu} as, \textit{pāramagato na pacceti tādi} (gone over yonder such—a steadfast one—is he who returns not;—\textit{Sn. 803a}). The Buddha is called \textit{asitam} and \textit{tādim} at \textit{Sn. 957},\textsuperscript{24} cp. \textit{Sn. 219a} \textit{asitam anāsavanam}. The \textit{maggajina} is called \textit{tādi} at \textit{Sn. 86b} in the \textit{Cunda Sutta}. The \textit{brāhmaṇa}, \textit{khettajina} (cp. Sk. \textit{kṣetrajja}), \textit{vedaqa} and \textit{sottiya}—all of them in a Buddhist sense—are called \textit{tādi} in the \textit{Sabbhya Sutta} (\textit{Sn. 519-532}). Another attribute of the \textit{muni}—\textit{yatatta} (self-restrained)—is repeated at \textit{Sn. 723} in the \textit{Moneyya Sutta}. Homeless recluses are called \textit{yatatta} at \textit{Sn. 490a}. It is practically the same idea conveyed by the term \textit{sāṅhātatta} (self-subdued). The \textit{brāhmins} of old are referred to as \textit{sāṅhātattā} at \textit{Sn. 284b} (\textit{Brāhmanadhammakka Sutta}), and \textit{surasāṅhātattā} occurs at \textit{Sn. 464b} (\textit{Sundarikabññadavīja Sutta}). The \textit{muni} is known to be \textit{tiṭatta} (steadfast), so also is the virtuous monk described in the \textit{Kimsila Sutta} (\textit{Sn. 328a}) the \textit{bhikkhu} who renounces the world in the proper manner (\textit{Sn. 370}) and the good \textit{brāhmaṇa} (\textit{Sn. 519b}). Further, it is used as an attribute of the \textit{Tathāgata} at \textit{Sn. 477}. The \textit{muni} is also called \textit{asitam} and \textit{anāsavanam} (independent and free from the bines). The Buddha is described as \textit{asito} at \textit{Sn. 251d} and \textit{957b}. The true \textit{brāhmaṇa} (\textit{brāhna} in the text) is called \textit{asito} at \textit{Sn. 519c}. Again the monk who has drawn out the dart is described as \textit{asito} at \textit{Sn. 593b} and so is the \textit{muni} in the \textit{Moneyya Sutta}. The \textit{māna} Dhotaka begs for instruction so that he may lead a life of peace and independence; (\textit{idheva santo asito careyyam} —\textit{Sn. 1065a}).

It is evident that these standard epithets of the \textit{muni} definitely speak of the positive side of his life. Many of these terms are not employed to describe the \textit{bhikkhu} though he may possess the qualities which these epithets attribute to the \textit{muni}. There is some implied superiority of the \textit{muni} over the \textit{bhikkhu} though the ideal of the \textit{bhikkhu} is in no way to be understood as falling short of that of the \textit{muni}.

There are various other attributes of the \textit{muni} enumerated in the \textit{sutta}. He has no fixed abode and he is free from any acquaintanceship (\textit{Sn. 207}). He has eradicated all sin; and is the lonely wanderer (cp. \textit{Sn. 35-75}) who has visioned the state of peace (\textit{Sn. 208}). He sees the ultimate destruction of birth, leaves reasoning behind and is under no limitations of time and space (\textit{Sn. 209}). He is free from covetousness and has reached the Beyond—\textit{pāra}—(\textit{Sn. 210}). He is \textit{sabbabhikkhu}—one who overcomes every obstacle and is superior to all others; he has perfect knowledge and is unshamed by the worldly phenomena and is emancipated. (\textit{These are} the attributes of the \textit{Bhagavā} mentioned at \textit{M. I, 171 S. II. 284, Vin. I. 8} and \textit{Dh. 353})—(\textit{Sn. 211}). He is wise and composed, and is free from the mental obsessions; he delights in meditation, wanders alone and leads others (\textit{Sn. 212-213}). He is firm and straight, discerning, free from lust and he shrinks from sin. His senses are serene and he is endowed with propriety of speech (\textit{Sn. 214-215}). He is self-restrained and self-subdued (\textit{Sn. 216}). He knows the world and sees the highest \textit{attha} (well-being).

\textit{The sutta} in every respect is Buddhistic and the terms and values in it bear ample testimony to that effect. The simple allegory taken from the uprooting of a tree or of not sowing the seed (of \textit{taṇḍhā}) developed to a considerable extent in \textit{Sn. 208-209}, the shunning of resting places of the mind (\textit{nivesanāni})—\textit{Sn. 210}, cp. also \textit{Aṭṭhaka Vagga}, remaining unsufficed by worldly phenomena, and such other central concepts of early Buddhism, prove that the \textit{sutta} contains very early Buddhist sayings and there is much evidence to show that the subject-matter of this \textit{sutta} is very old. The

\textsuperscript{21} See \textit{Sabbhya Sutta} \textit{Sn. 111, 6.}
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Sn. 176a, 177a, 915b, 1054a, 1057a, 1061b, 1067b, and 1083a.}
theme of the *sutta* (as well as that of many other poems of *Sn.*) is closely connected with the yogic ideal. The *muni* chooses with stoic indifference the middle way between self-mortification and attachment to worldly enjoyment. This ideal as current in pre-Asokan times coincides with the yogic ideal promulgated in the *Gītā* (*Bhag.* II-VI. cp. *Bhag.* II, 56; II, 69; V, 6; V, 28; VI, 3, etc., where the *muni* is mentioned in similar words).

46

The stanzas themselves need a close examination before the internal, external and indirect evidence is taken up for discussion. A simple analysis of the *sutta* shows that its stanzas fall into three groups; viz. —

Group I. *Sn.* 207-210,
Group II. *Sn.* 211-219 and
Group III. *Sn.* 220-221.

Group I.—The four opening stanzas seem to form an independent unit —a short poem by itself. Unlike the nine stanzas that follow, these verses do not contain the refrain (*tam vā pi dhīrā munin vedanyanti*); but it is quite significant that the word *muni* occurs at least once in every stanza of the whole *sutta*. *Sn.* 207 furnishes the introduction to the independent unit as well as to the whole poem. A noteworthy feature of this stanza is that it is in *Anuṣṭubh śloka* whereas the rest of the poem is in *Trisūrbh*. The stanza itself cannot, on this account, be brushed aside as a late introductory verse, for it was obviously known to have belonged to the *Muni Sutta* at least some time prior to the compilation of the *Milindapāṇi*. The stanza itself breathes the same tone as the opening verses of the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*—cp. *etan bhavam sathave pakkhamãno, Sn.* 37th. *Gāme akubbaṁ muni sathavâni at Sn.* 844th is also reminiscent of the opening pāda. The same idea is expanded at *Dh.* 212-216, viz.—*Dh.* 212 Piyato jāyati soko piyato jāyati bhayam (from what is pleasant arise grief and fear) —, *Dh.* 213 penato... (from what is pleasant arise grief and fear) —, *Dh.* 214 ratiyā... (from what is pleasant arise grief and fear) —, *Dh.* 215 kamato... (from what is pleasant arise grief and fear) —, *Dh.* 216 tanhâya... (from aversion...). All these causes of suffering or sorrow seem to be embraced by the term *santhava*, cp. also *J.* IV. 312.

The next stanza (*Sn.* 208) introduces the familiar Buddhist allegory (already referred to) in which *santhava* (Comy. *tanha*) is the tree that has to be uprooted. What has arisen has to be annihilated (eradicated), it should not be allowed to grow anew (lit. not replanted), and it should not be allowed to grow up when it has sprung. This allegory is further worked out in the next stanza (*Sn.* 209). The *vattāni*—lit. fields or bases—have to be reckoned, and the seed (*Comy. abhisankhāraviññāna*—"storing intellect") has to be destroyed (*Comy. himsipta, vadhitvā*—Sk. *pramārṇya from vṛ. mṛṇatī*)—and it is not to be watered with *sineha* (desire). *Sn.* 210 forms the conclusion of this independent unit. Judging by the ideas in them these four stanzas, taken by themselves, appear to be very old. This is further strengthened by the Commentator’s testimony. He says that the *uppatti* (origin) of the whole *sutta* is not the same (*Sn.A.* 254). He gives the same *uppatti* for these four stanzas, but gives separate *uppatīs* for each succeeding stanza. The Commentator’s introduction seems rather strained and reports a somewhat incredible incident found also at *A.* III. 67-69 (Mātāputtika Sutta // o *A.* III. 559). This tradition though as late as cc. 5th century A.C. cannot be totally ignored, as it is supported by the *Anguttara Nikāya*. On the other hand even if there is no connection between the incident narrated in *Sn.A.* 254 ff. and these four stanzas, the very fact of the existence of the strong tradition that these four stanzas were found together, the internal evidence of the subject matter, and the recurrence of the opening stanza four times in *Milp.* attest to their great antiquity.

Group II.—The refrain is found in all these stanzas and all of them are uniform except *Sn.* 213 which contains seven pādas instead of four. The three additional pādas are the same as *Sn.* 71th in the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*. The influence of the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* is felt in *ekam carantam munim appamattam at Sn.* 213th and, *tam ahu ekam munim carantam at Sn.* 208th besides the repeated pāda *Sn.* 213th. The four lines would have been complete and the stanza would have passed without special notice, but for these additional pādas which in all probability were interpolated later. It is very unlikely that the whole stanza was an interpolation, although the ideas contained in it are closely related to the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*. Similarly *Sn.* 211 cannot be considered as an interpolation though the first three pādas occur elsewhere in connection with the Buddha’s meeting with the *ājīvaka* Upaka. In all these instances these words are put into the mouth of the Bhagavā making him utter a boastful statement, which is quite contrary to his usual reticence about himself. It is quite probable that this was the original occurrence of these lines and that other texts may have drawn upon this stanza in reporting the incident between the Buddha and the mendicant Upaka. The repetition of the simile, *tasañey va ujjum* (like a shuttle that is straight) at *Sn.* 464th and 497th does not indicate that the idea has been borrowed in any of these instances, but that it was the common property of the poetical language.

23. *Milp.* 385 quotes this stanza thus,—*Bhāsitam-p’etam-madhurāja Bhagavatā devādēviteva Sultanipate, and quotes Sn.* 207. The stanza is the topic of a *pāṭha* at *Milp.* 212 ff. and is quoted several times there.

These nine stanzas form, as it were, the body of the Muni Sutta. They constitute the ballad proper, with the emphasis on the muni clearly brought out by the refrain and the similes at Sn. 213<sup>26</sup>, 214<sup>4</sup> and 215<sup>5</sup>. These stanzas form a homogeneous unit, just as the first four stanzas form a unit by themselves. The chief ideas of this section are seen to occur again in other ballads of Sn. as well as in other metrical works. Padas and lines of many stanzas are also repeated in other metrical works.<sup>25</sup>

According to Buddhaghosa the 11 stanzas beginning with Sn. 211 were uttered on various occasions by the Buddha and these sayings were gathered from various isolated instances and knitted together into a composite sutta. The appattis (origins) given by him are:

Sn. 211—uttered on the occasion of Buddha’s meeting the ājīvaka Upaka. (SnA. 258) cp. Comy. on Dh. 353. Sn. 212—uttered about Khadiravaniya Revata. (SnA. 261) cp. Comy. on Dh. 98 and Dh. 412, Sn. 213—preached to Suddhodana. (SnA. 262). Sn. 214—uttered after Ciñcāmānavikā’s attempt to malign the Buddha. (SnA. 263) cp. Comy. on Dh. 176 and Sn. 780. Sn. 215—preached to the girl who was inspired by the strictness of the movement of the shuttle. (SnA. 265). Sn. 216—preached on the occasion of the weaver girl’s solution of the Buddha’s riddle. (SnA. 266) cp. Comy. on Dh. 174. Sn. 217—preached to the Pañcagadagāyaka-brāhmaṇa. (SnA. 270) cp. Comy. on Dh. 367. Sn. 218—preached to the monks, announcing the attainment of arahatship of a monk who had flouted four times between home and homelessness. (SnA. 272). Sn. 219—preached to the monks, announcing Nanda’s attainment of arahatship. (SnA. 273) cp. Comy. on Dh. 15. Sn. 220—preached to the monks, announcing the arahatship of a monk who was alleged to have aided a hunter. (SnA. 275). Sn. 221—preached on the occasion when the Sakiyas argued that a Sotāpanna, even if he is a householder, should be honoured by another who reaches that stage subsequent to him. (SnA. 276).

It is not at all probable that these stanzas were “independent utterances” made on “various occasions” as Bdhgh. says. The coherence of thought and the inter-dependence between the succeeding verses and those preceding, indicate to what extent these stanzas are connected with one another. In all probability these nine stanzas (and perhaps Sn. 207-210) were the work of a single poet though it is very doubtful whether the two concluding stanzas too belonged to him. The significance of the diversity of the uppattis of these stanzas given by Bdhgh. is that the verses themselves were so well-known that there were separate stories appended to them by Commentarial tradition. This perhaps speaks of the popularity that these verses enjoyed.

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26. The composite character of the Muni Sutta may suggest the existence of different recensions before it took its final shape in Sn. At present it is not possible to decide what recension of it the title Muni-gāthā was applicable. (The possibility of the name referring to all poems in praise of the muni-ideal as suggested by Max Walliser, also needs consideration). The inclusion of the sutta in Sn. is relatively late as compared with the date of its composition.
employed in the *sutta* do not in, any way mar the style as in late artificial poetry. The refrain in *Sn.* 211-219, the popular similes used, and the perfect rhythm and cadence, all point to a literary style which is essentially that of the ballad, and therefore popular.

**Doctrinal Developments**—Besides the epithets used for the *muni*, which have definite values and an underlying technical significance there are a few terms in the *sutta* which show a transition from the general meaning to a more restricted connotation indicating a gradual development in doctrine. The word *santhava* (*Sn.* 207) implies not only acquaintances but also all forms of ties, attachments and worldly bonds arising out of the association with them (cp. *Khaavagisāṇa Sutta*). The words *vatthānī, bhājaya and sinehām*, though allegorically used have a faint technical significance; and these words in course of time came to be looked upon as synonyms for the various objects they stood for. This process is easily discernible, in the case of *sineha* on account of the semantic development of the word (*sineha* = liquid and affection), and became most pronounced in the Commentarial epoch. *Neumann* 29 suggests that *takka* and *sankha* at *Sn.* 209 were references to popular philosophical systems Tārāyā and Sānkhyā. It is not at all likely that *takka* and *sankha* were references to any definite philosophical system so much as to any speculative doctrine which professed to achieve salvation by way of knowledge—*jñāna* as opposed to yoga. 30 Sāṅkha cannot be an allusion to the philosophical system known as Sāṅkhyā originated by Kapila, before Buddhism, but developed centuries later. It has been rightly pointed out by *Neumann* (ibid) that the *muni* seeks no resting place as the yogi as stated at *Mbh.* Sāntiparvan 302, paryakṣhetavā yogāh, sāṅkhyēḥ sāstravinicayāḥ. The phrase *sāṅkha* na upeti, however, is intrinsically connected with *na sankha* gacchati (does not enter the category of, or, is not reckoned as) occurring often in canonical Pāli. The only point worth investigating here is to what category (lit. number) the *muni* does not belong. The explanation of this phrase in the *Comy.* (Sn.A. 257) that the *muni* does not enter the category of “a divine being or an (ordinary) man” or even of “a person of lustful temperament or of malicious temperament”’ sheds some light. In short, the idea implied is that the *muni* is beyond worldly limitations—an idea quite in harmony with the conception of a perfect *muni*.

The term *nivesana* (*Sn.* 210) as ‘a resting place for the mind, a dogma’ is a word adapted by early Buddhism giving it a special meaning. It has no special doctrinal significance, apart from the fact that this specialised

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27. Vide Müller; Pali Gramm. p. 120.
meaning was attached to it from very early times. The idea of being free from such nivesanâi (or-nivesâ 785) occurs also at Sn. 470, 801, 846, and 1055. Sn. 785 describes the nature of dogmatic beliefs. The term pâra and the idea of ‘going beyond’ (pâra + v.gam)—Sn. 210 have been discussed in the introduction to the Pâryâya Vagga. The words ogha and samudda Sn. 219 are used to signify the ills of the world in much the same way as vattâ, bijâ, and sinhe, but ogha seems to have already acquired a technical significance as seen from its occurrences in Sn. 32.

The doctrinal emphasis of this sutta is on the conduct of the muni. This itself shows that the sutta reflects an early period. Most of the terminology of the sutta, apart from the basic concepts such as saṅga, saṅhâra, etc. is not fixed. The terms used in the allegory of the seed and that of reaching the further shore of the samudda (ocean) are seen gradually to acquire a technical significance. This sutta furnishes a great deal of data for the development of early Buddhist terminology. All the available evidence from doctrinal grounds too shows that the sutta appears early.

External evidence.—References made to the Muni Sutta in other works show that the sutta was known before the compilation of these respective works. The Muni-gâthâ are mentioned as one of the sections recited by Śrōṇa Koṭikarna at Divy. 20, and by the merchants at Divy. 35. The Vinaya of the Mulasarvâstivâdins and the Tibetan Dulva include the Muni-gâthâ among the sections recited by Śrōṇa. As Rhys Davids has pointed out, by Muni-gâthâ was meant the Muni Sutta. In one of the places where Milp. (i.e. p. 385) quotes the opening stanza of the Muni Sutta (i.e. Sn. 207) the name of the sutta itself is not mentioned, though reference is made to the Sutta Nikâya, (see note 6). Usually the author of Milp. refers to the whole work rather than to a particular sutta when he makes his quotations; e.g. Saṃyuttanikâya, Suttanipâta, etc. Altogether he makes five references to Sn. in quoting stanzas taken from it. There are other quotations from Sn. with no references to it whatsoever, and at one place (Milp. 36) he quotes Sn. 184 and acknowledges it as a stanza of the Saṃyuttanikâya (S.I. 214). It is only in one instance (Milp. 369) that a sutta in Sn. is mentioned by name; viz. in quoting Sn. 29 he says, Vuttam’ p’etam Mahârâja, Bhagavatâ devatideva Suttanipâta

31. PBR 1, 3, p. 146.
32. ibid. See also the introduction to the Pâryâya Vagga.
35. viz. Milp. 369, 385, 411, 413-414, and 414.

Dhaniyagopâlakasutta. Now, the only occurrence of Sn. 207 in the whole work is as the opening verse of the Muni Sutta, and it may be said with certainty that the author of Milp. knew the Muni Sutta as belonging to Sn. Although Milp. is a comparatively late work (cc. 80 b.c.), all these quotations show that Sn. was perhaps known to its author as it is found to-day.

The earlier inscriptive evidence from the Bhābru Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka shows that the Muni Sutta was a popular piece even as early as the third century B.C. The fact that the Pali versions of the episode of Sûna do not include the Muni Sutta among the pieces recited by him does not in any way prove that the sutta was not known to the compilers of these respective works. It is only in the more enlarged versions of the episode that the Muni Sutta as well as other well known sections of the Scriptures are mentioned. However, the testimony of the Bhābru edict is sufficient to show that the sutta was known in comparatively early times.

The indirect evidence from the position of the sutta in the vagga has been discussed earlier. Yet, it should be observed that the inclusion of the Muni Sutta in Sn. had taken place at least a good many years before the final edition of Milp. Thus, all these isolated references to Muni-gâthâ and quotations from the Muni Sutta strongly support the internal evidence from all sources to establish that the sutta is of great antiquity.

(Continued)
THE CONCEPT OF IDDHI IN EARLY BUDDHIST THOUGHT

Harold W. French

The concept of iddhi, usually translated as potency, psychic or magical power, is as problematic and pervasive for Buddhism as for other religious traditions. The texts themselves indicate different perspectives toward iddhi and modern interpreters exhibit the same tendency. Some, notably the Rhys Davids' and Oldenberg, seem embarrassed by the references, which are not insignificant, and are inclined to minimize the import of iddhi in the tradition. Others, such as Conze, regard it as a quite natural part of the religious quest, and give logical analyses of the reasons for its appearance within Buddhism and other faiths. Conze will say, "To a Buddhist, however refined and intellectual he may be, the impossibility of miracles is not obvious. He does not see why the spiritual must be necessarily impotent in the material world." The presence, in certain people, of special powers which may cause definite effects through rituals, shamanistic exercises, etc., is commonplace in the history of religions. Magic may be viewed as a pre-scientific attempt to discover the laws by which nature can be controlled. Man is conscious of the limitations which nature imposes upon him and which he resents. Humility before a deity who ultimately established these natural limitations is, in part, the religious posture. The balancing part is man's attempt to claim his birthright as one who feels it destiny to have dominion, and he seeks to wrest the controls from who or whatever thwarts him and wants to keep him in his place.

Humility before an all-powerful being thus alternates with the bold approach to the throne, in which man lays bold of the horns of the altar. In fact the two postures are not so polar as they may seem. Whereas the petition may be voiced in the optative mood and the incantation in the indicative, the attempt, obviously, is to influence the powers that be, in either case. Psychoanalytically, the child may come to appropriate parental power either by frontal challenge or by obedient submission. If he cannot fulfill his own infantile feeling of being absolute, he seeks to fulfill the expectations of that which is. With parental fall from divinity an Almighty deity fulfills his need for order and helps him to act with a strong guarantee of success. But the order which prevails still, as in childhood, represents the triumph of feeling over law. Thus, when the Bishop assures Monica, "It cannot be that a son of these tears should be lost," he may be validat-


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ing the essentially magical force of her prayers. Her son, Augustine, despite his own will and perhaps also God's inscrutable plan, will be bent by Monica's zeal in prayer. Sophisticated scientific knowledge still does not furnish the key to overcoming some of man's most profound frustrations. Religion, incorporating at all levels something of the magical approach, teaches that the prayer of dominant desire is effective, that the wish is father to the deed, that nothing, ultimately, is too good to be true. Or, as Malinowski phrases it, magic ritualizes human optimism, enhancing man's faith in the victory of hope over fear. Nor will religion-magic accept a wholly futuristic fulfillment. Present 'earnest' of what shall ultimately transpire are the dividends which religion must provide its adherents.

Buddhism had to demonstrate its capacity to provide present satisfactions in competition with rival approaches. As it began to establish itself, its claims to authority were often underscored with displays of supernatural power and the working of miracles, which became among its most potent causes of conversions. Dependence on these were always suspect, as will later be explored, but such powers were present, by common consent, and their effect could neither be ignored or denied. They do not arise with Buddhism but are a part of the religious substratum of Indian life upon which Buddhism, along with Hinduism and other faiths, developed.

The word, iddhi, does not always denote supernatural or magical powers, but has the rather ambiguous character of the similar Greek words, dynamis and xarisma, sometimes meaning mighty works which are quantitatively more impressive than those performed by most persons, or special, yet not unnatural gifts possessed by a rather few. As the same Greek words can refer to acts or powers which are qualitatively different, i.e., more supernatural in character, so the word iddhi can have this sense also.

To the former category belong a number of usages which may be cited. In the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta, four marvellous gifts (katūhi iddhihi) are attributed to the Great King of Glory. But there is nothing supernatural in these gifts, which are a handsome appearance, long life, good health, and popularity with both laymen and Brahmins. Again, from the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta, iddhi refers to the mighty power obtained by a king through practice in military tactics. The iddhis of Gotama, when at home as a boy, are listed as the possession of a beautiful garden, soft

4. Ibid., p. 2.
clothing, comfortable lodging, pleasant music and good food.\(^5\) Still other passages refer to the *iddhi*, the majestic movement of animals, or to the craft and power of a hunter, etc.\(^6\) Buddhaghosa gives nine sorts of *iddhis*, mostly intellectual, at *Aṭṭhāsālinī* 91. It is obvious that many usages of the word do not imply magical qualities.

But specifically magical powers were regarded as commonplace enough to be catalogued and systematized in lists which recur with little variation. They are, as given in the *Akaṅkheyya Sutta*, “Being one to become multiform, being multiform to become one; to become visible or to become invisible; to go through a wall or a fence without being stopped, or a mountain, as if through air; to penetrate up and down through solid ground, as if through water; to walk on the water without dividing it, as if on solid ground; to travel cross-legged through the sky, like the birds on the wing; to touch and feel with the hand even the sun and moon, mighty and powerful though they be; and to reach in the body even up to the heaven of Brahma.”\(^7\)

Specific examples are given of manifestations of certain of the above, *iddhi*, and still others are mentioned. In a passage from the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta*, the Buddha speaks: “Ananda! Whosoever has thought out, developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to *iddhi*, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means for advancement, and as a basis for edification, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a *kalpa* or for that portion of the *kalpa* which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thought them out, and thoroughly practised and developed them, and he could therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for a *kalpa*, or for that portion of the *kalpa* which has yet to run.”\(^8\) There follows the suggestion that Ananda should have taken this hint, repeated twice again, and asked the Tathāgata to live on through the *kalpa* for the good and happiness of the multitudes. But Ananda’s heart was possessed by Māra and he did not do this. Shortly afterwards Māra directly entreats the Tathāgata to die. The Tathāgata assents that the earlier conditions (that he would not die till his disciples were trained to carry out his work) have been met, and he assures Māra that he will die three months hence. This is interpreted as meaning that, by the power of *iddhi*, he deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his allotted sum of life, just as, by the same power, he could have extended it immeasurably.\(^9\)

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8. *ibid.*, pp. 40-44.
They are dependent on addictions because their spiritual powers (iddhi) are not developed.  

Some manifestations of iddhi, as related in the scriptures, are not clearly either magical or natural. When Devadatta conspires to kill the Buddha, those whom he sends to kill the Buddha are instead converted. The first man, returning to report to Devadatta, says, “I cannot, Lord, deprive the Blessed One of life. Great is the iddhi and might of the Blessed One.” Heere the footnote reads, “The iddhi here must be the power of religious persuasion,” which may not represent the interpretation given this passage by the early Sangha. One of Devadatta’s next attempts on the life of the Buddha involved the driving of a wild elephant against him in a narrow street. The elephant, however, remains standing before the Buddha, paralyzed by the iddhi of his friendly thought, and then turns tamely back. This incident, and doubtless the other, was understood as more than the power of religious persuasion, one might imagine, by those compiling the record.

The question as to who may possess iddhi, and by what means, is an interesting one. Childers, as Rhys Davids points out, is not correct in stating that iddhi is the peculiar attribute of the arahats. Indeed, only a few arahats, notably Moggallāna, were famed for this achievement. Rhys Davids is emphatic in denying that Devadatta, who possessed iddhi, was an arahat. In the list of different varieties of iddhi from the Vinaya, these are specifically described as puthagganika (or puthagganika) iddhi, belonging, thus, to the common persons, laymen, unconverted, and, by implication, having a worldly rather than a spiritual goal.

But that the possession of iddhi is attained without mental or moral qualification can be refuted from various passages. With Devadatta, again, his iddhi is evidenced in his ability to change shape at will, and he appears as a child clad with a girdle of snakes in order to impress Prince Ajatasattu. But the moment that the thought, “It is I who ought to lead the Buddhist Sangha,” arose, he was deprived of his power of iddhi. Something of a moral basis for iddhi is thus implied, and this is more clearly specified elsewhere.

In one of the Jātaka stories, the Buddha, in one of his former births as a wise blind man, Suppāraka, had been asked to captain a ship despite his blindness, since no ship with him aboard had ever met with an accident. The ship enters a perilous situation, and Suppāraka, making ritual pre-

parations (bathing in scented water, putting on new garments, with a bowlful of food in his hands) stands in the bow of the ship and states the following Asseveration of Truth:

“As long as I remember, ever since I’ve been grown up, I am not aware of having intentionally hurt even one living creature. By this truth, may the ship return to safety.”

“For four months the ship had been voyaging to distant parts, but now, as though she had psychic powers (iddhi), through the might of psychic power (iddhi) she reached the seaport of Brabukacchā in one day.”

The iddhi whereby the ship was moved out of peril to safety with inordinate speed (in the final stage of its journey it became amphibious, also, travelling over dry land) was attained through the ritual pronunciation, itself based on consciousness of having lived virtuously. The Asseveration itself is not a prayer invoking the aid of a divine being, but simply assumes the potency of the moral life.

In Milinda, moral habit is specified as the basis of psychic power (iddhipāda) as of all skilled mental states. The four bases themselves are concentration of intention of energy, of consciousness, and of investigation, each one united to earnest thought and the restraint of the senses. If, as Rhys Davids says, the iddhi are the property of the unconverted and worldly especially, it would seem difficult to account for the obvious moral path to their attainment. In the Akaṅkkheya Sutta in which the original list of iddhis is given, the ethical requirement is again underscored. “If he should desire (a specific iddhi), let him then fulfill all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone.”

The discipline of concentrated attention is mentioned as a requirement for the exercise of iddhi, also, in an account of how Moggallāna met his death. Among all the disciples of the Buddha, Moggallāna’s iddhi was supreme. But it was not sufficient to avert his being beaten to death by clubs. The import of the account from Milinda seems to be twofold: First, being distracted by the attack, he could not concentrate and so bring his iddhi into effect, and second, the bad kamma from previous lives was catching up with him. (He was supposed to have murdered his

14. ibid., pp. 244-245.  
parents in a former life.) Despite this, his murder was still the occasion for his reaching of complete Nibbāna. 22

The way in which iddhi becomes effective may be understood by analogy with memory, the faculty by which we are transported from our present place to a place where we have formerly lived. So a person may be swiftly transported from India, at death, to the Brahma-world, or in life, to another location. It is again concentration which effects this. The fact that the king, by concentrating, may jump eight cubits, is analogous to the body's co-ordinating with the mind, through iddhi, to rise above the ground and travel free from natural limitation. 23

All this is strange to comprehend, but for the Buddhist the power of the mind, linked to moral behaviour, was capable of creating a world of its own choosing. Conze comments, "The creative power of ethically relevant actions is as axiomatic to the Buddhists as it is strange to us." Yet it is clear that even the Buddhists had their fingers crossed with respect to the exercise of iddhi. The Buddha is generally represented, despite the use he made of iddhi, as deprecating its employment. He does not take the trouble to dispute the existence of such powers; over-reliance on them, however, may inhibit spirituality, contribute to conceit on the part of the practitioner, and detour the masses from the more essential quest. In the Kevaddha Sutta he is requested three times by a disciple to perform a mystic wonder (iddhi) to impress the worshippers and increase their devotion to him. He refuses, saying that there are three sorts of wonders which he had understood, realized and made known. These are the iddhi, the wonder of manifestation (determining the thoughts and feelings of others), and the wonder of education. The latter is emphasized strongly while he points out to the disciple the dangers of the former two. Of much more lasting import is the self-training which may culminate in arahatship. 25 In this attitude Rhys Davids states that there is no evidence of a similarly reasonable view of the question having been put forward by any Indian teacher before the Buddha. Vivekananda likewise faults Jesus by comparison, for what he regards as a more equivocal attitude toward the use of miracles. 26

Perhaps the most conspicuous reference to how the early Sangha regarded iddhi may be found in the Vinaya account of the miracle of Pindola Bhāradvāja previously mentioned. Hearing of this and the crowd's resultant enthusiastic championing of Pindola, Buddha summons Pindola before a meeting of the Sangha. He asks:

"Is it true, Pindola Bhāradvāja, as they say, that you have got down the Rajagaha Sethū's bowl?" "It is true, Lord." The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, "This is improper, Bhāradvāja, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a sāmāna, unbecoming, and ought not to be done. How can you, Bhāradvāja, for the sake of a miserable wooden pot, display before the laity the superhuman quality of your miraculous power of iddhi. This will not conduce, Bhāradvāja, either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.

And when he had rebuked him, and had delivered a religious discourse, he addressed the bhikkhus and said, "You are not, O bhikkhus, to display before the laity the superhuman power of iddhi. Whosoever does so shall be guilty of a dukkha." 27

The apparent esoteric concern is coupled with the desire to communicate the sacred doctrine to those outside the Sangha in a more simple, unambiguous manner, lest they be misled. Thus the regulation against the employment of iddhi is initiated. The prohibition did not, seemingly, apply within the Sangha, but a false claim to possessing such powers secured an even more severe penalty, expulsion from the Order. 28

The prohibition against displaying iddhi before the masses soon involved the Sangha and the Blessed One with another problem, however, for the heterodox, hoping that the prohibition applied to the Master himself, issued a challenge for public competition. The accounts seem to condense into one large colloquium, in which the Buddha could meet all his rivals at once. But the rivals were to be confounded, for what the Buddha could proscribe for his followers was not binding upon himself. This became the occasion, in the Jātakas, for the Great Miracle, "The Miracle Under the Mango," in which the Buddha caused to rise to the skies a full grown mango tree, covered with blooms and fruit and buzzing with bees. He then sat under its branches. 29 This is cited by Foucher as the second miracle in a cycle of four by the Buddha. The first, which was supposed to have occurred in the sixteenth year after his enlightenment, was the occasion for his ascent into the Heaven of the Thirty Three Gods, where his mother had been reborn, with the express purpose of teaching her the Dhamma. The ascension, regarded as a rather commonplace miracle, was little noted, but his remarkable descent became a matter for great

23. ibid., pp. 113-115.
27. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 26
ritual pomp and circumstance. He descended between Brahma on his right and Indra on his left, with a sky full of other divinities singing his praises and showering flowers down upon him and the faithful who were waiting for him. The much larger dramatic interest in the descent may be indicative of a prototype of the Bodhisattva doctrine. The other miracles in the cycle were the subjugation of the elephant and an event in which a group of monkeys piously filled the Blessed One’s bowl with honey.

The reverential responses which the above miracles elicit is, in other instances, a real part of the public relations problem which might ensue, that of excessive popularity. Just as Pindola Bhāradvāja’s feat caused the credulous to swarm, so did a manifestation by another disciple, Plīndavakkha. Through iddhi he developed a sort of Midas touch, and was able to turn things into gold. He did this twice, the first time in sympathy with a little girl who had no ornaments while her friends were playing with theirs. He produced, from a grass chaplet around her head, a beautiful crown of gold. Word spread that the poor man’s daughter had this treasure and the king had the family thrown into prison, thinking that it must have been stolen. Plīndavakkha came before the king and turned his palace into gold, to show how the other gift had come into being. The king was sufficiently convinced to release the family. But the gratitude of the family was so great that they spread word of Plīndavakkha’s iddhi, and he and his followers soon received an overabundance of medicines for distribution, which caused a scandal. The Blessed One was finally forced to intervene, placing a limit on what could be received to what could be distributed in seven days.

But if use of iddhi was discouraged because of excessive response, in other instances it was incapable of producing the desired spiritual end, and thus was abandoned in preference for more effective measures. In one series of miracles, the Buddha as a sāmanā seeks the conversion of three chief brother ascetics and their followers, numbering one thousand. The first miracle is the vanquishing of the serpent, Naga, whose iddhi is overcome by the Buddha’s own. Smoke is pitted against smoke, then fire against fire, and finally the serpent, defeated, ends up in the Buddha’s alms-bowl. But each time the chief ascetic, although impressed by the miraculous power of the Buddha, says, “Truly the great sāmanā possesses high magical powers. He is not, however, holy like me.” Finally the Blessed One determines that the ascetic will not be persuaded for a long time by this means, and decided to change his mind by specific challenge.

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30. ibid., p. 205.
31. ibid., p. 216.
34. Edward Conze, Buddhist Texts Through the Ages, New York: Harper and Row, 1954, pp. 82-84. (This is Jātaka 1, 12-14.)
through the grace of deities and arahats. All sorts of desires in addition to spiritual goals were sought through veneration of such objects and ritual practices conducted in connection with them. As Conze observes, "If one makes up one’s mind that ‘original’ Buddhism was a perfectly rational religion, after the heart of ‘the Ethical Society’, without any touch of the super-natural or mysterious, then the Tantra (and similar manifestations) will become an almost incomprehensible degeneration of that presumed original Buddhism. In actual fact, Buddhism has always been associated with what to rationalists would appear as superstitions. The reality of extraordinary psychic, nay, of wonder-working powers, was never questioned." In its magical interest, then, Tantra only developed what was an integral part of the Buddhist tradition from the earliest days.

There was yet another way of regulating the prevailing interest in iddhi, i.e., through a re-definition of its scope. In what way could one’s world be transformed through iddhi? The masses were fascinated with the possibility of altering natural limitations physically: walking on water, swimming through the ground, flying in the air, etc. But a more profound spiritual solution might lie in transforming the world through one’s attitude towards it. This becomes a higher iddhi contrasted with that which effects physical changes. In three passages the iddhi which causes physical miracles is termed non-Aryan, connected with the āsāvās, and attached to rebirth. The āsāvās are certain ideas which confuse the mind so that it cannot rise to higher things. Four in number, they are kāma, bhava, diṭṭhi and avijja, or sensuality, rebirth, speculation and ignorance. Arhatship itself might be defined as freedom from the āsāvās, and the attempt to overcome them thus becomes one of man’s primary duties. The higher iddhi, conversely, is Aryan, not connected with āsāvās, and free from attachment to rebirth. Whereas the fruits of the former iddhi are the same as those given on page 44 paragraph 3, the higher iddhi produces changes of a different magnitude, less impressive at first sight, but of more lasting spiritual worth. The power to perceive, amid changing stimuli, only the agreeable or the repulsive, as one may judge, is most consonant with his spiritual advance, is claimed and beyond a preference for either perception, a state of equanimity.

One may speculate that, although one may describe the spiritual quest through investing a common term with an uncommon meaning, the usual magical connotation of that term will not thereby be overcome. And even if the meaning of the term should be altered, other concepts will

surface to express what would appear to be a natural psychic constituent: interest in the miraculous. As had been noted, this was part of the scene in India before Buddhism. It continued to be found, not only within Buddhism, but in other traditions as well. The Bhagavata Purāṇa, for instance, gives a list of eighteen powers, some of them reminiscent of Buddhist iddhis. It is a mixed bag, with powers of influence alternating with obviously magical qualities. "To the Yogi, who has controlled his senses and Franas, who is balanced and concentrates the mind on Me (Krishna is speaking), various powers come." These are listed as "minuteness, immensity and lightness of the body; the connection (as presiding deity) of a being with his organs, known as attainment; capacity to derive enjoyment from everything heard or seen; exerting an influence on all, known as rulership non-attachment to sense-objects, called self-control; and consummation of any and every desire (These are the eight natural powers of Krishna; the ten secondary powers follow): being unruled by the necessary evils of the body; hearing and seeing things from a distance; swiftness like that of the mind; assuming any form at will; entering into anyone’s body; dying according to one’s wish; joining in the recreation of the gods; fulfillment of the wished for object; having one’s command obeyed everywhere without fail; knowledge of the past, present and future; not being affected by the pairs of opposites; reading other’s thoughts; counteracting the influence of fire, sun, water, poison and the like; and not being overcome by anybody." Later in the same tenth chapter some second thoughts are included which indicate a vacillation toward special powers strikingly reminiscent of that which we have observed within Buddhism. "No power is beyond the reach of the sage who had controlled his mind, senses, nerve currents, and disposition and concentrates on Me. ... For one who practises the best (devotion for devotion’s sake—translator’s insertion) kind of Yoga and seeks union with Me, these powers have been called obstacles and things that cause waste of time. Through that Yoga one obtains all those powers which come to men through birth, or drugs, or austerities, or Mantras; but one cannot attain that Yoga by any other means." The teaching seems to be, “Seek ye first...” The impressive powers are secondary and delusory if allowed to assume pre-eminence. They are not worth the concentrated effort needed to develop them.

Conze related an incident in the life of the Buddha, when he came across an ascetic who sat by the bank of a river, and who had practiced austerities for 25 years. The Blessed One asked him what he had achieved

39. ibid., p. 152.
through these efforts, and the ascetic proudly replied that he could now cross the river by walking on the water. The Buddha sought to teach him that this was little gain for so much labour, since for one penny the ferry would take him across.\textsuperscript{40} This perhaps expresses something of the consensus of Buddhist thought across the centuries. Perhaps man could develop powers by which he could tame his environment and shape it to conform more fully with his desires. His religion should at least help him to secure his daily bread. But if he becomes too domesticated by his cushioned existence, he forgets his intended destiny, which is not of this world. If his appetite for Nibbāna is blunted because his powers have voraciously gorged him on other fare, those powers have indeed misled him.

\textsuperscript{40} Conze, Buddhism: Its Essence and Development, pp. 104, 105.

Dr. French is a Methodist minister and student of Indian religions. He occupies the position of Professor of Religion at the University of South Carolina and has written The Swami's Wide Waters: Ramakrishna and Western Culture (Kensikat Press, New York, 1974).

PALI BUDDHIST STUDIES IN THE WEST

John F. Bardisban

2. USA and Canada
In an attempt to gain a picture of the situation with regard to Pali language study in the United States and Canada, a determined effort was made to contact all institutions with Asian programs. Of nearly 200 universities contacted, only about thirteen responded positively indicating that courses in Pali were available. It is believed that the results of the survey give a reasonably accurate picture of the actual situation. Below is a copy of the questions asked and the responses by the universities:

\textbf{Questionnaire}

1. On the understanding that Sanskrit is taught in relation to Hinduism, are there facilities for learning Pali in relation to early Buddhism?

2. If the answer to 1. is in the affirmative, which textbooks are used or recommended for both Pali and early Buddhism?

3. Has the university itself sponsored the publication of works relevant to 2?

4. Who is the Head of the Department of Asian Studies and who are the lecturers of Pali and early Buddhism?

5. How many B.A. students, on average, undertake courses in Pali and early Buddhism each year?

6. Likewise, the number of those going on to prepare M.A. or Ph.D. theses in these subjects?

\textbf{Responses by the Universities}

University of California, (Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies) Berkeley.

1. Yes.

2. Geiger's \textit{Pali Literature and Language} and Andersen's \textit{Pali Reader}.

3. No.

4. Prof. Barend A. van Nooten, Chm.
   Lecturers in Pali and Theravāda Buddhism:
   Robert P. Goldman, Assistant Prof. of Sanskrit, and P. S. Jaini, Prof of Buddhist Studies (who reads Abhidhamma).

5. Approximately 20 students.
6. 10-12 students going on to prepare M.A. or Ph.D. theses.

University of Chicago, (The Divinity School) Illinois.
1. Yes, Pali is available.
2. Done on a tutorial basis. Texts vary.
3. Not textbooks. However research on Buddhism has been support-
ed.
4. No such department. The most relevant is the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, Chm., Prof. J. A. B. van Buiten. Prof. van Buiten and Prof. Nelson teach Pali. Assoc. Prof. Frank E. Reynolds lectures on Southeast Asian Theravāda Buddhism.
5. No B.A. students in Pali. 4 or 5 in Buddhism.
6. One doctoral thesis in Pali. 6 or 7 M.A. students in Buddhism.

University of Hawaii, (Department of Indo-Pacific Languages) Honolulu.
1. Yes, the Dept. of Indo-Pacific Languages (covering South Asian, Southeast Asian, and Pacific Languages) offers courses in the Pali language. There are two years of Pali courses listed in the catalog, and more advanced courses are available upon request. Students usually come to Pali after gaining some knowledge of Sanskrit.
2. The text most often used has been Andersen’s Pali Reader. Also various grammars and any texts of interest for advanced students.
3. Relevant to Buddhism, but not directly to Pali.
4. Chairman of the Asian Studies Program: Prof. George Akita. (This Department offers no relevant courses itself, but many of their students take such courses given by the Indo-Pacific Languages or Philosophy or Religion Departments.) Prof. Walter Maurer teaches Pali whilst Prof. David Kalupahana teaches Theravāda Buddhism.
5. The enrolment has been quite low—1 or 2 students a year. This year there are two students in Beginning Pali.

Note: The Department of Philosophy here (Prof. D. Kalupahana, Chm.) offers courses with readings in English and occasionally in original languages on all sects of Buddhism. Also general B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Asian, Western, and Comparative Philosophy. It is also possible to design a B.A. program in Buddhist Studies through either the Asian Studies or the Liberal Studies Program. The Religion Department offers a B.A. and gives several courses on Buddhism, but has no graduate degree as yet.

University of Michigan, (Department of Far Eastern Languages and Literatures) Ann Arbor, Michigan.
1. Yes there are courses in Pali as well as Buddhist Sanskrit.
2. For language study: Warder’s Introduction to Pali and Andersen’s Pali Reader. Students are lead to the Nikāyas early in the course.
3. No.
4. Pali and one course in Indian Buddhism are offered by Prof. Madhav Deshpande in the Dept. of Linguistics (Head: Prof. William Gedrey); reading courses in Pali, Buddhist Sanskrit and Buddhist thought in general are offered by Assoc. Prof. L. O. Gomez in the Dept. of Far Eastern Languages (Head: Robert H. Bromer) and in the Program on Studies in Religion (Head: Prof. D. N. Freedman).
5. Approximately 120.
6. Indian Buddhism: 1; Far Eastern Buddhism: 1.

University of Washington (Buddhist Studies Program), Seattle, Washington.
1. Yes.
2. Mayrhofer’s Handbuch des Pali (presumably in translation!) and Andersen’s Pali Reader for the introductory course (first two quarters). Thereafter, Pali readings are conducted through the medium of canonical texts (e.g. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta and Thera-theri-gāthā). Amongst the textbooks used for teaching Theravāda are Rāhula’s What the Buddha Taught, Saddhātissa’s Buddhist Ethics, Warder’s Indian Buddhism and Warren’s Buddhism in Translations.
3. No.
4. Prof. David Seyfort Ruegg and Christine Keyt; Prof. Charles Reyes (Dept. of Anthropology).
5. —
6. —

University of Wisconsin, (Department of South Asian Studies), Madison, Wisconsin.
1. Yes, Pali is always available.
2. The teacher and student(s) always make that decision together.
3. No, the University of Wisconsin has not itself published works relevant to Pali. But students from here have gone on to other universities and published Pali studies.
4. Prof. Manindra Verma, Chm.
   Lecturers in Pali and Theravāda Buddhism:
   Prof. A. K. Narain, Associate Prof. Stephan V. Beyer and Assoc.
   iate Prof. F. Wilson.
5. None in Pali. Approximately 40-50 in early Buddhism.
6. 1-3 in Pali; 10-15 in early Buddhism.

Note: The University of Wisconsin is one of the world centers for the study of Buddhism. Its Ph.d. program is the first degree granting pro-
gram of its kind in the United States. It offers an opportunity for concentra-
ting upon Buddhism within the context of Asian cultural and religious traditions leading to the pursuit of a professional career in research, teaching, or international service. The basis of all work in the Buddhist Studies Program is a sound working knowledge of the Buddhist canonical languages. Students entering the program without a sound preparation in canonical languages must expect to spend a minimum of three years acquiring such skills before taking the preliminary examinations.

Columbia University, (Buddhist Studies Program), New York.
1. One semester of Pali is listed in the catalog and taught every few years. When there is a Pali class, the Ph.d. program treats it.
2. Students in Columbia Pali class use W. Geiger’s Pali Language and Language and Dines Andersen’s Pali Reader.
3. Not on Pali. However, the Columbia University Society for Buddhist Studies is working on a journal of Buddhist Studies. For further information, contact Mr. David Dell, Columbia University Society for Buddhist Studies, Earl Hall.
4. Chm. Department of Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures—Nina G. Garsoian, Prof. of Armenian Studies. Pali is taught by Theodore Riccardi, Jr., Associate Prof. of Indic Studies. Courses in early Buddhism are taught by Alex Wayman, Prof. of Sanskrit and Frederic B. Underwood, Associate Prof. of Sanskrit.
5. Current Pali course has 8 students, but is not given annually. The graduate course in Early Indian Buddhism, given every other year has about 20 students. Undergraduate History of Indian Buddhism has about 30 students annually.
6. Currently 2 students working on m.a. theses in the Pali or Theravāda tradition. Number doing doctoral theses is one.
2. A. P. Buddhadatta's: *New Pali Course*, Parts I & II, and *The Higher Pali Course*.

3. No.

4. Ven'ble Dr. W. Ananda, Chm., and Lecturer in Pali and Theravāda Buddhism.

5. —

6. About 15 students at present.

**University of Toronto**, (Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies), Ontario, Canada.

1. Yes, there are facilities for learning Pali.

2. Warder's *Introduction to Pali*.

3. No.

4. Prof. W. Saywell, Chairman, East Asian Studies, and Prof. A. K. Warder, Lecturer in Pāli and Theravāda Buddhism.

5. Two students.

6. One student preparing for a Ph.d. thesis.

**Concluding Remarks**

Three major contributing factors emerge from this survey which account for the relatively poor showing for Pali Buddhist studies in the United States and Canada.

To begin with, though many of the universities have large interdepartmental programs in Buddhist Studies, their emphasis is usually oriented toward Sanskrit and Mahāyāna Buddhism (i.e. Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese). This can be accounted for by the fact that the majority of the tenured faculty members in these programs are Mahāyāna specialists. Pali, if treated at all, is done only in a peripheral fashion and the work depends almost entirely on English translations. Also, little if any encouragement is forthcoming from faculty members to look at the Pali tradition.

A second major contributing factor accounting for the low number of Pali oriented courses is the lack of financial support. In a recent letter, Prof. Bardwell Smith of Carleton College stated that there is a great need to stimulate Pali studies in the United States. At many graduate centers, he says, one can take regular courses in Sanskrit, but that very few opportunities exist in Pali. "What is needed is financial support for faculty to take a year off teaching to concentrate on Pali, particularly those who know Sanskrit fairly well but have never had the chance of learning Pali." A professor from the University of Florida writes that they had hoped to expand their program by bringing to their faculty a Buddhologist, proficient in Pali and Sanskrit but that present budget limitations are too severe to permit this. Prof. Richard Church, Chairman of the Committee on Asian Studies at Oklahoma State University echoes the above sentiment by writing that because of the recently severe cutbacks and reduced funding from governmental and other sources he feels lucky to have been able to continue two-year programs in Chinese and Japanese let alone expand to include Pāli.

The third major contributing factor to the lack of more extensive offerings in Pali Buddhism is simply the lack of demand by the students themselves. Prof. Donald K. Sweater of Swarthmore College writes that no course in Pali can be given at his school or elsewhere until the interest of students reaches a greater depth. Only then, he insists, can instruction in Pali take place in conjunction with the direct examination of the texts. This lack of student enthusiasm is confirmed by David T. Ray of Southern Illinois University who says that on the whole, practically no one around there even knows what Pali is. However, he says there is student enthusiasm for courses in Sanskrit from students engaged in "Transcendental Meditation", and members of the Ananda Marga Society, etc. And finally, Prof. Leon Hurvitz of the University of British Columbia writes that since his arrival at the university several years ago, there simply has been no demand for Pali. He himself is able to teach the reading of Pali but the students, for their part, are oriented either toward Chinese or toward Tibetan texts.

It is our belief that no increase in the serious study of Pali Buddhism can be pursued in the universities on this continent as long as these conditions remain. Hence, the orientation will remain primarily Mahāyānist.

The only relevant items that have appeared in American academic journals are as follows:-


1880 (Vol. 10): "The Pali Language from a Burmese Point of View", Francis Mason.

1898: "The Buddhist Technical Terms *upādāna* and *upādisesa*", Arthur O. Lovejoy.

OBITUARY

C. E. Godakumbura

The Pali and Sinhala scholar, Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, passed away in February in Rangoon whilst on an archaeological mission at the invitation of the Burmese Government.

Dr. Godakumbura obtained all his qualifications at the University of London: M.A. (with distinction in Indo-Aryan languages) in 1938; Ph.D. in 1945; and D.Litt. in 1954. He was appointed a lecturer in Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese at the University of Ceylon (1936-43) and accepted the position of Senior Lecturer in Indian Epigraphy and Sinhalese at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London) in 1953. Returning to Ceylon, he was made Acting Archaeological Commissioner in 1959, a post that was formally confirmed three years later.

Although he will probably be remembered mainly for his Sinhalese Literature (Colombo, 1955), the only comprehensive work in English on this subject, he contributed to fascicule I, Vol. II, of the Critical Pali Dictionary (är-ädikappika, Copenhagen, 1960) as well as to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Bulletin of SOAS. He also edited three minor texts for the Pali Text Society:

Visuddhijñanavilāsini nāma Apadāṇaṭṭhakathā (Commentary to the Apadāna, 1954);
Hatthanagallavihāravamsa (a Sinhalese Pali apadāna of King Sirisanghabodhi of Anuradhapura, 1957);
Samantakāyavampamā ("Eulogy of Samanā Rock"—a 13th century poem by Vedehe describing the life of Gotama up to his enlightenment together with his legendary visits to Sri Lanka which culminated in imprinting his footprint on Adam's Peak—1958).

R.B.W.
BOOK REVIEWS

A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America. J. W. de Jong. Bharat-Bharati, Varanasi, 94pp. Rs. 35.00

Until the advent of this collection of four essays, "no single work had been devoted to a systematic study of the history of Buddhist studies". The otherwise excellent specialised study by G. R. Welbon—The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and Its Western Interpreters (University of Chicago Press, 1968)—is not all-encompassing, whilst William Peiris' The Western Contribution to Buddhism (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973) is wholly inadequate, with the exceptions of those chapters on Britain, Germany and Denmark.

The essays, first published in The Eastern Buddhist (Otani University, Kyoto, 1974), deal with the periods up to 1877, 1942 and 1973 and "Future perspectives". Their author, a veteran Indologist from Leiden, is currently Head of the Department of South Asian and Buddhist Studies at The Australian National University in Canberra.

Every page is literally packed with information—details of Western Buddhist scholars and their literary contributions—little of which would be known to the general student of Buddhism. Emphasis has nearly always been given in the West to the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition and for this reason Pali studies make a poor showing here. However, beginning with Burnouf's Essai sur le Pali (1826), concise accounts are given of the work of Spiegel, Weber, Mineaev, Childers, Fausbøll, Oldenberg, the Rhys Davids, Geiger, Bareau, et al. In this connection, two interesting pioneer ventures are mentioned: Paul Grimblot's proposed "Bibliotheca Pāliica" from the large number of MSS acquired whilst acting as French Consul in Ceylon (p. 18); and Friedrich Spiegel's draft Pali dictionary (p. 19), referred to by Peiris as Lexicon Paliicum.

This concentrated mine of information has been attractively reproduced by the publishers and undoubtedly constitutes a definitive study in this important field. By so ably and succinctly describing the achievements of Buddhist Sanskrit scholars, the author has paved the way for a rapprochement between the Pali and early Mahāyāna traditions—an understanding that the common Indian source of both represents the most valid expression of Buddhadharmma.

Malalasekera Commemoration Volume. Ed. O. H. de A. Wijesekera. Colombo. xvi+362pp. £6.00 or $10.00 (Orders to Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama, 1 Park Gdns., Colombo 5.)

This collection of thirty-three papers from scholars of England, France, Germany, USA, USSR, India and Sri Lanka, originally intended as a Felicitation Volume, has been offered in memory of G. P. Malalasekera (1899-1973), one of the foremost Pali Buddhist scholars of this century. Six pages are devoted to his curriculum vitae and publications.

The contributions in the field of Pali Buddhism comprise the following: "Les reactions des familles dont un membre moine devient selon le canon bouddhique Pali"—André Bareau; "The Image-World of the Theravada Theri-Gāthās"—B. G. Gokhale; "Sadda as 'Word'"—I. B. Horner; "The Early Buddhist Theory of Causality"—D. J. Kalupahana; "The Effortless Way to Nirvāṇa"—W. S. Karunaratne; "Gautama Buddha: Man or Super man?"—W. Pachow; "The Dawn of Pali Literature in Thailand"—H. Saddhātissa; "Regarding the Translation of the Buddhist Terms saṅkhā samāñña, viññānaviññāṇa"—Alex Wayman; and "Canonical References to Bhavanga"—O. H. de A. Wijesekera.


V. N. Toporov, who translated the Dhammapada for the Bibliotheca Buddhica in 1960, has collaborated with another Pali scholar to produce an essay in description of Pali with application of structural methods of investigation. All the levels of the Pāli linguistic structure—phonology, morphophonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary and semantics—are analysed in consecutive order. Besides that, there is a description of Pāli phonetics, derivation and compound words, as well as a brief outline of Pāli literature. The appendices deal with the problems of Pāli onomastics, rules of transposition from Sanskrit into Pāli and vice versa, and the language of Pāli texts from Indo-China.''

This handbook, translated from the original Russian edition (Yazik Pali, 1965), is, as amply demonstrated by the thirty pages of word patterns and pull-out chart of "substantive inflections and their distribution", essentially intended for the student of linguistics and does not constitute a grammar as such.


From annasaboddhaka ("a string, generally to hang the bowl down from the shoulder") to hammīyagabba ("the main chamber built in the upper storey of a vihāra")—according to the Pali alphabet—a comprehensive description of all the Vinaya terms comprise this encyclo-
paedia of Theravāda monasticism. As such, it represents the only work of its kind in a Western language.

Nearly all the texts utilised for this tome are from the Devanāgarī edition of the Tipiṭaka edited by the late Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap, under whom Prof. Upasak learnt Pali and Buddhism. The author is currently Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies and Pali at the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, near Patna in Bihar State.

Buddhist Philosophy: A Historical Analysis, David J. Kalupahan. The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu. xxi + 189pp. $10.00 cloth, $3.95 paper.

This latest contribution to understanding the Buddhadhama is divided into two parts: “Early Buddhism” and “Later Buddhism”. The author contends that the earliest documents posit an empirical and pluralistic yāna in contrast to the developed metaphysical and monistic systematization recorded in the Sanskrit texts. This attitude is justified from a comparison between the Pali Nikāyas and Chinese Āgamas which together form the basis of pre-canonical Buddhism.

Only the first part need concern us as being of immediate relevance. Seven chapters succinctly describe the essential tenets of Gotama’s non-speculative path to vimutti—disparagingly dismissed in some quarters as “Basic Buddhism”—with the final section culminating in a convincing refutation of Nirvāṇa as an absolute or transcendental concept. Each chapter ends with a concise selection of primary and secondary sources which serve as an inducement for further study.

This philosophical introduction to the subject is from the pen of the Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Hawaii. In the Sinhalese tradition, as represented by Jayasīlēke, Malalasekera and Saddhātissa, Prof. Kalupahan has produced a readable and altogether enthralling work.


The best-selling introduction to Buddhism for Western students of all ages—The Buddha’s Way—has now appeared in German. This manual of the Buddhist teaching, which is presented in rational terms related to present-day conditions, has been published in attractive paperback format by—

Theseus-Verlag S. A., Scheuchzerstrasse 46, CH-8006 Zurich, Switzerland.

Although the photographs that featured in the English edition have been omitted, the bibliography has been up-dated to include relevant source materials in German.

This primer, which is already available in Spanish under the title Introducción al Budismo (published by Alianza Editorial S.A., Calle Milan 38, Madrid, and available from Silico Books Ltd., 7 Russell Gdns., London, NW1 9NJ), will soon appear in Dutch and Portuguese.


Translations of Pali texts into the Swedish vernacular have been published very sparsely. Since the Dhammapada translation by Rune Johansson was sold out in the bookshops quite a few years ago there has really only been one book available in this field (apart from books meant exclusively for school use), namely Ake Ohlmark’s quite unreliable “translations” in the anthology Buddha talade och sade, published by Forum. (The level of this product may be judged by the fact that in a modernization of K. F. Johansson’s older translation of the Ten Questions’ from the Khuddakaṇṭha, Dr. Ohlmark translates the seven bajjahantas—correctly interpreted by his predecessor—as “the seven Buddhas”!)

The Forum publishing house now has raised their reputation somewhat by publishing Dr. Johansson’s translation of the Sutta-Nipāta. They could have raised it even more if they had had the decency to publish the complete text. Because of “lack of space”, only sixty-five of the seventy-one suttas have been included. Since the book only contains 182 pages (as against f. ex. 277 pages for Buddha talade och sade) this reason does not seem convincing. However, this criticism is directed entirely at the publishing company and in no way affects the translator. By his kind consent, the remaining six suttas will be serialized in the magazine Buddhistiskt Gemenskap.

The translation, as such, is good. It is well-nigh impossible to get all the factual information as well as all the poetical qualities in a translation of a metrical Pali text, especially when it is done into a language that lags at least fifty years behind English and German in the development of a Buddhist terminology. Thus, it is only natural that some of the Swedish synonyms chosen might be questioned.
Saddhā is consequently translated by “tro”, which means “belief” rather than “faith”. “Förtroende” (“confidence”) would have been preferable. Kāma is translated throughout by “kärlek” (“love”), and mettā by “vänlighet” (“friendliness”). If the translator wants to avoid the word “love” for mettā, because of the erotic connotation of the Western word, there are also strong reasons to avoid it for kāma. If kāma is translated by “love”, a non-Buddhist reader will get the impression that Buddhism is negative towards that concept which is usually called “love” in religious Western language, i.e. New Testament Greek agape, which is also non-erotic. On the other hand, “friendliness” is a much too weak word for mettā, which together with the other Brahma-vihāras is supposed to be strong enough to drive a Bodhisatta through aeons of self-sacrifice in order to get a perfect ability to teach the Dhamma. It is possible for a friendly person to roll his thumbs while his neighbour is starving to death; it is not possible for one practising mettā.

But these are small details in a difficult and much needed pioneer work. As it is now possible for Swedish publishing companies to receive economic aid from the state for publishing classical literature, it is to be hoped that some of these means might be used to support translations from Pali.

_Gunnar Gällmo_