# STANZAS OF VICTORY*

*(Translated by Bhikkhu Khantipalo)*

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

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

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

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

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

¹. Rajagaha (modern Rajgir in Bihar).
². Dibba-cakkhu, one of the six “higher spiritual powers” (abhīṣhā). A process whereby one is able to “see” the rebecoming of beings according to their kamma.
³. A less widely used name for Sakka, the “King of the Gods”.
⁴. The words translated, “Holy Life,” “holy one,” and “holiness” are brahmacārīya, brahmaṇa and brahmānaṃ.
⁵. “Thus”—seeing things as they really are.
That brahmin, hearing these words, asked both for forgiveness and for the Going-forth and practising the development of loving-kindness was taught in this way by Brahmadatta Thera:

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

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUTTA NIPATA

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Some Sutras from the Aṭṭhaka Vagga

68

Kāma Sutta

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

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

The stanzas are examined individually below:

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

Sn. 767; The medial prr. kāmayānasā is old gāthā from Vedic origin. The gender of kāma is uncertain in this sutta; kāmā alternates with kāmāni (771b). Of the 5 instances the word occurs in the sutta it is decidedly masc. at 768 and 769 and probably masc. in this stanza (though traditional grammarians recognise an -e form in the neut. pl.). It may be either masc. or neut. at Sn. 766 (acc. sg.), but is neuter at 771 though the pronoun referring to it seems to recognize it as masc. (but te is occasionally used as neut. pl. nom. and ace.). The verb. ruppati dates back to an “-e dialect” in Vedic. (Cl. Sk. has l-ú/nap, lúmp.). It is most frequently used in this phrase (cp. 7. i. 198; 7.1, 967; Sn. 331, etc.) and is not met with in later literature except in grammatical works in which a fanciful etymology is suggested for rüpa.
Sn. 768; pāda is a shorter Vedic inst. sg. and siro is the Vedic acc. sg. (historical) as opposed to Pāli sīrasaṃ or siyaṃ. The only term, with a doubtful exception of abalā (770), to which a technical significance could be attached is visattikam.\footnote{1} It occurs 8 times in Sn. viz. Sn. 333\textsuperscript{a}, 768\textsuperscript{b}, 857\textsuperscript{b}, 1053\textsuperscript{c}=1054\textsuperscript{d}=1067\textsuperscript{d}=1085\textsuperscript{e}=1087\textsuperscript{e}. Where the evolution of the idea concerned this line appears the oldest of them all, for its use here is non-technical.

Sn. 769; The collective dṛvadva cpds. are old. The word porisom belongs to an old stratum (v. i. parisaṃ, cp. Sk. paurusāṃ). It appears as a collective neuter. The contracted form thiyo is historical; and the word puthā is met with in the old language (cp. Jātaka verse).

Sn. 770; According to the Comy. the word abalā is technical (tāhā), but its use in any technical sense elsewhere is not met with. The phrase abalā va nam bālīyaṇti could best be translated as, “being weak themselves (i.e. kāmā) they overpower him” (cp. Chalmers’ translation). A similar phrase is seen at J. IV, 84 (verse), vādā bālīyaṇti (cp. Pβ. II, 61). Line c, cp. Dh. 1, Thāl, 735. The simile of the ship is continued in 771\textsuperscript{a}. The v. i. sūtra may be compared with Dh. 369 (√sūrī to depend on). All these instances show that the language of the Kāma Sutta is necessarily very old.

The metre of the poem is different from that of many other parts of the vaggā (including the four Atthakas). It is in the Sīloka metre like Nos. 7, 10, 15 and part of 16, i.e. (Sn. 814–823, 848–861, 935–954, 955–962). The majority of the suttas is in tristubh vīs. Nos. 2–5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and part of 16 of the vaggā (i.e. Sn. 772–779, 780–787, 788–795, 796–803, 824–833, 835–847, 862–877, 878–894, 895–914, 963–975). The Jārā Sutta (Sn. 804–813) and Sn. 834 are in Vaitāḷīya. It has been emphasised earlier that metre is a safe guide to the date of a poem in Pāli, for, not all tristubhās in Pāli date back to a safe-Sīloka period. The lack of uniformity in metre in the whole vaggā and the fact that essentially most of its suttas are linguistically old lead to the hypothesis that it was formed from already existing older material. The Kāma Sutta is one such instance, and the only conclusion that could be drawn (from the analogy of the Ratana Sutta) is that it was one of the last suttas to enter the vaggā. On this account it cannot be proved late, for it may have had an independent existence prior to its introduction here which itself had taken place at a very early date.

The theme of this sūtra is a very popular one in Pāli. Instances where monks and laymen are advised to give up kāma are too numerous and therefore need not be mentioned here. Although there are many passages in the Canon dwelling on this topic, there is hardly any section which bears a resemblance to this sūtra. J. IV, 167–172 contains a set of 9 gāthās of which the first is identical with the first gāthā here, but the other 8 are different—though in tone and theme they are similar. Again Dh. 216,\footnote{2} contains a passage similar to this sūtra but the words and the tone are quite different. (Also vide PTS s.v. kāma). The other instances where gāthās of this sūtra are found repeated are either quotations or examples for commenting viz. Sn. 766–768 are commented at Nett. 69, Sn. 766\textsuperscript{b} quoted at Pf. A. 50, Vism. 378; Sn. 767–771 commented at Nett. 6; Sn. 767 quoted at SA. 1, 32, Vism. 576; and Sn. 769 quoted at UdA. 120. Sn. 768 is common with Thāl, 457, 769\textsuperscript{b} with J. IV, 240, 771\textsuperscript{a} with Dh. 123, J. IV, 173, and 771\textsuperscript{d} with Dh. 369. The lines and pādas that are common to Sn. and other works cannot be established as borrowings.

69

The Atthakas

The four suttas following the Kāma Sutta consist of eight stanzas each and hence are called Atthakas in Pāli. It has already been shown that this fact has led Pāli compilers to designate these suttas by this name and take a further step to extend the name to the whole vaggā. The theme of the first of these “octaves” is closely related to that of the Kāma Sutta. In fact the Gahaṭṭhaka Sutta appears as a continuation of it and deals with the same question more comprehensively on a psycho ethical basis. The psychological concepts such as gahā and mahanā (Sn. 772) are common to other schools of contemporary Indian thought. The term sato has a special significance, i.e. attached to the gahā. The psychological basis of this sutta is further seen in terms like māmāyaṃ, amana (Sn. 777) ubhoso antesu (778), ditthasutesu (778), and saṅkhāram (779). As parallels with the previous sutta Sn. 779\textsuperscript{a} may be compared with Sn. 771, “parigga-heru (779\textsuperscript{b}) with Sn. 769, and Sn. 779\textsuperscript{b} with Sn. 770 while appamatta may be said to refer to the yogic ideal.

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

1. cp. Ardhamagadhī (Jaina) visorīya=Sk visrotasika.

2. Taṇhāya jāyati soke, taṇhāya jāyati bhāyan, taṇhāya vippamutassa māthi soke kuto bhāyan.
subject matter of suttas 3, 4 and 5 resembles that of 8, 12, 13 and the discourse in 9. Instead of these suttas following one after the other they occur in three separate groups showing on the one hand the incompletion of the classification, and the partial adherence to a method of arrangement according to external form, on the other.

The three suttas following Gud̄dhathāka deal with the various aspects of one and the same theme. They indicate the Buddha’s attitude to philosophical speculation. The Dutt̄hat̄haika points out the position of a muni who is beyond all censure and has become steadfast by casting off (śhūna) all philosophical views (diṭṭhi). The Suddhat̄haika ridicules the notion of attaining purity (suddhi) through metaphysical speculation and emphasises the importance of remaining aloof from biases and limitations. The Paramat̄hat̄haika declares that philosophical disputation should be given up and that a true and steadfast sage needs no philosophical views to lean on.

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

Many of the terms used in this section to describe the muni (both epithets and phrases) have a philosophical tone. They are in some instances technical, but the majority of them were yet to develop into technical expressions with definite values. The Commentary attempts to explain kheḷa as rāgālu kheḷa which shows a definite development of the term by the time of the compilation of Snāṇa (cp. Sn. 973b, 212a, 477a 540a, 1059a and 1147a). The only instances where it has a technical significance are Sn. 540 and 1147a. A gradual process of crystallisation is to be seen in uṣadā at Sn. 783a. Its philosophical import is evident in all the occurrences of the term in St. viz. 515a, 855a, 624a and 920a. The usual seven uṣadā are given at Ndī, 72. The term dhūna in the Aṭṭhaṭthaka Sutta is used with reference to the shaking off of diṭṭhi (Sn. 786a, 813a and 834a); but at Sn. 351b it is an epithet of the Buddha. Ndī, 77 explains it as paṭigha while the Commentator gives the interpretation of his day. The wider application seen usually in Commentaries (viz. Snāṇa. 542, J. III, 160) is not to be met with in Sn. for it is solely used to signify the abandonment of diṭṭhi. Equally abstract and semi-technical in use is the term upaya (also anupaya, Sn. 787b, 797a, 786a) but it has not found much in subsequent literature. One of its cpds. rāguṇa upaya occurs at S. III, 53, etc. cp. Snāṇa. 522, tānāhādiṭṭhi upāyānaṃ dvimam abhāvane anupaya; saṃ dvimam bhāvane upaya cp. Snāṇa. 558 upagantābhaṭṭhena upayām rāgoḍiṣu ekam pi dhāmaṃ upagacchati in both these instances the Commentator interprets from the level of his day, and the context does not justify the inclusion of tanha in Snāṇa and Ndī, 82.

The two phrases kappu-patīca-santu (Sn. 784a) and attāṃ nirattam are also interesting. The Commentator has seen too deep into the meaning of kappu-patīca-santu when after a long comment he explains it as tāth ācāryaṃ tañ ca kappatā ca patīca asamuppannataya ca sammutsantāya ca k.p.s. saṅkhātham diṭṭhimmisissato vaheti (cp. Ndī, 74-75). The phrase “characterising the peace which is dependent on mutability” describes the santo of him who sees virtues in himself on account of his speculative theories. E. M. Hare translates it as “Calm on quaking built”. It is in fact no technical term. The Comy. is again seen giving the interpretation of its day to attāṃ nirattam where it speaks of attadādiṭṭhi and nechchedadiṭṭhi (Snāṇa. 523 and Ndī, 82) taking atta to mean ātman and nirattam the Bsk. nairātmyam which is a later development. (atta—ātman). The universe of discourse here is diṭṭhi (philosophical views); and hence atta and nirattam cannot refer to anything else but the acceptance or rejection of diṭṭhi. In the light of the subsequent elaboration of the anatta doctrine which was a sine qua non in the earlier teaching, this word has undergone a complete transformation.

3. Snāṇa. 523 comments on attaṃ nirattam as: attadādiṭṭhi vā nechcedadiṭṭhi vā natiḥ.
That the term upadhi (sopadhika Sn. 789) has a definite connotation even in Sn. can be seen from the various instances in which it occurs. Sn. 728 makes it quite clear.4 Also cp. Sn. 10504 1051, 33, 34, 5465 572, 364, 334, 34, 642b 371, 1057a, 1083b and 992. All these occurrences show that the term has undergone a definite crystallisation, and there is no doubt that the concept belonged to the earliest stratum of Buddhist thought.

The phrase, diṭṭhe sute silavate mule və (in what is seen and heard, in ascetic practices and holy vows and in what is cognised—Sn. 790) is a curious combination of functions of the senses on the one hand and external practices on the other. In this context diṭṭha, suta and muta (muta from √man, I.E.*√min) imply the sights, sounds and other undefined sense impressions respectively which are considered auspicious and pure (cp. Sn. 790 aṇḍata suddhim ḷa: and Ndl. 871I. SnA. 527 comments, mute ca uppannena micchādhamma). Both Ndl. and SnA. are not clear about muta. This idea occurs no less than 20 times in Sn. in similar words viz. Sn. 790ab (=797a=887a), 793ab=914ab (793a=A. II, 25), 798d (c=S. I. 203), 799b (=790b, 887), 887a, 910b, 1079ab (=1080a, 1081b), 1082d (=1083ab), 788 (=789a), 802a, 897a, 778d (=250b). In all these instances the psychological basis of the reference to sense impressions is hidden by the nature of the context which either introduces or implies sīlabata along with it. It is clear that all these references do not merely speak of the functions of the sense organs which produce the result but mention the result itself. Yet, Sn. 1086a and 1122ab seem to bring out the psychological aspect clearly viz. idha diṭṭha-suta-muta-viṁḷātesu (in things that are seen, heard, sensed and perceived), and

na turyam adiṭṭham asutam-mutam və atha aviṁḷātanā kriyacanam aṭṭha loke

(there is nothing that is not seen, heard or sensed or else not perceived—cognised—by you in this world) as at D. III, 134, 232, It. 121. In Sn. 897, diṭṭha and suta the functions of the two primary senses only are mentioned as at Sn. 778d, 250a, 1079a 1080a and 1081b, although they are intrinsically connected with sīlabata. The same idea is expressed at Sn. 839a and 1078a as well as Sn. 840b/839b. Although these references are similar to each other in meaning, diṭṭha and suta (and muta) in combination with sīlabatā mentioned or implied, are essentially different from diṭṭha-muta-muta-viṁḷāta in their fundamentals. The latter has a more universal application and is primarily meant to describe the functions of the senses (muta representing those of the three senses not mentioned under sight and sound, and viṁḷāta that of manas).

The early Buddhist emphasis on the detachment from both punna and pāpa is seen at Sn. 790a. It is aptly described as atthaṭṭhajā in line d. i.e., abandoning whatever is grasped (āṭṭha cp. 800a, 787b as not as at Ndl. 90 attāṭṭhajā nor SnA. 527 atthaṭṭhijā yassakassati vā gahāpāsasat paṭihattā attaṭṭhajā, both of which are interpretations of a later level). The idea of “crossing over” which is so frequent in the early Pāli literature (ogham √tr or pāram √gam; vide the introduction to the Pārājika, PBR, I, 3, p. 146, is found here as at Dh. 412, 370, Thk, 633, Sn. 212, 473, etc. in its special reference to saṅgam (attachment). A saṅnasat (Sn. 792) is one who is led by his senses; lit. “attached to percepts”! Both SnA. 527 and Ndl. 93 speak of him as the opposite of vidū. The idea of a simattā brahmaṇa is common to all stages of Buddhism cp. also tādi, etc.

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

Linguistic data which form a very important factor for the determination of the age of the ballads confirms what has been arrived at by means of other criteria. In fact, in the case of these poems, linguistic data conclusively establish their antiquity. It is very significant that all the old forms in these suttas are in some Vedic dialect of Pāli rather than to the standard canonical Pāli. The language in general reflects a form of early Pāli. It is not proposed to examine every stanza individually. However, a brief survey will make the position clear. In this short section of 32 stanzas there are four full Vedic double forms with a dialectical (perhaps
Māgadhi influence viz. cutūse Sn. 774\textsuperscript{4}, avītāya\textsuperscript{6} se 776\textsuperscript{4}, siūse 791\textsuperscript{4}, and paṭicchi\textsuperscript{4}t \textsuperscript{4} 803\textsuperscript{4}. There are 9 ppr. forms ending in -a\textsuperscript{4}m and -dvāna viz. tiṭṭha\textsuperscript{4}m 772\textsuperscript{2}, jāppa\textsuperscript{3}m 773\textsuperscript{2}, ca\textsuperscript{4}m 779\textsuperscript{2}, abhi\textsuperscript{4}m 788\textsuperscript{2}, vadāna\textsuperscript{3}m 789\textsuperscript{2}, pa\textsuperscript{4}m 791\textsuperscript{4}, pari\textsuperscript{4}b\textsuperscript{4}m 796\textsuperscript{2}, anup\textsuperscript{4}dāyā\textsuperscript{4}m 800\textsuperscript{2}, and anā\textsuperscript{4}dyā\textsuperscript{4}m 802\textsuperscript{2}. There are some words which are restricted to the \textit{Aṭṭhaka Vagga} only e.g. pari\textsuperscript{4}b\textsuperscript{4}m at Sn. 796, 878, 880, and 893, three of which occur at the beginning of a \textit{sutta} (i.e. except 880). There are archaic verbal forms as jā\textit{hā} Sn. 775\textsuperscript{2}, pā\textit{vā} 782\textsuperscript{4}, and pā\textit{vā} 789\textsuperscript{2}. The middle base kubba\textit{sa} is preferred to kar\textit{ś}, kubba occurs at Sn. 777\textsuperscript{2}, 778\textsuperscript{3}, 781\textsuperscript{2}, 790\textsuperscript{2}, and 794\textsuperscript{2}; kar\textit{ś} of kar\textit{ś} 800\textsuperscript{2} and in purek\textit{kha}r\textit{ott}i at 803\textsuperscript{2}, 794\textsuperscript{2} and purek\textit{kha}r\textit{ott}i 784\textsuperscript{2}. There are a few other unusual verbal or secondary forms as suppahā\textit{yā} 772\textsuperscript{2}, dappamū\textit{c}a, a\textit{hā}mokkha 773\textsuperscript{2}, avadānī\textit{yā} 774\textsuperscript{2}, pā\textit{rī}nā, accayā\textit{yā} 781\textsuperscript{2}, svatī\textit{vā}tā 785\textsuperscript{2}, ni\textit{c}he\textit{yy}a 785\textsuperscript{2}, 801\textsuperscript{2}, vi\textit{kappay\textit{y}a} 793\textsuperscript{2}, 802\textsuperscript{2}, ni\textit{s}ayā\textit{y}a 798\textsuperscript{2}, kappayā\textit{y}a 799\textsuperscript{2} and anā\textit{pan}yā\textit{y}a 799\textsuperscript{2}. There are also two medial optative 3 sg. forms, sikkhe\textit{yy}a 775\textsuperscript{2}, and ma\textit{nī}heta 799\textsuperscript{2} which are characteristically gā\textit{ha} forms.

The syntax too points to an old idiom. There are at least 10 instances of the construction with the historical locative of relation in varying shades of meaning viz. at Sn. 772\textsuperscript{2}, 774\textsuperscript{2}, 776\textsuperscript{4}, 777\textsuperscript{2}, 799\textsuperscript{3}, 783\textsuperscript{2}, 785\textsuperscript{2}, 786\textsuperscript{2}, 787\textsuperscript{2}, and 793\textsuperscript{2}. All these are sufficient data to prove the antiquity of this section of the \textit{Aṭṭhaka Vagga}.

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

The language of the \textit{sutta} calls for particular attention. In discussing the stanzas individually any striking points in ideology and doctrine will be pointed out. Sn. 804 the ablative in orām vas\textit{sa}ca\textit{tā} represents the old idiom. mi\textit{y}a\textit{tī} (lines bd) = impersonal medial cp. Sk. mi\textit{ra}y\textit{e}. An absolute in adverbial function is seen in aticca (l.c); cp. upā\textit{dā}ya gac\textit{ch}ati, samā\textit{d}a\textit{y}a rak\textit{k}k\textit{h}ati, etc. The form jara\textit{sa} can be explained in two ways: 1. inst. sg. of a noun jara\textit{sm}, an extension of the -as declension (besides jara f. and jara m. or n.); 2. -sa adverbial suffix from the analogy of the adverbial inst. of -as nouns. The whole stanza is rather elliptical. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum \textit{R}\textit{v}vedo, points out 6 examples from the Vedas where jara (s) is masc. cp. also the inst. at RV. X. 85. Thus this is an old form in Sn. going back to a Vedic dialect. Sn. 805 cp. Mih. XII, 805 and \textit{Aṣṭa Prājñā Pāramitā} 254. l. a, cp. 777\textsuperscript{2}, 809\textsuperscript{2}. Of the 17 occurrences of \textit{mamāy}a\textit{tī} or its verbal derivatives, as many as 9 are found in the \textit{Aṭṭhaka Vagga}. \textit{Mamāy}a\textit{tī} is clearly the earlier word signifying egoism. The word atta is not so frequently used in this sense in Sn. The opposite idea amama occurs 5 times in Sn, whereas anatta occurs only twice viz. anattāna\textit{m} (756\textsuperscript{2}) and anatta\textit{gara}t\textit{ā}t (913\textsuperscript{2}). Of these two instances only anattanam (756\textsuperscript{2}) has some connection with amama, but as this occurs in the relatively \textit{D}\textit{v}yatātānu\textit{p}\textit{a}n\textit{n}\textit{a} S\textit{utta} it may be surmised that amama stood for anatta and mamatta for the parallel idea atta or ataddin\textit{tī}. The evidence at hand is insufficient to establish whether this really was the germ of the more comprehensive anatta theory of Buddhism. Another word which is in popular use in this \textit{vagga} is parig\textit{gha} (five out of the seven occurrences in Sn. are in the \textit{Aṭṭhaka Vagga}—viz. 393\textsuperscript{2}, 470\textsuperscript{4}, 809\textsuperscript{2}, 805\textsuperscript{2}, 871\textsuperscript{2}, 872\textsuperscript{2}, and 779\textsuperscript{2}). The use of this word is necessitated by the subject matter, and it is semi-technical. It is evident that the central theme is the transience of life and the permanence of worldly possessions. The title \textit{Amama Sutta} or \textit{Anagārīya Sutta} would equally fit the poem, for specially the last few stanzas emphasize this aspect. The cpd. in I.c appears to be with 786\textsuperscript{2}, line c with 824\textsuperscript{2} and the whole stanza with 790, 793-795, 914, etc. The line d, na hi so rai\textit{j}a\textit{ti} no virai\textit{j}a\textit{ti}, breathes the same air as the concluding lines of the \textit{Suddha\textit{ṭ}haka}.

na rāgarāgī na virāgarātto
tassidhā n'atta param uggahitaṁ.

This \textit{sutta} consists of 10 stanzas in vaitalīya metre. The only other vaitalīya verse in the \textit{vagga} is Sn. 834. The theme of the poem is the transience and impermanence of life. One is advised to leave the household life "seeing that no worldly possessions are eternal and that everything is in a state of flux". Emulating the sages—\textit{ma\textit{n}a\textit{y}a} Sn. 809—the wise man is exhort\textit{ed} not to form any egoistic attachment to anything conceived as "one's own" since everything is left behind at death—Sn. 806. Death leaves behind only the memory of the dead.

The above ideas in Sn. 804-809 closely conform to the title of the \textit{sutta}. Although the last four stanzas—Sn. 810-813 appear somewhat foreign to the \textit{sutta} under its present title, all of them except the last stanza are connected with Sn. 809; and they fit in with the general theme on account of the similarity of ideas. Sn. 810\textsuperscript{4} is the logical extension of 805\textsuperscript{4}, and similarly 811\textsuperscript{4} is closely associated with 809\textsuperscript{2}. The sage is called a dhōna in the concluding stanza; and in this respect 813\textsuperscript{4} may be compared
an expression of popular origin. Sn. 8074 supinena (with samprasāraya and svarabhakti). The consonant group $sva-$more frequently undergoes samprasāraya than assimilation in Sn. There are six instances of samprasāraya (viz. supati 1104, supitena 3314, supina 2934, 3684, 8074, and 9274) as contrasted with one instance of assimilation (sonā 675b) and one instance of svarabhakti and consonantal hardening (supīda 2014). Metrical exigencies may have promoted this tendency, but the scarcity of assimilated forms may be significant as pointing to a particular dialect. I.e. piyāyita cp. mamāyita. Sn. 8084 akkheyya has the appearance of a deliberate pun (i.e. from $a+$v/khyla or $a+$v/kṣī). SnA. 543 comments, Nāmamatta eva tu avassisati. (The mere name remains); Nād 1, 127, Rāpapāna, vedanāgata, saññāgata, sakkāgata, viññāgata pañhiyat, nāmam evavassisati. Akkheyyanti akkheyyam, kathitum, bhāṣitum, dipiyam, voharitunti, nāmam evavassisati akkheyya. (All that pertains to the fivefold aggregates perishes, only the name remains. Akkheyya means to name, to speak, to address, to elucidate and to employ in usage; and only the name remains to be spoken of (or understood). Also vide PTS s.v. $a+$v/khyla. It is quite probable that this is a gerund from $a+$v/kṣī (vide Pāñini, VI, 1, 81), i.e. $kṣaya+$kheyya, cp. $kavya+$seyya. The Bhadārayaka has the same idea (Brh. III, 2, 12), Yājñavalkyīti hovāca, yatāryāṃ purusā miriyate, kim enaṃ na jahati ti, nāmety anantaṃ nāma (Yājñavalkya said: when a man dies what is it that he does not give up?—It is the name for it is everlasting). Also cp. Meiri Upanisad II, 4, 6, 28 anantaṃ $kṣayaḥ (endless and imperishable) which seem to suggest that Pāli akkheyya may be from $a+$v/kṣī.

The Atīhaka Vagga contains 9 out of the 11 references to the word janū in Sn. The parallel word which is more frequently used in Pali is satta (10 times in Sn.) and janu has almost gone out of use in later Pali (s.v., PTS). It is only in one doubtful instance that satta (as referring to creature, being) occurs in the Atīhaka Vagga i.e. satto guhyāya bahunabhiechchamo—Sn. 7124 (from $v/s$t$\text{\textf{}}$).

Sn. 810. In line 4 is found one of the numerous instances where the word bhikkhu is used in the same connotation as muni. The word bhavana in line 4 is apparently a synonym for bhava. It occurs again at Sn. 685b, 937b and once in prose. Sn. 811, 812: The points of interest in these two stanzas are the similes in 811b and 812b, which are in fact the same simile stated in different words. Along with 812b may be cited,

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

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

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

\[ drṣṭā māyā Mārasutā hi vīpṛa, tṛṣṇā Na me nā'pi tathā ratiṣṭa \]
\[ chandā na me kāmaganuṣa kaśchit, tasmād imām mūtrapuṭa pāṃo. \]

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

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

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

**PUCCHĀS OF THE PĀRĀYANA VAGGA**

72

**Ajitamānava-Pucchā**

The Vatthugāthā and Commentarial literature state that Ajita was a disciple of the brahmin Bāvāri, although according to A.A. I, 184 he was Bāvāri’s nephew. Theragāthā (Th1, 20) mentions an Elder Ajita who had, in a former birth, offered a kapittha fruit to the Buddha Vipassi. The Commentary on this stanza (Th1 A. I, 78) refers to him as the son of the ascensor (agghapānīya) of the King of Kosala. Apadāna No. 509 (Ap. II, 449) also speaks of a Kapitthapaladayaka Thera (cp. Th1, 20), but there is another Apadāna of Ajita the pupil of Bāvāri (No. 397-Ap. I, 335). There is no attempt made in the Commentaries to identify Ajita, the Kapitthapaladayaka with Ajita of the Pārāyana. The subsequent growth of the Bāvāri-episode in connection with the Pārāyana (PBR, 1, 3, p. 146), the antiquity of the Pārāyana itself (ibid), and the vagueness with which some Commentators refer to it,6 are additional testimony to the fact that the Ajita of the Pucchā and the Ajita of Th1, 20 (cp. Ap. II, 449) are two different persons. The Vatthu-gāthās refer to the sixteen questioners as, sīdha saḷasa brāhmaṇa. The name Ajita need not necessarily be that of a brahmin (a-ji-ta=unconquered); and it suits a kṣatriya equally well. It is significant that these sixteen are spoken of as āyasmā Ajita, āyasmā Pūṇako etc. in the pucchās. They address the Buddha on equal terms as mārīsa as do all kṣatriyas and the warrior gods of the Hindus (Sakka,

6. A.A. IV, 35: Adōhāmyagāthasatapariyāna Pārāyanhakutam (P. Sutta which consists of 250 stanzas); but the entire vaga with its Prologue and Epilogue contains only 274 stanzas, pucchās alone being 92 stanzas. The Pārāyana is called a sutta here. N42 also refers to some pucchās as suttas and pathas.
etc.). It is only in the titles of the pucchās that they are called māṇḍava (the text of the prologue and the epilogue is of no consequence for obvious reasons). The word māṇḍava, which often designates a young brahmin is no conclusive proof of these men being brahmans. Some of the names are decidedly kṣatriya; e.g. Ajita Bhadrāvudha, the names Nanda and Hemaka are doubtful, and Piṅgūya and Mogharāja are most probably nicknames of kṣatriya origin. Neumann (Reden 546) sees in the name Bāvari a representative of the famous Kātyāyana school of the White Yajurveda (Bādari). He says that among the māṇḍaves there are seven other Yajurveda priests whom four belong to the White Yajurveda. He also mentions a still older Bādari of the Black Yajurveda to whom reference is made in the Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra (I, 7). Even if his suggestion is accepted there are still nine others who have to be proven brahmans. Moreover, a name like Dhotaka, which Neumann had in mind (his seven Yajurveda priests are not enumerated) is a fitting name for a disciple of the Buddha (ध/धत, dhunāti, to shake off, to purge, etc. cp. the concept dhona which is often used as an epithet of the muni in Sn.). Likewise Mettagu, Upasīva, Ajita and Tissametteyya are very suitable names for the Buddha’s disciples.

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

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

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

**Linguistic and other Internal Evidence**

The sutta generally bears the appearance of an old piece. There is a preponderance of the use of the particle su (or ssa) as an emphatic interrogative. This is a general characteristic of many old dialogue-ballads in which the interlocutor continually asks questions. Among forms which may be assigned to a dialectical stratum are: jaya (Sn. 1033b) which is not confined to gāthā and māṣa (1038d) found equally well in prose. A double Vedic form with the Mañgadh ending is to be seen at Sn. 1038a, saṁkkata-dharmamāse. The sandhi ki’ssa (1032c) is probably dialectical viz. kiṃ assa > ki assa (nasalised) > ki’ṣsa > ki’ssa cp. P v. 11, 5, 6. ki’ща vatam ki pana brāhmaṇarāyaṁ where ki perhaps contains an original nasalised vowel. In both these instances ki’ssa cannot be identified with the interrogative pronoun ki’ssa in the oft-repeated formula taṃ ki’ssa hetu. Also cp. P v. 11, 6, 1, Uṭṭhehe Kanhe ki’ssa; the corresponding passage to it at J. IV, 79 reads as kiṃ sesi.

The other peculiarities are more of a purely grammatical nature, yet pointing to an old stratum of Pāli; e.g. short abl. singulares veśicchā, and pammā (Sn. 1032b), pithiyare (1034d, 1035d) of Vedic origin (cp. Geiger § 122) with consonantal hardening.

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

**Accehcchi taṁham idha nāmārūpa (ti Bhagavā)
Kanha saṭaṁ dhīharatāṇusayitaṁ**

(He has completely cut off the desire for name-and-form—individual existence—here, the stream of Kanha which had remained for long). Existence
is often spoken of as a stream; e.g. bhavasota at Sn. 736b, S.I, 15, IV, 128, etc. It is considered a positive attainment to rid one’s self of this sota; e.g. chinnasota Sn. 715b, and also sotaṃ chinnatī M.I, 226. The flux of mind is also a stream, viṅhāyasota D. III, 105, etc.; and the Noble Eightsfold Path is called a stream (sota) at S.V. 347. The terminology of Ajita is allied to Buddhist terminology though at first sight the term appears to be used in a connotation different from that in Buddhism.

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

73

The Other Pucchās

Like Ajita, the other 15 mānavās too have questions to ask the Buddha. Tissametteyya wishes to know of the mahāpurisa who is unperturbed and perfectly contented. Puṇṇaka asks the Buddha about the efficacy of sacrifice and the reasons why men offer sacrifices. The Buddha replies that it is all futile and that it would not enable one to overcome birth and decay. Then he expresses his desire to know of them who have transcended birth and decay. Mettagu asks the Buddha the reason for the existence of suffering in this world and the method by which the wise cross the stream of birth, decay, sorrow and lamentation. Dhotaka invites the Buddha to preach to him to enable him to train himself for his release and remove all his doubts. Upasīva requests the Buddha to give him an ārammana (means, object) by which he may cross the Flood (ogha). Nanda asks whether it is knowledge or the mode of living that characterises a muni. He also wishes to find out whether those who profess metaphysical theories have overcome birth and decay. Hemaka tells the Buddha that he took no delight in the theories of the Vihāravādins, and requests him to preach to him the dhamma by which he may transcend this sinful bent. Todeyya asks the Buddha about the nature of the emancipation of him who has no craving, is free from lust, and has overcome doubt. Kappa asks him of the island-refuge from the formidable stream confronting the mortal subject to decay and death. Jatukanji requests the Buddha to tell him of the saṃ提pāda and to preach to him the dhamma to help him to leave behind birth and decay. Bhadravādha praises the Buddha and requests him to preach the dhamma to all. Udāya wishes the Buddha to declare to him the deliverance by transcendent knowledge and the destruction of ignorance. Posāla asks the Buddha about the state of knowledge of the person whose consciousness of form is extinct, who has cast off corporeal form and perceives internal and external ‘nothingness’. Moghārāja asks the Buddha how one should look upon the world so that Mara may not ‘see’ one. Piṅgīya like Jatukanji asks the Buddha to preach the dhamma in order to leave behind birth and decay.

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

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

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

The central ideas of the pucchās are discussed in the general remarks on the Parāyana Vagga (PBR, 1, 3, p. 146). All the concepts in the vaggā are doubtless very old. The passages of philosophical import do not show much growth. The occurrence of the terms viṅhāna (1055), 1073,
1110, 1111 and 1037, nāmarūpa (1036, 1100), nāmakāya (1074) and nāma and rūpa (1073), akāśa (1070, 1071, 1072, 1115) has already been touched upon. The terms kīcchana (1098, 1099, 1104) and akāśana (1059, 1091, 1094) are of no direct philosophical import. Viññāṇa (1086) in the phrase diṭṭha-sutta-muta-viññāṇa is a term common to passages dealing with sense-perception. The notion of going beyond sukkham (1074), pāramī (1076), kappā (1101) agrees with the central theme of ‘going beyond’. Like the suttas of the Āṭṭhaka Vagga the pucchās denote disputation (takka 1084, kathankathā 1088, 1089) and philosophical (speculative) dogmas (1078, 1083, 1098). Many of the mānavas use epithets in praise of the Buddha (1043, 1049, 1063, 1069, 1073, 1090, 1101, 1103, 1112, etc.). He is called samantacakkha at 1063c, 1069c, 1073b, 1090d. The other frequent epithets are aneja (1112, 1101, 1043), vedagā (1049, 1059), bhāvita (1049) and oghatīga (1096). None of these epithets appears extravagant and all could be ascribed to an early period. The dhamma is spoken of as avātiha (not based on hearsay—1053). Satti is to be experienced in this world itself (1066). The terms itthilahām and itthabha (1074) also occur. No attempt is made here to discuss other data from the language of these pucchās, for both language and metre show signs of antiquity and agree in the main with the suttas of the Āṭṭhaka Vagga.

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

The only mention in the Āpadāna, a considerably late work, of the celebrated Bāvari the Vatthagāthā, with special reference to these mānavas, is made at Ap. II, 487 (Mogharāja), Ap. II, 342 (Mettagu) and Ap. II, 357 (Todeyya). It was stated earlier that the fact that some of the names are brahmin-names does not necessarily prove that the questioners were brahmins. Dhotaka in praising the Buddha calls him a brahmana and in the same stanza addresses him as Saky (1063). At 1065 he calls him brahme (voc.). This presents no difficulty when the new significance attached to the word brahmana is taken into account (ep. Dh. Brāhmaṇa Vagga). The main purpose of these questions is to find out a solution to birth and death and not the settlement of the differences between the theories of these interlocutors and Buddha’s teaching, for none of them comes to the Buddha as a disputant. All this evidence points to the lateness of the Bāvari episode as compared with the pucchās and shows the absence of any justification for the late tradition that these mānavas were brahmin pupils.

The Āpadāna and the Sixteen Mānavas

The only other source in which these mānavas are mentioned is the Āpadāna. Only eleven out of the sixteen are specifically mentioned, viz. Ajīta: Ap. No. 397 (II, 335), Tissamettayya: No. 396 (II, 339), Paññaka: No. 399 (II, 341), Mettagu: No. 400 (II, 342), Dhotaka: No. 401 (II, 343), Upasiva: No. 402 (II, 345), Nand: No. 403 (Ap. II, 350), Hemaka: No. 404 (II, 351), Todeyya: No. 405 (II, 354), Jutukanā (ka): No. 406 (II, 357), and Mogharāja: Nos. 39, 53, 537 (I, 87; II, 486). There is no trace whatsoever, in the Āpadāna, of Kappa who should have been mentioned after No. 405, of Paññaka or of Paññaka. There is the story of one Udana occurring in the Āpadāna immediately after Jutukanā (i.e. No. 407). Ap. II, 362). Following this comes the Āpadāna of Bhaddāli (No. 408). Ap. II, 365). Although the names appear somewhat similar the stories yield no clue for the identification of Udena with Udaya and Bhaddāli with Bhadravudha. Moreover, the order in which these two stories occur is the inverse of that of the two corresponding pucchās. Even in the case of the eight Āpadānas in which there is no mention of Bāvari (i.e. except Todeyya, Mettagu and Mogharāja) the text affords no positive evidence of a connection.

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

References in other works

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The practical application of this tenet lies in the fact that each of these characteristics can be experienced. It is, in fact, just through the experience of the characteristic that the *dhāma* can be known—seen in its bare actuality stripped of all subjective superimpositions. In the systematic development of wisdom, this phase of practice is called *rātparīṇāḥ*, }
full understanding of the known, or nāmarāpa-vavattāna, the defining of mentality—materiality. It is the third stage along the path to purity known as dīthivasuddhi, purification of view, where the seemingly solid human organism is mentally dissected into its multiple components, and each component dhamma is defined and grasped by way of its characteristic, thereby exploding the illusion of a unitary self.

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

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

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

(v) The next account, “a seer of the real,” discloses the Buddha’s knowledge of omniscience (sabbaññatāāha). He is a seer of all that is real—whatever can be seen, heard, sensed, or cognized by the mind. The quality of omniscience has sometimes been disputed by Pāli scholars as an attribute of the Buddha, on the grounds that the Buddha denies knowing everything simultaneously (see Tevijā—Vacchagottasutta, M. 71). But this denial of simultaneous all-knowledge does not bar out the possibility of another kind of omniscience, and the Buddha in fact says that to quote him as denying the possibility of omniscience altogether is to misrepresent his Teaching, drawing an illegitimate deduction from what he has actually said (see Kanakadathā Sutta, M. 90). According to the Theravāda tradition, the Buddha is all-knowing in that he can know whatever he wishes to know. The range of his faculty of knowledge coincides with the range of the cognizable. Whatever he adverts to enters immediately into the portal of his comprehension. This claim is supported by a number of suttas, such as the one cited here, which explains the Buddha’s omniscience in terms of his knowledge of the entire cognitive domain as seen, heard, sensed, and mentally cognized. The commentary goes on to elucidate each category by way of the Abhidhammic scheme of classification, thereby calling attention to the analytical precision of the Buddha’s knowledge as well as to its totalistic range. If the earlier explication in terms of the four truths reveals the depth and existential immediacy of the Dhamma, the present one reveals its breadth and impeccable perspicacity.

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

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

(viii) The last rendition, as “surpassing” or “vanquishing,” springs from the purely fanciful etymology given in the commentary. Of greater value and interest is the following derivation, not separately enumerated, which relates the term “Tathāgata” to the four modes of penetrating the Four Noble Truths. Here the truth of suffering is equated with the world in its totality, for the deepest level of suffering or dukkha is found in the instability and essentialness of the five clinging aggregates which comprise the world. The four penetrations are the full understanding of the nature of the world, by scrutinizing the impermanence, unsatisfactoriness, and selflessness of the aggregates; the abandoning of the origin of the world, the craving which generates the repeated cycles of becoming: the
realization of the cessation of the world, the unconditioned element of 
nibbāna where the aggregates cease; and the development of the way 
leading to the cessation of the world, the Noble Eightfold Path. Because 
these modes of penetration can each be redefined by a word expressing 
movement, and the word gata signifying movement can in turn acquire 
a meaning of knowledge, 1 the term “Tathāgata,” “thus gone,” suggests 
the penetration of the Four Noble Truths in the mode of penetration 
peculiar to each truth. In this way once again the word “Tathāgata” 
implies the entire theory and practice of the Dhamma.

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

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

1. In Pāli, words deriving from the root ja- “to go, and words deriving from 
the root budh- “to understand”, are often treated as interchangeable in meaning. Yo ki 
gatyastho so buddhyattho, yo ra buddhyattho so gatyastho: “words signifying movement 
convey the meaning of understanding, and words signifying understanding convey the 
meaning of movement” (Abhinavatikā).

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

Text

Note: All textual references are to the Burmese script Chajtha 
Saygyana (Sixth Great Council) recension. The main body 
of the text is from the Sumaṅga-lavīlasinī=Dīgha Nikāya 
Selections from the sub-commentary (Tikā) are prefixed by Sub. 
Cy., and from the new sub-commentary (Abhinavatikā) by N. 
Sub. Cy. Since the latter in good part simply reproduces the 
standard sub-commentary, expanded and elaborated for the sake 
of clarity, clarifying phrases from the newer work have sometimes 
merely been inserted into the translated selections from the old 
sub-commentary, marked off by square brackets.

The Exalted One is called “the Tathāgata” for eight reasons:

(i) because he has “thus come” (tathā āgato);
(ii) because he has “thus gone” (tathā gato);
(iii) because he has come to the real characteristic (of dhammas) 
(tathālakkhāyā āgato);
because he has awakened to real dhammas in accordance with actuality (tathadharmam yathavato abhisambuddho);

(v) because he is a seer of the real (tathadhassitaya);

(vi) because he is a speaker of the real (tathavarditaya);

(vii) because he practises what he teaches (tathakkaritaya);

(viii) and in the sense of vanquishing or surpassing (abhishavanatthena).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. N. Sub. Cg. "Either his supremacy within all the world, or his transcendence over the entire world."
sign with the contemplation of the signless, (12) wish with the contemplation of the wishless, (13) adherence with the contemplation of emptiness, (14) adherence due to grasping at substance with the higher wisdom of insight into dhāmassas, (15) adherence due to confusion with the knowledge and vision of things as they really are, (16) the adherence due to reliance with the contemplation of danger, (17) non-reflection with the contemplation of reflection, and (18) adherence due to bondage with the contemplation of the round's end.²

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

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

The "contemplation of impermanence" is a name for the insight apprehending the impermanence of the dhāmassas pertaining to the three planes. The "perception of permanence" is the wrong perception of conditioned dhāmassas as permanent or eternal. Under the heading of perception, (wrong) views and (wrong) cognition should also be included.²

². These are the eighteen principal insights (mahāvipassāna), shown in contrast to the deluded perceptions and defilements they eliminate.
³. It is of interest to note that according to the commentary here, the Buddha, on the night of his enlightenment, must pass through all the four paths crossed by his disciples—the paths of Stream-Entrance, Once-Returner, Non-Returner, and Arahatship. These paths are thus not a particularity of the disciples' course, but a necessity for all who attain liberation from the round, since it is the wisdom in these four path attainments that cuts off the binding defilements.

The same method applies to the cases that follow. The "contemplation of disenchantment" is the contemplation that occurs in the mode of becoming disenchanted with formations. "Delight" is craving accompanied by rapture. The "contemplation of fading away" is contemplation that occurs in the mode of fading away. "Contemplation of cessation" is either the contemplation of the cessation of formations, or the contemplation that "formations cease only, and do not arise again by way of a future re-origination"; thence it is said, "by the contemplation of cessation he makes (formations) cease and does not originate them." This is powerful desire for liberation. The "contemplation of relinquishment" is contemplation that occurs in the mode of relinquishing; [this is the establishing of reflection]. "Grasping" is the apprehension (of formations) as permanent, etc. The "perception of compactness" is the apprehension of identity (in a complex of factors) because of continuity, aggregation, (sameness of) function, or (sameness of) object. "Accumulation" is the forming (of kamma). "Change" is the attainment of distinct stages. The "perception of stability" is the apprehension of lastingness. The "sign" is the apprehension of formations as graspable entities, due to the compactness of their aggregation, etc., and to the delimitation of their individual functions. "Wish" is the wishing of lust, etc.; in denotation, it is the inclination towards formations because of craving. "Adherence" is the settled view of a self. "Higher wisdom of insight into dhāmassas" is the scrutinization of all dhāmassas as impermanent, suffering, etc. "Adherence due to grasping at substance" is the perversity of apprehending a substance in the insubstantial. "Adherence due to confusion" is the adherence (to the view that) the world originated through the creative play of God, etc. "Adherence due to reliance" is the apprehension of formations as a shelter and a haven; the reliance is craving. The "contemplation of reflection" is the knowledge that "formations of such and such a kind are being relinquished." The "ending of the round" is Nibbāna, the departure from the round. The "contemplation of the ending of the round" is "change-of-lineage" (gatrabhā), the contemplation which occurs taking Nibbāna as its object.³ The "adherence due to bondage" is the adherence to formations due to being bound.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


3. "Destruction" is the path, for it destroys the defilements; 'non-arising' is the fruit, for it is the conclusion with no further arising."
There he is the Tathāgata because he awakened to real dharmas in accordance with actuality.

Sub. C.y. The four truths are “real” because their specific nature is undistorted (aviparitasaabhāvattā), “not unreal” because their specific nature is not false (anuṣāsabhaṃvattā), “not otherwise” because they do not admit of any alteration (anāhākāraṇaḥvattā).

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

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

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

Sub. C.y. “Under numerous names”: the visual-form object is described as desirable, undesirable, neutral, inferior, past, future, present, internal, external, seen, cognized, visual-form, visual-form base, visual-form element, a coloured appearance, visible, impinging, blue, yellow, etc.

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

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

In the forty-five year interval between the night when the Exalted One, sitting in the invincibly posture on the terrace of enlightenment, crushed the heads of the three Māras and awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment, and the night when he attained final Nibbāna in the Nibbāna-element without residue while lying between the twin Sāl trees. Whatever the Exalted One spoke whether in the first, middle, or final periods following the enlightenment—the discourses, songs, expositions, stanzas, joyous exclamations, sayings, birth-stories, wonders, and miscellanies—all this is irreproachable in meaning and in phrasing, free from excess and deficiency, perfect in all its modes, crushing the vanity of lust, hatred, and delusion. There is not even as much as a hair’s tip in this that is defective. It all appears as though it had been stamped with a single seal, measured with a single ruler, or weighed upon a single pair of scales. It is all real, not unreal, not otherwise. As it is said: “Between the night when the Tathāgata awakens to the supreme perfect enlightenment and the night when he attains final Nibbāna in the Nibbāna-element without residue, whatever he speaks, utters, or expounds—all that is real, not otherwise. Therefore he is called the Tathāgata” (A. Catukka-Nipāta, i. 3. 3, Loka Sutta). For here the word gata has the meaning of enunciation (gada).

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

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

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

1. On this interchangeability of words signifying movement and knowledge see above, p. 76.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Bhavagga: the base of neither perception nor non-perception, the highest plane of phenomenal existence, the ontological equivalent and kammic consequence of the fourth immaterial meditative attainment.
2. This derivation, though perhaps the deepest and most suggestive of all those given, is not separately enumerated in the text.

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

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

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

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

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Pali Buddhist Studies in the West

Russell Webb

6. Italy

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

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

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

His real "awakening", however, was only to be realised with his meeting the great Austrian translator, Neumann (vide PBR 3, 1, p. 35). In 1898 de Lorenzo was the guest of Neumann in Vienna and in the following year Neumann visited Naples where plans were made to translate the Majjhīma Nīkāya into Italian. In spite of Neumann's death in 1915, all three volumes appeared between the years 1907-27 under the title, Discorsi di Gotamo Buddha (Bari; reprinted 1969). A lesser-known essay of Neumann's (Das buddhistische Kunstwerke) was also translated by de Lorenzo, appearing as L'opera d'arte Buddhista (Naples 1951).

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

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

A substantial number of Pali texts have been translated by various hands. Eugenio Frola (died 1962), the Professor of Geometry at Turin's Polytechnic College, rendered the Dīgha Nīkāya into Italian under the title, Canone buddhista. Discorsi lunghi (2 vols., Bari 1960-1; reprinted Turin 1967). He also produced another version of the Dhammapada—L'orina della Disciplina (Turin 1962). Vincenza Talamo translated the Itivuttaka (Così è stato detto, Turin 1962) and Sutta-Nipātā (Il Sutta in sezioni, Turin 1961). Pio Filippesi-Ronconi translated the Dhammapada, Sutta-Nipātā, Itivuttaka, Udāna, together with selections from the Thera-therī-gāthā, under the title, Canone buddhista. Discorsi brevi (Turin 1966). The Professor of Religions and Philosophies of India at the Istituto Universitario Orientale (an autonomous college of Naples University), he has also written a popular exposition, Il Buddhismo (Naples 1959). The Milindapañha was translated under the title, Dialoghi del Re Milinda by G. Cagnola in 1923.
At a more popular level, two Buddhists appeared briefly on the scene to contribute some papers on Theravāda Buddhism. Americo Berta financed the single issue of *Buddhismo—Sentiero di Liberazione* in September 1959 which was intended to be the organ of his (equally short-lived) *Società degli Amici del Buddhadharmamo* in Rome. The journal comprised translations of Pali texts and articles by the bhikkhus, Nārada, Nyānapānika and Nyāgatiāka. In the following year, and also in the capital, Cino Poli published his translation of Nārada’s rendering of the *Sigilovada Sutta—Codici di Disciplina Morale per i Laii—in an unrealised series of popular expositions, *La Ruota*.

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

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

Finally, mention should be made of those occasional but well-documented reports that emanate from official departments of the Roman Catholic Church. For example, the *Pontificio Istituto Missioni Estere* in Milan have published the following surveys: *Il Buddhismo nella Società Birmana* (1971) by Fr. Pasquale Anatriello, and *Il Buddhismo Lao, mondo e missioni* 1973-6 by Fr. Marcella Zago. The former had an earlier account, *Buddismo Birmano*, published by a branch of the “Institute” in Naples (1969), whilst Fr. Zago saw two surveys published by the Gregorian University in Rome: *Foi et dévotion dans le bouddhisme Theravāda vécu* (1971) and *Rites et cérémonies en milieu bouddhiste Lao* (1972).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finally, Ven. Nyanaponika provides us with two new and inspiring translations: "The Great Twin Virtues"—Compassion and Wisdom (from the Paramatthamajoja-fikd, the Commentary to the Visuddhi-magga) and Compassion and Equanimity (from the fikd to the Majjhima Nikdya). Explaining these virtues as embodied in the Buddha, a sequence from the former work represents the Theravada position and offers a fruitful comparison to the ideal of the bodhisattva in the Mahayana tradition:

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

"Through Wisdom He Himself crossed the Ocean of Samsd; through His Compassion He helped others to cross it."}

The contribution from Sayadaw U Thittila—"World Peace through Buddhism"—is out of place in a volume of this nature. His many friends outside Burma would undoubtedly have preferred a paper clarifying some intricate points of Abhidhamma of which he is an acknowledged master.
On reflection, one cannot help comparing this all-too-slim volume with the Festschrift in honour of Ven. Nyānapātī, Des Geistes Gleichmass (reviewed in this journal in Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 181). In both cases, however, the academic establishment seem to have ignored the monumental and permanent achievements of both these theras. Fortunately, we have the BPS which has twenty years experience of Dhamma translation and propagation behind it to perpetuate their literary treasures.  

RBW

Extant works of Nyānapātīloka


The Word of the Buddha
Path to Deliverance
Buddhist Dictionary
Guide through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka
Fundamentals of Buddhism
Karma and Rebirth
The Significance of Dependent Origination

German: (Anguttara Nikāya) Die Lehrreden des Buddha aus der Angereih-ten Sammlung (Verlag M. DuMont Schaуберг, Cologne); from Verlag Christiani, D-7750 Constance, Hermann-Hesse-Weg 2, West Germany.

Der Weg zur Reinheit (Visuddhimagga)
Das Wort des Buddha
Der Weg zur Erlösung
Buddhistisches Wörterbuch


"The selfless generosity of Vessantara, who gave away everything, even his wife and children, is the most famous story in the Buddhist world. It has been retold in every Buddhist language, in elegant literature and in popular poetry; it has been represented in the art of every Buddhist country and has formed the theme of countless sermons, dramas, dances and ceremonies. In Sri Lanka and the Buddhist countries of South East Asia it is still learnt by every child.

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

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

"Richard Gombrich's introduction analyzes the story to suggest reasons for its success, and sketches its development and diffusion."
NEWS & NOTES

PTS

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

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

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

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

Path of Freedom

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

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

BPS

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

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

Twenty Book Publications include the timeless anthology of Nyānatiṅka, The Word of the Buddha, Nānamoli’s Life of the Buddha from canonical sources, translations of the Visuddhimagga and Vimuttimagga, together with original studies on the Abhidhamma and meditation.

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

The Dhammapada in the West

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

Finnish: tr. Pekka Ervast from Max Müller’s version (Tampere 1925)

German: tr. Nyānatiṅka (MS)

Italian: Max Müller’s version translated for inclusion in Lin Yutang’s La saggezza dell’India (Bompiani 1960)

tr. P. Filippini-Ronconi and included in Canone buddhista. Discorsi brevi (Turin 1966)

Pali Grammars

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

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

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

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

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with a Foreword by KARL J. KHANDELVALA. pp. 108 texts, 7 Multi-coloured plates, 96 plates. Delhi, 1976 Cloth Rs. 500 A valuable guide to understand Rajput Painting of the 14th Century A.D.; the book portrays the popular religious motifs and offers information on Hindu Customs, Costumes & Architecture.

**A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: 5 Vols.—S. N. DASGUPTA**
pp. 2,500; Delhi, 1975: Rs. 200 A comprehensive study of Philosophy in its historical perspective. The author traces the origin and development of Indian Philosophy to the very beginnings, from Buddhism & Jainism, through monistic dualistic and pluralistic systems that have found expression in the religions of India.

**THE HINDU TEMPLE: 2 Vols.—STELLA KRISHNAM,**
pp. 308, 170 (text) + 81 plates, Delhi, 1976, Cloth Rs. 250 The work explains the types of the spiritual significance of the Hindu Temple architecture, traces the origin and development of the same from the Vedic fire altar to the latest forms, discusses the superstructure, measurement, proportion and other matters related to temple architecture.

**TAXILA: 3 Vols.—SIR JOHN MARSHALL**
pp. 420, 516, 236 plates. Delhi, 1975, Cloth Rs. 400 The book records the political and cultural history of N.W. India (500 B.C.—A.D. 500), the development of Buddhism, the rise and fall of political powers—Aryans, Greeks, Sakas etc. and illustrates the archaeological remains by 246 photographs.

**JAIN AGAMAS: Volume 1: Acharanga and Sutrakrtanga (Complete)**
Ed. by MUNI JAMBU VIJAYA JI, pp. 786. Delhi, 1978, Cloth Rs. 120 The volume contains the Prakrit Text of the two agamas, Exposition by Bhadrabahu in Prakrit, the Sanskrit Commentary by Silanka, Introduction Appendices etc. by Muni Jambu Vijaya JI Mahárāja.

**ANCIENT INDIAN TRADITION AND MYTHOLOGY** (in English translation) (Mahapuranas)—General Editor: PROF. J. L. SHASTRI. App. In Fifty Volumes: Each Vol. Rs. 50 Postage Extra: Rs. 400 to 500 each Vol.: Clothbound with Gold Letters and Plastic Cover. In this series 12 Vols. have been published: Clothbound with Gold letters. Vols. 1-4 Siva Purååa; Vols. 5-6 Purååa Purååa, Vols. 7-11 Bhágavata Purååa, Vol. 12 Garuda Purååa (Part I).

**INDIA AND INDOLOGY: Collected Papers of PROF. W. NORMAN BROWN—Ed. by PROF. ROISNE ROCHER:** pp. 3 8-304, Cloth Rs. 190 The book contains important contributions of Prof. W. Norman Brown to Indology: Vedic Studies and Religion, fiction and folklore, art and philology, the book contains a biographical sketch of Prof. Norman Brown and a bibliography of his writings.

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