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## PALI BUDDHIST REVIEW

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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, 9. 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,<sup>1</sup> Dhamma and the Holy  
14 Order  
and thereby realizes with clear insight the four great truths  
to wit, *dukkha*,<sup>2</sup> its cause, the cessation of *dukkha*  
and the way thereto, the Noble eightfold Path,  
this realisation, 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 worship-  
ful,  
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. Nirvāṇa). Resorting to Dhamma refers to going along the path aiming at nirvāṇa. 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 unsubstantiated 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*.

## XV

## Happiness

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!<sup>3</sup>  
Amidst the sick people, we live free from sickness. (198)
3. Verily we live in happiness, toil-free among the toiling!<sup>4</sup>  
Amidst the toiling people, we live free from toil! (199)
4. Verily we live in happiness, we who have no obstacles<sup>5</sup> at all!  
We shall feed on joy, like the radiant gods!<sup>6</sup> (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.<sup>7</sup>  
There is no happiness higher than the peace of Nirvāṇa. (202)
7. Hunger is the severest ailment.  
Components<sup>8</sup> are the worst calamity.  
Seeing this as it is,  
one realises Nirvāṇa  
the highest bliss. (203)
8. Health is the highest gain.  
Contentedness is the best wealth.  
The loyal friend is the best relative.  
Nirvāṇa 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, defilements of mind, lust, anger, etc.
4. Toiling in search of sensual enjoyments.
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 *Jhāna*-practice.
7. Aggregates of existence—in Buddhist terminology these refer to the psycho-physical process which is but man himself. Man is a composition of five aggregates, viz. material qualities, feelings, perceptions, motivations and consciousness.
8. Components—all conditioned things; Things belonging to the world.



10. To see holy ones is good.  
To live with them is bliss for ever.  
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  
(repenting 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.<sup>9</sup> (224)
5. The sages that are harmless,  
and ever-restrained in body (word and mind),  
reach the Deathless lot,<sup>10</sup>  
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 Atula<sup>11</sup> 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. Whomsoever 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 perturbation.  
Be restrained in body.  
Shun misconduct of speech  
and do good deeds. (231)

12. Guard yourself against perturbation of speech.  
Be restrained in speech.  
Shun misconduct of speech  
and speak good words. (232)
13. Guard yourself against mental perturbation.  
Be restrained in mind.  
Shun misconduct of mind  
and think good thoughts. (233)
14. The wise who are restrained in body, word and mind,  
are surely well restrained. (234)

## 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.<sup>12</sup> (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 (*Anāgamins*) 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 appreci-  
ation.  
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<sup>13</sup>. (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)

13. "Peace of mind" here refers to the blissful state attained by means of *jhānas* as well as *phalas* (four holy stages) to be attained immediately after destroying the passions on four occasions.

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)<sup>14</sup>.  
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)

## 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)

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, 17. 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)

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## 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)<sup>15</sup>. (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)<sup>15</sup>. (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,  
then will he look down upon this world of suffering.  
This is the way of purification. (278)
7. All things<sup>16</sup> 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)

16. All things (*sabbe dhamma*) here refer to all component things (*sankhāras*) and concepts (*paññattis*) such as *kasina*-light, etc.

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, 17. For one who is seized by death,  
children are no refuge,  
nor 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)



# 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.—Pali

PBR—*Pali Buddhist Review*

Pva—*Paramatthadīpanī* (*Petavatthu Commentary*, PTS, 1894)

PtsA—*Saddhammappakkāsinī* (*Paṭisambhidāmagga Commentary*, PTS, 3 vols., 1933-47)

S.A.—*Sāratthappakkāsinī* (*Saṃyutta Nikāya Commentary*, PTS, 3 vols., 1929-37)

## THE URAGA SUTTA

33

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 *Uraga Sutta* is undoubtedly derived from the simile, *urago jin-ṇam 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 *ura-ga* (lit. belly-crawler). Some *uragas* are considered to belong to a class of semi-divine beings: they are *kāma-rūpī* (*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 *Saṅkhapālanāgarājā* in *Saṅkhapālajātaka JA.* 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. *PvA.* 61-62 commenting on *Pv.* I. 12, 1, *urago va tacam jin-ṇam hitvā gacchati saṃ tanuṃ* (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 *S.I.* 69. It describes four young creatures (*daharā*) 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, *uccāvacehi vaṇchi urago carati tejasi* (v. 1. *tejasā*) in the *Saṃyutta*: (In diverse appearances<sup>1</sup> 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 tejasi*, 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:—

1. Cp. Comy. *S.A.* I, 132 *nānāvidhehi saṅghānehi*, etc.



1. Its extraordinary force or strength.
2. Its ability to change at will (*kāmarūpa*).
3. The ease with which it casts off its slough.
4. The fact that it possesses two tongues (*dujivho* cp. J.V. 425 cp. II. 458, and III. 458).
5. Perhaps its ability to live even in fire, like the mythical salamander.<sup>2</sup>

*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 *hatthi-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 *bhujāṅgama* 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 *bhujāṅgama*, 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.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.<sup>3</sup> 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 (*Khagga-visāṇa*), 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. Coomaraswamy 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 *iddhimā*: 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 A.A. I. 324 ff. how Sāgata tamed the fierce *nāgarājā*. (Note by Miss I. B. Horner).

3. Vide Mrs. Rhys Davids: Similes in the Nikāyas, J.P.T.S. 1906, pp. 52 II., 1908 pp. 180 ff.

*Aggikabhāradvāja 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-sūro* and says that it is *pa-sūra* (*pra-sūra*) like *pācariya* 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. 1, 6, 11. To this may be added the alternative names given in the Comy. for I. 11 (*Kāyavicchandaniya*) II. 8 (*Dhamma*), II. 12 (*Nigrodhakappa*), II. 13 (*Muni* or *Mahāsamaya*), III. 4 (*Pūralāsa*) 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 *Aṭṭhakas* 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 *Attadaṇḍa*) 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 *Brāhmaṇadhammika Suttas*, didactic poems such as *Muni* and *Kāma Suttas*, narratives like *Pabbajjā* and *Padhāna Suttas* and doctrinal dissertations such as *Dvayatānupassanā 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 *sutta* at the head of the *vagga*, which in turn derives its name from the former. This is the only *vagga* in *Sn.* which is named after a *sutta*. However, the practice of naming *vaggas* after *suttas* is not rare in other parts of the Canon. There are two *Yodhājīva Suttas* occurring in the *Pañcaka Nipāta* of the *Āṅguttara*, viz. III 89 ff. and 93 ff., and the *vagga* in which they occur is called *Yodhājīva* (III. 84-110). Similarly, the second *vagga* in the *Majjhima*, *Sihanāda*, I. 63-122) is named after the two opening *suttas* *Cūlasihanāda* and *Mahāsihanāda* (Nos. 11 and 12) and the eleventh *vagga* (*Devadaha*, 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 *sutta* that is always responsible for the name of the *vagga*. In the *Udāna*, the third *vagga*, (*Nanda*, Ud. 21-33) derives its name from the second *udāna* in it, its fifth *vagga* *Soṇatthera*, Ud. 47-61) from its sixth member, its sixth *vagga* (*Jaccandha*, Ud. 62-73) from the simile in the fourth piece in it, and the last *vagga* (*Pāṭaligāma*, Ud. 80-93) from the sixth



*udāna* in it. The first two *vaggas* of *Pv.* are named after their concluding members. *Uragapetavatthu* and *Ubbaripetavatthu* respectively. Of them the *Uraga Vagga* is of special interest here. The first verse of the *vatthu* at *Pv.* 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 *vagga*, *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 *Pv.* I. 12 in full.

The simile of the snake casting off its slough seems to be rather popular in Pāli verse. The line at *Pv.* I. 12<sup>1</sup> 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 jinṇaṃ urago purāṇaṃ*). *Pv.* 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 dummedhaṃ jinṇaṃ va 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.* 1c-17c), a simple *dvandva* cpd. meaning "here below -cp. *Sk.* *avara*- and the beyond," cp. *parovaram* (*Sn.* 353, etc.). The *ora* and the *pāra* are the limitations (*sīma*) 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*. **Udacchida** (*Sn.* 2a, 3a) cp. *Sk.* *ud-a-chid-at*; augmented radical Aor. 3 sg. cp. Vedic. The change *-a+ch->-acch-* 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 *sutta*: viz. *udabbadhī* (*Sn.* 4a), *ajjhagamā* (*Sn.* 5a), *accagamā* (*Sn.* 8b) and *accasārī* (*Sn.* 8a-13a). This type of Aor. is very frequent in *Sn.* and other old (*gāthā*-Pāli).<sup>4</sup> **Udabbadhī** is usually explained as being formed from *ud+√vadh* cp. *udavadhīt*. It is probable that this verb is associated with *ud+√vrh*, *br̥ṇhati*, to tear, cp. *A.V.* *abarhūt* and *Bṛh. Ār. avṛkṣat*, *P.* *udabbahe* (*Sn.* 583b, opt. 3. sg.) and *abbahi* (Aor. 3 sg.) in the phrase *abbahi vata me sallam* used frequently in *Th* 1 and *Th* 2. The probable development of *udabbadhī* from *ud+√vrh* is as follows:—Vedic *udabarhūt ud-a+v/b* (v. in *vrh*) > *P.* *udabb-*: Vedic *-h->* *P.* *-dh-* cp. *Vc. iha* > *P. idha*. It may be possible that this form is the result of a contamination of the two roots *vadh* and *vrh* but either of the two can give this form directly and makes the explanation of a contamination superfluous. **Ajjhagamā** (*adhi-a-gam-at*) and **Accagamā** (*ati-a-gam-at*) cp. *abbhidā* (*J.* I. 247), *āsadā* (*Th* 1.774), *acchidā* (*Sn.* 357c) and *udacchidā* (*supra*). **Accasārī** (occurring in both *nāccasārī* and *paccasārī*) *ati-a-sār-it*, from *√sr*, *sarati*. Neumann (*Reden*, p. 406) suggests *atyasmārī* and *pratyasmārī*, but the explanation in the Comy., *na atidhāvi* and *na ohiyi* is preferable. **Samūhatāse** (*Sn.* 14b) cp. *paccayāse* (*Sn.* 15b), double *Vc.* nom. pl. from *-āsas* > *-āso* > *-āse*; *-o* > *-e* is a dialectical variation influenced by *E. Pkr.* (*Māgadhi*). This double nom. with *Māgadhi* *-e* is rather frequent in early Pāli poetry. In *Sn.* alone it is seen to occur 20 times, 10 of which are in the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*. Neumann (*Reden*, p. 407) says that such forms as *samū-hatāse* are not "*Māgadhi*sms" 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. *khaggavisāṇa-kappo*—"resembling a rhinoceros" (*Sn.* 35d-75d).

37

The *Uraga Sutta* is written in a metre described as *Aupachandasaka* by Helmer Smith (*SnA.* 463). The regular *Aupacchandāsika* metre differs from the *Vaitāliya* which consists of two half verses with 30 *morae* each, in that it has an extra long syllable added to each line of 14 and 16 *morae* respectively in the *Vaitāliya*. The metre of these stanzas is rather irregular. The number of *morae* 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 *pādas* Sn. 6b, 7a, 8a-13a and 14b as irregular. Though this metre is similar to *Aupacchandāsika* 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 poetry 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 nāccasārī na paccasārī  
sabbam vitatham idaṃ 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. *jīṇaṃ ivacam sarpa ivāvamucya* (*Mbh.* V. 39, 2; cp. XII. 250, 11) and *yathā pādodaras tvacā vinirmucyate* (*Praśnopaniṣad*, 5, 5; also *vide Brh. Ār.* IV. 4.10). Other similes are at Sn. 1b, 2b, 4b, (compared by Neumann with *Rgveda* 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 *gāthās* of Sn. (in addition to over 15 in the prose), 77 to *muni* (24 of which refer to the Buddha) and over 40 to *samaṇa*, at least 17 of which are used without any specific reference to a Buddhist *samaṇa*. The *Saṅgha* is mentioned 8 times in the *Ratana Sutta* and 4 times elsewhere in both prose and verse. All the references to *bhikkhu*, *muni* and *samaṇa* amply justify Fausböll's statement "we see here a picture not of life in monasteries but the life of hermits in its first stage."<sup>5</sup> The *Uraga Sutta* like *Tuṇḍaka* and *Sammāparibbājaniya 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 *orapāraṃ* have already been discussed. The terms *kodha*, *rāga*, *taṇhā*, *māna bhavesu sāra* (cp. *bhavataṇhā*), *kopa* and *vitakka* (Sn. 1-7) have not undergone the later systematization and arrangement in groups. Usually the three *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* occur in one group in the more systematised texts and are called the three *akusala-mūlāni* (fundamental blemishes of character). At some places *kodha* and *upanāha* are added to these three, while at others *kilesa* and *kodha* and still others *māna* together with or without *diṭṭhi*. Similarly the occurrence of *papañca*, *vitathā*, *lobha*, *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* in Sn. 8-13 seems to presuppose a time prior to the scholastic classification of the three *akusala-mūlāni* as *rāga/lobha*, *dosa* and *moha*. Besides Sn. 14 seems to associate *mūlā akusalā* with *anusaya*.

On the other hand the technical significance of *daratha* and *vanatha* (Sn. 15 and 16 respectively), the mention of *pañca nivarāṇa* (Sn. 17), and the emphasis on *imaṃ papañcaṃ* (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 *nīvaraṇāni* and Sn. 66a the *pañcāvaraṇāni*. 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 *itibhavābhavataṃ* (Sn. 6) which is translated by Fausböll as 'reiterated existence' and by Neumann as 'being and non-being'. The explanation in the Comy. (Sn. A 20), *sampallivipatti-vuddhīhāni-sassatuccheda-puñña-pāpavasena iti anekappakāra bhavābhavatā* does not make it clear at all. It seems to be somewhat different from *bhavābhava* which occurs in 8 other places in Sn.<sup>6</sup> 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

5. His translation of the *Sutta Nipāta*, p. xii (SBE, vol x).

6. Sn. 496b, 776d, 786d, 810b, 877d, 901d, 1,060b and 1,068d.

few technical expressions reflect the "germs of a philosophical system which came to be more logically and consistently systematised"<sup>7</sup> 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 KHAGGAVISĀNA SUTTA

38

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

*eko care khaggavisānakappo*

(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 khaggavisānaṃ nāma khaggamiga-siṅgaṃ* (*khaggavisāna* 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,<sup>8</sup> and that the animal itself is called *khagga* in Pāli and *khadga* in Classical Sanskrit. The explanation of *khaggavisānakappo* at *Nd2.* 129, *yathā khaggassa nāma visānaṃ ekaṃ hoti adutiyaṃ*. (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 ekacāriṇaṃ*. The simile, *eko care mātaṅga-arañhe 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 araṇṇamhi yathā abaddho yenicchakaṃ gacchati gocarāya* (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

7. B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, Vol. I, p. 239.

8. *Sub voce* Encyclopaedia Britannica.

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. *vamsākaḷāro va asajja-māno* (like a bamboo-shoot not clinging to anything) at *Sn.* 38c, *samsīnapatto yathā koviḷāro* (like a *koviḷāra* tree with its scattered-leaves) at *Sn.* 44b, *aggī va daddhaṃ anivattamāno* (like fire not returning where it had burnt) at *Sn.* 62c and *sañchinnapatto yathā pārīchatto*<sup>9</sup> (as a *pārīchatta* 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 *khaggavisāna* is not *khaggassa visāna* (rh.'s horn) nor the *cariyā* (movement) of the *visāna* (horn) of the *khagga*; but the *cariyā* of the *khaggavisāna*, the sword-horn (the rhinoceros) itself. It is quite probable that the rhinoceros was known in earlier Pāli as *khaggavisāna*—that which possesses a sword-like horn<sup>10</sup> 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 *khaggavisāna* 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 *Khadgavisāna 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 *samsagga* and *santhava* (ties and attachments), there are occasional references to an "ideal companion"<sup>12</sup> an idea which appears to be an importation to the

9. Cp. *Mvastu.* I. 258, *samsīra-patro* (with scattered-leaves).

10. Cp. English, horn-bill, sword-fish, etc.

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 (*paribbājakas*?) who are virtually householders (*Sn.* 43ab), the reference to the theory of *mettā* 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 ulāraṃ* (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. 3abd//*Sn.* 35abd, st. 3c//? *Sn.* st. 4//*Sn.* 64, st. 5abd//*Sn.* 62abd, st. 5c//*Sn.* 64c, stt. 6abd-10abd//*Sn.* 36abd, (st. 6c//? *Sn.* 36c, st. 7c//? *Sn.* 37c, st. 8c//*Sn.* 41c, st. 9c//? *Sn.* 37b, st. 10c//? *Sn.* 36c), st. 11abd//*Sn.* 37abd, st. 11c//*Sn.* 35c. and st. 11=st. 12 with *jñātī* for *putraṃ* 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 *Khaḍgaviṣāṇa 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 *nipakaṃ saḥāyaṃ* as contrasted with *na puttā iccheyya kuto saḥāyaṃ* (*Sn.* 35c, cp. *Sn.* 37, 40 and 41). This *kalyāṇa mitta*, as other texts would have it, is not to be categorised as a *santhava*, 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-cariyā*; e.g. *Sn.* 45, 47, 50. Perhaps it is possible that the “friends in *brahma-cariyā*” is an allusion to the *ācariya-antevāsika* and *upajjhāya-saddhivihārika* relation-

ships 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”<sup>13</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy (H. O. S. Miscellany of Pāli Terms, s.v.) equates *kalyāṇamitta* to *mahittma* or *mahatta*; 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 :

*Samsevamānasya bhavanti snehāḥ  
snehānvayaṃ sambhavatīḥa duḥkham|  
ādinavaṃ snehagataṃ veditvā  
ekaś caret khaḍgaviṣāṇakalpa||*

(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,

*Samsevamānasya siyāti sneho  
snehānvayaṃ duḥkhamidaṃ prabhōti|  
putreṣu ādinavaṃ saṃmrṣanto  
eko care khaḍgaviṣāṇakalpo||*

The occurrence of this stanza in *Divy.* may equally suggest that both *Mvastu*. and *Divy.* have drawn from an original *Khaḍgaviṣāṇa 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

13. I am indebted to Miss I. B. Horner 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 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 *aṭṭhuppatti* (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 *gāthās* 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* (= *Mvastu.* st. 2c). The Comy. of the *Apadāna* 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 *Mvastu.* which do not place it in a particular group such as the *Uraga Vagga*.

## 41

This *sutta*, like the *Uraga 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.<sup>14</sup>

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 *Dh.A.* I, 52 along with *Sn.* 46. In the above instances the line *eko care mātaṅgaraññe va nāgo* (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 rhinoceros whose solitary habits were not so well-known as those of the elephant. It is significant that in the older “lists” of wild animals *khagga* 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 *gāthā*-Pāli. 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 *gāthās* 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 *Mvastu.* seems to suggest that there may have existed a version still earlier than that found at *Sn.*, from which both *Sn.* and *Mvastu.* developed their respective versions.

The metre of the poem is regular *Triṣṭubh* with *anacrusis*<sup>15</sup> and *jagatī-pādas*<sup>16</sup> in a few lines. Neumann (*Reden*, p. 413) points out *tmesis* in *Sn.* 53b, which should normally read, *sañjātapadumikhandho ulāro*. *Tmesis* is a very old poetical device which is rather frequent even in the *Rgveda*.

The *sutta* contains many linguistic forms that may be classified as old. There are three old ppr. forms in *-am*, old absolutes as *chetyāna* *Sn.* 44c, *bhetvā* *Sn.* 62b, agent nouns like *sahitā* *Sn.* 42c and *sammāsītā* *Sn.* 69c, many historical absolutes ending in *-ya*, e.g. *aññāya*, *vineyya*, *Sn.* 58c, *abhibhuyya*, *Sn.* 45c, etc., optative 3rd singulars in *-etha*, e.g. *labhetha*, *Sn.* 45a, 46a, etc. (usually confined to the poetic language), probable dialectical forms as *kammāra-* *Sn.* 48b, *suhajje* *Sn.* 37a, and poetical forms as *seritaṃ* *Sn.* 39c, 40c, *vaco* (Vedic) *Sn.* 54c, *rakkhitamānasāno* *Sn.* 63b, *upekham* *Sn.* 67c, 73a, *apekhā* *Sn.* 38b, and many elements which can be traced to Vedic, e.g. *atho*, 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 *vaṃsākālīro*, *Sn.* 49a *sahā*, *Sn.* 61c *mutimā* and *Sn.* 70b *Satimā*. *Dukha* is found for *dukkha* at *Sn.* 67a probably on the analogy of *sukha* or for purposes of metre. Similarly *aṭṭhānaṃ* and *kāraṇatthāya* are contracted to *aṭṭhāna* *Sn.* 54a and *kāraṇatthā* *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:—*Khaggavisāṇakappo* *Sn.* 35d-44d and 46d-75d (already discussed), vide *Nd2.* 129 and *SnA.* 65. This *sutta* abounds in cpds; some of them like *yenicchakam* *Sn.* 39b, *itaritarena* *Sn.* 42b, *yathābhirantaṃ* *Sn.* 53c, *analamkaritvā* *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. **Sneho** Sn. 36a cp. 36c. Both *sneha* and *sineha* occur in this *sutta*: see *sinehadosam* 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. **Pahoti** 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 medials, 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. **Suhajje** Sn. 37a (cp. *kosajja*) appears to be a dialectical word. The Pāli word parallel to Sk. *suhyd* is *suhada*, but this form probably was an analogical derivation from the abstract *sau-hyd-ya* > *sohajja*. The other possibility is that *sohajja* the secondary form from *suhada* became *suhajja* by the weakening of the vowel *o*; *o* > *u* cp. Sk. *asau* > Māgadhī *aso* > P. *asu* also Gen. pl. *gunṇam* (Sk. *gonam*) and Sk. *sadyah* > P. *sajju*. **Sabitā** Sn. 42c (cp. *saṃmasitā* Sn. 69c). There are 21 such 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 *Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>17</sup>. This compound particle appears to be restricted to poetry and occurs no less than 25 times in *Sn.* alone. **Saddhimcaram** Sn. 45b, 46b, *saddhim* — *cara* (the adjectival suffix from  $\sqrt{\text{car}}$ ) cp. *dada* in *paññādada* Kh. VIII 10 or *kāmadada* Pv. II, 9.1. As the cpd. is formed from the indeclinable *saddhim* and it retains the nasal as in *analamkaritvā* Sn. 59b, *rattimdivam* 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. *Itamma-kāra* > *'kamma-āra* (cp. *ajja-utta* for *urya-putra*) > P. *kammāra*; cp. *Kṛṣṇinagara* > P. *Kusinārā*. **Phassaye** Sn. 54b is probably a dialectical form. The root *spṛś* is treated as a verb in class X, perhaps on the analogy of forms like *cintaye*. The direct historical forms should be *phasse* and *phuse*. **Rakkhitamānasāno** Sn. 63b. *nom. sg.* is formed by adding the adjectival six. *-na* to *mānasa* the secondary form of *manas*. This too is a pure poetic form.

42

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 (*munayo*). A noticeable development in doctrine in the *sutta* is the concept of a noble companion (39). It has been pointed out above that the *Khaḍgaviṣāṇa 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 *Khaḍgaviṣāṇa Sutta*. The references to *kalyāṇa-mitta* (virtuous companion) at Sn. 338a, *mittasampadam* (good companionship) at Kh. VIII, 14, *sahāya-sampadam* 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 *sādhusaṅga* 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 *ekacariyā* 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, *Cātuddiso appaṭigho ca hoti*. (He has no conflicts from the four quarters), and is mentioned later on in the *sutta* at Sn. 73 along with *upe(k)kkhā*, *karuṇā*, *vimutti* and *muditā*. The idea of *mettā* (friendliness, amity) 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*, *karuṇā*, *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,<sup>18</sup> 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 *aññāya atthāni* at Sn. 58c (having known the *atthas*) demands attention. The explanation at Nd2, 85, *atta'ttha*, *para'ttha*, *ubhaya'ttha*, *diṭṭhadhamma'ttha*, *samparāyika'ttha* and *parama'ttha* (own

17. Vide Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, pp. 214-215.

18. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Outlines of Buddhism*, pp 32 ff. and *What was the Original Gospel in Buddhism?* pp. 92 ff.

welfare, others' welfare, welfare of both, welfare in this world, welfare after-death and highest welfare), merely suggests the various implications. *SnA.* 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 *upe(k)khā* 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 *akusalamūlāni*; 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 recluses only. The reference made to some (*eke*) discontented *pabbajitas* at *Sn.* 43 may be an allusion to a contemporary sect or class. It is difficult to say who these recluses 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 *sāmayikaṃ vimuttiṃ* may not refer to any particular view, but to temporal joys.<sup>19</sup> It is only

19. Vide *SnA.* 105, *sāmayikaṃ vimuttiṃ ti lokiyasamāpattiṃ, sā hi appitappitasamaye eva paccanikehi vimuccanato sāmayikā vimuttiṃ ti vuccati* (cp. *PīSA.* III, 552 ff.)—Temporal emancipation means worldly attainments. It is called temporal emancipation because whenever one indulges (in these pleasures, cp. *Sn.* 54b) one is emancipated from what is unpleasant.

probable that these two stanzas refer to a sect of materialists (*Cārvākas*). There are numerous references to materialists and their doctrines in the *Nikāyas* (*Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, etc.), and according to Rhys Davids, they must have preceded Buddhism as early Buddhist literature mentions them.<sup>20</sup>

The line *Sn.* 75b, *nikkāraṇā dullabhā ajja mittā* (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.* I, 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 *ajja*, 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 *Khaggavisāṇa Suttas*. These three *suttas* together with *Moneyya Sutta* (i.e. *Nālaka* excluding its *vatthugāthā*) 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 *Sabhiya Sutta* and many *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* such as *Jarā*, *Tissametteyya* 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

20. Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, p. 24.



of the *muni*. Generally speaking, there appears no fundamental difference between the *muni* and the *bhikkhu* in early Buddhism, and the terms are interchangeable, except when *muni* specifically refers to the Buddha. The qualities attributed to the *muni* are often associated with the *bhikkhu*, and sometimes with *brāhmaṇa*, *hattiya*, *vedagu* and *sottiya* in a strict Buddhist sense.<sup>21</sup> Although *bhikkhu* and *muni* are virtually synonymous there seems to be a subtle difference between the two. While renunciation, *pabbajjā* (becoming a religious mendicant), detachment and *ekacariyā* (life of solitude) are emphasised of the *bhikkhu*, the *muni* is described as a person who plays a more important rôle. This is quite evident from his description in the *Muni* and *Moneyya Suttas*, and the type of epithets used about him. In addition to the possession of all the characteristics of the *bhikkhu*, there appears something nobler and more positive about him than about the *bhikkhu*. He is a more evolved being (*bhāvitatta*) who has reached spiritual attainments and instructs others as well. The term *muni* in *Sn.* is used in a much wider meaning than *bhikkhu* in *Th.* 1.

As regards the epithets, the *muni* is called a *mahesi* (*Sn.* 208<sup>d</sup>) and is described as *tādī* (*Sn.* 219<sup>b</sup>), *yatatta* (*Sn.* 216<sup>b</sup>), *saññatatta* (*Sn.* 216<sup>a</sup>) and *ñhitatta* (*Sn.* 215<sup>a</sup>). Besides the eight references<sup>22</sup> where Buddha is called *mahesi*, the true *brāhmaṇa* (in the strict Buddhist sense) is spoken of as *mahesi* at *Sn.* 646,<sup>b</sup> also the *khiṇāsava* is referred to as a *mahesi* at *Sn.* 82<sup>a</sup> and 481<sup>a</sup>, though the allusion is to the Buddha. The epithet *tādī* is rather puzzling as it cannot be easily differentiated from *tādī* (*Sk.* *tādyk* also *P.* *tādiso*) the demonstrative adjective. Yet, there are sufficient instances in *Sn.* itself where *tādī* is clearly used in the pregnant sense of *ecce homo*. The *muni* is *ubhayeneva tādī* at *Sn.* 712<sup>c</sup> (unchanged under both circumstances) in the *Nālaka Sutta*. *Paramatthaka* speaks of the *bhikkhu* as, *pāraṃgato na pacceti tādī* (gone over yonder such—a steadfast one—is he who returns not;—*Sn.* 803<sup>d</sup>). The Buddha is called *asitaṃ* and *tādiṃ* at *Sn.* 957<sup>a</sup>, cp. *Sn.* 219<sup>c</sup> *asitaṃ anāsavaṃ*). The *maggajina* is called *tādī* at *Sn.* 86<sup>d</sup> in the *Cunda Sutta*. The *brāhmaṇa*, *khetajina* (cp. *Sk.* *kṣetrajña*), *vedagu* and *sottiya*—all of them in a Buddhist sense—are called *tādī* in the *Sabhiya Sutta* (*Sn.* 519-532). Another attribute of the *muni*—*yatatta* (self restrained)—is repeated at *Sn.* 723<sup>a</sup> in the *Moneyya Sutta*. Homeless recluses are called *yatattā* at *Sn.* 490<sup>b</sup>. It is practically the same idea conveyed by the term *saññatatta* (self-subdued). The brahmins of old are referred to as *saññatattā* at *Sn.* 284<sup>b</sup> (*Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta*), and *susaññatattā* occurs at *Sn.* 464<sup>b</sup> (*Sundarikabhāradvāja Sutta*). The *muni* is known to be *ñhitatta* (steadfast), so also is the virtuous monk described in the *Kimsīla Sutta* (*Sn.* 328<sup>d</sup>) the *bhikkhu* who renounces the world in

21. See *Sabhiya Sutta* *Sn.* 111, 6.

22. *Sn.* 176<sup>d</sup>, 177<sup>d</sup>, 915<sup>b</sup>, 1054<sup>a</sup>, 1057<sup>a</sup>, 1061<sup>b</sup>, 1067<sup>b</sup>, and 1083<sup>a</sup>.

the proper manner (*Sn.* 370<sup>c</sup>) and the good *brāhmaṇa* (*Sn.* 519<sup>b</sup>). Further, it is used as an attribute of the Tathāgata at *Sn.* 477.<sup>b</sup> The *muni* is also called *asitaṃ* and *anāsavaṃ* (independent and free from the banes). The Buddha is described as *asito* at *Sn.* 251<sup>d</sup> and 957<sup>a</sup>. The true *brāhmaṇa* (*brahmā* in the text) is called *asito* at *Sn.* 519<sup>d</sup>. Again the monk who has drawn out the dart is described as *asito* at *Sn.* 593<sup>a</sup> and so is the *muni* in the *Moneyya Sutta*. The *mānava* Dhotaka begs for instruction so that he may lead a life of peace and independence; (*idheva santo asito careyyaṃ*—*Sn.* 1065<sup>b</sup>).

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

There are various other attributes of the *muni* enumerated in the *sutta*. He has no fixed abode and he is free from any acquaintanceship (*Sn.* 207). He has eradicated all sin; and is the lonely wanderer (cp. *Sn.* 35-75) who has visioned the state of peace (*Sn.* 208). He sees the ultimate destruction of birth, leaves reasoning behind and is under no limitations of time and space (*Sn.* 209). He is free from covetousness and has reached the Beyond—*pāra*—(*Sn.* 210). He is *sabbābhibhu*—one who overcomes every obstacle and is superior to all others;—he has perfect knowledge and is unsmeared by the worldly phenomena and is emancipated. (These are the attributes of the Bhagavā mentioned at *M.* 1, 171 *S.* II. 284, Vin. I. 8 and *Dh.* 353)—(*Sn.* 211). He is wise and composed, and is free from the mental obsessions; he delights in meditation, wanders alone and leads others (*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 (*Sn.* 214-215). He is self-restrained and self-subdued (*Sn.* 216). He knows the world and sees the highest *attha* (well-being). He has crossed the *ogha* (flood) and the *samudda* (ocean), has cut off all knots, has nothing to lean on and is steadfast.

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 *taṇhā*) developed to a considerable extent in *Sn.* 208-209, the shunning of resting places of the mind (*nivesanāni*)—*Sn.* 210, cp. also *Aṭṭhaka Vagga*, remaining unsullied by worldly phenomena, and such other central concepts of early Buddhism, prove that the *sutta* contains very early Buddhist sayings and there is much evidence to show that the subject-matter of this *sutta* is very old. The

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* (*Bhg.* II-VI. cp. *Bhg.* II, 56; II, 69; V, 6; V, 28; VI, 3, etc., where the *muni* is mentioned in similar words).

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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 (*taṃ vā pi dhīrā munim vedayanti*); 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 *Triṣṭubh*. 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 *Milindapañha*.<sup>23</sup> The stanza itself breathes the same tone as the opening verses of the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*—cp. *etaṃ bhayaṃ santhave pekkhamāno*, *Sn.* 37<sup>a</sup>. *Gāme akubbaṃ muni santhavāni* at *Sn.* 844<sup>b</sup> is also reminiscent of the opening *pāda*. The same idea is expanded at *Dh.* 212-216, viz.—*Dh.* 212 *Piyato jāyati soko piyato jāyati bhayaṃ* (from what is pleasant arise grief and fear)—, *Dh.* 213 *pemato*.. (from affection..), *Dh.* 214 *ratiyā*.. (from lust..), *Dh.* 215 *kāmato*.. (from sense-pleasures..) and *Dh.* 216 *taṇhāya*.. (from avarice..). 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. *taṇhā*) 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

23. *Milp.* 385 quotes this stanza thus:—*Bhāsitaṃ p'cītaṃ mahārāja Bhagavatā devā-tidevena Suttanipāte*, and quotes *Sn.* 207. The stanza is the topic of a *pañha* at *Milp.* 212 ff. and is quoted several times there.

worked out in the next stanza (*Sn.* 209). The *vatthūni*—lit. fields or bases—have to be reckoned, and the seed (Comy. *abhisāṅkhāraviññāṇa*—“storing intellect”) has to be destroyed (Comy. *himsitvā, vadhitvā*—Sk. *pramārya* from  $\sqrt{mṛ}$ . *mṛṇāti*)—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 *uppattis* 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 *Aṅguttara 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.* 71<sup>abc</sup> in the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*. The influence of the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* is felt in *ekaṃ carantaṃ munim appamattaṃ* at *Sn.* 213<sup>a</sup> and, *taṃ āhu ekaṃ muninaṃ carantaṃ* at *Sn.* 208<sup>c</sup>, besides the repeated *pādas* *Sn.* 213<sup>ode</sup>. 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 *ājivaka Upaka*.<sup>24</sup> 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, *tasaraṃ va ujjuṃ* (like a shuttle that is straight) at *Sn.* 464<sup>b</sup> and 497<sup>b</sup> 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.

24. Vide *Ariyapariyesana Sutta*, Vinaya Introduction, etc.



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>de</sup>, 214<sup>a</sup> and 215<sup>a</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. *Pādas* 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 *uppattis* (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 Khadirāvaniya 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 straightness 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 Pañcaggadāyaka-brāhmaṇa. (SnA. 270) cp. Comy. on Dh. 367. Sn. 218—preached to the monks, announcing the attainment of arahatship of a monk who had fluctuated 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.

25. Vide E. M. Hare: *Woven Cadences*, p. 190.

**Group III.**—The last two stanzas of the poem stand out as a class by themselves as (a) they contain no refrain (b) point out the difference between the householder and the *muni*. Although these two stanzas are similar to the rest of the poem in language, metre and style, the change of values and the contrast made between the householder and the *muni* (emphasising the latter's superiority in the simile at Sn. 221<sup>ab</sup>) are indicative of an effort made by a monastic editor to usher in to this poem of lofty theme and ideals, an idea of comparative insignificance. Their position as the last two stanzas of the final *sutta* (of the *vagga*) suggests that they may as well have been intended to form the very conclusion of the *whole vagga*. In view of their decidedly late characteristics and the indirect evidence from the position of the *sutta* it is clear that these two stanzas were added when the *sutta* was re-edited before its inclusion in *Sutta Nipāta*.<sup>26</sup>

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The language of the *sutta* is old and all the stanzas are composed in the archaic poetic dialect often called "gāthā-Pāli". There are many linguistic forms in the *sutta* that belong to an early stratum of Pāli, and forms which may be classed as late are totally absent. The usual historical verbal forms like Optative 3 sg. P. *pada* in—*e*, A. *pada* in—*etha*, the historical sibilant Aorist (*addakkhi*, Sn. 208<sup>b</sup>), absolutes in —*ya* (7 of them), old present participles in—*aṃ* (*anikāmayam* Sn. 210<sup>b</sup>), and old infinitives (like *thutum* Sn. 217<sup>c</sup>) as well as nominal forms such as *rajo* (Sn. 207<sup>b</sup>), *muninam* (Sn. 208<sup>c</sup>), *gedha* (Sn. 210<sup>c</sup>), and *ubho* (Sn. 220<sup>a</sup>), dialectal or local forms such as *anuppavecche* (Sn. 208<sup>b</sup>, 209<sup>b</sup>) and *ujjum* (Sn. 215<sup>a</sup>), and historical particles like *ve* (Sn. 207<sup>d</sup>; Vedic *vai*) etc. show that the language of the *sutta* is old. The linguistic forms of interest in this *sutta* are:—*ropayeyya*, Sn. 208<sup>a</sup>; The causative is formed after verbs of class X, and —*eyy-* is added. This is a pure Pāli form. *Assa*, Sn. 208<sup>b</sup>; This should be interpreted as a dative, as in Comy. i.e., as *assa jāyantassa* with ellipsis—(SnA. 256). The two lines would then read:—*Yo jātam ucchijja, jāyantam na ropayeyya, assa (jāyantassa) nānuppavecche. Anuppavecche*, Sn. 208<sup>b</sup>, 209<sup>b</sup>. (Comy. *anuppaveseyya, samodhāneyya*—should permit entry or fulfilment). There are three possible explanations to this curious form:—1- (Trenckner).  $\sqrt{yam} yaccha > *yeccha- > veccha-$  cp.  $y > v$  in *āyudha > āvudha* etc. (vide Geiger, §46), and the vowel change

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 to 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 Walleiser, also needs consideration). The inclusion of the *sutta* in Sn. is relatively late as compared with the date of its composition.



-a- > -c- cp. *sa-yathā* > *seyyathā*, (*pavekkhe* etc.) 2-√ *viś* > Caus. *veśyet* (Opt.) > *vesse* > -cche. cp. -ts- > -ss- // -cch- (Sk. *utsaṅga*. P. *ussaṅga* //, *ucchaṅga*).<sup>27</sup> (If it could be established that -ś- > -cch-, just as ś- > ch- (initially) as in *chakana*, *chava*, *chāpa* or *cheppā*, the form might as well be derived from opt. of √ *viś*, i.e. \**veśyet* on the analogy of class IV verbs). 3-The optative of the future base of √ *viś* i.e. \**vek-* > \**vekkhe* (// E. Pkr.) or \**vecche* (// to W. Pkr.) would be the same as this form.<sup>28</sup> **Thambho-r-iva**, *Sn.* 214<sup>a</sup>; This is an inorganic *sandhi* with the artificial replacement of the historical -h which, with the preceding *a* i.e. -ah-, has already become -o; *iva* is retained as in Sk. **Ubho**, *Sn.* 220<sup>a</sup>; < *ubhau*, the Vedic dual. It is a historical form. **Ujjum**, *Sn.* 215<sup>a</sup>; dialectal or Prākritic *rju* > \**i/u-rju* (with epenthesis) > *ujju*. **Nālaṃ thutum**, *Sn.* 217<sup>c</sup>; the old construction with *alaṃ* and the infinitive; Sk. *stautum* > \**thotum* > P. *thutum*.

**Metre.**—The difference in metre between the opening stanza and the rest of the poem has already been commented on. This difference of metre in the introductory verse is quite similar to that in the opening verse in *Kimsīla Sutta*. It was probably on verses like these that the practice of prefacing *suttas* with *vatthugāthā* was based. The opening stanza is a regular *Anuṣṭubh śloka* with an odd quarter in line c. The rest of the poem is in *Triṣṭubh* metre with *Jagatī pādas* at *Sn.* 212<sup>c</sup>, 214<sup>ac</sup> 218<sup>b</sup>, 219<sup>c</sup> and 220<sup>a</sup>-221<sup>d</sup>. The caesura after the 7th syllable is not reckoned in *Sn.* 210<sup>c</sup> and 221<sup>a</sup> (*Jagatī*). There are two difficult *pādas* (*Sn.* 214<sup>a</sup> and 215<sup>b</sup>) and Helmer Smith (*Sn.A.* 639) suggests *yōgāhane* and *kammahi* for *yo ogahane* and *kammehi* respectively. There is metrical lengthening in *santhavāto* (*Sn.* 207<sup>a</sup>), *munī* (*Sn.* 209<sup>c</sup>, 210<sup>c</sup>, 216<sup>b</sup>, and 220<sup>d</sup>. v.l. *munī*), *nāyūhatī* (*Sn.* 210<sup>d</sup> v.l. -ī), *anupalittam* (*Sn.* 211<sup>b</sup> v.l. -u-) and *satīmam* (*Sn.* 212<sup>b</sup>). Both forms *gihi* (*Sn.* 220<sup>a</sup> v.l. -ī) and *gihī* (*Sn.* 220<sup>c</sup> and 221<sup>c</sup> v.l. -ī) occur. Though metre, as a rule, is no sound criterion, the old metres employed in this *sutta* further support other evidence which shows that the poem is old.

**Style.**—There is nothing extraordinary as regards the style of the *sutta*. Throughout the poem the diction of the stanzas is purely poetic, and figurative speech is freely used, e.g. *Sn.* 209<sup>d</sup>, 219<sup>bc</sup> etc. Simile and metaphor play an important part. In addition to the popular similes mentioned already there is a simile at *Sn.* 221<sup>ab</sup>. The allegory at *Sn.* 208-209 also enhances the poetic effect. E. M. Hare (p. 218) considers that *pamāya* (*Sn.* 209<sup>a</sup>) is a *ślesā* (pun) i.e. from √ *mā* and √ *mṛ*. There are a few instances of alliteration (*Sn.* 211) and assonance (*Sn.* 219<sup>b</sup>—*atitariya lādīm*). These poetical devices which are not too frequently

27. Vide Müller; *Pali Grammar*, p. 120.

28. Vide Geiger, § 152 note 3.

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<sup>a</sup>) implies not only acquaintances but also all forms of ties, attachments and worldly bonds arising out of the association with them (cp. *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*). The words *vatthūni*, *bijaṃ* and *sineham*, 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<sup>29</sup> suggests that *takkaṃ* and *saṅkhaṃ* at *Sn.* 209<sup>d</sup> were references to popular philosophical systems Tārkyam and Sāṅkhyam. It is not at all likely that *takka* and *saṅkha* 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*.<sup>30</sup> *Saṅkhaṃ* cannot be an allusion to the philosophical system known as Sāṅkhya 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. Śāntiparvan* 302, *pratyakṣahetavo yogāḥ, sāṅkhyāḥ śāstravinicayāḥ*. The phrase *saṅkhaṃ na upeti*, however, is intrinsically connected with *na saṅkhaṃ 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<sup>a</sup>) 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

29. *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos*, p. 437.

30. Vide Franklin Edgerton: “Sāṅkhya and Yoga in the Epics”—*American Journal of Philology*, 1924.



meaning was attached to it from very early times. The idea of being free from such *nivesanāni* (or-*nivesā* 785<sup>a</sup>) occurs also at *Sn.* 470<sup>ab</sup>, 801<sup>c</sup>, 846<sup>d</sup>, and 1055.<sup>e</sup> *Sn.* 785 describes the nature of dogmatic beliefs. The term *pāra* and the idea of 'going beyond' (*pāra*+ $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$ )—*Sn.* 210<sup>d</sup> have been discussed in the introduction to the *Pārāyana Vagga*.<sup>31</sup> The words *ogha* and *samudda* *Sn.* 219<sup>b</sup> are used to signify the ills of the world in much the same way as *vatthūni*, *bījāni* and *sineha*, but *ogha* seems to have already acquired a technical significance as seen from its occurrences in *Sn.*<sup>32</sup>

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*, *santhava*, 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.

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**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-gāthā* are mentioned as one of the sections recited by Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa at *Divy.* 20, and by the merchants at *Divy.* 35. The Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and the Tibetan *Dulva* include the *Muni-gāthā* among the sections recited by Śroṇa.<sup>33</sup> As Rhys Davids<sup>34</sup> has pointed out, by *Muni-gāthā* 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 Nipāta*, (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. *Samyuttanikāyavare*, *Suttanipāte*, etc. Altogether he makes five references to *Sn.* in quoting stanzas taken from it.<sup>35</sup> 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 *Samyuttanikāya* (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'etaṃ Mahārāja, Bhagavatā devātidevena Suttanipāte*

31. *PBR* 1, 3, p. 146.32. *ibid.* See also the introduction to the *Pārāyana Vagga*.33. Sylvan Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, p. 401 ff.34. Rhys Davids, *J.P.T.S.*, 1896, p. 95.35. viz. *Milp.* 369, 385, 411, 413-414, and 414.

*Dhaniyagopālakasutte*. 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.),<sup>36</sup> all these quotations show that *Sn.* was perhaps known to its author as it is found to-day.

The earlier inscriptional 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 Pāli versions of the episode of Soṇa 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-gāthā* and quotations from the *Muni Sutta* strongly support the internal evidence from all sources to establish that the *sutta* is of great antiquity.

(Continued)

36. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Outlines of Buddhism*, p. 103.

## THE CONCEPT OF IDDDHI 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."<sup>1</sup> 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 his 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 hold 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-

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.<sup>2</sup> Nor will religion-magic accept a wholly futuristic fulfilment. Present 'earnests' 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, *dunamis* 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.<sup>3</sup> Again, from the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta*, *iddhi* refers to the mighty power obtained by a king through practice in military tactics.<sup>4</sup> The *iddhis* of Gotama, when at home as a boy, are listed as the possession of a beautiful garden, soft

1. Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*, New York: Harper and Rose, 1959, p. 84.

2. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion*, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1948, p. 90.

3. T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Buddhist Suttas*, vol. 11 in *Sacred Books of the East*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965, pp. 259-261.

4. *ibid.*, p. 2.



clothing, comfortable lodging, pleasant music and good food.<sup>5</sup> Still other passages refer to the *iddhi*, the majestic movement of animals, or to the craft and power of a hunter, etc.<sup>6</sup> Buddhaghosa gives nine sorts of *iddhis*, mostly intellectual, at *Aṭṭhasālinī* 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."<sup>7</sup>

Specific examples are given of manifestations of certain of the above, *iddhi*, and still others are mentioned. In a passage from the *Mahā-parinibbāna 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." 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.<sup>8</sup>

5. T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I. London: SBB, 1973, p. 88.

6. *ibid.*, pp. 272, 273.

7. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 214-215.

8. *ibid.*, pp. 40-44.

The Buddha is also represented as performing the famous miracle of the pairs in order to win respect from a certain group. When he and his company came amid the Sākyaas, they were provided with a residence in the Nigrodha park, but the proud kinsmen of the Buddha did not offer obeisance to him. Accordingly, he rose in the air to perform the miracle in which flames of fire came from the upper part of the body and streams of water from his lower half. (Conze sees the Buddhist tradition influencing the early Christian interpretation of Jesus at this and other points). Then the process was reversed. This was repeated, with twenty-two variations of pairs, left and right side, etc. The *Jātaka* says that he performed this miracle on three other occasions, one of which was at his enlightenment to remove the doubt of the gods.<sup>9</sup> The *Questions of King Milinda* reveals a similar teaching purpose, when, through *iddhi*, a person who has doubts about the Tathāgata is shown, by the Tathāgata, the shadow of his hidden body. It is again a spiritual prescription, filled by the *iddhi* of the Tathāgata, for the resolution of doubt.<sup>10</sup>

The miracle performed as an object lesson occurs in the Vinaya texts when Buddha wishes to cross the Ganges at flood season, and sees many persons seeking boats, making rafts, etc. He vanished and appears on the opposite bank, and says, "They who cross the ocean's floods making a solid path across the pools—whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts; these are the wise, these are the saved indeed."<sup>11</sup> The slow pedantic progress toward goals is once more derided in a passage from *Milinda*, where an earlier story from the Vinaya is given a different twist. In a contest between certain Buddhist arahats and persons of other persuasions, a bowl of sandalwood, in the Vinaya account, was placed atop a high bamboo pole to see who might be able to bring it down. One of the Buddhists, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, brought it down by means of his psychic power. In the earlier story, the Buddha rebuked this usage of psychic power to perform a cheap trick, but in *Milinda* (a few details are changed: the pole, for instance becomes a mango tree) the ability to bring the bowl down is made an evidence of spiritual achievement. The monk whose mind is unified and who is purified in his individual essence, retaining the impressions of his former lives, is like this man. Others, with dirt in their eyes, are working toward this unity by attending to mundane tasks, such as repair of buildings. This is comparable to the need of many persons to raise ladders to get the bowl down from the top of the mango trees.

9. Edward J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha as Legend and History*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975, pp. 98, 99.

10. I. B. Horner, trans., *Milinda's Questions*, vol. 1, London: SBB, 1964, pp. 236, 237.

11. T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, trans., *Vinaya Texts*, Part II, vol. 17, *Sacred Books of the East*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965, pp. 103, 104.



They are dependent on additions because their spiritual powers (*iddhi*) are not developed.<sup>12</sup>

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."<sup>13</sup> Here the footnote reads, "The *iddhi* here must be the power of religious persuasion,"<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> In the list of different varieties of *iddhi* from the *Vinaya*, these are specifically described as *pothugganika* (or *puthagganika*) *iddhi*, belonging, thus, to the common persons, laymen, unconverted, and, by implication, having a worldly rather than a spiritual goal.<sup>16</sup>

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*.<sup>17</sup> 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-

12. Horner, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 79.

13. *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 20 (*Vinaya Texts*, part III), pp. 244-245.

14. *ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

15. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, part I, pp. 272, 273.

16. *ibid.*, pp. 272, 273.

17. *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 20, pp. 230-234.

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 Brahukaccha in one day."<sup>18</sup> 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 pronouncement, 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 (*iddhipādā*) 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> In the *Akaṅkheyya 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 fulfil 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."<sup>21</sup>

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

18. I. B. Horner, *Ten Jātaka Stories*, London: Luzac and Co., 1957, p. 33.

(This is *Jātaka* no. 463).

19. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, p. 45. (Pali original is from parallel passage in *Digha Nikāya*, vol. III, ed. by J. Estlin Carpenter, London: PTS, 1960, p. 77.)

20. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, part I, pp. 272-273.

21. Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 11, pp. 214-215.



parents in a former life.) Despite this, his murder was still the occasion for his reaching of complete Nibbāna.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup>

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."<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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

22. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, pp. 267-269. (Vol. I).

23. *ibid.*, pp. 113-115.

24. Conze, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

25. Rhys Davids *Dialogues*, part I, pp. 276-280.

26. Sister Nivedita, *The Master As I Saw Him*, Calcutta: Udbodhan Office, 1963, p. 242.

"Is it true, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, as they say, that you have got down the Rajagaha Setthi's bowl." "It is true, Lord." The Blessed Buddha rebuked him, saying, "This is improper, Bhāradvāja, not according to rule, unsuitable, unworthy of a sāmana, 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 *dukkhata*."<sup>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup>

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.<sup>29</sup> 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

27. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 20.

28. T. W. Rhys Davids and Wm. Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1956, p. 120.

29. A. Foucher, *The Life of the Buddha*, Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ., 1963, pp. 208-211.



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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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 Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja's feat caused the credulous to swarm, so did a manifestation by another disciple, Pilindavakkha. 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. Pilindavakkha 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 Pilindavakkha'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.<sup>32</sup>

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 *sāmaṇa* 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 *sāmaṇa* 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.

30. *ibid.*, p. 205.

31. *ibid.*, p. 216.

32. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 17, pp. 63-67.

He says, "You are not holy, Kassapa, nor have you entered the path of arahatship, nor do you walk in such a practice as will lead you to arahatship, or to entering the path of arahatship." At this the ascetic prostrates himself before the Buddha, and asks to be ordained as one of his followers. He is told to tell his followers of his decision and they follow his example and are ordained. The same occurs with his brother ascetics and their followers.<sup>33</sup> Direct confrontation appears to have been effective where no amount of magical acts could induce the skeptical ascetic to follow the Buddha.

Part of the distrust of *iddhi* doubtless arose because it seemed to subvert the necessary disciplines. Cheap grace is always suspect and the possibility of a short cut to spiritual attainment was bound to be regarded with raised eyebrows by religious leaders. Renunciation of such powers was enjoined by the example of some of the followers of the Buddha. In one of the *Jātaka* tales the ascetic Sumedha was given a swampy place to prepare for the coming of a Buddha. The swamp was given him instead of a choicer plot because it was known that he could, by his *iddhi*, transform it into a garden if he chose. But he said, "I can adorn this place by means of *iddhi*; but if I did I should not be satisfied. Today I must do menial tasks." And fetching earth he threw it on that spot. This same resolution gives rise to the Bodhisattva ideal for the ascetic, as well. He realizes that he could pass over into Nibbāna, but asks, "Why should I, an unknown, realize Dhamma here? Why should I cross over alone?"<sup>34</sup> Any special privileges which *iddhi* might convey are to be used sparingly, for even the personal goal of ultimate liberation is judged to be less than the highest ideal.

Perhaps legends came to be written teaching that the *iddhi* were of dubious value because, in fact, they were not being performed. To openly admit that the followers of the Middle Path could not perform such acts would obviously not do, so, in order to provide a rationale for their absence, the Buddha may have been represented as discouraging their practice. But, for whatever reason the attempt was made to suppress interest in magic, it surfaced again and again in different forms and the pursuit of *iddhi* became consciously an acceptable goal, particularly within the Vajrayāna and certain of the Mahāyānist traditions. Various objects came to be regarded as invested with magical power, such as images of the Buddha, relics, stupas containing them, scenes of the life of the Buddha, symbols such as the tree and the wheel. Miracles could be performed through resolute faith in these magical power stations, and

33. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 13, pp. 118-134.

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."<sup>35</sup> In its magical interest, then, Tantrism only developed what was an integral part of the Buddhist tradition from the earliest days.

There was yet another way of regulating the pervading 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 *āsavas*, and attached to rebirth. The *āsavas* 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. Arahatsip itself might be defined as freedom from the *āsavas*, and the attempt to overcome them thus becomes one of man's primary duties.<sup>36</sup> The higher *iddhi*, conversely, is Aryan, not connected with *āsavas*, 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.<sup>37</sup>

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 *Frana*s, 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 unruffled 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; fulfilment 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."<sup>38</sup> 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."<sup>39</sup> 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

35. Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*, p. 175.

36. T. W. Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 115.

37. Estlin Carpenter, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

38. Swami Madhavananda, trans., *The Last Message of Sri Krishna*, Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1956, pp. 151, 152.

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.<sup>40</sup> 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.

## 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:

#### 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?

#### Responses by the Universities

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

1. Yes.
2. Geiger's *Pali Literature and Language* and Andersen's *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.

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 Swan's Wide Waters: Ramakrishna and Western Culture* (Kennikat Press, New York, 1974).



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 supported.
4. No such department. The most relevant is the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, Chm., Prof. J. A. B. van Buitenen. Prof. van Buitenen 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.
6. Not known.

**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 Associate 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 program of its kind in the United States. It offers an opportunity for concentrating 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 demand for it accumulates. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit is treated similarly.

2. Students in Columbia Pali class use W. Geiger's *Pali Literature and Language* and Dines Andersen's *Pali Reader*.

3. Not on Pali. However, the Columbia University Society for Buddhist Studies is working on publishing a journal of Buddhist Studies. For further information on the journal 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.

**Cornell University, (South Asian Studies Program), Ithaca, New York.**

## 1. Yes.

2. James W. Gair and W. S. Karunatilaka: *Introduction to Reading Pali*.

3. *Introduction to Reading Pali* was done under the South Asian Program and the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics. As yet it is only in mimeographed form and not complete, but the final version will have about "fifteen lessons with carefully graded readings and associated grammars."

## 4. South Asian Studies: Prof. Mei Tsu Lin, Chm.

Lecturers in Pali and Theravāda Buddhism:

Prof. James W. Gair and Prof. J. Bruce Long.

## 5. Approximately 5-10 in Pali and early Buddhism.

## 6. Three or four per year.

**Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.**

## 1. Yes.

2. A. K. Warder: *Introduction to Pali*. For early Buddhism many texts are used, especially the Pali Text Society's translation series, and W. Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught*.

## 3. No.

4. Buddhist studies is done within the Department of History and Literature of Religions. Prof. George D. Bond teaches Pali and Theravāda Buddhism.

## 5. Pali only a few; Theravāda Buddhism 120.

6. Approximately 5 students going on to prepare for their M.A. or Ph.D. in Pali and Theravāda Buddhism.

**Claremont Graduate School (or Pomona College), California.**

## 1. Yes, extremely scanty.

2. A. K. Warder: *Introduction to Pali*.

## 3. No.

4. Prof. Stanleigh Jones Jr., Chm., and Prof. H. C. Ruyter, Lecturer in Pali.

## 5. One student in Pali in five years.

## 6. None.

**College of Oriental Studies, Los Angeles, California.**

## 1. Yes.



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 Pali 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 periphery 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 Pali.

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. Swearer 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:-

**Journal of the American Oriental Society** (founded 1849 in Boston, Mass., now sited in New Haven, Connecticut).

1853 (Vol. 3): "Life of Gaudama" (translation of the *Ma-la-len-ga-ra Wottoo* by Rev. Chester Bennett, 1851; pp. 1-165).

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.

1899: "Certain Parallel Developments in Pali and New Persian", Louis H. Gray.

- 1906: "The Buddhistic Rule Against Eating Meat", E. Washburn Hopkins.  
 1907: "Metrical Analysis of the Pali Iti-Vuttaka", J. H. Moore.  
 1946: "Gotama and Other Sects", I. B. Horner.  
 1959: "Did the Buddha have a System of Metaphysics?", Franklin Edgerton.  
 1964: "The Concept of Viññāna in Theravāda Buddhism", O. H. de A. Wijesékera.  
 1965: "The Theravāda-Buddhist View of History", B. G. Gokhale.  
 1969: "The Early Buddhist View of the State", *ibid.*  
 1972: "Theravāda Buddhism in Western India", *ibid.*  
 1973: "Consanguineous Marriage in Pali Literature", Thomas R. Troutmann.

**Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies** (founded 1936)

- 1939: "Some Pali Words", A. K. Coomaraswamy.

**For further reading:**

- Peiris, William: *The Western Contribution to Buddhism* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973). *Vide* pp. 243-258 for a survey of the Harvard Oriental Series and biographies of H. C. Warren, C. R. Lanman and E. W. Burlingame.

## 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 (*ā-ādikappika*, 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:

*Visuddhājanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, (Commentary to the *Apadāna*, 1954);

*Hatthavanagallavīhāravamsa* (a Sinhalese Pali *apadāna* of King Siri-saṅghabodhi of Anuradhapura, 1957);

*Samantakūṭavapaṇṇanā* ("Eulogy of Samanoḷa Rock"—a 13th century poem by Vedeha describing the life of Gotama upto his enlightenment together with his legendary visits to Sri Lanka which culminated in imprinting his footmark 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 upto 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, Minaev, Childers, Fausböll, Oldenberg, the Rhys Davids, Geiger, Bareau, et al. In this connection, two interesting pioneer ventures are mentioned: Paul Grimblot's proposed "Bibliotheca Pālica" 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 Palicum*.

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 *Buddhadhamma*.

**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 Thera-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 *saññā samjñā, viññāṇa/vijñāṇa*"—Alex Wayman; and "Canonical References to *Bhavaṅga*"—O. H. de A. Wijesekera.

**The Pāli Language.** T. Y. Elizarenkova and V. N. Toporov. Central Department of Oriental Literature, Nauka Publishing House, Moscow. 263pp. £3.00 (Available from Collet's International Bookshop, 129/131 Charing Cross Rd., London, WC2H 0EQ—next to Foyle's.)

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 Pāli with application of structural methods of investigation. All the levels of the Pāli linguistic structure—phonology, morphonology, 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 Pāli*, 1965), is, as amply demonstrated by the thirty pages of word patterns and pull-out chart of "substantive inflexions and their distribution", essentially intended for the student of linguistics and does not constitute a grammar as such.

**Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms.** C. S. Upasak. Foreword by A. L. Basham. Bharati Prakashan, Varanasi. 245pp. Rs. 100.00 or \$ 18.00.

From *aṃsabaddhaka* ("a string, generally to hang the bowl down from the shoulder") to *hammiyagabbha* ("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 Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, near Patna in Bihar State.

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

This latest contribution to understanding the *Buddhadhamma* 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 systematisation 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 Jayatilleke, Malalasekera and Saddhātissa, Prof. Kalupahana has produced a readable and altogether enthralling work.

**Des Buddha Weg.** H. Saddhātissa. Translated by Silvius Dornier. Theseus-Verlag, Zurich. 144pp. Sw. Fcs. 18.80.

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 Silco Books Ltd., 7 Russell Gdns., London, NW11 9NJ), will soon appear in Dutch and Portuguese.

RBW

**Buddhistiska ballader och lärodikter** (*Sutta-Nipāta* translated by Rune E. A. Johansson). Bokförlaget Forum, Tegnérsgatan 40, S-113 59 Stockholm.

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 *Khudda-kapātha*, Dr. Ohlmark translates the seven *bojjhaṅgas*—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 *Buddhistisk 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