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The Pāli Buddhist Review appears three times a year as the organ of the
Pāli Buddhist Union.

Annual Subscription: £2.00, $5.00 or equivalent currencies (75p for
single issue) payable to “Pāli Buddhist Union”
(Giro No. 33 483 4007).

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ILFORD,
Essex IG1 4JZ,
England.

PALI BUDDHIST REVIEW

Vol. 2, No. 2 1977

DHAMMAPĀDA

(Translated by Ven. B. Ananda Maitreya)

XXI

Miscellany

1. If, by giving up comforts of little worth,
a wise man sees a worthier one,
let him give up the lesser comforts,
looking up to the greater one. (290)*

2. Whosoever seeks his comforts
by imposing discomforts on others,
caught in the coils of enmity,
he will not escape therefrom. (291)

3. What should be done is left undone;
what should not be done is done.
Thus mature mental stains
in those who are indolent and negligent. (292)

4. Whosoever have always developed
the mindfulness on the nature of the body,
they leave off doing what ought not to be done
and always fulfill their duties.
Of such persons mindful and alert,
mental stains come to an end. (293)

5. He has killed his mother,¹
his father² and two kings;³
he has slain a kingdom with its people;⁴
but god-like does he go scatheless. (294)

* Well-gone One—The Buddha.
1. Here mother means craving.
2. Father implies conceit.
3. Two Kings implies both eternalistic view and cut-off view.
4. “Kingdom and its people” refers to Sense-avenues and their objects 22. Brahmin
rulers mean the two wrong views afore-mentioned.
6. He has killed his mother, his father and two brahmin rulers, and a tiger too as the fifth; but god-like does he go scatheless. (295)

7. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state, who by day and night set their minds on the virtues of the Buddha. (296)

8. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state, who by day and night set their minds on the nature of the Dhamma by day and night. (297)

9. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state, who by day and night set their minds on the virtue of the Holy Order. (298)

10. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state, who by day and night set their minds on the nature of their physical body. (299)

11. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state, who by day and night set their minds with delight on the practice of harmlessness. (300)

12. The disciples of Gotama are awake in a truly awakened state, who by day and night set their minds with delight on meditation. (301)

13. Hard is it to renounce the world. Hard is it to enjoy the homeless life. Hard and troublesome is the household life. Painful too is to live with those different in way of life. Thus the wayfarer (in Samsāra) is beset with troubles. So, let one not remain a wayfarer. Let one not be thereby beset with suffering. (302)

14. A person full of religious devotion, disciplined, illustrious and also wealthy, is held in honour, wherever, he may choose to live. (303)

15. The good people are seen even from afar just like the Himalaya mountain. But the bad, like an arrow shot by night, are not seen though so near. (304)

16. Let one sit alone. Let one sleep alone. Let one walk alone with no indolence. Let one tame oneself alone. Thus, let one enjoy the secluded forest life. (305)

XXII

Hell

1. The liar is bound for hell. He who denies what he has done, too, goes to hell. Both of them are equal after death, the men who have committed evil deeds. (306)

2. Of those who wear the ochre robe, many are mean and undisciplined. Such evil persons, due to their evil deeds, are destined to hell. (307)

3. For the unrestrained immoral person it is better to swallow a red hot iron ball, like flaring fire, than eat the food given by pious people. (308)

4, 5. Four misfortunes befall the reckless man who courts others’ wives: acquisition of demerit, lack of sound sleep, censure as the third, and rebirth in hell as the fourth. (309)

Further, these things too befall him: acquisition of demerit, woeful destiny after death; brief joy of the frightened man with the frightened woman, and severe punishment of the king. Considering these, let nobody court another’s wife. (309, 310)

6. The Pali term nīrāya, as there is no proper English equivalent, is translated as ‘hell’. But it does not mean the ‘hell’ in the Christian sense. Nīrāya means a state devoid of happiness, which an evildoer is destined to after his death. Until the force of evil Kamma is reduced the evildoer suffers and thereafter he is released and will be born even as a man. This after death state is like a long dream in which the dreamer feels himself undergoing various kinds of worries and troubles. This is a self delusion caused by his evil Kamma. The being who suffers is in a ghostly state.
6. Just as the mishandled blade of the Kusa-grass cuts the hand that handles it, even so the life of a recluse wrongly handled will drag him to hell. (311)

7. A deed done in a loose way, a corrupt practice, the higher life led dubiously—all these yield no great result. (312)

8. If anything has to be done, let him do it. Let him do it with all his might. A slack monastic life stirs up more widely the dust of his passions. (313)

9. Better is a bad deed left undone, for the bad deed done torments the doer afterwards. Better is a good deed done, for doing which the doer does not repent. (314)

10. As a border town is guarded within and without, even so let one guard one's self. Verily, let not the opportunity pass, for they who have lost their opportunity, will come to remorse, being consigned to hell. (315)

11. Some are ashamed of what is not shameful. And of what is shameful, they live unshamed. With such false views, they go down to hell. (316)

12. Some feel fear where there is naught to fear. They feel no fear where fear should be. With such false views, they go down to hell. (317)

13. Some see what is right as wrong, and what is wrong as right. With such false views they go down to hell. (318)

14. Those who perceive wrong as wrong and right as right, thus they entertain right views and go to happy states. (319)

1. I shall bear the harsh words of people even as the elephant in battle endures the arrows shot from the bows, for (I know) most people are given over to vice. (320)

2. It is the tamed elephant that men lead among the crowds. A king mounts only a tamed elephant. Best among men is the tamed person who patiently bears harsh words. (321)

3. Good are the tamed mules. Good are the well-bred horses of Sind. Good are the mighty elephants. Better than all these is the man who has tamed himself. (322)

4. Not by riding these animal-mounts can a person reach the never visited realm (Nirvāṇa). But it is the tamed person who goes there on his well-tamed self. (323)

5. The elephant called Dhanapālaka in rut streaming from his temples, on being bound, stands restive and does not eat his food at all but only thinks of the elephant-woods. (324)

6. When one is sluggish, glutinous, so sleepy to roll about as he lies, like a large pig stuffed with swill—such a simpleton comes to birth again and again (and does not put an end to suffering). (325)

7. This mind once wandered about withersoever it listed. But today, I shall hold it completely, as a trainer restrains with the hook a rutting elephant. (326)

8. Take pleasure in vigilance. Always guard your mind. Extricate yourself from the hard road, like an elephant sunk in the quagmire. (327)

7. Dhanapālaka—the royal elephant of King Ajātusattu of Magadha (Bihar).
9. If a man can find a companion 
prudent, wise, upright and righteous, 
let him fare on with him, 
happy but vigilant, 
vanquishing all dangers. (328)

10. If a man cannot find a companion 
prudent, wise, upright and righteous, 
let him live alone 
like the king who has left behind his conquered land, 
or like the elephant roaming by himself in the forest. (329)

11. It is better to live alone. 
There is no companionship with a simpleton. 
Living alone, let one shun evil ways of life, 
living at ease like the (harmless) elephant 
living alone in the (Parileyyaka) forest. (330)

12. Pleasant are companions when need arises. 
Pleasant is contentment with whatever one gets. 
Pleasant is merit at the moment of death. 
Pleasant is the removal of all suffering. (331)

13. Pleasant is the filial duty towards the mother. 
Pleasant is the filial duty towards the father. 
Pleasant is the dutiful conduct towards recluse. 
Pleasant is the dutiful conduct towards holy beings. (332)

14. Pleasant is a moral life down to old age. 
Pleasant is confidence firmly set. 
Pleasant is the achievement of insight. 
Pleasant is the abstinence from evil ways of life. (333)

XXIV

Craving

1. The craving of the negligent man 
grows up like a maluva creeper. 
He leaps here and there (from life to life), 
like a monkey seeking fruit in the woods. (334)

2. Whomsoever does this craving, 
this clinging to the world, overpower, 
his sorrows grow up like the birana-grass 
moistened by a shower of rain. (335)

3. Whosoever overpowers this mean craving, 
this clinging to the world, so hard to get rid of, 
from him sorrows fall off, as water-drops from a lotus leaf. (336)

4. Therefore I say unto you, 
Blessings to you that are assembled here: 
Dig up the root of craving as one digs up the birana-grass 
hunting for the scented root. 
Let no Temptor (Māra) crush you 
over and over again as a flood a reed. (337)

5. Even though the tree is cut down, 
if its root is uninjured and strong, it springs up again. 
Even so does this suffering spring up again and again 
if the latent craving is not rooted out. (338)

6. The currents of sensual thoughts bear away the man with wrong 
views, 
whose strong craving with its thirty-six streams flow towards 
pleasurable objects. (339)

7. The streams of craving flow everywhere. 
The creeper of craving lies sprouting out 
(through the six sense doors). 
Seeing the creeper thus sprouting, 
cut it off at its root with the (knife of) insight. (340)

8. In living beings arise pleasurable feelings, 
moistened by craving in long pursuit. 
These beings cling to what is agreeable and seek pleasures. 
They indeed are subject to birth and death. (341)

9. Temptor (Māra)—passions personified.
10. Craving is threefold namely craving for sense—enjoyments, craving for continued existence (accompanied by eternalistic view), and craving accompanying the nihilistic view.

The sense objects are six: form, sound, scent, taste, tangible object the objects of mind. These are again divided into two, as internal (those in one's own body) and external (those outside one's body). Thus there are 12 kinds of objects. Any of the above-mentioned three cravings might arise depending on one of these 12 objects. Thus altogether there are (3 x 12) 36 aspects of craving. These are the 36 streams of craving.
9. Mortals circumvented by craving,  
rush to and fro  
rush to and fro like an entrapped hare.  
**Trapped** by the fetters of passions,  
long do they come to suffering over and over again. (342)

10. Mortals circumvented by craving,  
rush to and fro like an entrapped hare.  
Therefore, let the monk put away craving,  
longing for freedom. (343)

11. Come and see yonder man  
that has once freed himself (from the bondages of household life)  
and given to the life of a homeless recluse  
but afterwards returns to the former bondage. (344)

12, 13. Bonds made of iron, wood or grass—  
these the wise do not call strong.  
Far stronger is the desire for ornaments (riches), wives and children.  
These do the wise call the real bondages,  
which drag men down,  
loose but hard to untie.  
They who do not hanker after these things cut off that desire,  
put away pleasures of senses and go forth from the world.  
(345, 346)

14. But they who are given to lust,  
fall back into the self-made stream of craving,  
just like the spider into the self-spun web.  
The wise, on the other hand,  
cut this stream of craving and passion, and pass on,  
free from needs and leaving behind all suffering. (347)

15. Give up the past,  
Give up the future  
and give up the present.  
Crossing to yonder shore,  
with mind emancipated on all sides,  
you will no more return to birth and old age. (348)

16. Craving grows intensely in the man  
who is agitated by worldly thoughts.  
who is extremely lustful  
and perceives things from a sensuous point of view.  
Such an one makes his fetters strong. (349)

17. Whosoever is intent on allaying his worldly thoughts,  
mindful, meditating on the unwholesome nature of the body,  
he shall certainly put an end to and destroy the bonds of the Tempter (Māra). (350)

18. He (the energetic monk) has reached consummation.  
Nothing makes him tremble.  
He is **devoid** of craving.  
He is passionless.  
He has cut down the thorns of existence.  
This is the final birth of such an one. (351)

19. He is devoid of craving.  
He lays not hold of things in the world.  
He has attained the analytical knowledge of the Teaching.  
He knows the arrangement of words in due order.  
He bears his last physical body.  
Such an one is called a mighty being, a possessor of perfect insight. (352)

20. I have conquered all.  
I know all.  
I am detached from all things in the world.  
I have renounced all things in the world.  
I am free through destruction of craving.  
Having attained by myself to Perfect Wisdom.  
whom should I point out as my teacher?11 (353)

21. The gift of the truth defeats all other gifts.  
The flavour of the truth defeats all other flavours.  
The delight of the truth defeats all other delights.  
The extinction of craving (Arahantship) defeats the whole world of suffering. (354)

22. Possessions ruin the fool,  
but not those who seek beyond.  
Through craving for possessions  
the fool ruins himself and others as well. (355)

23. Fields are damaged by weeds.  
Mankind is spoiled by lust.  
Therefore the gifts given to the lust-free produce large rewards, (356)

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11. This is the reply given by the Buddha to the questions:  
"Who is your teacher? whose teaching do you follow?" asked by Upaka, a wandering ascetic, whom he met on his way to Benares soon after the Enlightenment.
24. Fields are spoiled by weeds.
Mankind is spoiled by ill-will.
Therefore the offerings to the anger-free produce large rewards.
(357)

25. Weeds ruin fields.
Ignorance ruins mankind.
Therefore gifts given to those that are free from ignorance produce great results.
(358)

Craving ruins mankind.
Therefore gifts given to those that are free from craving produce great results.
(359)

XXV

The Bhikkhu (Monk)

1. Good is restraint in eye.
   Good is restraint in ear.
   Good is restraint in nose.
   Good is restraint in tongue.
   (360)

2. Good is restraint in body.
   Good is restraint in speech.
   Good is restraint in thought.
   Good is restraint in all things.
   The monk restrained in everywhere will be free from all suffering.
   (361)

3. He has controlled his hands, feet and speech.
   He has controlled his whole self.
   He is meditative and collected.
   He is secluded and contented.
   Such an one do they call a monk.
   (362)

4. Sweet is the speech of a monk who has his lips controlled,
   who talks wisely,
   who is not puffed up
   and who elucidates the doctrine and its meaning.
   (363)

5. A monk who dwells in,
   delights in,
   ponders over
   and recalls to mind the Dhamma,
   will never fall away from it.
   (364)

6. Let him not despise his own share.
   Let him not move about coveting others’ shares,
   A monk coveting others’ gains does not attain to collectedness of mind.
   (365)

7. Should a monk despise not his share even though scanty,
   and live by pure means of livelihood,
   certainly do the gods praise such an one.
   (366)

8. He who takes as ‘mine’
   neither mentality nor materiality,
   and who mourns not over the decay of such things—
   such an one is certainly called a monk.
   (367)

9. A monk who abides in loving-kindness,
   who has faith in the teachings of the Buddha,
   will attain to the state of peace and bliss,
   the quiescence of all component things.
   (368)

10. Empty this boat, O monk.
    Emptied by you, will it sail lightly.
    Then, cut off both clinging and aversion and attain to Nirvāṇa.
    (369)

11. Cut off the five,
    reject the five
    and cultivate the five further.
    The monk who thus gets beyond the five
    is called ‘one who has crossed the flood’.
    (370)

12. Meditate, O monk.
    Be not negligent.
    Let not your heart whirl in sensual pleasures.
    Swallow not an iron-ball (red-hot), being negligent.
    Cry not, as you burn, ‘Oh this is painful’.
    (371)

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12. “Cut off the five” lower fetters, i.e. Self-illusion, perplexity, belief in rites and rituals, lust and ill-will.
12. “Reject the five” fetters connected to upper realms: craving for the realm of subtle physical form, craving for the pure mental life, conceit, restlessness of mind, and ignorance.
12. “Cultivate the five”: devotion, energy, awareness, collectedness of mind and insight.
12. “Gets beyond the five”: just, anger, delusion, conceit and error. These five are called Sankhas (stickinesses in mind).
13. To the reasonless there is no concentration. There is no reasoning power in him who has no concentration. Whosoever has both concentration of mind and power of reasoning, he is near to Nirvana. (372)

14. A monk who enters a lonely cell with mind serene, who is rightly contemplative on the nature of things, will experience a feeling of unearthly joy. (373)

15. Whenever he contemplates the rise and fall of the aggregates of existence, he attains to joy and happiness, which is like ambrosia. (374)

16, 17. This is the beginning of the life of a wise monk: Let him practise sense-control, contentment and restraint under the disciplinary rules. Associate with good friends who live a pure life and who are not indolent. Be courteous and well-mannered. And therby let you, in fullness of ecstasy, put an end to suffering. (375, 376)

18. Even as the jasmine plant sheds its withered flowers, so shed ye, O monks, both lust and hatred. (377)

19. The monk who is peaceful in his action, speech and thought, who is well-composed and who has thrown away the world’s baits, is called ‘the calmed’. (378)

20. By yourself exhort yourself. By yourself examine yourself. Thus, O monk, self-guarded and vigilant, will you live in happiness. (379)

21. Oneself is one’s own lord. Oneself is one’s own refuge. Therefore, must one curb oneself, just as a dealer a thorough-bred horse. (380)

22. The recluse, naturally joyful, delighted in the admonition of the Buddha, may attain to the serene and blissful state, the allayment of all component things. (381)

23. A monk, though still young, who applies himself to the Buddha’s teaching, illuminates this world just as the moon does emerging from behind a cloud. (382)

XXVI

The Noble One (Brāhman)

1. Stem the current with energy. Shun sensuality, O Noble One. Knowing the perishability of conditioned things, You are a knower of ‘the Unmade’. (383)

2. Whenever the Noble One reaches the perfection of two virtues: concentration and insight, then all his bonds, as he knows them, come to an end. (384)

3. I call him a Noble One who has neither this shore nor the yonder shore, nor both the shores, who is free of worries and fetter-free. (385)

4. I call him a Noble One who is meditative, lust-free and settled, who has done what is to be done, who is taintless, and who has reached the Summum Bonum. (386)

5. The sun shines by day. The moon shines by night. So to, the warrior dressed in armour. But the Buddha shines in glory both day and night. (387)

6. With evils put out one is called a Noble One. Being pacified in life one is called a recluse (Samana). Renouncing one’s defilements, one is called ‘Progressive’ (pā ṅ ḍ ḍ i ṇ a). (388)

7. No one should attack a Noble One even though he would not repay in anger. Shame upon him that attacks a Noble One! More shame upon him who repays him an anger. (389)
8. To hold back his mind from what is dear
is not a slight gain for a Noble One.
Wherefrom he withdraws his intent to harm,
There do his ills subsided. (390)

9. Whosoever is restrained in three ways
with no ill-doing by body, by word, by mind,
him do I call a Noble One. (391)

10. From whomsoever one should come to know the Norm ex-
pounded by the Supreme Buddha,
let one very respectfully pay him homage,
even as a Brahman reveres the sacrificial fire. (392)

11. Neither matted hair,
nor the so-called high family,
nor yet one’s birth
makes one a Noble One.
It is both the truth (realised)
and the Norm that make one a Noble One. (393)

12. What is the use of your matted hair?
What is the use of your raiment of antelope hide?
Within you it is ravening.
Only the outside you try to cleanse. (394)

13. That being who wears a garment
made of rags from dust-heap,
who is lean, with veins showing,
who is solitary, meditating in the forest—
him do I call a Noble One. (395)

14. I do not call a man a Noble One
merely for reason of birth
or merely because he is born of a brahmin mother.
If he is full of worldly attachments,
he is a mere disparager (bhovādi).13
Only him who is free from all attachments,
free from worldly grasping
do I call a Noble One. (396)

15. Whosoever never trembles (in fear)
as he has cut off all fetters,
whosoever has escaped from ties and fetters,
him I call a Noble One. (397)

16. I call him a Noble One
who has cut off the thong (of anger),
the strap (of craving),
the rope (of error) together with its radical tendency,
who has lifted the bars (of ignorance)
and perceived the path. (398)

17. Whosoever is not angry and endures abuse,
torture and imprisonment,
whosoever has endurance for his power
and fortitude for his army—
him do I call a Noble One. (399)

18. I call him a Noble One who is wrathless, dutiful,
virtuous, unsoiled and tamed,
who bears his last body. (400)

19. Whosoever is not attached to sensual pleasures
just as water on a lotus leaf
or a mustard seed on a needle point
does not rest—
him do I call a Noble One. (401)

20. Whosoever knows the cessation of his own suffering, even here,
who is free from the burden, who is unshackled—
him do I call a Noble One. (402)

21. Deep in insight, wise,
knowing both the right and wrong paths,
attained to the Summum Bonum—
him do I call a Noble One. (403)

22. Aloof both from the householders and the homeless ones,
who moves houseless with scanty needs—
him do I call a Noble One. (404)

23. Whosoever withholds the rod
from creatures both weak and strong,
who abstains from killing
and causes nobody to kill—
him do I call a Noble One. (405)
24. Whosoever is friendly among the hostile, undisturbed among the violent, detached among the attached—him do I call a Noble One. (406)

25. Whosoever has dropped from himself lust, anger, pride and calumny, like a mustard seed from a point of needle him do I call a Noble One. (407)

26. Whosoever utters speech, gentle, instructive and true by which he offends nobody—him do I call a Noble One. (408)

27. Whosoever accepts nothing be it long or short, minute or large, costly or cheap, that is not given to him—him do I call a Noble One. (409)

28. Whosoever has no craving either for this world or for another world, who is detached and bond-free—him do I call a Noble One. (410)

29. Whosoever has no clingings, whosoever has freed himself from doubt through knowledge, who has plunged into the Deathless—him do I call a Noble One. (411)

30. Whosoever has gone beyond the desire for doing both merit and demerit, whosoever is sorrowless, dust-free and pure—him do I call a Noble One. (412)

31. Whosoever is pure as the spotless moon, serene and unperturbed, whose craving for existence is extinct—him do I call a Noble One. (413)

32. Whosoever has passed over this quagmire (of round of rebirths) this hard road (of passions) and delusion, who has reached the Other Shore, who is meditative, firm, free from doubts and completely emancipated—him do I call a Noble One. (414)

33. Whosoever has left behind sensual pleasures, and goes about free from the bonds of household life, who has put an end to desire and rebirth—him do I call a Noble One. (415)

34. Whosoever has rooted out craving and goes about free from all household bonds, who has put an end to craving and rebirth—him do I call a Noble One. (416)

35. Whosoever is free from all bonds, who has cast off earthly ties and goes even beyond the heavenly ties—him do I call a Noble One. (417)

36. Whosoever has cast off both delight and disgust, who has become cooled leaving no substrata of rebirth, the hero, the conqueror of all worlds—him do I call a Noble One. (418)

37. Whosoever perfectly knows both the passing away and rebirth of beings, whosoever is detached, nobly faring and enlightened—him do I call a Noble One. (419)

38. Whose after-death destiny neither gods nor genii nor men can know, who is free from all defilements, the holy one—him do I call a Noble One. (420)

39. Whosoever has no grasping for the past or future or present, whosoever possess of nothing, who is detached from the world—him do I call a Noble One. (421)

40. Him, the seer manly, sublime, heroic, victorious, firm, cleansed and enlightened—him do I call a Noble One. (422)

41. Whosoever knows his past life-forms, who sees both the happy and unhappy realms, who has further attained to extinction of rebirths, who has attained to perfect insight, who has reached the culmination of the higher life—him do I call a Noble One. (423)
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUTTA NIPATA

N. A. Jayawickrama

Five Suttas of Popular Character

48

Parābhava Sutta

The Parābhava Sutta and the four other suttas which are discussed here belong to a stratum of popular Buddhism, and they emphasise the practical side of Buddhism, laying down secular advice. The Parābhava Sutta is presented as a dialogue between a deity and the Buddha wherein parā+śvabhū the causes for man’s downfall are enumerated by the Buddha (parā+śvabhū: defeat). Though there is no deep philosophy underlying this sutta its advice is based on high ethical principles. The vices and evils denounced by Buddhist and contemporary Indian society are portrayed here as in the Vásala Sutta. It not only reflects the attitude of the age towards social evils such as the lack of filial piety, disrespect for elders and virtuous men, miserliness, arrogance, addiction to wine, women, and gambling and general unchastity, but also serves as an index to what was considered wrong in man’s dealings with other men right down the ages in Indian society. These very sentiments are expressed and repeated over and over in numerous other works of Indian literature, especially the Dharmasāstras and Dharmasūtras, and the sutta is characteristically Indian but not merely Buddhist. The highly ethical basis underlying the sutta runs through the whole poem. The Mahāmāyāgala Sutta which lays down in the form of “Blessings” the good qualities one should practise is more Buddhist in its value than this sutta, though the two poems taken together are complementary to each other as they are based on the same ethical principles. The fact that this poem was meant for the common man is seen clearly from the last pāda of the concluding stanza, which speaks of a sīvam lokam as opposed to sīvam padam, the synonym for Nibbāna. The word ariya (Sn. 1150) has a wider application than the normal Buddhist term.

The language of the sutta is generally archaic. The noteworthy peculiarities are:—the historical infinitive puthām (Sn. 91c), the historical ppr. gen. sg. parabhava in the refrain, the adjectival form-vijāno (Sn. 92ab), the word bhavam (“worthy”—Sn. 92a) used as in (Skr. bhavān), the primary adjectival desṣi (śvabhāvā—Sn. 92d), the verb roceti (Sn. 94c) formed after verbs of Class X, the agent noun anuthātā (Sn. 96b), the dialectical form pahu in the phrase pahu santo (being able or capable of pra+śvabhū, Sn. 98c, cp. pahuta Sn. 102a, etc. and in frequent use in the Canon, specially in cpds.), the shorter form sāṁ—in the cpd. samādittim (Sn. 104c, cp. Skr. svam)—besides svaka, P. saka, also cp. schi—Sn. 108a; sam and sehi are poetical forms rather than dialectical variations), the contracted dialectical form poso (Sn. 110a; vide Geiger§ 30.3), the contracted form issa (Sn. 110c), the verb supati (Sn. 110c, cp. supina—Sn. 360, etc.) and the uncontracted verb of Class X, pattayati (Sn. 114c). All these forms show that the language of the sutta is rather old. It is also evident that there is an abundance of pure-poetical forms as distinct from the normal canonical idiom and that the diction of the whole sutta is highly poetic. The poetical forms of interest are:—dharmadēssī (Sn. 92d), kodhpahānāno (Sn. 96c), timbaruthanān (Sn. 110b), etc. The verb interposed between the substantive and the adjective, e.g. lokam bhajate sīvan (Sn. 115d), khattiyā jāyate kule (Sn. 114b) etc., the disjunctive employed between the substantive and the adjective e.g. purisaṁ vā ti tādāsam (Sn. 112b) or even the position of the demonstrative adjective in the refrain of the stanzas attributed to the Bhagavā, i.e. pathamo so parābhavo, etc. are all characteristic of the poetic language.

The style of the sutta is neither heavy nor ornate. Though the stanzas are highly antithetical, their style is swift and vigorous. Poetical devices such as simile, metaphor or pun are few, and in fact there is only one metaphor in the whole poem: i.e. Sn. 110b. No definite inference can be drawn from the metre of this poem. The 25 stanzas are in Anuṭṭhaṭa Śūkha. There is an anacrusis in Sn. 91c and even quarters of the Vipūlā-type are found at Sn. 91a, 102a, 110ac, 112a and 114c.1 The vigorous Śūkha metre is best adapted to narrative or dialogue ballads. Doctrinal Developments here are almost negligible, but the word anuṭṭhaṭa reminds one of the positive concept uṭthānaviriya, a term of early doctrinal import. All the available evidence from language, style and metre suggests an early date for the sutta. The archaic language rich in historical forms, both verbal and nominal and containing dialectical variations, the free and easy style and the old poetic diction unmarred by any artificial poetic devices are in full accord with its early origin.

External Evidence may yield some data regarding a relative date. The comprehensive code of Moral Law promulgated by Asoka has a great deal in common with the Parābhava, Vásala and Mangula Suttas. Although Mookerji2 is emphatic that Asoka’s “Dharma” was not Buddhism but his own ethical philosophy, the strange similarity of ideas in his code

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of ethics and in these *suttas* is conclusive evidence of the connection between the two. Seeing how far he is influenced by Buddhism and Buddhist literature the inference that he based his code on *suttas* such as these are similar literature is quite justifiable. The fact that Asoka not only is acquainted with the ideas here, but also inculcates them is proof of the popularity of secular ethics of this type.

**Vasala Sutta**

The position of the *Vasala Sutta* in the *vagga* immediately after the *Parābhava Sutta* leads one to the natural inference that an attempt has been made at an arrangement of the *suttas* according to their subject-matter. Such instances are quite frequent in the Canon. The two *suttas*, *Parābhava* and *Vasala* agree with each other in subject-matter, style, language and metre while the two differ in details regarding the outward form. The *Vasala Sutta* falls into the “*Ākhyāna*-class, though the *Parābhava Sutta* cannot be strictly called so. The *gathas* of the former can form an independent *sutta* without the Brahmin being introduced to it at all, but the latter is a pure dialogue like the *Kasibhāravāja Sutta*. In contents the two *suttas* agree very closely. Lack of filial affections is deplored in identical words (*Sn.* 98, 124) and so is deception practised on brahmmins and holy men (*Sn.* 100, 129). The four major evils of killing, stealing, falsehood and adultery are condemned in *Sn.* 117-123 (*Vasala*). Falsehood is referred to in *Sn.* 100 and adultery in *Sn.* 108 (*Parābhava*). Both poems deal with anger (*Sn.* 96, 116, 133), pride and arrogance (*Sn.* 104, 132), miserliness and lack of hospitality (*Sn.* 102, 128, 130) and various other social evils. The same subject is dealt with in identical words in two instances (quoted above—*Sn.* 98, 124; 100, 129). The *Vasala Sutta* deals more fully and in a more comprehensive manner with most of the subjects taken up in the *Parābhava Sutta*; and mentions more vices and evil practices than the latter. Though both *suttas* are true to the spirit of early Indian ethics, the *Vasala Sutta* goes a step further in emphasising that one’s own actions alone qualify one for condemnation and not one’s birth (*jāti*). The *gāthā*,

\[
\text{Na jaccā vasalo hoti, na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo}
\text{kammanā vasalo hoti, kammanā hoti brāhmaṇo.}
\]

(Not by birth does one become an outcaste or a Brahmin, but by one’s action one becomes an outcaste or a Brahmin) occurs twice in the *sutta*, and an illustrative anecdote is appended. The *gāthā* clearly conveys the Buddhist attitude to caste and the note struck here is truly Buddhist.

**Observations:**

The *sutta* can retain its characteristics and form a coherent whole without parts, I, III and IV and yet be called *Vasala Sutta*. *Sn.* 136 appears as a crescendo and concluding verse of the *sutta*. This is further strengthened by *Sn.* 135 which, in addition to its extra *pādas* sums up the categories of *vasalas* in its last line,

\[
\text{Ete kho vasalā vutta, māyā vo ye pukāsā}
\]

(These whom I have declared unto you are *vasalas*). This summing up may be compared with *Sn.* 269, the concluding *gāthā* of the *Mahāmangala Sutta*. In both instances the refrain occurs up to the *gāthā* immediately preceding the respective stanzas, and thus *Sn.* 135 provides a suitable conclusion to the *sutta*. The next stanza too, which in a dramatic manner breaks down the age-old barrier of caste and attributes baseness to base actions rather than to birth, probably belonged to the original *sutta*. The illustration (*nidassanā*) that follows appears as a separate *sutta* or as a separate section appended to the *sutta* at a subsequent date. The position of these six stanzas at the end of the *sutta* makes this suggestion very plausible. The repetition of *Sn.* 136 at *Sn.* 142 is merely for the purpose of emphasising this essentially Buddhist aphorism. It also provides a suitable climax to the enhanced *sutta*.

There is no doubt that the episode of Mātanga is borrowed from popular tradition. The story Mātanga occurs in the *Anuśāsani-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.* XIII, 3, 198 ff), but it differs considerably in details from that in *Sn*. Both *Sn.* and *Mbh.* agree on his lowly birth (*Candālayonyāṁ jāto, Mbh., XIII, 3, 198*). The outline of the legend in *Mbh.* is:—

\[
\text{“Mātanga, son of a brāhmaṇi was informed by a she-ass that he was in reality a *cāndāla*, and in vain tried by way of penance to become a brahmin; at last he succeeded in becoming Candodeva”.}
\]

3. *s.v.* Sörensen, Index to the Names in *Mahābhārata.*
tradition (probably oral) and the two as they are, represent parallel developments. (Also cp. Mātanga Jātaka).

On the other hand, the position of Sn. 124 and 129 seems different. The topic under discussion in Sn. 125 is cruelty by word or deed to one’s own kith and kin. It seems probable that the connected idea of not supporting one’s aged parents has been transported here, and the stanza borrowed wholesale. Similarly, Sn. 129 appears as an interpolation. The stanza that immediately precedes it (Sn. 128) denounces the action of the person who does not return hospitality to his erstwhile host; and the stanza that follows it (Sn. 130) condemns the person who, instead of feeding them abuses brahmins or samanās who come to his door at meal-time. Both these stanzas deal with the feeding of guests or mendicants, but Sn. 129 speaks of the deception practised on mendicants, religious or otherwise, by uttering falsehood. Although Sn. 129 disturbs the logical trend of the two stanzas on either side of it, the occurrence of the phrase, yo brāhmaṇam va samanam va in Sn. 130 seems to have been considered sufficient reason to introduce Sn. 129 which incidentally begins with the same phrase. The inference that Sn. 124 and 129 are interpolations implies that the Parābhava Sutta is earlier than the Vasala Sutta. This need not necessarily be so. The only legitimate conclusion is that the final redaction of the latter took place after the composition of the former. The position of these two stanzas in the two suttas sheds some light on this point. In the Parābhava Sutta, these two stanzas dealing with similar topics, occur as consecutive answers given by the Bhagavā, whereas in the Vasala Sutta they are separated by four other stanzas, two of which (i.e. Sn. 126, 127) deal with a different topic altogether.

The similarity of ideas in the two poems does not call for particular attention on account of the fact that they deal with practically the same subject, Language, style, metre and syntax too do not help in determining the age of the two poems in relation to each other. It is solely on the data provided by these two stanzas and the occurrence of the illustrative episode of Mātanga, (when the sutta proper could end at Sn. 135ef where the categories of vasalas are summed up, or at Sn. 136 which provides a fitting climax) it can be said that the sutta may have undergone a change at the hands of a subsequent editor. The stanzas Sn. 137-142 appear as a subsequent addition made by a later editor. It is quite probable that the earliest form of this sutta did not include these six stanzas, Sn. 124 and 129, nor perhaps the prose sections. Judging from internal and external evidence the earliest versions of both suttas appear contemporary.

As stated earlier the language of the gāthās is quite similar to that of the Parābhava Sutta. There are old historical forms like the opt. 3 sg. jañā

(Sn. 116d-134d), the denominative mamāyitam (Sn. 119b), shorter inst. sg. theyyā (Sn. 119c—Vedic steyā nt.), the ppr. pass. cujamāno (Sn. 120b), the contracted verb ādīti (Sn. 121c) besides ādiyati (Sn. 119c) the absolute bhūtvāna (Sn. 127b—also poetical), the ppr. medial of the desiderative niḥjīvāna (Sn. 131c), the pronom. adj. inst. sg. sava (Skr. svana, cp. sam Sn. 104c, sehi Sn. 108a, 132c), the inst. sgg. jācā (Sn. 136ab, 142ab), duggacca (Sn. 141d), kāmmana (Sn. 136cd, 142cd) and aminā (Sn. 137a cp. also ammā) and 3 pl. A. pada upadissare (Sn. 140b). Besides the poetical forms like bhūtvāna, upadissare, sava, etc. there occur in this sutta as in many other many cpds. e.g. pāpamakkhi (Sn. 116b), vipannadānī (Sn. 116c), paticchannakammanto (Sn. 127c), etc. The sutta preserves the old Pāli idiom, e.g. pāne dayā, (Sn. 117e), yam paresam mamāyita (Sn. 119b), etc. Often the same idiom, is seen to occur in canonical prose, e.g. attahetu, parahehu, dhanahehu. (Sn. 122ab), akincikkhakamyata (Sn. 121a, cp. lābhakāmyātā). There is an irregular acc. sg. of the ppr. vajatam (Sn. 121b, v.1. vajantam vide Geiger, §130; the Comy. explains it as gačchantam—SnA. 179). There is also an abundance of Vedic enclitics like ve and ha-ve (vai and ha vai). All these characteristics of old Pāli and the general diction of the poem which is archaic suggest an early for the sutta.

The Style and metre of the poem are similar to those of the Parābhava Sutta. The metrical irregularities are few; i.e. odd quarters at Sn. 118a, 121a and 123c and an even pada at Sn. 124c. Evidence from language, style and metre shows that the two poems are contemporary, though on careful examination some parts of the Vasala Sutta appear to be younger than the Parābhava Sutta.

No doctrinal developments as such are noticeable in the sutta. However in spirit it is more Buddhistic than the former. The four major evils of killing, stealing adultery and falsehood have already been noticed to occur in Sn. 117-123, in same order as the first four precepts, in addition to the other allied misdeeds as highway robbery and plunder. In spite of the popular nature of the sutta the occurrence of the two terms, dīphemā dharmam and sampāraye (Sn. 141ab) suggests some development in Buddhist ideas; but these terms are of no great value as they are equally common in early Indian literature. The words vipannadīti (Sn. 116c), moha (Sn. 131b), arahā and anarahā (Sn. 135ab) are not used in their specialized meaning as found in Buddhism. It is significant that Sn. 134b speaks of the sāvakas and not of the Sāṅgha, and it is probable that this sutta is quite distinct from monastic Buddhism. The phrase khāṭiyā brāhmaṇa in Sn. 138, like the canonical phrase samanā-brāhmaṇa, unconsciously suggests the order of precedence as the Buddhists conceived

4. Helmer Smith, ibid.
it, though the *sutta* itself repudiates the stigma attached to low birth. The mention of devayāna, the path leading to the devas in Sn. 139 shows to some extent how far the *sutta* echoes the then-current Indian thought. It is clear that the goal aimed at is brahmā-loka. The earlier Upatisads mention the two paths by which a departed soul proceeds to enjoy the fruits of his actions. They are the devayāna or the arcirmārga the path of light leading to the plane of Brahmā or satyāloka and the pīryāna or the dhānamārga, the path of darkness leading to the region of the moon or candra-loka. When Indian thought evolved and gradually established the identity of Self with Brahman, devayāna became the path leading to the union with the Highest. It is not clear what stage of development in Indian thought Sn. 139 reflects, yet the final goal mentioned is brahmā-loka. Peshaps *sīvā lokā* (the world of happiness at Sn. 115) also refers to the same state. The Commentator rightly interprets it as deva-loka (Sn.A. 173). Both these reference show that these poems are not doctrinal dissertations but *suttas* meant for the inculcation of popular ethics.

All the available external evidence too shows that the *sutta* belongs to the realm of popular ethics. It contains ideas common with the Epics and other Sanskrit literature. Sn. 122 may be compared with Manu. VIII, 13; Sn. 128 with Mbh. XIII, 126; 27; and Tatttiriyaśikāpaddhati 11, 2; and Sn. 135 with Manu. X, 12; 16 and 26, etc. The observations made with reference to the *Parābhava Sutta* that Asoka’s moral code apply here too. The gāthās appear to be very old in the light of internal evidence and the testimony from the Edicts suggests that they should be at least pre-Asokan.

### Mahāmaṅgala Sutta

Mahāmaṅgala Sutta

It has already been stated that the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* (also known as the *Maṅgala Sutta*) is complementary to the *Parābhava Sutta*. Both *suttas* contain a short prose introduction with identical words, and a devatā is introduced as the Buddha’s interlocutor. The only difference in form, between the two *suttas* is that the *Maṅgala Sutta* unlike the other, is not a proper dialogue, for, the devatā is represented as asking only one question to which the Buddha gives an uninterrupted reply. The two *suttas* categorically state the various factors which lead to one’s downfall and which are considered as blessings respectively, and conclude didactically summing up the enumeration. A regular feature in the poems is the refrain which is a feature in the greater part of the *Vasala Sutta*. The *sutta* lays emphasis on good living and gives practical advice. It is essentially didactic like the gonic poetry of the Sanskrit literature. The word *maṅgala* conveyed to the brahmans anything that was considered as auspicious. In every society, whether past or present, Occidental or Oriental, there are certain beliefs and superstitions which to people attach some importance in varying degrees. *Maṅgala* to a brahmanical society in ancient India represented all the sights and sounds, actions, ritual and ceremonies which they deemed holy or auspicious. In this *sutta* the Buddha is seen giving a new value to the term *maṅgala* employing it to stress the importance of a righteous living. The *sutta* does not attempt to teach anything new, but inculcates in a different form the ethical principles already known to the Indians. There is no deep philosophy underlying the *sutta*, yet it has to some extent a Buddhist background. The *theme*, kālena dhamma savānaṁ (Sn. 265c, listening to the dhamma at the proper time) kālena dhamma-sākacchā (Sn. 266c, religious discussions at the proper time), samanānam ca dassanaṁ (Sn. 266b, paying homage to the monks), ariyaśeccaṇa dassanaṁ (Sn. 267b, an insight into the ariyā-noble truths) and nibbānasacchikiriya (Sn. 267b, the realization of nibbāna) are decidedly of Buddhist application though dhammacariya (Sn. 263a, living in accordance with the dhamma), appamādo ca dhammesu (Sn. 264c, perseverance in doing good deeds) and patirūpadesavāsa (Sn. 20a, living in a suitable region) are capable of being given a wider interpretation than suggested by the Commentator (Pj. I. 123-157). The perfect balance of mind under all conflicting circumstances. (Sn. 268) is again a characteristically Buddhist concept. The *sutta* thus is essentially Buddhist although it deals with popular ethics.

This *sutta* occurs *verbatim* in the Khuddaka-patha and the Parītta-patha. It is also one of the *Tum-sūtra* (the Three Suttas, the other two being *Ratana* and *Metta Suttas*), used at *Pirīt* ceremonies; which shows that the *sutta* has enjoyed great popularity from comparatively early times (when the *Khp.* was compiled); up to the present day.

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5. The sequence Khattiyā, Brahmāṇa, Vessū, Saddū occurs many times in M. and D.
6. Bhadārāyana Upatisad, VI. 2, 2; IV. 11, etc.
8. About the *sutta* itself see the note of a "nibbāna-loka" anywhere in the Canon. It is either nibbana pada or nibbana dhātu.
9. The text is known from Sn. 26 to 32, taken from various parts of the Canon. It is known in Ceylon as the Pirīt-pota (the Book of Pirīt). Also vide Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 80.
10. *Khp* as a *collection* cannot be of very early date. From the negative evidence that no mention of it is made in the Canon or in Miln. It may be inferred that it came into being sometimes later, though argument from silence is not always very satisfactory evidence. On the other hand, Miln. mentions Sn. by name (vide *U.C.R.*, Vol. VII, 3), and it is quite probable that the author of Miln. know Sn. as it exists to-day. Miln. 349 mentions Khuddaka-bhānakā, but this is no evidence for the existence of *Khp*. It only refers to a collection of minor pieces, probably the greater part of what is now known as Khuddaka Nikāya, just in the same way as Dīgha or Majjhima-bhānakā referred to the reciters of long or medium sized *suttas* which were invariably included in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas respectively. Thus, the earliest collection in which Maṅgala Sutta was included is probably Sn. though it may have existed earlier as an individual *sutta*. 
as the Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka (No. 453) which the Commentator (J. IV, 72-73) associates with the Maṅgala Sutta and quotes the opening pāda of the devata's question mentioning that the total number of maṅgalas enumerated in the sutta is 38; but it has no connection whatsoever with the present sutta, and it is in reality a dissertation on happiness in accordance with Brahmanical ideas of life rather than Buddhist principles.

There are no specific linguistic forms in the sutta that may be classed as very ancient, nor are there signs of latentness in the language. It is the normal Gāthā-Pathi idiom with the usual poetic diction. The stanzas are highly rhythmical and melodious. There is no involved syntax and the language is simple. The few linguistic forms which call for attention are:—acintayya (Sn. 258b) the historical Aorist 3 pl., soṭṭhāna (Sn. 258c) acc. sg. of soṭṭhāna nt. cp. Skr. svastiyāna, sovacassatā (Sn. 266a) abstract of the secondary form from su-vacas and the usage of dassanam (Sn. 266b, 267b) in its literal and applied meanings of visiting to meanings of living and unsight into (vision of), respectively. The phrases māta-tītā-uptāṭhānām (Sn. 261a), ariyasaṅcāra-dassanām (Sn. 267b) and sabbattha-ma-aparājītā (Sn. 269b) betray the flexibility of sāndhī in Pāli, specialised in metrical exigencies. The metre of the poem is Aṇuṣṭhā Śūkra, and the few metrical irregularities are: one instance of anacrusis at Sn. 258a and two instances of even quarters at Sn. 260c and 265c. The sutta contains a few special Buddhist terms in addition to those that are in common with contemporary Indian religious systems. Ariyasaṅcāra-dassanām (Sn. 267b) is a definite reference to the Noble Truths of Buddhism, and nibbānasacchākiriya (Sn. 267c) is the attainment consequent on the obtaining of an insight into the Ariyan Truths. Other concepts such as tapo (ascetic practices) brahmacarīya (celibacy) Sn. 267a, attasannom cittā (a thorough development of personality—Sn. 260c), khaṇī (obstinate—Sn. 266a) etc. are of general Indian origin and therefore are of no special importance.

External Evidence consists mainly of a comparison with the Moral Law of Asoka promulgated in the Edicts. Asoka’s dharma, like the sayings in the three suttas, Vassala, Parābhava and Maṅgala, is not any religious system peculiar to one sect or school, but contains practical and doctrinal advice embracing the various relations of life. However, a close comparison shows that Asoka had drawn his material from a literature very similar to these suttas. From his acquaintance with certain parts of the Canon i.e. the seven Dhammaparālayas some of which have been traced to Sn. (vide PBR, 1, 3, p. 137) it may be inferred that he was equally acquainted with these suttas. The following table11 shows to what extent the contents of these suttas can be compared with Asoka’s dharma:

11. This table is based on Radhakumud Mukerji’s analysis of the Moral Law of Asoka in his Gaekwad Lectures, pp. 69 ff.

ideology of these *suttas*. Although one may not be quite certain of the existence of *Sān.,* as a collection in Asoka’s time, there is no doubt that many of the *suttas* constituting *Sān.* were anterior to Asoka. It has already been noticed that Asoka had been influenced by a literature quite similar to these popular ethics. The internal evidence reveals that the *suttas* are old, and that they preserve definite characteristics of the poetic language which probably preceded the standardised canonical Pali prose. It is thus highly probable that these *suttas* were known to Asoka.

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Metta Sutta

The *Metta Sutta*, another member of the triad of *suttas*, is also found in *Khp.* as No. 9. The Commentator’s introduction which is historically of a lower level of interpretation states that the *sutta* was preached by the Budhā as a topic of meditation to monks and to serve the purpose of a *paritta*, to ward off dangers arising from evil spirits (*P.* I. 231-232). There is no doubt that the *sutta* provided a useful topic of meditation for both monks and laymen, and in subsequent years, even as early as the commentarial epoch, or perhaps earlier, it was used as a *paritta*. Its inclusion in *Khp.*, a handbook of popular Buddhism, indicates that this *sutta*, like its two companion *suttas*, was very popular from comparatively early times. The *sutta* inculcates the practice of mettā (amity, love or all beings). The theme is an early tenet of Buddhism and the idea corresponds to *dāyā* of the Sanskrit epics and other allied literature. Even before the four *Brahma-vihāras* were fixed and standardised the term *mettā* is to be met with in association with such concepts as *upekkhā, karunā, vimūḍā* and *muditā* (*Sān.* 73). The theme is developed from various aspects in the *sutta*:—(a) Wishing happiness and well-being to all creatures irrespective of their size or form or stage of growth (*bhūtā vā sambhavesi vā*; creatures come into being or in their embryonic state, *Sān.* 147c). (b) The negative aspect of the absence of ill-will towards them (*Sān.* 148). (c) The development of boundless thoughts of love, as deep as maternal affection to all creatures (*Sān.* 149). (d) The diffusion of unobstructed thoughts of loving kindness in all directions at all times (*Sān.* 149-150). It is extolled as the *brahma-vihāra*—the highest abiding (13) (*Sān.* 151). The 10 opening lines of the *sutta* are of an introductory nature. They describe the *athakusala*-he who is bent on his welfare. Though *santān pādam*—tranquilised state (*Sān.* 143) need not necessarily always signify *nibbāna*, the qualifying

13. Mrs. Rhys Davids (in “What was the Original Gospel of Buddhism?”) thinks that this line preserves “a metrical legacy” of the disciples of an unknown Brahmin teacher, and sees God in the epithet *brahma*. She translates *Sān.* 151d as, “God have they here this living called”.

remark that the *athakusala* should be detached from family life (*Sān.* 144d) suggests that the poem was primarily meant for the monks. A descriptive classification of creatures is made at *Sān.* 146 and another mutually exhaustive and more precise division at *Sān.* 147c.14 The development of a mental attitude (*mānasam bhāvayāti*, cp. *Sān.* 149d, 150b) consisting of the thoughts of love is the keynote of the poem and it concludes with an exhortation to make an end of birth (*Sān.* 152d).

As far as linguistic evidence goes what has been said of the other *suttas* applies here too. There is ellipsis in the opening stanza of the *sutta* (*Sān.* 143). The form *additthā* at *Sān.* 147a has *-dd-* either *metī* *causa* or as a consonantal doubling after the negative prefix; cp. *appasāda*. The indefinite adverb *kathacchimant* (*Sān.* 148b) contains a contamination of two indefinite suffixes *cid* and *cana*. There are two forms with the contraction of the final *-ya*—*āv*; *vyārasanā* and *patīghasahānā* (*Sān.* 148c). The regular form *niya* for Vedic *nīya* (also *P.* *nīya*) through Prakrit *niya* (vide Geiger §36) occurs. Besides these there are other forms *sayāno* (*Sān.* 151b) historical prp. medial, the affirmative particle *jātu* (*Sān.* 152d) which is practically confined to poetry, Vedic forms as *ayusā* (*Sān.* 149b) and a wealth of optative forms illustrative of various types in Pali; viz. 3 sg. *assa* (*Sān.* 143d), 3 sg. *samācare* (*Sān.* 145a), *anurakkhe* (*Sān.* 149b), *bhāvase* (*Sān.* 149b, 150b), medial 3 sg. *nikubbeha* (*Sān.* 148a) *iccheyya* (*Sān.* 148d), *adityeyya* (*Sān.* 151c) and 3 pl. *upaddaveyyum* (*Sān.* 145b). There also occurs an inorganic sandhi at *Sān.* 151d. viz. *idha-m-āhu*.

The style of the *sutta* is free and easy to a great extent and the ideas are expressed lucidly. The *sutta* being didactic, the greater part of it is explanatory and injunctive. Though it contains two long lists (*Sān.* 143c-144d, 146-147d) no laboured effect is produced, as there is an easy flow of words along with its rhythmic effect. There is only one simile in the whole poem (*Sān.* 149ab) and it appears quite apt, as it emphasises the central theme. The poem is written in a metre described as *Ārya* (*Giti*) by Helmer Smith.15 Yet the metre here is not the proper classical *Giti* or any of its sub-types including *Ārya*. Normally the syllabic instants of the first and third *pādas* of the *Giti* metres are limited to 12, whereas the other two *pādas* vary from 15 to 18. None of these 10 stanzas corresponds to any of the varieties of the classical *Giti* metre, and at best what is found here is a very free modification of the *Ārya-Giti*. The syllabic instants of the *Metta Sutta* vary from 11, 17, 13, 17 in *Sān.* 152 to 16, 17, 15, 18 in *Sān.*

14. It is significant that the classification into the five types *jalabuja, andaja, sam-sedaja* and *opapatika* (viviparous, oviparous, moisture born and of spontaneous birth), a division known to be in use comparatively early in India, does not occur here. It may perhaps indicate that the Buddhist writers had not yet adapted it in their works during the time of these suttas, though the classification occurs in prose sections of the Canon (D. III. 2/0, M. I. 73 S. III, 240, etc.).

though they are derivatives from the same root (dṛṣṭ). There is hardly an instance of diṭṭhi being qualified as sammā or micchā in all the 45 occurrences of the word in sūtra. The term diṭṭhi embraces all philosophical views and speculations which were (perhaps later) designated as micchā-diṭṭhi, while dassana is a more precise concept signifying insight. The latter has no bearing on the question of the difference between sammā-diṭṭhi and micchā-diṭṭhi.

External evidence—The only form of external evidence available is the occurrence of similar or parallel ideas in other works. The idea mettā occurs frequently in the Canon in the list of Brahmavāras, and also singly in various other contexts, e.g., mettā-ceto-vimutti at D. 1. 251, S.II. 265, A. IV. 150, It. 20, etc., mettā-sahagatena cetasā at D. 1. 250, etc., S.V. 115, A. I. 138, etc., mettaṃ cittaṃ at D. 1. 167, III. 237, Sn. 507, Vin. II. 110, A. II. 72, Th. 1, Th. 2, etc. and mettā-bhāvanā at Miln. 199. At S. I. 75 Pasenadi Kosaḷa declares to Mallikā that the dearest thing to a person is his own self. At the end of the conversation they go to the Buddha who advises them

Sabbā disānapariyomma cetasā
ev' ajjagamā piyataram attānaṃ kvacī,
evaṃ piyo putthu attā pāresam
tasmā na hināme param attakāmo.

(Having mentally surveyed all directions I have not found anywhere, anything so dear to me as my own self. So is it to the others that each one’s self is dear. Therefore let him who loves his own self not bring harm upon another). Cp. Sn. 705, D. 129, 130. Here the standard of judgment in refraining from injury to others is one’s love for one’s own self. The same idea is reflected in Yaḍāvalakya’s advice to Maṭṭeyī in Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (Brh. II. 4; IV. 5) cp. Bṛg. VI. 32 which conveys the same idea. A passage occurring at Mbh. XI. 7, 1

Na hy ātmānām piyataram kiṇcid bhūtesu niścitam: anātipāvī sarva-bhūtānām maraṇānam nāma Bhārata: tasmāt sarvesu bhūtesu dātā kānyā vāpācitā.

(Undoubtedly there is nothing so dear to beings as their own selves: indeed, death is most unpleasant to all creatures, O son of Bharata. Therefore let the wise man extend kindness to all creatures) is quite similar to the passage at S. I. 75.

In all these instances the reason adduced for one to refrain from harming others is the love one bears to one’s self. On the other hand in the Metta Sutta the practice of mettā is not prompted by any such motives. It is mettā for its own sake. It is not possible to ascertain which idea was

16. Ibid. Helmer Smijth.
17. Mrs. Rhys Davids, op. cit.
18. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her translation of Khp, in the Minor Anthologies considers this stanza late for reasons she adduces in her introduction.
earlier. Though the concept mettā occurs frequently in early canonical works metta bhāvanā is scarcely mentioned. As a term mettā bhāvanā may be of later growth, yet the idea seems old. The creation of an active mental force (mānasā) consisting of thoughts of love is fundamentally the same as metta bhāvanā, and is perhaps the predecessor of the latter term.19

Ratana Sutta

The popular character of this poem is seen in the opening lines, yanidha bhūtāni etc. The bhūtas (spirits) are addressed and their goodwill (sumanās) is invoked. They are requested to extend thoughts of friendliness (metta karotā) to the human race. The naivety and the simplicity of the two opening stanzas are reminiscent of the Vedic hymns. This is specially true of,

dīvā ca rato ca haranti ye balīm
tasmā hi ne rakkhatththa appamattā
to bring you oblations day and night; therefore protect them arduously.

Every word of these two stanzas is full of meaning and of echoes. Although these beings are invoked for protection, the central theme is the exaltation of the Three Ratnas, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. One may see in this sutta a synthesis of popular cults and Buddhism, yet the synthesis is very remote, far from being complete. There is no real adaptation of Buddhism to popular cults and ritual, but on the contrary popular Buddhism has taken for granted a prevalent cult. However, with time there sets in a change and this sutta along with many others becomes a paritta (a ward-rune) and there-by part and parcel of every-day Buddhism. Its inclusion in the ‘Three Suttas’, the Piripota and the Khp. has already been mentioned.

The invocation of blessings in the sutta is in the form of a saccakriyā (asseveration by truth) viz. etena saccena swatthi hotu. A remarkable feature of the poem is the evidence of a growth of a complete Buddhist dogmology. The term Tathāgata an epiteth often applied to the Buddha, is extended to both the Dhamma and Saṅgha.20 Seven of the 12 stanzas

19. Miss I. B. Horner in her Review of Woven Cadences (Hibbert Journal, October 1945) points out that the formula uddhāsa adho ca tiriyā is found only at Sn. 150 in connection with mettā. However, it is found in other passages without any reference to mettā: e.g. 537, 1055, 1068, etc.

20. The three formulas used in the Buddhist daily prayer in praise of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, viz. ti pi so bhagava-pe-svakhato bhagavata dhammo-pe-and supatipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho-pe respectively, culled from the Canon (e.g. D. I. 93 ff., III. 5, A. 1. 207 ff., 56 ff., IV. 406 ff., etc.) may be compared with this. Also cp. Ye ca Buddhā (dharmā, saṅghā) attitā, ye ca Buddhā (dharmā, saṅghā) anigdā, paccippannā ca ye Buddhā (dharmā, saṅghā). aham vandāmi sabbatā

Sn. 224-235 devoted to the Three Ratanas are in praise of the third ‘Jewel’, the Saṅgha. This may probably indicate a conscious effort on the part of the Saṅgha to assert its importance. The members of the Saṅgha are spoken of as the disciples of the Sugata who are worthy of offerings (te dakkhiṇeyyā sugatassā sāvakā—Sn. 227c). They are the recipients of dāna or yāṇa in Brahmanic terminology,21 and as such form an important factor for man’s acquisition of merit (anuttaram punākhamketam lokassu). It is obvious that the sutta reflects a time when there had come into existence an organised coenobitic Saṅgha as opposed to forest dwelling anchorites—munaśyo. The invitation extended to the bhūtas to join in the worship of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha (who are honoured by gods and men—devamanussapājītya) not only betrays the popular nature of the sutta but shows that its composition had taken place when worship formed an essential factor in the religion.

The sutta can be divided into three parts, viz. I. Sn. 222-223, II. Sn. 224-235, and III. Sn. 236-238. Part I forms the introduction which consists of an invitation to the bhūtas whose mettā is invoked. These are the only stanzas of the poem which resemble the Vedic hymns closely. As in the Vedic hymns (a) the opening lines form the invocation (Sn. 222ab), (b) a request is made for their goodwill (Sn. 222cd), (c) their mettā is solicited (223b), (d) they are reminded of services rendered to them (Sn. 223c) and finally (e) their protection is sought. Part II can be further divided into (a) Sn. 224-226 (b) Sn. 227-235. (a) Sn. 226 marks the final stanza said to have been uttered by the Buddha according to one tradition quoted by the Commentator, Aparajata Vadinat: adivo pañca eva gathā bhagavatā vutā, sesa pariṣṭakaranaśayā Anandañātāna ti. (Others maintain that only the five opening stanzas, viz. Sn. 222-226, were uttered by the Blessed One, and the rest by the Elder Ānanda on the occasion of the pariṣṭakarana recital.—Pj. I. 165). It is interesting to note that up to this point the Saṅgha is not mentioned and it is noteworthy that the only other references to an organised Saṅgha in Sn. are at 519d and 1015b (the latter in the late prologue to the Pārāśāṇa).22 Although there may be the possibility of some truth underlying this tradition, Sn. 222-226, by themselves, do not form a satisfactory unit as a sutta. On the other hand if Sn. 223 is rejected as a late stanza, since the stanzas corresponding to it in the Mahāvastu version occur somewhat later in the sutta (i.e. vv. 15-16; Mvast. I. 294), it would be possible to infer that Sn. 227 marks the last stanza of a complete unit, thus partly agreeing with the tradition mentioned above, (b) Seven (i.e. Sn. 227-232, 235) of the nine stanzas in this group are devoted to describe the Saṅgha: and it is apparent from the over

21. C. P. Nd. 2. 523

22. There are other references to nīgasarvā to Sn. 421b and samanasaṅgha at Sn. 596c in the more general sense of ‘multitude’ as in devasaṅgha at Sn. 680c.
emphasis laid on the Saṅgha that this section was one of the so-called "monastic fabrications". There are nine consecutive stanzas in Mvaṣṭu. (Viz. vv. 6-14: Mvaṣṭu. I. 291-294) with the refrain, idam pi saṅgha ratanaṃ praṇītaṃ, etc. Of the other two stanzas, Sn. 233 and 234, the former roughly corresponds to v. 15 in Mvaṣṭu, (I. 294) which runs,

Grīṣmānamāse prathame. Cattirasmin
vane pragalā yathā puspīgāra
vāterā te swarbhī pravānti
evamvidhāṁ dhīyino Buddhaṃ putrāḥ
śilanupetā swarbhī pravānti
idam pi saṅgha ratanaṃ praṇītaṃ
etena satyaena suvati bhiṣuḥ
maṇḍyato vā amaṇḍyato vā

The latter (Sn. 234) has no parallel in Mvaṣṭu. From this disparity it may be surmised that the BSK. version was based on different recension of the sutta which perhaps was earlier than or contemporaneous with the Pali. The better arrangement of the expanded version in Mvaṣṭu, perhaps indicates that as a sūtra, it is younger than the verse preserved in Sn. Part III which consists of the concluding stanzas is attributed neither to the Buddha nor to Ānanda, by the Comy. and tradition, but to Sakka. The last two verses are mere repetitions of Sn. 236 with the Dhamma and Saṅgha substituted for the Buddha in line c. It has already been observed that these three stanzas show the development of a complete doxology in Buddhist literature. All the three stanzas are found in a condensed form in the concluding verse in Mvaṣṭu, (I. 295).

On purely linguistic evidence the sutta appears old; but its contents and developments in ideology and doctrine show that it cannot be as old as the earliest suttas of Sn. Many of the archaic and dialectical forms found in the sutta have no exact parallels in Mvaṣṭu. This is clear evidence that the recension from which the sūtra in Mvaṣṭu, was compiled had lost sight of such old forms, and found them too obscure to restore the equivalent Sanskritised forms. The phrase divā ca rātī ca (Sn. 232c), though stereotyped, is old; and the younger Pāli would prefer divā ca rātīyā ca (both inst.) or divaṃ ca rātīṃ ca (both acc.) as in Mvaṣṭu. divaṃ ca rātīṃ ca. The adverb of place hūram (Sn. 224a, cp. Th I. 10, Sn. 486c, 470c, etc.) goes back to the dialect of the Brahman. Even though the phrase sasāna pasāthā (Sn. 227a) is neither irregular nor particularly archaic Mvaṣṭu, has sadā praṇāsthā. It is quite probable that the recension that Mvaṣṭu, followed contained the idea sadā and not sānāṃ. In Mvaṣṭu, the

23. A. V. hurā > Brāh. hurā > P. hurā (with -ām the standard adverbial termination formed after the acc. sg. of nt. nouns). Cp. hurā ṭhānati at Dh. 334, Thāl. 339, etc. Mvaṣṭu, has parasmin in place of hurā.
there appears a slight departure in the method of presentation. The basic tenet of the ariyasaecâni occurs at Sn. 229d and 230a. The eight puggalas (individuals) culminating with the Arahanu are mentioned (Sn. 227dab) and there is a probable link with yugas in the phrase suppayuttâ (Sn. 228a.—in perfect control). It is emphasised that these puggalas will not enter an eighth existence (Sn. 230d). Further evidence for the development of the concept Arhat is to be seen in Sn. 231 where it is stated that the individual (belonging to one of these eight categories) has abandoned sakkanâyaditthi “heresy of individuality”, vicicikechâ “perplexity” and silabbattaparamâsa “the observance of diverse vows and ascetic practices”. These three concepts represent a somewhat developed phase. As opposed to vicicikechâ is saddha which signifies a religious aspect rather than a moral relation. The “contagion” of various silas and vatas may perhaps refer to various types of Brahmanical and other ritual. There also occurs a minor dogma (not found in Mvastu.) at Sn. 231e. If these two lines do not belong to a later stratum than the rest of the poem, the term abhîthänâni may also indicate general lateness. The six grievous offences include the five anantarika kammâs and aññâsathar’udesa (pesiting another teacher—cp. micchâdittthi). The latter was probably added to the earlier list of five with the arising of a growing rivalry between the Saṅgha and the members of other sects.’ Further attributes of the Arahanu occur at Sn. 232. Although Arahants are mentioned in the earlier part of the Canon and arahatta is a familiar concept, the sutta definitely reveals a development in the theory of the Arahanu. The centre of gravity has already shifted from the muni to the “perfect being”. This is the outcome of a widespread monastic organisation as opposed to the “lonely wanderers” of the older ballads.

External evidence—A parallel version of this sutta occurs at Mvastu. I. 290 ff. As stated earlier the two versions in Pali and BSK, may be traced to a common source with different recensions rather than one being based on the other. The evidence discussed above shows that the sūtra in Mvastu. is relatively younger than the Pali. Though doctrinally the Pali version depicts comparatively developed phase of Buddhism, linguistic and external evidence debars one from assigning a very late date. A passage found at Divy. 340 throws considerable light on both versions of the sutta. It runs: Ayuṣmatā Sângharaksittha Nagaropamasâ sūtraṁ upaniṅsītam gathāṁ ca bhāṣate,

Yâniha bhūtāni samâgatâni
sthitāni bhâmyān aññâvâtarikse
kurantu maīrīṁ satatam prajāsu,
divâ ca râtrau ca caarantu dharmânaṃ

27. The Mvastu. version, however, to decidedly later than the Pali poem.
A NOTE ON THE NAVANGA

John D. Ireland

In the Sutta Piṭaka of the Pali canon (e.g. M.I. p. 133, A.II p. 103, etc.) there are to be found references to a ninefold division of the Buddhist scriptures called the navanga. The nine are: sutta (discourse), geyya (mixed prose and verse), veyyākarana (extended explanation), gāthā (stanzas), udāna (inspired utterances), itivuttaka (‘thus it was said’), jātaka (moral tales from the past), abhivutadhamma (wonders, marvels) and vedalla (answers to questions).

These possible preceded the composition of the later division of the scriptures into nīkāyas and piṭakas. However, this ninefold scheme had fallen into disuse and was not fully understood by the yet later (5th cent. A.C.) commentators, such as Buddhaghosa, and as a result there is now uncertainty as to the original meaning of several of the terms. The commentators held the view that the nīkāya and piṭaka arrangement existed from the beginning and had to explain away this ninefold division as referring to types of discourse in the Tipitaka arranged according to literary style, which is, however, not very convincing.

It may be noted that there is a list of nine lokuttaradhamma, consisting of the four paths, four fruits and Nibbāna, and it is possible that the nine aṅgas are the mundane or scriptural counterparts of these supermundane dhamma.

Three of the aṅgas: jātaka, udāna and itivuttaka, are actually names of works in the Khuddaka Nikāya and perhaps the other aṅgas should be looked for here also, as it may be that the Khuddaka Nikāya, or at least part of it, was formed out of the material of the navanga. The actual canonical Jātakas consist only of the verses, the stories in which these verses are embedded being commentary (aññakathā). Although the narrative or ‘sutta’—portion of the Udāna is reckoned as an utterance of the Buddha, it is obviously an addition, like the Jātaka-stories, to the actual udānas and often does not fit them very well. If these udānas are taken out of the discourses which give the occasion for their utterance and are studied in isolation, especially those of the earlier chapters (vagga), it can be seen that they are related to each other and arranged in an order that the story or ‘sutta’ tends to obscure. Thus the first ten udānas are connected together by containing the word brāhmaṇa, and this chapter, the Bodhi-vagga, might equally well be called Brāhmaṇavagga, like the final section of the Dhammapada. Similarly the udānas of the second vagga have the theme of sukha, ‘bliss’; the third, overcoming sense-desires; the fourth, control of the mind.2 With the Jātaka-s also it is possible to take the verses out of several Jātaka-tales and by linking them together it is found they also sometimes combine to form sequences of verses with various common themes.3

The verses of the Dhammapada are actually udānas rather than gāthās and the stories explaining the verses in the Dhammapada commentary have many similarities with the Jātaka commentary. The Thera-and Therigāthā could fit the anga called gāthā. It is difficult to be certain what exactly the sutta refers to in the system of the nine aṅgas. It must have had a more specialised meaning than the all-embracing one of the Buddha-word that it later acquired. In the Khuddaka Nikāya the Sutta-Nipāta is the obvious place to look for this aṅga, as it is the only work actually so entitled.4 Although the Sutta-Nipāta contains much very ancient material its compilation was late. I suggest taking the Atṭhakavagga, which previously existed as a separate work, as representing primarily what is intended by sutta as an aṅga. The Atṭhakavagga is very old and is mentioned by name as existing as a unit elsewhere in the Sutta Piṭaka, in the story of Soṇa Kotikañña (Ud. V. 5 and Vin. I p. 196). There is actually a commentary on it, the Niddesa, included in the Khuddaka Nikāya. The Itivuttaka was possibly the prototype for the suttas of the four main Nikāyas, especially the Anguttara.

With the remaining aṅgas, however, we are on very unsure ground. The Vimana-and Petavatthu might correspond to what is meant by abhivutadhamma and the ancient sulasapalā of the Pāryāvagga of the Sutta-Nipāta to vedalla, if indeed vedalla does mean ‘answers to questions’ and not ‘analyses’ as Jayawickrama suggests.5 The remaining two aṅgas, geyya and veyyākarana, cannot confidently be related to any specific existing text or part of a text within the Khuddaka Nikāya. This Nikāya is certainly a diverse and curious mixture, containing very ancient material side by side with works that were the last to be included in the Tipitaka; the composition of the four main Nikāyas occupying an intermediate position.

It must be understood that none of the existing works or portions of works from the Khuddaka Nikāya mentioned above can with certainty

3. For more information on the origin of the Jātakas see Gokuldas D. Sigdn chronology and Importance of Jātakas, Calcutta 1951. It is doubtful whether or not the canonical Jātaka is still in existence as a separate work apart from the Commentary.
5. Inception of Discipline, p. 102. The word vedalla is of unknown derivation and possibly comes from an earlier dialect that preceded Pali.
be known to have constituted the material which formed the original nine anīgas. All we can say is that many of the Jātaka-, Udāna-, and Dhammapada-verses and pieces from the Itivuttaka, etc., may possibly have originated from the navānga collection.

Remembering that the navānga were possibly known to the Buddha, as they are listed in M. 22 and elsewhere, they may have been a collection of religious sayings from even pre-Buddhist times that were accepted by the Buddha and his early followers as authoritative.6 Later, when the four Nikāyas were being formed as exclusive sayings of the Buddha the navānga were broken up and material that was obviously not the actual Buddha's words was discarded and what remained went into the composition of the Khuddaka Nikāya.

This theory has certain interesting implications. Foremost amongst them is the idea that Buddhism had a past, a pre-history, now lost. And this also leads to the possibility that the Buddha was not unique, someone bringing a completely unknown teaching to the world, but a continuator of a tradition. This is certainly a startling view, for the whole known Buddhist tradition is based upon the idea of the Buddha as the founder and expounder of a new and previously unknown teaching. Although the Buddha does say he is a continuator or rediscoverer of the Dhamma, his pre-decessors are understood to be previous Buddhas living in the remote (and hence, mythological) past, and are not represented as actual historical personages known to his contemporaries. However, if the Buddha did have immediate predecessors whose teachings and sayings he made use of, this would make historical sense. And in fact the names of his two teachers prior to the Enlightenment are known, Ālāra Kālāma and Uddāka Rāmaputta, but tradition says he rejected their teaching and nothing is mentioned of anything being carried over into Buddhism from them, which is what might be expected to have happened. In the contemporary movement of Jainism, Nāṭaputta is known to have been the reformer of an existing sect which had an earlier leader, Pārśva. Furthermore, the earliest Jain scriptures were also known as anīgas, originally twelve in number. And the related sect of the Ājivikas also had a text, the Mahānimitta, composed of eight anīgas.7 Thus it is reasonable to assume the earliest Buddhist scriptures were a collection of anīgas also, possibly handed down, at least in part, from an unknown past.

6. It is quite likely that the Ajñākonāga is pre-Buddhist, at least the oldest sections of it, although there is no way of proving this. Many of the Jātaka-verses are certainly so, cf. Gokuldas De op. cit.

MORE ON SUNNATA

David Evans

In a provocative and interesting article (PBR 1, 3) Rada Ivekovic argued for a distinction between suññatā and anattā and then went on to relate the former term more broadly to Nibbana and pāṭiccasamuppāda. Any adequate comment needs to take these points in turn.

As far as I am able to ascertain, the idea of ‘emptiness’ (suññatā) is met with infrequently in the discourses and is not used with any uniform meaning. Whereas Mrs. Ivekovic has discovered a passage in the Sāmaññha Nikāya in which it approximates in significance to anattā other usages occur. In the Culasaccika Sutta of M.N., for instance, it refers to the replacement of one state of consciousness by another, the absence of the eliminated condition being referred to as its ‘emptiness’. The fact is, however, that relevant texts are few and far between and allow no definitive conclusions.

Having said that one can certainly accept that, if we predicate either anattā or suññatā of phenomena, it is difficult to see them as other than synonymous. It would surely be a masterpiece of hair-splitting to insist that ‘x is insubstantial’ is somehow different from ‘x is empty of substance’ (leaving on one side whether substance, soul, essence or some other term is the best translation of anātā). Having established this equivalence by reference to the passage already mentioned she remarks of this text, ‘Thus here, no trace of suññatā attained to by pure contemplation, no trace of suññatā as the point where our attention reaches attributeless collectiveness of mind’. As the term that occurs in the discourse in question is suññatā not anattā, however, there appears to be some need to re-state the point at issue. I conclude that the distinction which Mrs. Ivekovic is really trying to make is between a predicative use of either term to describe phenomena as against something which she calls ‘attributeless collectiveness of mind’ for which suññatā can also stand and which represents a positive spiritual achievement of some kind. Again, one can accept that it may well be possible to build affirmative connotations of this kind onto the term, whereas anattā is a negation by definition and therefore not open to such treatment.

Next we must ask a question of some importance. Is suññatā as thus ‘attained to by pure contemplation’ a state of deep consciousness? In other words, does Mrs. Ivekovic want to tell us something about a super-normal condition arising in the course of meditation? If so we can forget about comparison of suññatā and anattā and replace it with one between
suññata and certain advanced mental states referred to in the discourses as the arüpa-jhānas. In these the senses are supposedly inactive and there is no perception of form. Clearly such states can be viewed as an actualization of suññata in the kind of way that Mrs Ivkovic seems to envisage. They cannot, however, be identified with Nibbāna, being themselves perishable phenomena devoid of any cognitive pretensions, though valuable aids in the purification of consciousness. Thus everything in the discourses which might qualify under the heading ‘mystical experience’ is simply a means to an end, never to be equated with the goal itself.

Perhaps, however, this is not the meaning intended because, in one place, the article speaks of ‘living in a state of suññata’. One certainly cannot live in the arüpa-jhānas! The use of the word ‘live’ makes all the difference and gets us usefully away from any narrow pre-occupation with meditation.

On this basis we can make an attempt to look at the term Nibbāna. I do not believe it is impossible to talk about it, provided the approach is an indirect one, and provided also the distinction between Nibbāna and Parinibbāna is clearly brought out. Failure in this latter respect can only confuse the issue and has rendered many an analysis worthless.

Mrs Ivkovic is concerned about charges of nihilism resulting from purely negative definitions and on these grounds wishes to see Nibbāna as ‘the merging of consciousness into this state of suññata’. In such a situation she has already declared that ‘the only preoccupation is that of keeping the body alive’. Yet surely the latter pronouncement, which might be taken to imply that Nibbāna represents a completely unmotivated condition (with the unexplained exception of sustaining the body), is a perfect target for the kind of critic she has in mind. From the Buddhist side it makes the genesis of Gotama’s ministry totally inexplicable.

All of which reinforces the impression that there are good reasons for the ruthlessly negative statements which are so common in the discourses. The effect of these is to reflect attention inexorably back to the task of identifying the debilitating and misery-producing factors which are endemic in the human (and non-human) condition. Both the bare definition of Nibbāna as ‘blowing out’ and its occurrence as the third of the Four Truths serve to emphasize the absolutely basic fact that solutions are relative to problems. To this extent the term has some analogy with concepts like health and freedom, which are relatively diffuse and un-analyzable in comparison with the specific conditions which may threaten, disrupt, or curtail them. They are wholly desirable, but nonetheless have the logical status of remainders.

It is a pity that neither Mrs Ivkovic’s quotation from the writings of the Venerable Nyānapāli nor her comment on them make any dist-

tinction between Nibbāna and Parinibbāna, since this would seem to be a simple point of exegesis. The first term has, of course, nothing to do with the death of the body, but refers to the extinction of the ‘three fires’ of greed, hatred, and delusion. Merely to bring this out should be sufficient to invalidate talk about ‘annihilation’. Parinibbāna, on the other hand, is the ‘final blowing out’, i.e. the death of one who has attained Nibbāna. The trouble with any pronouncement whatsoever about this situation is that not merely the views, but also the whole range of responses of those discussing the matter are bound to be conditioned by their attitude to rebirth. If rebirth, in the sense of some kind of psychic continuity extending through successive life-spans, is a delusion, then Parinibbāna is a meaningless notion, i.e. it obviously cannot be the termination of rebirth that it is supposed to be. On the other hand, if rebirth in the above sense is a fact then it is life, at least as much as death, that is inescapable. The difference in perspective as between these two possibilities, is so complete that one must regard all talk of Parinibbāna as academic until one can come to some firm conclusion as to which of them is correct.

Mention of rebirth leads us naturally on to the dependent origination formula (paticcasamuppāda). Mrs Ivkovic holds that this ‘pre-supposes’ anatta, but it would surely be more accurate to say that it provides an argument, and evidence, for anatta. By representing individuals as the temporary actualizations of universal processes, it concentrates the attention on the relationships and order of dependence of these. Of course it is not ‘comprehensive’, as Mrs Ivkovic rather strangely remarks. No sane commentator would claim that Buddhism anticipates the whole of modern biology and psychology, which such comprehensiveness might seem to require—but if it did this could not serve its purposes. The nīdānas are simply the amplification of the second of the Four Truths and are therefore intended to show how desire or craving (tanha) is linked to suffering (dukkha).

But let us return to anatta. Both the dependent origination and related doctrines, such as the consideration of phenomena in terms of six elements corresponding roughly to the three states of matter plus energy, space and consciousness, lead to a naturalistic rather than a mystical interpretation of the idea. The analysis via the elements seeks to show that every constituent of the human being, as it were, ‘on loan’ from Nature, being in no sense uniquely his, and destined to return to the larger reality out of which it emerged. The dependent origination carries this kind of analysis more specifically onto the psychological plane, indicating that feeling, desire, attachment, etc., are not unique to the individual either. Hence a social psychology necessarily emerges which is designed to throw
light on the nature of conflict. In the Mahāniddāna Sutta of D.N. this aspect is specifically pursued in a digression from the main formula. Mrs Ivekovic may be dismissive of the paticcassāmuppāda, but Gotama’s own verdict at the commencement of this dialogue is clear enough:

‘Through not perceiving, not penetrating this reality, Ananda, is mankind born a tangled skein, blighted and become as coarse grass and reeds, unable to pass beyond loss, the downward path, ruin, the unending cycle of existence’.

I must leave the matter there. I confess to finding the end of the article rather disappointing, as it presents us with the all too familiar slide into some kind of metaphysical idealism. Phrases such as ‘the contents of consciousness’ are used to underpin the approach, but contents imply a container and one has only to reject the idea that the mind is a container to escape from the conclusion ‘if any ultimate reality be denied, there remains nothing except consciousness’. One should also remember that consciousness itself is not always present, yet we can observe the continuance of life in those under anaesthesia or immersed in deep sleep.

The alternative does not have to be ‘atomistic materialism’. This view overwhelmingly fits the needs of the physical sciences as a theory of matter, but it doesn’t in the least follow that we must therefore treat such a theory as a starting-point for the solution of all philosophical problems. Mrs Ivekovic is quite right to make the point that ‘we never experience atoms’.

However, we do experience the human body. We also know that Gotama provides us with the most meticulous analysis of the reliance of various types of consciousness on appropriate physical organs. Spiritual practices may allow new dimensions of the mind to be explored, but as one of the elements of the Universe, consciousness is best seen as an emergent property of Nature, linked in both known and unknown ways to the development of organisms.

It certainly seems to the writer that Buddhism in general and the paticcassāmuppāda in particular (in conjunction with the theory of elements) point essentially to a metaphysic of this kind, thereby placing spiritual aspiration within the context of a credible perception of the physical world. In saying this one is making a unique claim for the discourses as compared with the other great religious documents of mankind.

The attempt to establish anatta as a dimension of living comprises both an analysis and a response to the natural order. However, suññata can also come into its own within such a framework whenever attention shifts from perceptible forms to the space that divides them. Unoccupied or apparently unoccupied space constitutes far and away the greater part of the physical world. Under certain conditions, too, matter is found to be compressible to such an extent that, by comparison, our bodies have the density of bubbles. The apotheosis of suññata is ākāsa.
3. Germany

Perhaps more than anywhere else in the Western world, Germany is pre-eminent in facilitating Buddhist studies on both organized academic and private popular levels. Although Chairs in Sanskrit and Indology were established during the early 19th century, it would be more appropriate to open this by no means comprehensive survey with a description of the achievements made by individual scholars and more popular writers in the field of Pali Buddhism.

Friedrich Spiegel. Born 1820 in Kitzingen, near Würzburg; died 1905 in Munich. He was educated at Erlangen University, where he became Professor of Oriental Languages in 1849, and obtained his doctorate at Jena in 1842. He is solely remembered for being the first European to edit and publish a Pali text in the West. This was the Uraga Sutta from the Sutta-Nipāta, together with extracts from the Commentary and Rasavāhini. Under the collective title of Anecdotā Ṛatipāta, the whole was printed in Devanāgarī script in Leipzig (1845). Not so well known is the fact that he worked on a Pali dictionary for the next twenty years. The manuscript was passed by his grandson to Heinz Bechert (see below).

Albrecht Weber. Born 1825 in Breslau; died 1902 in Berlin. He studied in Bonn and Berlin (where he settled, becoming a professor in 1856), but he too is only remembered for a single work: the first translation of a Pali text (the Dhammapada) into a living Western language—German. This appeared in an issue of the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (ZDMG, Leipzig 1860).

Ernst Windisch. Born 1844 in Dresden; died 1918. Becoming a professor at Leipzig in 1871, he edited the Itivuttaka for the PTS (1890) and contributed papers on Pali philology to various journals. He has three books to his credit: Māra und Buddha (Leipzig 1895), Über den sprachlichen Charakter des Pali (Paris 1906) and Buddhās Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung (Leipzig 1908).

Hermann Oldenberg. Born 1854 in Hamburg; died 1920. He studied Sanskrit and Indian philology, obtained his doctorate in 1875 from Berlin (where he became a lecturer) and four years later succeeded Prof. Hermann Jacobi at Kiel. (He also occupied the position of Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit at Göttingen.)

For the PTS, he edited the entire Vinaya Piṭaka (5 vols., London 1879-83; reprinted 1964) and Theragāthā (1883; reprinted 1966). His greatest work was undoubtedly Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre und seine Gemeinde, the first major exposition of Buddhism in German based on original Pali source materials, published in Berlin in 1881 and subsequently running into several editions (the latest being Stuttgart 1959). It has been translated into English, French, Italian and Russian. A short anthology from the Pali Canon—Reden des Buddha—appeared posthumously in 1923, whilst a collection of his essays was edited by K. L. Janert nearly half a century later—Kleine Schriften (Wiesbaden 1967).

Wilhelm Geiger. Born 1856 in Nuremberg; died 1943. He studied Oriental languages at Erlangen University under Spiegel (see above) and is generally known for his studies of Sinhalese grammar and literature. For the PTS, however, he edited the Mahāvaṃsa (1908; reprinted 1958) and Cūḷavāṃsa (2 vols., 1926-7); and subsequently translated these histories: Great Chronicle of Ceylon (1912; reprinted 1964) and Minor Chronicle of Ceylon (2 vols., 1929-30; reprinted 1973). He also translated (into German) the first sixteen samyuttas of the Saṃyutta Nikāya (Munich 1925-30), compiled Pāli Literature and Spraché (Strasbourg 1916; translated as Pāli Literature and Language, University of Calcutta 1943; reprinted Delhi 1968) and wrote a general study in this field, Pāli Dhamma vornehmlich in der kanonisch Literatur (Munich 1920). In the latter year he succeeded Ernst Kuhn as Professor of Indology and Iranian Studies at Munich University. (The latter had compiled an early grammar—Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik, Berlin 1875.) His minor writings—Kleine Schriften zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde—were collected and published posthumously (Wiesbaden 1973).

R. Otto Franke (1862-1928) translated parts of the Dīgha Nikāya—Das Buch der lüngen Texte des buddhistischen Kanons (Göttingen and Leipzig 1912), the Dhammapada—Das hohe Lied der Wahrheit (Jena 1923) and compiled an anthology from the Dīgha—Die Dhammalehre in ihrer erreichbaren ältesten Gestalt (1915). He also produced grammatical works and Pali studies.

Paul Dahlke. Born 1865 in Osterode; died 1928 in Berlin. Graduating in medicine, he specialised in homeopathy and established a private practice in Berlin. Convinced of the truth of Buddhism by the Sinhalese theras, Sri Sumangala and Waghiswara, he began writing an enormous number of essays and books on Buddhism, mainly from a Western viewpoint: Aufsätze zum Verständnis des Buddhismus (Berlin 1903), Das Buch vom Genie (Leipzig 1905), Buddhismus als Weltanschauung (Breslau 1911), Aus dem Reiches des Buddha (Breslau 1912), Die Bedeutung des Buddhismus.
für unsere Zeit (Breslau 1912). Buddhismus als Religion und Moral (Leipzig 1914; Munich 1923; Vienna 1975), Was ist Buddhismus und will er? (1918; Colombo 1968), Buddhismus und religiöser Wiederaufbau (1920). Das Buch Pubbenivasa (Berlin 1921), Neubuddhistischer Katechismus (1921), Buddhismus, seine Stellung im geistigen Leben der Menschheit (1926), Heilkunde und Weltanschauung (Stuttgart 1928) and Buddhismus als Wirklichkeitslehre und Lebensweg (Karlsruhe 1928). Silàcàrā translated three of the foregoing works into English: Buddhist Essays (London 1908), Buddhism and Science (London 1913) and Buddhism and its Place in the Mental Life of Mankind (London 1927); whilst a short selection of his writings—Essays and Poems—was published by the BPS (Kandy 1965).

Apart from being a prolific writer, Dahlke was also able to translate selections from the Pali Canon: Die Lange Sammlung (Dīgha Nikāya—Berlin 1920), Die Mittlere Sammlung (Majjhima Nikāya—Berlin 1923), Buddha Auswahl aus dem Pāli-Kanon (Majjhima—Berlin 1920; Munich 1960) and Der Pfad der Lehre (Dhammapada—Berlin 1919; Heidelberg 1969); together with the compilation of four anthologies: Nirvāṇa (1903), Buddhistische Erzählungen (Dresden 1904; Berlin 1960; translated as Buddhist Stories, London 1913), Über der Pāli-Kanon. Einführung in die buddhistischen Urschriften (Berlin 1919) and Der Buddha—die Lehre des Erlebtenen (Berlin 1920-22; Munich 1966). At his own expense, he launched the Neubuddhistische Zeitschrift in 1917 which, changing its name to Die Brockensammlung in 1924, continued to appear as late as 1938 (ten years after his death) still printing MSS he had left behind.

However, he will be best remembered for Das Buddhistische Haus which he had constructed in Berlin-Frohnau in 1924. This became a major Buddhist centre in Europe which, since 1957, has been administered by the German Dhammaduta Society of Colombo. The latter appointed resident bhikkhus and thus created the only Theravādin vihāra in the country.

Following Dahlke’s death his pupil, Kurt Fischer (1892-1942), continued Dhāma activities through the medium of Buddhistisches Leben und Denken (1930-42).

Julius Dutoit (1872-1958) translated the entire Jātaka collection—Das Buch der Erzählungen aus früheren Existenzen Buddhas (7 vols., Leipzig 1908-21), and wrote one general work, Das Leben des Buddha (Leipzig 1906).

Karl Seidenstücker (1876-1936) studied natural science, medicine, philosophy and philology at Göttingen, Halle, and Leipzig Universities. He is credited with founding the first Buddhist Society (1903) and journal

in Germany (both in Leipzig). The latter began as Der Buddhismus in 1905 but subsequently changed its title to Buddhistische Warte and, later, Mahābhodhisblätter.

He translated the Khuddakapāṭha (Breslau 1910), Udāna (Munich 1920), Itivuttaka (Leipzig 1922) and Sutta-Nipātā (serialised in Zeitschrift für Buddhismus, Munich 1931). He compiled an anthology, Pali-Buddhismus in Übersetzungen (Breslau 1911) and a grammar, Handbuch der Pali-Sprache (3 vols., Leipzig 1916/23/25). Four popular expositions comprised: Das Licht des Buddha (Leipzig 1905), Buddhismus als Wissenschaft (1910), Buddhistische Evangelien (1911) and Das System des Buddhismus (1911)—the last three being published in Breslau.

Nyāgātīloka. Born 1878 as Anton Walter Florus Gueth in Wiesbaden; died 1957 in Ceylon. He studied music in Frankfurt and Paris and first heard of Buddhism through Schopenhauer and Alexander David-Neel. Hearing of Ananda Mettéyya, he visited him in Rangoon where he became a sánāñcara in 1903 and a bhikkhu in 1904. In 1911 he settled on Polgasduwa, a small island on the south-west coast of Ceylon and there remained for much of his life. Following his state funeral as a citizen of Ceylon, his ashes were interred on the island beneath an imposing monument.

Apart from ordaining numerous fellow-countrymen, Nyāgātīloka has proved a major formative influence on 20th-century Buddhism by virtue of his literary output. First and foremost is the unique anthology, The Word of the Buddha (Rangoon 1907; 15th English edition, BPS, Kandy 1971), which is based on the Four Noble Truths, The German translation—Das Wort des Buddha—did not appear until four years prior to his death (Constance 1933). A similar, but lesser-known, anthology is The Buddha’s path to Deliverance (Baudhā Sañjīva Sañjīha, Colombo 1952)—Der Weg zur Erlösung (Constance 1956). A Kleine systematische Pāli-grammatik appeared in Breslau (1911) whilst a Pali-Anthologie und Wörterbuch was published in Munich (1928). The latter was reprinted in Constance (1954) with the “Dictionary” appearing separately (and again in 1976). The English translation appeared as the Buddhist Dictionary (Dodanduwa 1950; Colombo 1973). Two other major exegetical works are: Geistestraining durch Achtsamkeit. Die buddhistische Satipaṭṭhāna-Methode (Constance 1950; reprinted 1970) and Guide through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka (BSS, Colombo 1938; BPS, Kandy 1971). He also translated the Aṅguttara Nikāya—Die Lehreden des Buddha aus der Angereihten Sammlung (5 vols., Leipzig and Breslau 1907-20; reprinted Munich 1922-3 and Cologne 1969): Therigāthā (Breslau 1911): Dharmasaṅgati—Kompandium der Dingwelt (serialised in Studia Pali-Buddhistica, a monthly review in Hamburg edited by the late Dr. Helmut Palié from 1952-4);
Kurt Schmidt. Born and died in Berlin 1879-1975. Graduating in Law from Rostock University in 1901, he pursued his own studies in Buddhism and did not engage in organised activities until 1946. He compiled two anthologies: Sprüche und Lieder—selections from the Dhammapada, Udāna, Sutta-Nipāta and Theragāthā (Constance 1954), and Buddhās Reden—from the Majjhima Nikāya (Hamburg 1961); a dictionary, Buddhistsches Wörterbuch (Constance 1948) and a grammar, Pali, Buddhās Sprache (Constance 1951). He also wrote no less than eight popular works—from his composition, Der Buddha und seine Lehre (Leipzig 1917), to his last, directed towards youth, Buddha und seiner Junger (Constance 1955).

Walter Markgraf (died 1914) was Sāmaṇera Dhammanusāri under Nyāṇatiloka in Burma (1908-9) before returning to Germany to establish the Deutsche Pāḷi-Gesellschaft in collaboration with Seidenstücker. Two branches were located in Breslau and Brandenburg but disagreements between the two leaders led to an early demise of the society. In spite of that, however, a number of books and essays were published in its name, including those of Markgraf himself, namely, his translation of the Dhammapada—Der Pfad der Wahrheit (1912)—and a Kleiner buddhistischer Katechismus (1913). Between 1909-13 he also produced a journal, Buddhistische Welt.

Nyāṇaponika. Born 1901 in Hanau am Main, Siegmund Feniger became a Buddhist in his late teens through reading relevant literature. He established a Buddhist study circle in Königsberg during the 1920s but in 1936 went to Polgaduwa to become ordained by Nyāṇatiloka.

Since 1952 he has made the Forest Hermitage at Kandy his base of operations where, six years later, the Buddhist Publication Society was founded with himself becoming the chief editor. He has translated innumerable suttas, composed invaluable expositions for the Society and provided its essential intellectual and spiritual leadership without which the Society’s activities would have quickly terminated.

Full-length translations and studies include: Abhidhamma Studies—based on the Dhammasangāti and Aṭṭhasālīha (Dodanduwa 1949; BPS 1965); The Heart of Buddhist Meditation (Colombo 1954; London 1975); Āgutṭhara Nikāya: an Anthology (3 vols., BPS 1970-6); sānyuttas 17-34 of the Sānyuttika Nikāya (in German for Hamburg University, 1967); Sutta-Nipāta (in German, Constance 1955); Die Einzige Weg (Constance 1956) and Kommentar zur Lehre von den Grundlagen der Achtsamkeit (Satipatthāna) (Constance 1972).

Paul Debes. Born 1906 in Wuppertal, he dedicated his life to the Dhamma from 1947 and is supported full-time by the circle he founded in the following year. Buddhistisches Seminar, his creation based on Hamburg, was intended to engage in deep and serious examination of the Dhamma based on the suttas. The monthly journal, Wissen und Wandel (“Knowledge and Conduct”), has reflected this tendency since its inception in 1955. Debes has also contributed a full-length study: Das Dasein und seine Meisterung nach der Lehre des Buddha (“Existence and how to control it according to the Teaching of the Buddha”), Hamburg 1963. Apart from Markgraf, two other Buddhists founded publishing houses devoted exclusively to the dissemination of Theravāda literature. After the First World War, Oskar Schloss (died 1945) started Benares Verlag in Munich and produced Nyāṇatiloka’s translation of the Āgutṭhara Nikāya, Geiger’s partial translation of the Sānyuttika Nikāya. Seidenstücker’s translation of the Udāna, together with series such as Benares-Bücherei and Buddhistische Volksbibliothek. When Schloss emigrated to Switzerland, Ferinand Schwab continued the work until 1931.

Paul Christiani, a doctor of engineering, established the Buddhistische Handbibliothek in 1953. From its address (Hermann Hesse Weg 2, D-7750 Constance), Verlag Christiani continue to print the German works of Nyāṇatiloka, Nyāṇaponika, Kurt Schmidt and others.

According to Hellmuth Hecker: “In the forty years which have elapsed since the publication of Geiger’s translation (1930), only one work has been added to the list of translated Pāḷi suttas, namely, the 1967 continuation (Volume 3) of Geiger’s Sānyuttika Nikāya. Otherwise, there have been only new editions or secondary translations, including nine of the Dhammapada. It is a striking fact that of all the Indologists at German universities, only one (Prof. Geiger at Munich) contributed a translation. All the other first-time translators were either private scholars of Indian studies (Seidenstücker, Dutoit) or learned German bhikkhus (Nyāṇatiloka, Nyāṇaponika). And of the secondary translators (Dahlke, Kurt Schmidt, Nyāṇaponika, Franke), only Franke was an Indologist. In fact, the universities contributed very little to the furthering of the texts of original Buddhism. German Indologists did far more for Buddhism through the medium of English, to mention only Max Müller and Wilhelm Stede.”

Today, Buddhism can be studied at the Universities of Berlin (Seminar für indische Philologie), Bochum, Bonn Cologne, Freiburg im Breisgau, Göttingen, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Kiel, Mainz, Marburg, Munich,
Münster and Tübingen. A questionnaire on Pali Buddhist studies was sent to these centres with replies being returned as indicated below. According to H. W. Schumann, '17 of the 26 non-technical universities in the Federal Republic of Germany have chairs for Indian philology and philosophy. At all these 17 universities Pali is taught.' Unfortunately, he does not specify the 17.

Bonn (Indologisches Seminar): Prof. Dr. Claus Vogel is Head of Department in which approximately twenty-five students each year (with two-three at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) undertake courses in Indian religions and languages. The textbooks by Geiger and Warder are used to impart Pali which is taught by Prof. Frank-Richard Hamm.

Freiburg im Breisgau (Indologisches Seminar): Prof. Dr. Ulrich Schneider is Head of Department in which approximately twelve students (with six at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) undertake similar courses. Only Geiger is used for teaching Pali. Schneider edits a series of academic contributions in this field. Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, which are published in Wiesbaden.

Edmond Hardy (1852-1904) was Professor of Philosophy (and of Indic Philology at Fribourg in Switzerland). He was at the same time a Benedictine monk and Catholic priest. For the PTS he edited the Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu Commentaries (London 1894-1901), the last seven nipātas of the Anūtthara Nikāya (3 vols., 1895-1900) and the Nettipakarana (1902). In addition, he wrote two general works: Der Buddhismus nach älten Pali werken (Münster 1890) and Buddha. Eine Abhandlung Sammlung Göschen (1905).

Göttingen (Seminari für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde): Prof. Dr. Heinz Bechtel heads the Seminar which forms part of the Department of Oriental Studies. His assistants are Dr. Gustav Roth, Dr. Heinz Braun, Dr. Lore Sander, Dr. Hans Ruelius and Dr. Georg von Simson. Geiger and the PTS Dictionary are the principal study materials for Pali. About five students pursue M.A. and Ph.D. courses each year whilst between 1970-5 six Indological theses were completed.

Dr. Bechtel (born 1932) obtained his doctorate from Munich in 1956 and was appointed Professor of Indology in 1965. He concentrates on South-East Asian studies, particularly Sinhalese whose manuscripts he is helping to catalogue at the university as part of the programme, 'Cataloguing the Oriental Manuscripts in Germany'. A paper on Buddhism in East Bengal was presented by him at a symposium held in the London School of Oriental and African Studies in 1971. His magnum opus is undoubtedly Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländern des Theravāda-Buddhismus (3 vols., Hamburg 1966-72). He is also preparing romanised editions of the Apādāna and Rasavāhini for the PTS.

Hamburg (Seminari für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens): Prof. Dr. Lambert Schmithuelsen and Prof. Dr. Albrecht Wezler are joint Heads of Department in which approximately twenty students pursue M.A. and Ph.D. courses each year. Dines Andersen and Geiger are used for Pali studies. The Emeritus Professor is Ludwig Alsdorf who is currently Editor-in-Chief of the Critical Pāli Dictionary in Copenhagen.

Heidelberg (Südasien Institut): Prof. Dr. H. Berger is Head of Department with Dr. Hermann Kopp and U Tin Htway as Lecturers. Dr. Kopp studied Sanskrit and Pali under Heinrich Zimmer and Max Walleser at Heidelberg. From 1936-39 and after the Second World War until 1953, he was on the editorial staff of the PTS. After other appointments he returned to Heidelberg in 1964. For the PTS, also, he edited the Commentary to the Anūtthara Nikāya (Manorathapūrāṇī, Vols. II-V, 1930-57, together with the second edition of Vol. I, 1973) and the Indexes to Theragāthā Commentary III (1959).

Geiger is used to teach Pali but only between five and six students (with one or two at M.A. and Ph.D. levels) pass through the Institute each year.

The name of Max Walleser (1874-1954) will always be associated with Heidelberg. Not only were nearly all his writings published here but in 1928 he founded the Institut für Buddhismuskunde to perpetuate the studies which he had initiated. Although most of his published works deal with Sanskrit literature, he also wrote Die philosophische Grundlage des älteren Buddhismus (2 vols., 1925) and Die Secten des älteren Buddhismus (1927). For the PTS, he edited the Manorathapūrāṇī Vol. I (1924) and, with Dr. Kopp, Vol. II (1930).

Marburg (Fachgebiet Indologie im Fachbereich aussereuropäischer Sprachen und Kulturen): Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Rau is Director of the Indisch-Ostasiatischen Seminars, assisted by Prof. Dr. Claus Vogel (who teaches at Bonn also).

Geiger and the PTS Dictionary are used to teach Pali in conjunction with the texts from the PTS. Again only about six students (with one or two at the higher levels) pass through the Seminars each year.

Of academic journals, only one would appear to include relevant items. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (ZDMG) was launched in Leipzig in 1847. Following the Second World War it was transferred to Wiesbaden and has, since 1950 been edited by Prof. Dr. Herbert Franke of the Ostasiatisches Seminar at Munich University.
For further reading

German Buddhist Writers. BPS, Kandy 1964.


Mitteilungsblatt der Buddhistschen Gesellschaft Hamburg III, 8-9, 1957.

(A memorial issue in honour of Nyãnatiloka’s life and work.)


Buddhismus und Buddhismusforschung in Deutschland. Ibid. Reprinted by Octopus-Verlag, Vienna 1974.


BOOK REVIEWS


Apart from the authentic translations from the BPS, Kandy, no anthologies from the Pali Canon in English have appeared for many years.

A new publication in this field is to be welcomed, and one, moreover, which can include a succinct account of the Buddha’s essential teachings. This slim volume, compiled by the Professor of the Comparative Study of Religions at London University, thus provides an excellent introduction to the spirit of early Buddhism.

The selection of texts is taken, for the most part, from either the Digha or Majjhima Nikayas. Utilising the only extant and complete translations—Rhys Davids’ Dialogues of the Buddha and Horner’s Middle Length Sayings—in “abbreviated and direct form”, the straight-forward teachings of the Buddha are offered to illustrate the compiler’s thesis that “graceful language, humane spirit, religious devotion and moral endeavour appear as characteristic products of Theravāda Buddhism”.


Further to the announcement of the German edition of The Buddha’s Way (PBR, 2, 1), the Dutch translation by Bob Sinkeler and Emile Molhuysen has just been issued by Wereldbibliotheek, although no price has been indicated.

As with the German edition, the original photographs have been omitted but the bibliography has been expanded in spite of the fact that the additional items belong almost wholly to the Zen tradition. To correct this misleading imbalance of Dutch literature, here is a list of the major Pali Buddhist works in that language:

Faith and knowledge in Early Buddhism. Jan T. Ergardt. E. J. Brill, Leiden, xii and 182pp. Gld. 48.00

"One of the arahant-formulas contained in the Majjhima Nikāya expresses a very early Buddhist understanding of the religious goal of man, while its contextual structures reveal a number of central Buddhist concepts connected with knowledge, meditation and release.

"The present study focuses on the question whether it is knowledge that is constitutional for early Buddhism. The contextual structures of the most frequent arahant-formula indicate that the nibbāna-experience is a kind of non-metaphysical knowledge (nāma jānāti), a knowledge which is the core of the religious process, while faith (saddhā) is subordinate and may even be thought of as misleading. The book shows that there is, in early Buddhism, a close correspondence between the non-metaphysical self-experience of man and his religious goal, the goal itself being within the limits of the self and therefore non-metaphysical. That is freedom, release (vimutti)—possibly the most decisive description of nibbāna in early Buddhism. The closely related question of how to describe the mind (citta) which experiences release is also touched upon."

Dr. Ergardt heads the "Institute for the History of Religions" at Lund University in Sweden from where he was awarded his doctorate for his dissertation, Buddhismen i England, in 1970.

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Pali Text Society reprints

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