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## PALI BUDDHIST REVIEW

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### A FRAGMENT OF THE NIDANASUTRA

Translated by John M. Cooper

#### 1. Observations

A fragment of the Nidānasūtra which was published by Sylvain Lévi<sup>1</sup> in 1910 is here translated. Together with other fragments it was found in Ts'ien fo tong cave near Tun-huang on the border of Chinese Turkestan and China proper. It is interesting to note the existence of Sanskrit culture so far from India.

The same sūtra occurs in a book by Tripāthi<sup>2</sup> which deals with the Noble Eightfold Path and the *Pratītyasamūtpāda*, illustrated by a comparison of an ancient road leading to an ancient town which have been rediscovered respectively as the Noble Eightfold Path and the chain of twelve causes which produce *dukkha* which had been rediscovered by the Buddha while he was still a Bodhisattva. Lévi's folio tv° corresponds to nos. 1-4 and the other folios to nos. 13-19 of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, Nidāna-saṃyutta, XII, 65: *nagaraṃ* 'the town'.<sup>3</sup> The lacunae in Lévi's fragments have been filled in from Tripāthi's text pp. 94-5 for folio tv° and pp. 99-103 for the remaining folios. In the translation Tripāthi's text appears in parentheses. In the Sanskrit edition the chain of causation has been expounded at greater length than in the Pali.

Note that in folio tv°, in line 2, the text supplemented from Tripāthi is longer than the lacuna in Lévi's text. Taking the lacuna as 15 *akṣaras* this will accommodate Tripāthi's phrase (*eka*) (*smin samaye bhagavān śrā*) *Vastyāṃ viharati sma*. Thus the part which will not fit in, *jet* (*avane 'nāthapīṇḍa-dasyārāmel*) (*tatra*) *bhagavān bhiksūn āmantray* (*atil*) *pūrvam me bhiksavo*, is not important. The lacuna at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 is fitted exactly by Tripāthi's text—*gatasya pratisaṃl* (*i*) *nasyaivam cetasi cetahpari*-. The lacuna at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 (18 *akṣaras*) is fitted by Tripāthi's text (*jīrya*) *te 'pi mriyate 'pi* (*eya*) *vate 'py* (*u*) *papadyat* (*e*) *'pi* (17 *akṣaras*) with one space to spare. The

1. *Journal Asiatique*, novembre-décembre 1910, Série Tome XVI, p. 438.

2. *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta* by Chandrabhāl Tripāthi, Akademieverlag, Berlin 1962 (Sanskrit texts from the Turfan finds). He gives a German translation of the 25 sūtras and copious comparisons with their Pali equivalents. See also Ernst Waldschmidt "Identifizierung einer Handschrift des Nidānasamyukta aus den Turfanfunden" (ZDMG 107, Wiesbaden 1957) and his romanised text and English translation of "Sutra 25 of the Nidānasamyukta" BSOAS 20, London 1957; and J.W. de Jong "A propos du Nidānasamyukta" (*Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demiéville* II, Paris 1974; repr. *Buddhist Studies* by J. W. de Jong, ed. Gregory Schopen, Berkeley 1979).

3. PTS Saṃyutta-nikāya Part II Nidāna-vagga, ed. by L. Feer, pp.104-7. English translation PTS. The Book of the Kindred Sayings Part II. translated by C.A.F. Rhys Davids and F.L. Woodward, pp 72-5.



lacuna at the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 (18 *aksaras*) is also bigger than Tripāthi's text (*p*) *rajānan* (*til*) (*ta*) *syā mama* (*ta*) *abha* (*va*) *ka* (*smin nu*) *sati* (17 *aksaras*). In folio *rv*<sup>o</sup> the small lacuna at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 (4 *aksaras*) is shorter than Tripāthi's text *puṭā pūrvakair* (5 *aksaras*). Maybe the pleonastic suffix *ka* was dropped in Lévi's text. The small lacuna at the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 (4 *aksaras*) is again shorter than Tripāthi's text *puṭām pūrvakair* (5 *aksaras*), maybe for the same reason. The other small lacuna in line 6 (3 *aksaras*) is fitted exactly by Tripāthi's text *sa tatra* but the sandhi of *anugacchams*, as suggested by Tripāthi, suggests that this word was followed by *tatra*.

Two words in Tripāthi's text *puṭā* and *dāpa* I have translated as 'track' and 'park', following Tripāthi, although *puṭabhūdana* is given by the Pali dictionaries as meaning a town and *dāpavatīm* in Tripāthi corresponds to *uddāpavantam* 'having foundations of walls' in the Pali. I have differed from him in rendering *bhava* as 'becoming' instead of 'the enjoyment of existence' and in rendering *saṃskāras* as 'predispositions' instead of 'formative powers' (or it could be translated as 'volitional actions').

The language of the fragment is BHS, as we see from such locutions as *yad uta*, *nissaraṇa*, *yoṇiso manasikurvataḥ*, *abhisamaya*, *upādāna*, *tasya mimitā* *abhavat*, *bhava*, *āyatana*, *nāmarūpa*, *saṃskāra*, *upāyāsa*, *skandha*, *anvāhiṇḍam*.

In describing the path followed by former sages Tripāthi's text four times uses *pūrvakair ṛṣibhiḥ* (rather a brahmanical word for sages), where the Pali has, corresponding to three of them, *pubbakehi sammāsambuddhehi* 'a path followed) by the rightly enlightened ones of former times'.

In a passage tracing the conditioning of the *nidānas* (65.8-9), the Pali says that not only is name-and-form conditioned by consciousness (65.6) but consciousness is conditioned by name-and-form, that it turns back and goes no further than name-and-form, and then traces the conditioning of the *nidānas* in the other order, so missing out predispositions and ignorance; in Tripāthi's reconstructed text (5.12-14) the tracing continues from name-and-form to consciousness, consciousness to predispositions, predispositions to ignorance, and then (5.15) traces the conditioning of the *nidānas* in the other order. Both Pali and Sanskrit texts then say that thus arises this whole mass of ill. Similarly, in tracing the dependence of the annihilation of one *nidhāna* upon the annihilation of another *nidāna* (65.11-17) the Pali text makes them culminate in the annihilation of name-and-form (65.16-17), whereas in Lévi's text (folios *s* and *r*) and Tripāthi's text (5.16-27) they culminate in the annihilation of ignorance (Lévi folio *rr*<sup>o</sup> and Tripāthi 5.26-27). Both Sanskrit and Pali texts then say that thus ceases this whole mass of ill. They both relate the discovery of the ancient road leading to the ancient town, and say that the Noble Eightfold Path is the road, and they relate how the Bhagavant, following that path, realised (or saw) the *nidānas* (except ignorance) and (the Sanskrit in an abbreviated form) their annihilation and the path leading to their annihilation, and both texts culminate in the predispositions (*saṃskāra*, *saṅkhāra*), omitting ignorance. It is interesting to see that the Pali text here brings in the *saṅkhāras*, having twice omitted them and

preferring to end with name-and-form, and that the Sanskrit (like the Pali) omits ignorance.

Both Sanskrit and Pali texts describe something taking place at Śrāvastī (Sāvasthī), but Tripāthi's text mentions also that it was at the Jeta Grove, in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada. In describing the forward order of the *nidānas* the Pali text is much shorter than the reconstructed Sanskrit one. In the Sanskrit text there is no passage corresponding to the Pali 65.10, "Coming to be, coming to be! At the thought, brethren, there arose in me concerning things not taught before vision, knowledge arose, insight arose, wisdom arose, light arose," but a corresponding passage occurs in the *Catuspariṣatsūtra*<sup>4</sup> and the *Lalitavistara*. In describing the reverse order of the *nidānas* the Pali is also much shorter than the Sanskrit. There is no Pali passage corresponding to Lévi folio *rv*<sup>o</sup> 4-5, Tripāthi 5.28, "Then this thought occurred to me: I have found an ancient way, an ancient path, an ancient (track) frequented and followed (by former sages)." The Pali 65.23-31 is replaced by a compound in Tripāthi and 65.33 does not show the preaching of the Dharma to śramaṇas, brāhmaṇas, carakas and parivrājakas of different beliefs. There is no Pali passage corresponding to Tripāthi 5.39, "Then a monk, rightly practising, becomes an achiever. He achieves the consistent wholesome Dharma. Also the nun, the lay brother and lay sister undertaking (this path) becomes an achiever. She achieves the consistent wholesome Dharma." Many minor differences between the Sanskrit and Pali texts are ignored here but are given in Tripāthi.

## 2. Translation

Folio *tv*<sup>o</sup> (Corresponding to Tripāthi 5. 1-4, pp. 94-5)

2. Thus have I heard. At one (time the Blessed One dwelt at Śrāvastī in the Jeta grove, in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada. There the Blessed One addressed the monks:

3, 4. Formerly) there occurred (to me, monks,) when I had not yet attained the highest perfect enlightenment (and had withdrawn) alone to a private place [and profoundly meditated] the following consideration in mind: This world has alas fallen into trouble in as much as one is born (and ages and dies and passes away and is born again).

5. Moreover these beings (do not know) according to fact the escape from old age and death.

6. (Then this thought occurred to me: What must exist so that) old age and death come to be? And further what is the cause (of old age and death)?\* Then (there occurred to me as I concentrated my mind) thoroughly (the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When there is birth there are old age and death, and also birth is the cause of old age and death).

4. See translation by Ria Kloppenborg, *The Sutra on the foundation of the Buddhist Order* (chapter 7, Leiden 1975)

\* Lévi's text misses out *jarāmarana* from this sentence and substitutes the word *nama*, which I do not understand.



[There are two folios between these two folios *t* and *s* (Lévi). The lacuna between folios *tv*<sup>o</sup> and *sr*<sup>o</sup>, according to Tripāṭhi's text (5.5 to 5.17), says that birth is conditional upon becoming, that becoming is conditioned upon clinging, that clinging is conditional upon craving, that craving is conditional upon feeling, that feeling is conditional upon contact, that contact is conditional upon the six sense-bases, that the six sense-bases are conditional upon name-and-form, that name-and-form is conditional upon consciousness, that consciousness is conditional upon predispositions, that predispositions are conditional upon ignorance. It adds that old age and death are conditional upon birth. Grief, lamentation, misery, dejection and perturbation arise. Thus arises this whole great heap of misery. From the annihilation of birth arises the annihilation of old age and death. From the annihilation of becoming arises the annihilation of birth. The rest of Lévi's text is practically identical with Tripāṭhi 5.18 to 5.29.]

Folio *sr*<sup>o</sup>

1. (Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist so that becoming does not come to be? From the annihilation of what [arises] the annihilation of becoming? Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When clinging does not exist (2) becoming does not come about. From the annihilation of clinging [arises] the annihilation of becoming. Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist so that clinging does not come about? From the annihilation of what (3) [arises] the annihilation of clinging? Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When craving (4) does not exist, clinging does not come about. From the annihilation of craving [arises] the annihilation of clinging. Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist so that craving (does not come about)? (5) From the annihilation of what [arises] the annihilation of craving? Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When feeling (does not exist (6) craving) does not come about. From the annihilation of feeling [arises] the annihilation of craving. Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist so that feeling does not come about? From the annihilation of what [arises] the annihilation of feeling?

Folio *sv*<sup>o</sup>

1. Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When contact does not exist feeling does not come about.

2. From the annihilation (of contact [arises]) the annihilation of feeling. Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist so that contact does not come about? From the annihilation of what [arises] the annihilation of contact? Then (3) there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When the six sense-bases do not exist contact does not come about.

4. From the annihilation of the six sense-bases [arises] the annihilation of contact. Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist

so that the six sense-bases do not come about? From the annihilation of what [arises] (5) the annihilation of the (six) sense-bases? Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When name-and-form does not exist the six sense-bases (6) do not come about. From the annihilation of name-and-form [arises] the annihilation of the six sense-bases. Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist so that name-and-form does not come about?

Folio *rr*<sup>o</sup>

1. (From the annihilation) of what [arises] the annihilation of (name-and-form)? Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When consciousness does not exist (2) name-and-form does not come about. From the annihilation of consciousness [arises] the annihilation of name-and-form. Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist so that consciousness does not come about? From the annihilation of what (3) [arises] the annihilation (of consciousness)? Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When the predispositions (*saṃskāra*) do not exist (4) consciousness does not come about. From the annihilation, of predispositions [arises] the annihilation of consciousness. Then this thought occurred to me: What must not exist so that predispositions do not come about?

5. From the annihilation of what [arises] the annihilation of predispositions? Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When ignorance (6) does not exist predispositions do not come about. From the annihilation of ignorance [arises] the annihilation of predispositions, from the annihilation of predispositions [arises] the annihilation of consciousness, from the annihilation of consciousness [arises] the annihilation of name (-and-form).

Folio *rv*<sup>o</sup>

1. From the annihilation of name-and-form [arises] the annihilation of the six sense-bases, from the annihilation of the six sense-bases [arises] the annihilation of contact, from the annihilation of contact [arises] the annihilation of feeling, (2) from the annihilation of feeling [arises] the annihilation of craving, from the annihilation of craving [arises] the annihilation of clinging, from the annihilation of clinging [arises] the annihilation of becoming, from the annihilation of becoming [arises] the annihilation of birth, from (the annihilation of) birth (3) [arises] the annihilation of old age and death. Grief, lamentation, misery, dejection and perturbation are annihilated. Thus the annihilation of this whole great (mass of misery) (4) comes about. Then this thought occurred to me: I have found an ancient way, an ancient path, an ancient (track) (5) frequented and followed (by former sages). It is as if a man wandering through a forest on the side of a hill should find an ancient way, an ancient path, an ancient, (track) (6) frequented and followed (by former) men. He may follow it. Following it he would see there an ancient



way, an ancient town, an ancient royal palace (endowed with gardens, groves and lotus pools, beautiful, provided with parks, delightful).

[A little less than two folios are missing after this folio r. (Lévi). This lacuna following folio rv<sup>o</sup>, according to Tripāṭhi's text (5.30 to 5.40), says that the man should report the existence of this ancient city to the king and ask him to rebuild it. The king should do so, creating a flourishing city. This ancient way is the Noble Eightfold Path, frequented by ancient sages. Following this path the Bhagavant saw the (eleven) members of the chain of causation (omitting ignorance). He communicated his realisation to monks and others, who, undertaking this path, achieve the wholesome Dharma, causing it to become widespread].

## NEW APPROACHES TO BUDDHISM— THE HARD WAY

**Bhikkhu Nanajivako**

Human kind cannot bear very much reality.

(T. S. Eliot, *Murder in the Cathedral*)

Nearly half a century ago, at a time when the conscience-stricken intelligentsia in Europe, especially in the Christian ideological camp, after the First World War and in the eve of the Second, became apprehensive of the "fascist" hybrid inoculated on their deeply wounded Christian stem, and of its rapid growth in the militant ranks of youth-movements—it was the poet T. S. Eliot, one of the coolest rationalists among Christian philosophers of his time, master of the well-pondered language of the High Scholastic, who felt the urge to formulate the following warning on the occasion of a congress of Christian leaders in England (1931):

There is no good in making Christianity easy and pleasant. "Youth", or the better part of it, is more likely to come to a difficult religion than to an easy one... *The way of discipline and asceticism must be emphasised.*<sup>1</sup>

Once more, at the end of the same tragic decade, on the eve of the War in 1939, he emphasised the same view-point in *The Idea of a Christian Society*:

And what is worst of all is to advocate Christianity not because it is true, but because it might be beneficial... To justify Christianity because it provides a foundation of morality, instead of showing the necessity of Christian morality from the truth of Christianity, is a very dangerous inversion.

Eliot's deep interest in Asian, particularly in Indian religiosity influenced his following statement:

A Christian society only becomes acceptable after you have fairly examined the alternatives... If we are to accept it, we must treat Christianity with a great deal *more intellectual respect* than it is our wont; we must treat it as being for the individual a matter primarily of thought and not of feeling.<sup>2</sup>

It seems to me that we are becoming aware of the same predicament in Buddhism only now, considering the consequences of a third inter-continental revolutionary war on Asian ground.

Over ten years ago four bhikkhus were ordained on the same day at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, Sri Lanka. (The hermitage was founded in 1911 by the German bhikkhu Nyānatiloka). The first who pushed his way in the small *śīmā* (chapter house) crowded with Sinhalese,

1. *Points of View*. Faber, London 1942, p. 137.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 148f, 135, 129.



Burmese and German bhikkhus, was the worst of the hippies, who coming from the Wild West in the middle sixties tried to invade Sri Lanka and her mahā-saṅgho. (Most of them disappeared in 1971, at the time of political disturbances provoked by anarchistic youth of that country.)

The last in the queue was Nāṇananda, a young Sinhalese lecturer of Pāli who resigned his post at the Peradeniya University, Kandy, in order to retreat into meditative life. To his work will be dedicated the rest of this section. I was the second in the same row. Only two of us remained there until now, Nāṇanada and I.

Bhikkhu Nāṇananda lived in the Island Hermitage for about three years and used the Founder's rich library (already half rotten in the unhealthy jungle climate) to continue and conclude some of his research work, and to write down, in a scholarly way, the essential motives of his response to the ascetic vocation. In 1972 he retreated into a deeper solitude in a hermitage for meditating monks. Since then he has also renounced writing.

At the time he joined the Order bhikkhu Nāṇananda was still working on a thesis for his academic career, *Concept and Reality in Early Buddhist Thought*, published in 1971 by the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy (now in its second edition). This work was done still under a considerable influence of semanticist positivism imposed by the academic trend of his teachers. In the early sixties the embargo against "Continental" European philosophies was still more rigid here than in India. In the provincial atmosphere of ex-colonies, at least on academic levels, cultural dictatorship of the big metropolitan schools for "advocates of lost causes" continued to dominate unnoticed and undisturbed for nearly twenty years after political independence was granted to the sub-continent whose "blessed pearl" Sri Lanka traditionally had been throughout centuries. Buddhist scholars were expected to contribute to the "positive message" for "the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number" in the greatest Empire in the world. Their religion, in order to become easily acceptable, had to be brought down to the standards of utilitarianism, pragmatism and empiricism. It seemed as if since J. S. Mill nobody ever dared to ask again the perennial question: How could any religion or philosophy ever have appeared in this world without antecedent questions of a metaphysical and eschatological order of values evident in themselves and a *a priori*, or questions about the essential value of "being-in-the-world", uncritically assumed as "Reality".

The analysis of "the word that kills" the vivifying spirit by restricting its "meaning" to "patterns" and sets of "propositions", looking for "semantic differentials" instead of *essential integrity* of the creative thought, has been the notorious traditionalist method of Indian pandits "since times immemorial", corroding the root-texts (*mūlam*) in treasures of the creative spirit of Indian culture. The Buddhist heritage remained not only unprotected against the danger of this "canker", but it was necessary already for the Buddha himself to complain and to warn on some occasions against it:

In the Saṅgārava-suttam (M 100) the Buddha complains among other of teachers who are *takkī-vimaṃsī* or, literally, "logical analysts" of texts, whose "perfection of knowledge" is based on "mere faith alone", and who are not "knowing directly by themselves alone", "here and now".

While working under the duress of his academic career, Nāṇananda certainly could not have quoted such texts in his *Concept and Reality*. However, he was not any longer the first among the *thera-vādo* pandits of our time who dared express his doubts "about what ought to be doubted" (A III 65).

Discussing the commentarial definition of the word *diṭṭhi* in the Brahma-jāla-suttam, Nāṇananda singled out (p. 36) the "tendency evident in the commentaries, which, while defining *tañhā* and *māna* in a more elementary form as to be comprehensive, take great care to be more specific in the case of *diṭṭhi*. This may be due partly...also to a desire to safeguard 'Right-view' (*sammā-diṭṭhi*). But it appears that this commentarial definition has created new problems...Besides, the tendency towards *diṭṭhi* in the sense of dogmatic involvement in concepts, can also become manifest through *Sammā Diṭṭhi* in its theoretical aspect. It can assume the form of attachment to concepts which constitute *Sammā Diṭṭhi*. It is precisely this danger that the Buddha forewarns against, in the 'Parable of the Raft'..."

With reference to Udānam 9, Nāṇananda points out "facts which seem to have been overlooked by the commentator Dhammapāla" for whom terms referring to the 'Nibbāna-element' "assume a certain degree of grossness and banality", and whose explanation ultimately "exposes the inadequacy of his interpretation" (op. cit. p. 56).

In order to be qualified to criticise such "commentarial developments" of a basic teaching, one first has to extend the acquaintance with individual authors and layers in the historical course of their deterioration. In his first scholarly book Nāṇananda has sufficiently displayed his competence to treat his subject on an up to date level of academic pandits.

In his second book, *The Magic of the Mind: An Exposition of the Kālakārāma Sutta*, written in 1972<sup>3</sup> Nāṇananda demonstrated how his first scholarly work has served him for a further delicate task and service to the living spirit of the Buddha-dhammo.

The acknowledgement of the historical factor in the method of the logic of cultural sciences (in contradistinction to the static attitude of formal logics applied to the scientific objectification of "nature", mainly in its obsolete Newtonian meaning) has become in the course of the 20th century characteristic also for modern efforts to save from stagnation the perennial values (*sanātana-dhammo*) of the ancient Asian wisdom. In his Introduction on the "Historical Background" of the short root-text (*mūlam*) selected for his existential interpretation in *The Magic of the Mind* (A II, Kālakārāma-suttam) Nāṇananda states first that "the discourse...does contain some marvellous aspects of the Tathāgata's

3. Published in 1974 by the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy.



transcendental wisdom"<sup>4</sup>. Among *tabu* terms on which he wishes to put a new stress we find, on the next page 2, also the statement that "beneath that dryness and that strangeness in formulation there lie vast resources for a perennial philosophy". The author's sensitivity for the actual value of the dimension of historicity (as Heidegger's translators would call it) and his interest in comparative philosophy is affirmed, in the same introductory frame, in the following statement:

The Sutta gains a high degree of historical importance owing to the tradition handed down by the commentaries and chronicles, that it was preached by the venerable Mahārakkhita Thera to convert the country of the 'Yonakas' during the great missionary movement which took place in the reign of the Emperor Asoka. If the identification of the 'Yonakas' with Greeks is correct, the choice of this *deeply philosophical discourse* for such a significant occasion, could not have been a mere coincidence. It might have been prompted by the consideration that the *philosophically mature minds of the Greeks* would be able to receive it well.

As for the interpretation of this short text (covering together with traditional commentarial notes less than 5 out of 88 pages in the slender volume) along the lines of modern comparative philosophy, as far as it goes it remains implicit though not less suggestive and symptomatic for that reason. And "that reason" should be properly understood and exposed *despite the author's shyness: Nomina sunt odiosa*.

In 1963 the Buddhist Publication Society (Wheel No. 52/53) published four essays from the posthumous papers of Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *Pathways of Buddhist Thought*. From an Editor's Note (p. 19) and from sections ending with dots it is visible that these papers were not yet ready for print at the time of their author's death in 1960. This might explain in a few cases the lack of references to authors whose specific ideas are quoted and discussed in the booklet. However, among a considerable number of authors quoted and mentioned from page to page, the shortcoming of specific reference, even to the name of the author referred to under quotation marks, becomes conspicuous only in the case of one author whose influence appears predominant in the whole booklet, at least from page 16 on. This author is J. P. Sartre. Numerous references, even under quotation marks, are from his main philosophical work, *Being and Nothingness*. There can be no question [of Nāṇamoli's intention to conceal this predominate influence] which most probably had inspired the whole intention of his unfinished work. This is obvious already from the explicit quotation on p. 16, which in its edited form reads as follows:

'If bad faith is possible at all' says a modern writer 'it is because it is an immediate and constant threat to every human project, it is because consciousness hides within its very being a permanent risk of bad faith.' Bad faith, however, is not a lie, since 'the essence of a lie implies that the liar is completely aware of the truth which he dissembles...One no longer lies when one

4. Underlinings in following quotations are mine.

deceives oneself'. Bad faith, in short, both refuses to face all one knows and vetoes any investigation into whether the faith is well placed or not.

Other numerous references throughout the booklet are to not less famous theses and headlines from Sartre's philosophical master-work: to "horror" or "nausea" (p. 32), or to the whole set of problems discussed under the typically existentialist title "Consciousness and Being". On p. 40 he discusses the "negativity (of Being) as to itself" quoting Sartre:

And so, instead of being said to *appear*, it should rather be called 'that negativeness or "decompression of being" which makes the appearance of life, movement, behaviour, etc., and their opposites possible in "things" and "persons"'.

On the next page Nāṇamoli seems to be thrilled (duly using many quotation marks) with Sartre's wistful analysis of "peeping through a key hole". Ultimately (on p. 44) he comes to the most serious eschatological problem of "consciousness of deprivation, of an 'abyss of nothingness'."

Thus *the first Buddhist book on Sartre* passed unnoticed and unidentified in its historical subject even to those who published it. The *embargo* regulation still prevailed: *Nomina sunt odiosa*.

Still, the obvious *prima facie* relevance of the Buddha's teaching on *dukkham* (or "anguish", the typical existentialist equivalent with which already I. B. Horner translated it) for modern philosophies of existence, and *vice versa*, could not remain concealed much longer, not even for the "average reader" of such remote sub-continent and continents as India and Australia with their geographic appendices.

The author of *The Magic of the Mind* was well acquainted with Nāṇamoli's voluminous literary heritage created one decade earlier in the same famous international hermitage. He could not miss the feeling of the intimate connection of the *Pathways* with the much less cryptic and locally much more discussed *Notes on Dhamma* by Nāṇavira Thera.

Nāṇavira was Nāṇamoli's closest friend since the War when they were together in military service in Italy. There he came across one of the best new books on Buddhism written in those tragic times by G. Evola (*La Dottrina del Risveglio*, Bari 1943), which he later translated and published in England as *The Doctrine of Awakening*. A study on the Buddhist Ascesis (London 1952). When Nāṇamoli decided to become a Buddhist monk in Asia (it was just at the time of the Chinese occupation of Tibet where he first intended to go), Nāṇavira followed him to their ultimate destination in Sri Lanka. They were ordained at the Island Hermitage.

Before Nāṇavira's tragical death (in 1965, by suicide, due to incurable painful disease and drug addiction connected with neglected and improper treatment) his *Notes* appeared in a private cyclostyled edition in 1963, and have not been printed until today, though they have been retyped



several times, even, as far as I happen to know, by Ph.D. research workers, and discussed in seminars in countries so distant and different in their spiritual and academic interests as India and Yugoslavia. One day, I believe, this small book will deserve to have its own Don Quixotic history written down by some research expert on "modern" Buddhist hagiography.

In the Preface to his *Notes on Dhamma* Nāṇavīra states in an open and bold confession that his approach will be from the standpoint of an up to date "existential philosophy".

The scholar's essentially horizontal view of things...disqualifies him from any possibility of understanding a Dhamma that the Buddha himself has called *akālika*, 'timeless'. Only in a vertical view, straight down into the abyss of his own personal existence, is a man capable of apprehending the perilous insecurity of his situation...There have always been a few, however, who have not drawn back, and some of them have described what they saw. These men are known nowadays as existential philosophers.....

He quotes this lineage of modern thinkers, beginning with Kierkegaard, Nietzsche and Gabriel Marcel from a pocket-book selection, H. J. Blackham, *Six Existential Thinkers* (1952).

Nāṇavīra, who had no regular school training in philosophy, dedicated the last years of his life to a fervent study of contemporary European (i.e. "Continental") philosophies from first hand sources, mainly in the basic works of Husserl, Heidegger and Sartre.

In his *Notes* he undertook to demonstrate the possibility of a "vertical view" which proceeds by the *rational method* of focussing an extensive range of documentary material, definitions of epistemological key-terms from the Sutta-piṭakam converging upon the most complex structure in the archaic formulation of categorical interdependence of mental functions — *paṭicca-samuppādo* — within the transcendental limitation of pure reason by metaphysical nescience — *avijjā*. (The terminological adequation to basic standards of Kantian philosophy is mine.)

*Avijjā*, the primordial term and phenomenological source of Indian metaphysics of knowledge since the earliest *upaniṣads*<sup>5</sup>, points in Nāṇavīra's

5. Kant's criticist confrontation of pure rationalism and pure empiricism, with a view to reveal the limitation and deficiency (or *avidyā* in Indian terminology) of the transcendental structure of "pure reason", seems to have found its archetypal expression already in the pregnant art of *īśa Upaniṣad*:

*andham tamah praviṣanti yo' (a-) vidyām upāsate*

*tato bhūya iya te tamo ya u vidyāyam ratāh*

(Into blinding darkness enter those who worship nescience, and those who delight in science enter into still greater darkness.)

The theme of the *Kena Upaniṣad* the impotence of gods (especially if confronted with its Buddhist analogy in *Kevaddha-suttam*, D 11), a subject reborn actual for modern philosophies of existence (Heidegger), in the opening verse of the *Upaniṣad* may appear in the same light to foreshadow the epistemological intention of Kant's "Copernican turning" from the object to the subject of knowledge:

*kenesitam patati presitam manah...*

(By whom 'nissioned falls the mind shot to its mark...—Sri Aurobindo's translation)

interpretation (though the point remains implicit) to the ultimate meta-physical justification of "the philosophical faith" (cf. Jaspers' formulation of *Der philosophische Glaube*), and still more clearly to the decisive for existential inseparability of religion-and-philosophy against the false scholastic dilemma formulated in our case in the sophisticated question: "Is Buddhism a religion OR a philosophy?"<sup>6</sup>:

In order to put an end to *avijjā*, which is a matter of recognising *avijjā* as *avijjā*, it is necessary to accept on trust from the Buddha a Teaching that contradicts the immediate evidence of the *puṭhujāna*'s reflexion. This is why the Dhamma is *paṭisotagāmi* (...) or 'going against the stream'. (P. 22-3)

Nāṇavīra did not elaborate any further the false dilemma of a religion vivisected from philosophy. Nāṇamoli in his *Pathways* (in the first essay, "Buddhism—a Religion or a philosophy?") enters into the discussion of this dilemma, taking uncritically for granted its scholastic limits and overlooking the deeper implication revealed by the existential reorientation of contemporary philosophies of religion. As for the rest of the existential "chain" of *paṭicca-samuppādo*, conceived as categorical (i.e. mental) structure of interdependent factors determining existential events, here are a few salient points, summarised most clearly in one of his "Shorter Notes" on this subject:

*Paṭiccasamuppāda* has nothing to do with temporal succession (cause-and-effect). Precedence in *paṭiccasamuppāda* is structural not temporal: *paṭiccasamuppāda* is not the description of a process. For as long as *paṭiccasamuppāda* is thought to involve temporal succession (as it is, notably, in the traditional 'three-life' interpretation), so long is it liable to be regarded as some kind of hypothesis (that there is re-birth and that it is caused by *avijjā*) to be verified (or not) in the course of time (like any hypothesis of the natural sciences), and so long are people liable to think that the necessary and sufficient criterion of a 'Buddhist' is the acceptance of this hypothesis on trust...But the Buddha tells us(...) that *paṭiccasamuppāda* is *sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattam veditabbo vinnūhi*.<sup>7</sup> What temporal succession is *akālika*? (...) For an *ariyasāvaka* *paṭiccasamuppāda* is a matter of direct reflexive certainty. (P. 66-8)

Nāṇavīra is however aware that, even if understood in this way as a categorical structure on which the awareness of the mind of its existential temporality is dependent, *paṭicca-samuppādo* can be condensed to an encompassing single act of intensive consciousness focussed on its pure present, in the momentariness of "the eternal now" (as we might say with or without reference to the *abhidhammika khaṇika-vādo*). Yet this cannot satisfy his intention to raise the whole ontological import of this basic problem from the level of temporal (empirical) being to the essential level of ideal being-within-the-consciousness (cf. Husserl's *noema*):

6. On this subject see also my paper, "Why is Buddhism a Religion?" in *Indian Philosophical Annual*, Vol. 6, 1970 (University of Madras).

7. In Nāṇamoli's translation of *Visuddhimagga* (*The Path of Purification*, Ch. VII, 76-85): visible here and now, it has no delay (lit. takes no time), inviting of inspection, onward-leading, directly experientiable by the wise.



It is sometimes thought possible to modify this interpretation of *paṭiccasamuppāda*,<sup>8</sup> confining its application to the present life. Instead of *temporal succession* we have *continuous becoming*, which introduces the notion of a *flux*, where the effect cannot be clearly distinguished from the cause—the cause *becomes* the effect. But this does not get rid of the temporal element...The problem lies in the *present*, which is always with us; and any attempt to consider past or future without first settling the present problem can only beg the question—...Any interpretation of *paṭiccasamuppāda* that involves time is an attempt to solve the present problem by referring to past or future, and is therefore *necessarily* mistaken. (P. 68-70)

This seems to summarise, from the stand-point of the modern transcendental philosophy, the gist of *Nāṇavīra's essentialism*.

Thus *Nāṇavīra* has broken through the barrier of *takki-vīmaṇisī* sterile word-vivisection and "commentarial development", aggravated in its modern version (as "logical positivism") by the aftermath of the post-colonial embargo on imports from deeper layers of philosophical culture that on the European Continent had survived a series of brutal white-washings by all sorts of military governments.

After the breach through the rotten rampart on whose historical site a Don Quixotic monument has been erected to the memory of *Nāṇavīra's* feat in a jungle shrine by a handful of fanatical hippie devotees—there remains the problem of a new *modus vivendi* sought in terms of a "middle path" of reconciliation with academic and quasi-academic religious authorities confronted with a less dramatic challenge from the backwaters (symbolised by the Island Hermitage) of much wider social and political turmoils provoked by the actual change of generations.

Within its academic framework *Nāṇananda's Magic of the Mind* marks this conciliative intention, though conscious of the changed situation among the international Buddhist intelligentsia to whom this farewell message of an escapee to the "Ideal Solitude"<sup>9</sup> of more rigorous eremitic life is addressed. A closer analysis of the turning points in this direction in *The Magic of the Mind* would be almost impossible within the too wide frame of this review. A few hints may suffice with reference to the symbol suggested by its title.

What is *challenged* here is "Reality" in its uncritical meaning mentioned at the beginning of this section. Reality is a magician's trick. As soon as you succeed to look at the performance (described with vivid naïveté in the Prologue) from "some concealed corner" in the backstage, you get disillusioned and disgusted; you wish to leave the show, to "give God his ticket back" (as in the Negro spiritual quoted somewhere by Sartre), or, without much metaphorical art, to *escape* the actual danger

8. In its traditional dogmatic interpretation divided in three parts referring to "the previous existence", "the present existence" and "the subsequent existence".

9. Suggestion is made to the title of a minor booklet by Bhikkhu *Nāṇananda*, dedicated to "An exposition of the Bhaddekaratta Sutta" (Wheel Publication No. 188. B P S, Kandy 1973).

of "being-in-the-world" (Heidegger), to escape *from* reality. There is no "Escape to Reality" as the *puthujjano*, the believer in the 'bliss-of-ignorance'<sup>10</sup> imagines it, because beyond the magician's show there is *nothing*—and that is all:

The world...looks as though it would last  
But to him who sees there's naught.<sup>11</sup>

In *Nāṇananda's* words, supported by an elaborate many-sided evidence:<sup>12</sup>

...he sees plainly where exactly the secret of the magic lies—that is, in his own psychological mainsprings of lust, hatred and delusion. He realises that, apart from them, *there is no reality* in the articles and artifices involved in the magic show of consciousness, and is now in a position to appreciate the Buddha's statement in the *Kālakārāma Sutta*: "Thus, monks, a Tathāgata does not conceive of a visible thing as apart from sight, he does not conceive of an unseen; he does not conceive of a 'thing-worth-seeing'; he does not conceive about a seer..."

*Nāṇananda's* shyness to confirm explicitly the arguments of his very eloquent documentation on subjects of decisive importance for a deeper essential understanding of the Buddha-dhamma appears perhaps most symptomatically in his hesitation, at the end of the book, to take a resolute stand in discussing the 'meaning of the word' *nibbāna*<sup>13</sup>:

Despite obvious canonical evidence there is a hesitation to recognise the fact that it essentially signifies an 'extinguishing' (if not 'extinction'—the dismal word!). There is something traumatic in one's response to the so-called 'negative definitions' and hence we usually leave the word *Nibbāna* untranslated, though its more 'sociable' companions fare better in this respect. This tendency becomes more marked when, for instance, *Nibbāna* is clearly defined in the Suttas as the destruction of lust, hatred and delusion (n. S IV 251), and even the commentary (SA) is rather apologetic.

The "sociable companions" mentioned above and misused especially in "modern" Western interpretations for the purpose of applying "semantic differentials" in order to scatter and to explain away rather than to focus the attention on the *integrity* of the unique *essential* significance—those 'companions' (which certainly are not strictly speaking connotations) are specified in a footnote to the quoted passage as "thirty three epithets given at S IV 368ff".

If not only his documentation but also his obviously better insight would not run against the due respect for his teachers and teacher's teachers... (*Nomina sunt ominosa*), I cannot imagine for what other reason

10. Cf. *The Magic of the Mind*, p. 7.

11. Ud. 79, quoted in *Ahe Magic...*, p. 79.

12. Op. cit. p. 38.

13. Op. cit. p. 87. Under linings here and in the continuation are partly mine.



he should remain reluctant to discuss explicitly the problem of Buddhō's *suñña-vādo* or teaching on *nothingness*, in contradistinction to the scholastic exaggeration and artificiality of the so-called *uccheda-vādo*, hastily dubbed by "modern" interpreters as "annihilationism"—*ergo* "nihilism", a scare-crow word, while the doctrinal meaning of *uccheda-vādo* is just the opposite: It is a brutal *materialistic* belief in substantial destruction, or destructibility of "things" conceived as atomic conglomerations of an eternally resurging *matter*, while actual nihilism presupposed an *idealistic* disbelief in the ontical reality of matter and requires explanation of it "nihilation" (as Sartre defined it) instead of its "being", or even "Being" in an "Absolute" significance—exactly as the Buddhō states it in standard formulation against Yamako's "annihilationism" (S XXII 85) and on several other occasions.

Since in this very life a *tathāgato* is not met with as existing in truth, in reality, is it proper to assert... (that) he perishes when body is broken up, he exists not *after death*?

Nāṇananda comes closest to the problem of the so-called *abhidharmika* 'atomism' and feels the necessity of its refutation in the following observation referring to one of the clearest texts on the *transcendental idealism of the Buddhō* (A V 106 f, op. cit. p. 58):

Here the Buddha uses the generic term *dhamma* which, for all practical purposes, may be rendered by 'things'. But that reference is to *thoughts and concepts* is clearly revealed... by venerable Sāriputta...

The only outstanding Buddhist *philosopher* in the 20th century, whose original contribution to world philosophy of his time has been recognised at an international academic level, was the Japanese Professor Kitaro Nishida (1870-1945). The title of his best known work, translated in German and later in English<sup>14</sup>, is *Intelligibility and the Philosophy of Nothingness*. Since its appearance, at least in Japan, the problem of *śūnyatā-vāda* has been widely treated, especially in connection with Hegelian and existentialist philosophies, as the *problem of nothingness*.<sup>15</sup>

H. V. Guenther, now best known as interpreter and translator of Tibetan texts of philosophical interest, since an early German work in which he tried to explain Pāli Buddhism in terms of C. G. Jung's Depth Psychology, has continued to apply basic terminology of different systems of contemporary European philosophy to their analogies in Asian Buddhist systems. In his book, *Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice*<sup>16</sup>, he has come to the conclusion (though explicitly stated only in a footnote) that the Western habit to use the word 'empty' for *śūnyam* (Pāli *suññam*) and its equivalents in Buddhist philosophy in other Asian languages has to be rejected as essentially inadequate:

14. Transl. by R. Schinzinger, Maruzen, Tokyo 1958.

15. One of the best known names in later Japanese philosophy, also in this connection, is Shien-ichi Hisamatsu, Professor of philosophy and religion, Kyoto, author of an essay on "The Characteristics of Oriental Nothingness" in *Philosophical Studies of Japan II* (UNESCO 1960).

16. Penguin ed. 1972, p. 224.

The rejection of the translation of *stong-pa-nyid* (*śūnyatā*) by 'emptiness' or 'void' is based on the following consideration: *śūnyatā* is not a container that can be emptied nor is there anything that could be taken out of *śūnyatā*. The choice of the term 'emptiness' dates back to the time when under the influence of idealism mind was conceived as a container of ideas, and when the ideal seemed to be to leave an empty blankness.

In Nāṇananda's confrontation with this problem, obviously of no lesser importance for his interpretation of *The Magic of the Mind*, it is easy to detect the implicit tendency of his shyness in restricting the explicit reference to the notion of nothingness to the alternative Pāli term, whose meaning could be less exposed to the sophistication of *takkī-vīmaṃsī* pandits under westernised influences. It is the unadulterable Pāli word *ākīñcaññam*, which Nāṇananda prefers to translate with a poetical equivalent from classical English poetry: 'naught' (taken probably from E. M. Hare's translation of Sutta-nipāto) instead of the up to date term 'nothingness', designating the topic of central interest in the prohibited European philosophies of existence. But, as cautious as this transposition on a poetical level may appear<sup>17</sup>, the intention certainly could not have been to protect the *puṭhujjano* reader from the predicament of 'nihilism'. On the contrary, this limitation in terms can only confirm the nihilistic authenticity of the apparent vagueness of the presumably wider range of *suññatā*. The etymological advantage of *ākīñcaññam* consists in the fact that the Latin word *nihil* contains nothing more than a faithful calographic imprint of the Pāli *ākīñcaññam* in another linguistic medium.

At the end of the first year of my stay in the Island Hermitage I sent, as a greeting for the New Year 1967, to a score of old friends and relations in Yugoslavia a cyclostyled copy of my translation of the Khaggavisāṇa-suttam (the poem on "the horn of a rhinoceros").

No introduction or commentary was added to the plain translation. There was only the aesthetical ambition of the translator to find the closest possible literary suggestive form in one of the living languages which still today, in several grammatical and lexical forms, are closer to Sanskrit than Pāli was to Sanskrit more than 2000 years ago. I consider this poem as the greatest masterpiece of archaic Buddhist art. In order to make it clear to my abandoned friends, who could not understand what *pabbajjā* or *escape* from dangers and collectively enforced stupidity of their manifold worlds meant for me, I wished to convey the subjective importance of the following salient points, enhanced by the whole poem, from its beginning, its middle, and its end.<sup>18</sup>

Put aside the rod, and do not harm any living being.  
Do not wish a son and still less a friend.  
Go alone as the rhinoceros.

17. Cf. op. cit. pp. 65, 79 and 52.

18. The following quotation is from my essay, "The Philosophy of Disgust—Buddhism and Nietzsche" in *Schopenhauer Jahrbuch* 1977 (Frankfurt, M.).



Renounce son and wife, father and mother,  
property and income, relations,  
and all the pleasures as limitations.  
Go alone as the rhinoceros.

.....  
Enduring cold and heat, hunger and thirst,  
wind, sun, insects and snakes,  
go alone as the rhinoceros.

.....  
.....Men are dirty.  
Go alone as the rhinoceros.

The effect this New Year's greeting made on a much wider circle of readers than those to whom it was first sent, confirmed not only their understanding of my intimate feeling that this was the basic text for my personal approach to Buddhism, but revealed also a widespread agreement in the understanding of the same existential situation by many other listeners to the voice "crying from the wilderness and refusing to come out of it" (camus, *The Fall*). Some astonishing and even spectacular reactions came from fellows of my own generation, but the impact of the appeal on the young, postwar generation has visibly been much wider. The original private edition was reprinted, before I heard anything about it, in a weekly literary magazine. Even before that the before that the editor of the literary supplement of a popular daily newspaper made another cyclostyled edition for a selected circle of the intelligentsia. The "spectacular" effect culminated in the inspiration the "Rhinoceros" gave to one of the best known avant-garde painters in Yugoslavia (Pedja Milosavljevic) who on that occasion exhibited his skill in Far Eastern techniques. His exhibition in 1968 was dominated by the "Rhinoceros" motive. The poem was reprinted in the catalogue, while the painter, on the eve of his exhibition, said in the interview to a popular newspaper:

The poem is wonderful. It speaks of man's solitariness...It is stirring with a Shakespearean power. Visitors to my exhibition will be given the opportunity to read it, and it has been printed on the poster.

I have not seen his posters. One of the rhinoceroses, however, won the highest prize for 1968 and was bought for the state gallery of modern art in Belgrade.

In April 1976 I met at the Buddhist Publication Society in Kandy a young Dutch scholar from Utrecht University, Dr Ria Kloppenborg. Her Ph.D. thesis, *The Paccekabuddha, A Buddhist Ascetic* (Leiden 1974) was received as *sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti* (the gift of truth which excels all gifts). It will remain a basic scholarly elaboration of source material for any further work on "Khaggavisāṇa Buddhism" as I understand it. A new designation has been added to it by identifying this archetypal pre-Buddhist and pre-Aryan model (often met with in the oldest Jain

tradition<sup>19</sup>) with the ideal personality of a *pacceka-buddho*. Trying to define this ideal in the Introduction, Dr Kloppenborg had to start with the statement of the following facts:

The *paccekabuddha* has received little detailed attention in the study of Buddhism.

The *paccekabuddha* is rarely dealt with in the secondary literature.

To find an adequate English equivalent of the term *pacceka-buddha* (...) is almost impossible... It has the meaning of : "one who is enlightened by himself, or for himself", and also of: "an enlightened one who is single, who is on his own".

In the concluding Fourth chapter of the book the Khaggavisāṇa archetype as described in the famous poem of the Sutta-nipāto is identified with the Buddhist ideal of human personality described in those rare texts, neglected by institutional religion, referring to the aristocratic values of a *pacceka-buddho*. The 41 verses of the Khaggavisāṇa-suttam are translated not only with a remarkable scholarly pedantism, but also in a sober, literary up to date, clear and not pleonastic English language. The included parts of the commentary to each verse relate "in detail of lives, behaviour, hardships and attainments of the *paccekabuddhas*, who briefly speak in the verses of their own way..."

In my view the scholarly performed task of this book requires now a philosophical counterpart of essential straining and sifting of the actual value of this ideal archetype of ascetic life for the revival of the *hard way of non-confessional, purely introvert and strictly personal "philosophical faith"*, in response to the urgent need of those whose "turban is burning" now, and who therefore are looking for an escape (*pabbajā*) from a world where one has not only no personal freedom to die, but also no personal freedom to live.

The commentary of the Khaggavisāṇa-suttam vivisepts first the whole poem into 41 single "sayings" ascribed to various *paccekabuddhas*, setting each "saying" into some naive hagiography, mainly of mythological "kings of Benares". Once they have attained their *pacceka-bodhi*, they are disposed off by a collective transfer to a specific *bhūmi* ("ground") between heaven and earth, a mythical area called the Nandamūlaka-slope of Mount Gandhamādana "beyond the seven mountains" of the Himālays.

A *pacceka-buddho* is a "silent sage" or *muni* (as still today Jain monks are called<sup>20</sup>). Consequently the only possible way of instructing which is

19. The rhinoceros was the emblem of the 11th *īrthakarah Śreyāmsah*. The virtue of "going alone as rhinoceros" (*khaggiwisāṇam va ekacce*) is praised e.g. in the biography of Mahāvira in the Kappa-suttam 118, and as a characteristic of *ṛ muni* in general in the Sūyagaḍa-suttam, II, 2, 70. (Cf. in H. Jacobi's transl. of *Jaina Sūtras*, SBE Vol. 22 and 45, Part I, *The Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 261, and Part II, *The Sūtrakṛitāṅga Sūtra*, p. 378.)

20. Cf. in the Sutta-nipāto in the same opening chapter (Uragavaggo) with the Khaggavisāṇa-suttam its *pendant* in the last poem (12) Muni-suttam describing the same ideal of the silent sage.



followed by them by *personal example without intention to be a model for others*.

The way of instructing which is followed by *paccekabuddhas* is typical for them: most times it is done indirectly by means of an example, a few clever remarks or a gesture, by which a person who is able to understand the deeper meaning of this, is helped to take an object of meditation. In this connection the *pacceka-buddha's* teaching is called 'by means of the body' (*kāyikā*) and not 'by means of words' (*vācikā*).<sup>21</sup>

This "shortcoming" has been used by commentators first of all to deduce for the sake of the popular tradition the *inferiority* of the *pacceka-buddho* ideal in the hierarchical order of institutional religion.

...it is clear that even if a *pacceka-buddha* intends to teach, he is thought not to be capable of revealing the essence, i.e. to teach what he thinks is unteachable.<sup>22</sup>

Having taken this dogmatic position the commentary proceeds to obliterate one by one the specific differences distinguishing the noble silence (*āryo tuṇhībhāvo*) and meditative solitariness (*viveko*) of the ideal *muni*. *Pacceka-buddhas* have to be ordained, instructed by a guru, and even to preach as ordinary mendicant monks or *loquentes* (in medieval Christian terminology). Their misfortune consists only in having been born in some dark "period in which no *buddha* exists".

Then let us take it *today* as our own predicament (or nearly so, because dogmatic orthodoxy would not yet allow us to take it quite so pessimistically as e.g. Kant described it from the standpoint of his "Religion within the limits of bare Reason"<sup>23</sup>).

What will remain for us of the ideal distinction of the noble personality of a *pacceka-buddho* after careful elimination of all the common virtues praised by serial clergymen and "high priests" preaching Dhammo in their tropical exuberance of feeling for "the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number" of their fold; after sifting the professional preacher's words through the filter of Lao-tse's criterion: "Who knows does not talk, who talks, does not know"?

The purpose of Dr Kloppenborg's thesis was not to encourage further exploration of its existential actuality. If this should be undertaken now, another volume of the same size might hardly suffice to exhaust

21. Kloppenborg, op. cit. p. 78.

22. Id. p. 77.

23. *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (beginning) "The lamentation about the miserable condition of the world is as old as the history, even more, as the still older poetry; as old as the oldest of all poems, those preserved in the religion of priests.... The happiness (of the primeval golden age) vanishes as a dream, so that now (and this now is as old as history) we live in the last period; the doomsday and the destruction of the world are imminent, so that in some parts of India they worship the judge of the world and its destroyer Rudra, called also Shiva, as the god who has already taken over the government, after the world's maintainer Vishnu, too tired of his work, which was transferred to him from the creator Brahmā, had abandoned this duty many centuries ago."

the philosophical counterpart on the background of this exegetic analysis. Let us, however, try to summarize the range of this essential notion in a more modest, personally limited way:

In the first place, the classification of various sorts of *buddhas* in and for the ranks and files of any institutional religion should be discarded. Neither a lower rank nor a tendency towards *irrational disintegration* of what was so perfectly conceived as "those Dhamma-teachings which the awakened ones have themselves discovered", is essential for the ideal personality of a *pacceka-buddho*, but on the contrary, the *disclosure of specific aspects* relevant for each single (*paccattam*) personal and historical situation that a *pacceka-buddho* is able to face directly out of his own experience.

Second, the attainment of a *pacceka-buddho* should be understood essentially as a "truth that cannot be repeated" but refers always to "one's own" existential condition.

Third, the pedagogic value "for others" (*parārthah* in Dharmakīrti's logic) of a *pacceka-buddho's* pointers towards the intimate depth-dimension of "one's own" truth should *not* be reduced to the superficial point of view (*ditṭhi*) of "absolute irrationalism" and despising of all reasoning, method and even "technique". Such irrationalism, in disregarding the critical analysis of *transcendental limitations* (= *avijjā*) of phenomenal consciousness *yathā bhūtaṃ*, or in its direct givenness, would sacrifice *a priori* the most important *premise of culture and cultivation*, understood in all Indian systems of spiritual development as *bhāvanā*, a term more appropriate to its basic meaning than its European substitute "meditation" (Even in the case of *zen* I am reluctant to understand it either as "irrational" or, still less, as purely "pragmatic", despite the relatively late scholastic accessory structure of quasi-rationalised *koans*).<sup>24</sup>

Fourth, a "bodily" (*kāyikā*) example disclosing the *rational perfection of an ideal personality* in its paradigmatic nature<sup>25</sup> is in my understanding the very opposite of those who keep their irrational secret "esoterically" closed "in a clenched fist".

Fifth, instead of an institutional (or still worse, "popular") religion the *pacceka-bodhi-dhamma* should represent only one exclusive aspect of religiosity to be defined as *visuddhi-maggo* or the Path of Purification. In the following section, to conclude with, I shall try to say why I am inclined at this moment to give a short answer to a pertinent question:

—Where will this path lead us?

—To the forest.

24. On "The systematisation of the *kōan*" see D. T. Suzuki, *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*.

25. In the meaning in which K. Jaspers presented Socrates, Buddha, Confucius and Jesus in *The Great Philosophers* (Rupert Hart-Davis, London (1962)).



This answer reached me as a distant echo to my quest from a book received unexpectedly just now:

*Forest Dhamma* by Phra Mahā Boowa Nāṇasampanno, translated from the Thai language and published for free distribution in Bangkok 1973 (distributed by Suksit Siam, 1715 Rama IV Road, Bangkok, Thailand).

The best way to present this book of direct inspiration within the frame of the present review may be to try to convey its authentic flavour in a few first hand quotations, selected as subjectively as possible.<sup>26</sup>

The direction in which the Lord Buddha and the *sāvakas* went is a way along which worldly minded people do not like to go, so the Lord Buddha and the *sāvakas* differed from others in the world... This way is trodden with difficulty and hardship because it is associated with the use of constraint in going anywhere, in staying anywhere... Apart from this there is also the constraint of the heart (*citta*), like a fence, to enclose and surround it. (P. 134)

Nobody can live at ease once they have a physical body of this nature. It displays its nature to be such that it is bound to give rise to unbearable anxieties so that we cannot live at ease... We live in a world of cannot... this world is a "world of cannot" where if we want to live at ease we cannot... The world became a world of "cannot", entirely in the heart of the Lord (Buddha) — "What world is there that is a 'world' of can?" So he investigated reviewing and searching for reason. — "There is only the Lokuttara dhamma"... (P. 61)

Then the most suitable place for raising the *citta* out of the place of imprisonment (which is the *kilesā*) is that which follows the example of the Lord Buddha—in other words, the forest... for the purpose of becoming peaceful in our hearts and gaining freedom by not returning to this "hole of urine and faeces" again. (P. 143)

But in particular, those who also dwell in the forest which is always quiet and secluded have the best chance of all to put forward diligent effort for attaining the wealth of *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā*, *vimutti* and *vimuttiñāṇadassana*, for arousing them and developing them stage by stage from the grossest stages right up to the most subtle.

For *sīla* and Dhamma of all stages are developed for the state of spotless purity... and generally speaking this is likely to depend on living in a quiet place away from the crowds, both of lay people and those who are ordained in the Sangha...—for Dhamma likes to arise in quiet places.

If it is still not quiet both externally and within one's heart, Dhamma will not arise... In other words, *sīla* will start to become

pure, *samādhi* will begin to appear in his heart and develop in the stages of *samādhi*, and *paññā* will begin to rise up and move as soon as *samādhi* starts to appear and it will develop in the stages of *paññā* step by step...

Summarising the above, Dhamma likes to arise in quiet places and at quiet times. (P. 122-3)

(From a sermon at Mahāmakut Buddhist University, Bangkok:)

If our hearts never have time to rest and attain calm, they are not fundamentally different from those of animals... If we can attain a state of calm we will have reached the first stage of Dhamma which leads steadily onwards...

In listening to a talk of Dhamma, it is not necessary to go out and fix your attention on any external thing, such as upon the person who is delivering the talk. But you should instead fix your attention on your heart while the talk is being delivered, for when one sets one's heart in a good and healthy state, controlling it with mindfulness and just letting a state of clear awareness remain there, the subject of the Dhamma talk... is bound to enter and touch the heart which has been thus established in a good state.

Having attained a state of calm, one's heart becomes fresh, cool and strong. (P. 71-2)

Wherever *sati* is established. Dhamma is sure to arise there, but if one has no *sati* then Dhamma will never arise, for *sati* is the important thing in the practice of diligent effort. It should always be realised that to let the heart relax, and become calm by itself alone is impossible... (P. 114-115)

Instead, one must determine that one will be really mindful in the practice, and one must not arrange *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā* in any special order, nor let them go away from the heart, because the defilements (*kilesā*) of passion, hate, delusion and the rest, dwell in the heart and nobody has arranged them in order... One does not decide nor arrange that this one will come earlier, and that one later, for if it is a defilement immediately one thinks wrongly, and whatever type it is, so it arises, and they all make one troubled or passionate in the same way. The defilements are always bound to be of this nature, and it is of no consequence in which order they arise for all of them are able to make one troubled and passionate.

Therefore in curing the defilements, one must not wait to develop *sīla* first, then *samādhi* second, and *paññā* third...—for this is always in the past and future and one would never be able to attain calm and happiness. (P. 13-14)

...we should have a basis of reason to back us up and enable us to diminish the gladness and sorrow so that they are not overpowering. (P. 49)

26. Underlinings are in part mine.



## LITERARY ACTIVITY IN PALI\*

N. A. Jayawickrama

A few observations are made in this chapter on the Pali literature of Ceylon from the earliest times up to 1065 A.C., the year of accession of Vijayabāhu I. This forms a turning point in the political events in the Island that produced the necessary background to the prolific literary activity during the Polonnaru and Dambadeni periods in Ceylon history. The main discussion is confined to the following periods:—

- (1) The formative period in the Pali literary tradition, from the time of the official introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon to the beginning of the commentarial epoch.
- (2) The period of the crystalization of the historical and commentarial traditions, the epoch of the great chronicles and the standard Commentaries.
- (3) The period of relative inactivity, the post-commentarial epoch.

### The Formative Period

Pali owes its separate existence as a literary language to the early Buddhists of the Theravāda School who raised a colloquial Middle Indian speech, widely understood in the mid-Gangetic Valley, to the status of a *lingua franca*. It might well have been, as tradition has it, that the Buddha's own speech was not far removed from literary Pali in which his teachings came to be preserved later on. During the early expansion of Buddhist communities in India along the major trade routes,<sup>1</sup> the speech habits, particularly those pertaining to phonology, influenced the Pali language to such an extent that, before long, it came to preserve the characteristics not only of Eastern Prakrits but also of Western Prakrits and Pāṣāṇī and even admitted into its vocabulary loan-words from the less fancied Muṇḍa, Kolarṇḍian and Dravidian speech.

Whether we assign an earlier date or not to the Pali Canon, we can admit, if reliance is to be placed on the tradition current in Ceylon, that it was the Canon known in Asoka's time that was brought to Ceylon in Devānampiyā Tissa's reign. It certainly was not a local version available in Mahinda's home-town Ujjeni. If it is assumed that the bulk of the Pali Canon reached Ceylon after the establishment of her cultural contacts with Magadha and Āndhra, which perhaps was the case<sup>2</sup>, there is all the more reason to infer the universal acceptance of the Pali Canon by all the early Theravāda Buddhists in India. It is not denied that other Prakrit versions of the Buddha's teachings were current among some of the numerous sects, but evidence for the existence of a version so complete as the Pali Canon is lacking not only in the Prakrits but also in the later Hybrid Sanskrit versions for the most part now preserved in translation in Chinese and Tibetan.

Although it is believed that it was the oral tradition that was established in Ceylon, there is nothing to preclude the possibility of actual written books being brought to Ceylon. The written word, however, at this stage did not carry the same prestige as the texts committed to memory. Together with the texts, the traditional exegeses handed down at the Three Councils<sup>3</sup> are said to have found their way to Ceylon according to the statements made in the proems of the Āgama Commentaries. Once the Teachings were established in Ceylon the next step was the transference of their custodianship to Ceylonese monks. One of the events with far-reaching consequences for the future history of Pali literature in Ceylon was the so-called Vinaya recital held at the Thūpārāma, when the texts were formally handed over to the Theras of Ceylon, headed by Mahā-ariṭṭha (Samantapāsādikā, pp. 102 ff.). This marks the beginning of the *ācariyaparamparā*, 'the succession of teachers' in Ceylon. It was the duty of the custodians of each of the three branches of the teachings, Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma, to hand them down intact to generations to follow. The preservation of the Teachings loomed large in the minds of the ancient monks, and the highest attention was paid to this task. There were early teachers who knew the Three Piṭakas by heart, some of them, at least one Piṭaka.<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that such super-human feats of memory were rare phenomena and that this state of affairs was not to continue for long. While some may have resorted to the written word, the practice still continued but with a difference. In place of *Tipetaki*, 'versed in the Three Piṭakas' and *Peṭaki* 'versed in a Piṭaka', we soon come across a category of 'rotemen' (bhāṇakā) whose apparent task it was to hand down by word of mouth much smaller sections of the Teachings though in themselves quite considerable in length e.g. *Dīghabhāṇaka*, *Majjhimbhāṇaka*, *Jātakabhāṇaka*, etc. The purity of the word of the Buddha as handed down by ancient teachers, had to be maintained at all costs and it is not a matter of very great surprise that the numerous parallel passages distributed with such great frequency throughout the Pali Canon present little or no variation as may be seen from the texts as they were known at least as far back as the time of the great Commentators. The Pali Commentaries provide a convenient landmark in arriving at the earliest readings in cases of divergencies. The variant readings that one usually comes across nowadays generally do not go back to a period earlier than the manuscript tradition and are mostly due to regional differences according to the country where a manuscript has been handed down. The handing down of the texts has been a matter of the highest importance, and instances are not lacking where, even under severe hardship during periods of national disaster such as famines and wars<sup>5</sup>, monks kept this torch of learning ablaze. It was also the duty of the bhāṇakā to hand down faithfully the oral exegetical material, come down to them in the early Prakrit tradition, which, in Ceylon, was indiscriminately designated as the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*.

3. Malalasekera, G. P. *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*. Royal Asiatic Society of Gt. Britain and Ireland, London 1928, p. 90f.

4. The list of teachers in Vin V 2 f; Vin A 62 f, etc.

5. Adikaram, E. W. *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, D. S. Pusewella, Migoda, 1946 p. 76.

\* *Education in Ceylon I*, ch 7 (Min. of Education and Cultural Affairs, Colombo 1969)

1. Rhys Davids, T. W. *Buddhist India*, Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 6th edition 1955 53ff

2. Oldenberg, H., *The Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol I, ed. Pali Text Society London, 1929 pp 50ff



Along with the task of the preservation of the Teachings the equally important function of teaching and disseminating the knowledge of the Dhamma was in the hands of competent teachers who are often described by such familiar terms as *Vinayadharā*, *Suttanikā*, *Abhidhammikā*, etc. Their task was as important as that of the custodians of the Dhamma. The language of the Canon itself might not have presented difficulties at least for a few centuries, for the learned idiom (Pali) might not have been unintelligible to the Aryan settlers and the Aryanized inhabitants of ancient Ceylon who were the speakers of an early Middle Indian dialect, yet the contents of the Pali Canon needed explanation in the spoken idiom of the day. Whether we accept the tradition that Mahinda himself was the author of the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā* or not, the fact remains that, apart from the texts, the interpretations given in the spoken idiom of the day were considered to be of equal importance as the Teachings themselves. These interpretations, based on traditional exegeses current among the Theravāda teachers of India, gradually paved the way to an unwritten corpus of knowledge which in due course assumed definite shape as commentaries. This briefly is the beginning of the so-called *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*—*Sihala*, because the then-current Prakrit of Ceylon was used instead of the language of the Canon. These formed the chief source-materials of the monumental Commentaries of the fifth century A.C.<sup>6</sup>

The interpretations given in these traditional commentaries appeared to have varied considerably on minor points although there was general agreement on main issues. The *Mahā*- or *Mūla-aṭṭhakathā* of the Mahāvihāra had been the commentary *par excellence*, while those belonging to other monastic centres also received the attention of Buddhaghosa and his successors. The *Andhaka-aṭṭhakathā*,<sup>7</sup> probably representing the Theravāda tradition of the entire peninsular region of India, provoked a good deal of adverse comment at the hands of these commentators who were fully conversant even with its language. The internal evidence of the Pali Commentaries definitely points to extensive exegetical activity prior to their time. It was probably the eminent Elders<sup>8</sup> whose names are found cited in the Commentaries as authorities, who were responsible for some of the statements attributed to the Porāṇā. The quotations<sup>9</sup> themselves are restricted to short prose or verse passages, but are a true index to the type of literary activity prior to the time of the Pali Commentaries and are indicative of an extensive literature. The exact period cannot be determined with any accuracy except through other external evidence. The activities of the teachers (*ācariyā*), the 'rotamen' (*bhāṇakā*) and the 'ancients' (*porāṇā*) appear to be quite extensive and the numerous references and quotations found in the Commentaries are a clear indication of the magnitude of their literary contributions.

Another important fact one has to keep in mind is the anxiety on the part of the teachers of the Theravāda to arrange and preserve the Buddha's

teachings in systematic collections. Within the framework provided by the recitals at the Three Councils, a process of arrangement and re-arrangement has taken place right down to the fifth century A.C., though it may have been less marked after the so-called *Ganthārūḥhasaṅgīti* in the first century B.C. How much was systematized and how much was preserved in its original form is a matter beyond solution. However, a few examples can be shown. There are instances of passages from canonical texts which are not recognized by Commentators even as late as their time. The finalization of the *parivāra* attributed to a monk, named Dīpa, and the preparation of the *Khuddaka pāṭha* anthology from earlier existing material and now admitted as a text in the *Khuddakani-kāya* can be cited as examples. Further, if the traditional date assigned to the *Khuddakasikkhā* and the *Mūlasikkhā* is correct, these works too point to literary activity in Pali in the pre-commentarial period<sup>10</sup>. Whatever it is there is a paucity of separate works, as such, until the fifth century A.C., but this dearth of documentary evidence in no way proves the absence of literary activity during this period.

A landmark in the history of Pali literature in Ceylon is the writing down of the Canon in the first century B.C. The rise of a rival school to the Mahāvihāra, the Dhammaruci in the Abhayagiri Monastery, newly established by the reigning king Vaṭṭagāmini-abhaya, famines, incursions by South Indian adventurers and, above all, if the tradition that the writing down took place in the Āloka Cave in far-off Matale under the patronage of a district chieftain is correct, the King's lukewarm attitude towards the Mahāvihāra may have all been contributory causes that prompted the monks to write down the Canon. The significance of this event is that, for the first time, the Canon has been subjected to editorial handling before it was put into written form although parts of it may have been written down earlier. It is further stated that the available exegetical material too was written down at the same time.

Before passing on from the formative period of the Pali literary tradition in Ceylon, it should be mentioned that side by side with literary and exegetical activity the various monastic centres maintained historical records which were designed to serve as introductions to the exegetical literature known to them. One such set of records paved the way to a more systematic work, incorporating accounts of all the important events in the progress of the Sāsana from its earliest beginnings in India right up to the time of its compilation, and probably may have been brought up to date from time to time. On the evidence furnished by the *Vamsatthappakāśini* this had been named the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā-mahavaṃsa*. It doubtless served as an historical introduction to the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* in much the same way as the opening sections of the *Mahākhandhaka* served as an historical introduction to the *Khandhaka*. We also hear of a similar document belonging to the Uttaravihāra or Abhayagiri. It was the crystallization of all these historical traditions that we later see in the *Dīpavaṃsa*<sup>11</sup> *Bāhiranidāna* of the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

10. James Gray in the introduction to his edition of the *Jināṇakāra* dates it as 426 B.C. misinterpreting the phrase 'Sattarasasate vasse' as 117 years after the parinibbāna.

11. For a summary of the discussions on the sources of the Pali Chronicles vide my *Inception of Discipline and Vinaya Nidāna*, Pali Text Society, London 1962, pp. xxxi ff.

6. *Ibid* chapter II; Malalasekera, *ibid*, pp. 91 ff.

7. Originally handed down at Kāñcīpura, Malalasekera, G. P. *ibid*, p. 91.

8. Adikaram, *ibid*, pp. 14 ff.

9. *Ibid*, table at p. 17 and Appendix II.



### The Crystallization of the Historical and Commentarial Traditions

The first serious attempts at gathering together the mass of historical information available in Ceylon is seen in the *Dipavaṃsa*. The opening verse of the book, which refers to.

The Buddha's visits to the Island, the arrival of the relics and of the Bodhi, the Recitals, the tradition of the leading Elders, the establishment of the Dispensation in the Island, the advent of the monarch (Vijaya) and the genealogy....

while giving some indication of the contents to follow indirectly hints at the sources on which the work is based. All the above topics legitimately belong to the historical introductions to the various versions of the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*. Since the work fails to produce a continuous work in chronological order and makes no attempt to synthesise the several traditions it has incorporated one is led to the natural inference that the chronicler, unlike the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, has merely written down what was available to him. The same chapter often contains two or more versions describing the same set of events. If we presume that no translation was involved, unlike the *Mahāvamsa* we have to consider the stanzas of the *Dipavaṃsa* as mnemonic verse in Pali which had been interspersed with prose in the earlier Sinhalese sources. It is generally accepted that the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā* contained verses in Pali and it is precisely those verses of the historical introductions that have been put together in the *Dipavaṃsa*<sup>12</sup>. The many imperfections in metre, language and style and even grammar are due to the compiler 'lifting' the verses intact, while no doubt, some of the verses which show real skill in versification may have been original contributions. An unfinished literary product of the nature is more useful, as it faithfully reproduces the historical information available in Ceylon prior to the compilation of the *Chronicles* and the consensus of opinion among scholars is that, whatever the flaws of the *Dipavaṃsa* are it is in the highest degree trustworthy in so far as it preserves the ancient historical tradition.

The usual date assigned to the *Dipavaṃsa* is the late fourth century A.C. A criticism generally levelled against the *Dipavaṃsa* is that it is a clumsy attempt at versification, but the literary experience gained by the fourth century A.C. judging from the activities of the *Porāṇa* and others mentioned earlier, and the literary tradition of at least three centuries from the time of *Vattagāmini-abhaya*, should have given sufficient maturity to Ceylonese Pali scholars to bring out a reasonably good literary product unless they were otherwise hampered. Their eagerness to preserve the *Porāṇa* verses intact has resulted in a somewhat intelligent work.

While the *Dipavaṃsa* thus reproduces various traditions haphazardly put together, the *Mahāvamsa*, the later chronicle, which also deals with the same period, i.e. up to *Mahāsena's* reign, presents a highly systematic

12. The prose passages occurring among the verses in the editions in Roman script are really verses in irregular metres now re-arranged as verses in the Sinhalese editions.

narrative couched in elegant verse, for the most part in *śloka* metre. Although one cannot be justified in assigning a single authorship for all the contents of the *Dipavaṃsa*, the *Mahāvamsa* was the work of one author, the Elder *Mahānāma* in the early part of the sixth century A.C. Whether it is to be considered as a *dīpikā*, 'an expository work on the *Dipavaṃsa* or not,<sup>13</sup> it is based on the same source material as the latter.<sup>14</sup> The *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā-mahāvamsa* was considered by the author to contain too many details in some places and to be too brief in others, and also full of repetitions. Avoiding these blemishes, his idea was to translate into the Pali language from the original Sinhalese 'the ancient Commentary of the dwellers of the *Mahāvihāra* which was designated as the "Mahāvamsa"'.<sup>15</sup> The same *Pajjapadoruwaṃsa* used by the *Vamsathappakāsini*, laying stress on *pajja*, 'verse, is an indication that the original source was in prose unlike the sources of the *Dipavaṃsa*. The *Porāṇa* verses common to both *Chronicles* merely indicate a common feature of the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*, that of being interspersed with Pali verse. While *Mahānāma's* chief source was the historical introduction to the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, he has also occasionally consulted the *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā*.<sup>16</sup> The *Uttaravihāra-mahāvamsa*<sup>17</sup> mentioned in the *Vamsathappakāsini* was probably the same work. He has also consulted the *Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā*,<sup>18</sup> probably the predecessor of the *Samantapāsādikā*. Similarly, the independent traditional accounts dealing with the Great Bodhi, the Great *Thūpa* and so forth, which actually led to the composition of the subsequent quasi chronicles such as the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, *Thūpavaṃsa*, etc., may have formed ancillary sources.<sup>19</sup> It is however, quite clear that the author has been very discriminative in the selection of his material from his main source, for we see the wealth of information left out from the *Mahāvamsa* to which the author of *Vamsathappakāsini* had access in the original *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā-mahāvamsa* even as late as his time.<sup>20</sup>

The third most important historical document of the period, which is in point of time earlier than the *Mahāvamsa*, is the *Bāhiranidāna* of *Buddhaghosa's* *Samantapāsādikā*. The purpose of the *nidāna* is to establish the authenticity of the *Vinaya* that was brought to Ceylon. Unlike the *Dipavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, the historical details are concluded with the *Vinaya* recital in *Devānampiya Tissa's* reign mentioned earlier. The *Theravāda* succession of teachers in Ceylon thus commenced with *Mahā-arittha* and continued till about the first century A.C., the conjectured date signified by the phrase *yāva ajjatanā*, 'up to this day.' (*Sam-*

13. Geiger, W., *The Mahāvamsa* (English Translation), Information Department Colombo, reprint 1950, p. xi *et loc. cit.* This view has not found general acceptance.

14. *Ibid.*, p. x f. for a summary and *Malalasekera* ed. *Vamsathappakāsini* Pali Text, Society London 1935, pp. ivi ff.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 125, etc. *Vide index*.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 207, etc. *Vide index*.

19. *Ibid.*, p. Ixviii.

20. Geiger, *ibid.*, p. xi *et loc. cit.* It is difficult to assign to the *Vamsathappakāsini* a date earlier than the *Polonnaruwa* period although the colophon refers to impending foreign domination which was a reality before *Vijayabāhu's* reign and after *Parakramabahu II*. *Malalasekera* (in private consultation) has revised his views expressed in *ibid.*, civ. ff.



antapāsādikā, p. 104). The main source of the work is the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* of the accepted *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*, the chief of which was the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* of the Mahāvihāra. It has also incorporated Porāṇa material<sup>21</sup> and has even quoted passages from the Dipavaṃsa. In giving the historical foundation of the Vinaya, Buddhaghosa has skilfully woven together into the narrative a good deal of useful information regarding the literary traditions pertaining to the growth and classification of the Pali Canon. The historical background of the book portrays the continuity of the Vinaya, and Buddhaghosa has extracted the relevant information for his purpose from the earlier sources on which were based both the *aṭṭhakathā* and the *vaṃsakathā* in Pali literature.

The term *vaṃsakathā* needs a word of explanation. All traditional exegetical and 'historical' material whether written or oral, preserved in Sinhalese Prakrit, with or without an admixture of Pali, was known by the generic name *aṭṭhakathā*. The *aṭṭhakathā* covered all manner of subjects, the chief of which was the exegesis of the Buddha's teachings, while the other important topics are those mentioned earlier as occurring in the opening verse of the Dipavaṃsa. It was probably the *vaṃsa* of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* which was named the Mahāvaṃsa of the Sinhalese sources, and the name has been indiscriminately extended by its author to the Pali work based on it. The *vaṃsa* or *vaṃsakathā* was an essential ingredient of the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā* and this in turn gave rise to an extensive *vaṃsakathā* literature. In addition to the predecessors of the Dipavaṃsa, the Samantapāsādikā and the Mahāvaṃsa, there grew up a 'kathā' literature on all manner of topics and, following the old nomenclature, some of them still retained the appendage 'aṭṭhakathā' in their titles e.g. *Simākathā*, *Cetiyaṃvaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahācetiyaṃvaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, *Mahābodhi-vaṃsakathā*, *Saḥassavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* etc. The majority of these works were later re-written in Pali. This briefly is the beginning of the great *vaṃsakathā* literature in Pali which has its roots deep down in the *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*.

We next come to the most significant field of literary activity in the entire history of Pali literature in Ceylon, the compilation of the Pali Commentaries. What has been already said of their sources is deemed sufficient for purposes of this chapter. The complex commentarial tradition of Ceylon which has grown in various centres of monastic learning finally became crystallized at the hands of the great Commentators commencing with Buddhaghosa. A fact to be clearly borne in mind is that the Commentators made every effort to be as faithful to their sources as possible, revising in places only where it was absolutely essential, although in the proems of their works they repeatedly maintain that they have subjected the source materials to thorough editorial handling.

Buddhaghosa is rightly looked upon as the earliest Commentator, though Buddhadatta, the author of *Vinayavinicchaya*, *Uttaravinicchaya*, *Abhidhammāvatāra*, *Rūpārūpavibhāga*<sup>1</sup> and *Madhuraṭṭhaviṭṭhāsinī* was his senior contemporary. Legend has it that the two of them met at sea,

21. Jayawickrama, *ibid.*, pp. xxxi ff.

Buddhadatta was returning to South India from Ceylon after he had given up the idea of translating the Sinhalese Commentaries into Pali, and Buddhaghosa was on his way to Ceylon to undertake the same task. Later, as requested by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa made available to him the Commentaries he had compiled. If the information in the *Vinayavinicchaya-tikā* of Vācissara-mahāsāmi is to be accepted, in his *Abhidhammāvatāra* Buddhadatta summarised Buddhaghosa's Commentaries on the Abhidhamma and in the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, the Commentaries *Samantapāsādikā* and *Kankhāvitaraṇī* on the Vinaya. The exact period Buddhaghosa was in Ceylon is known from the information given in the colophons to some of his works, particularly *Samantapāsādikā*, which was begun in the twentieth regnal year of King Mahānāma (called Sirinivāsa Siripāla) and completed in the twenty-first year. The same king is referred to as Sirikudda in the colophon to the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. Taking his accession as 409 A.C., the *Samantapāsādikā* was written in 429—430 A.C. His first work in Ceylon was the *Visuddhimagga*. On evidence discussed elsewhere,<sup>22</sup> the Commentaries to the works in the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* in their order were written next, the first work *Atthasālinī* written earlier in India having been subjected to a thorough revision on the basis of the material available in Ceylon. Next followed the *Samantapāsādikā* and *Kankhāvitaraṇī*. The Āgama Commentaries in their order were taken up next. The overwhelming internal evidence in Buddhaghosa's Commentaries points to his having worked on several books simultaneously. This would easily explain the cross references in various works. He has, however, taken up the books in each Pitaka in the order in which they appear in the canonical arrangement. Besides the above Commentaries, the authorship of *Paramatthajotikā*, *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and *Jātakatṭhakathā* is also attributed to him though there is difference of opinion with regard to it.<sup>23</sup> The statement in the Mahāvaṃsa suggesting that Buddhaghosa returned to India even in Mahānāma's lifetime after completing his work should probably refer to a period after Mahānāma's death as in the case of Upasena who says that he wrote his work *Saddhammapajjotika* in the twenty-sixth year of *Sirinivāsa-Sirisaṅghabodhi* (Mahānāma), i.e. after his death.

The Commentator next in importance is Dhammapāla, the author of *Paramatthadīpani* on *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. Since the major works have been already commented on and since the Commentaries on the *Khuddakāṭṭha*, *Dhammapada*, *Suttanipāta* and *Jātaka* were in existence in some form or another, he was left with the works mentioned above. His works show that he was a scholar of no mean talent and was in no way inferior to Buddhaghosa.<sup>24</sup> Although it is difficult to establish the authorship of *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā* (called *Paramatthamañjūsā*) the *Linatthavaṇṇanā* on the Āgama Commentaries of Buddhaghosa and the *Nettipakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Tikā* on it, tradition ascribes these works to Dhammapāla. The celebrated Commentators have become more or less a legend in

22. *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv ff.

23. Adikaram, *ibid.*, p. 7 f.; Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, op. cit. pp. 117 ff.

24. Malalasekera, *ibid.*, p. 115 f.



Pali literature, and works written either on their inspiration or guidance in due course came to be ascribed to them.<sup>25</sup> Next came Upasena who wrote the *Saddhammapajjotikā* on the *Mahāniddeśa* and *Cullāniddeśa* in the year 435 A.C. as mentioned above. He was followed by Mahānāma, a Ceylonese monk, who wrote the *Saddhammapakkāsini* on the *Paṭisambhīdāmagga* 'in the third year after King Moggallāna's death,' i.e. 515 A.C. in Kumārādāsa's reign.

The majority of the Commentators were either Coḷa monks or those who had connections with South India. Buddhādatta was a native of Uragapura (Uraiyūr near Tiruchirappalli) and wrote his works in a monastery in Bhūtamāṅgala.<sup>26</sup> He has also lived in Kāveripattinam, Uragapura and Kāñcīpura. Venhūdāsa, his patron, was the Kālabhra king, Accyutavikkanta (or Acyuta Nārāyaṇa) of the Coḷas. Buddhaghosa, as legend has it, was from the region of Buddha Gaya, but is said to have lived in Mayūrārūpapaṭṭana (Māyavaram), Kāñcīpura (Conjeevaram in Chingleput District) and, in the *Visuddhimagga*, he is referred to as a resident of Moraṇḍakheṭṭaka, identified as the two villages of Kotanemalipuri and Gundlapalli in Guntur District.<sup>27</sup> Dhammapāla was a native of Tambāraṭṭha (Tirunelveli District). He is generally referred to as Badaratthavāsi (probably modern Kaḍalūr) whereas the colophon of the *Nettipakaraṇa-atthakathā* refers to a vihāra in the port of Nāgapattinam. While in India he has resided in Kāñcīpura and Tanjai also.

These were the most important Commentators of the period but there were others to follow. As suggested earlier, there were several Buddhaghosas and Dhammapālas besides the two ācariyā. Their activities concluding with Mahānāma's *Saddhammapakkāsini* lasted about a century and this was the most glorious period for the Theravāda School as represented by Sinhalese Buddhism. Due to the indefatigable labours of these foreign monks a great change came over Pali literature which up to now was more or less confined to works of the Pali Canon and a few other post-canonical works. Within this comparatively short period there was a great expansion of the literature by the addition of exegetical works to all the canonical texts and to a few other books. Not only was the literature enriched, but also a tremendous influence was exerted on the Sinhalese Buddhists in their literary endeavours. One of the chief reasons for writing down the Commentaries in Pali was to make the commentarial tradition of Ceylon available to monks overseas and in doing so a definite step was taken to preserve for posterity this rich heritage of Ceylon. The Pali language itself which up to now had been of restricted use became more supple and elegant at the hands of the Commentators.

Before passing from the commentarial period, brief mention should be made of the early *pakaraṇa* literature of Ceylon. It is the *Visuddhi-*

25. *Ibid.*, chapter V.

26. Some of the above information is taken from the *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series—General Section, Vol. VII, No. I, art. T. N. Ramachandran, pp. 1ff. Also *vide* Buddhādatta Mahāthera, A. P., *Corrections to Geiger's Mahāvamsa etc.* Ananda Book Company, Ambalangoda, 1957, pp. 158 ff. This place is variously identified as Pallivritti Bhūtamangalam in Tanjore Dist. and as Budalūr.

27. Buddhādatta Mahāthera, *ibid.*, pp. 142 ff. *et loc. cit.*; Pali mora, Telugu 'nemali' Pali anda, Telugu 'guṇḍlu'.

*magga* of Buddhaghosa that comes foremost to one's mind in this field. It is a compendium of Buddhist doctrine and metaphysics presented in a logical and systematic manner under the three important heads of *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*. The work can be looked upon as an exposition of the ninefold teachings of the Buddha, *navāṅgass' atthavaṇṇanā*. It is a masterly summary of the Buddha's teachings.<sup>28</sup> This work served as a model on which the subsequent *pakaraṇa* literature was based.<sup>29</sup> Although it is generally believed that the *Visuddhimagga* is based on an earlier work, *Vimuttimagga* of Upatissa Thera, neither the Chinese translation *Gedatsu Dō Ron* of Venerable Saṅghapāla of Funan<sup>30</sup> nor the *Vimuttimagga* published by the Government of Ceylon,<sup>31</sup> both attributed to Upatissa, has a close resemblance to the *Visuddhimagga*. While the *Visuddhimagga* draws from all the Three Pitakas, there appeared early *pakaraṇas* of a more specialized nature. Buddhādatta's works have already been mentioned. The *Abhidhammavātara*, his Abhidhamma treatise, has much in common with the *Visuddhimagga* whose technique it even improves upon,<sup>32</sup> while the *Vinayavinicchaya* reflects a more developed phase of monastic life than that portrayed in the *Samantapasādikā*. As the name indicates, the *Rūpārūpavibhāga* is an Abhidhamma treatise and the *Uttaravinicchaya* is a further treatise on the Vinaya. In all these works, Buddhādatta shows great predilection for verse and displays considerable poetic talent. It is not altogether unfounded praise when an anonymous writer exclaims *mādisā ve kavī honti Buddhādatte divangate* 'Verily, my like are poets now that Buddhādatta is gone to heaven!'. This may have been one of the reasons why the comparatively late ornate kāvya *Jinālanakāra* on the life of the Buddha is attributed to him.<sup>33</sup>

Another important work belonging to this period is the *Saddhammapāyana*, an Abhidhamma treatise in verse, written by Ānanda Thera of the Abhayagiri Fraternity. With the suppression of the activities of the Abhayagiri School and the continual burning of 'heretical works' very few books longing to that School survived. Perhaps the general agreement found in this book with Theravāda teachings of the Mahāvihāra saved the work for posterity. A *pakaraṇa* of a still later date is the *Paṭipattisaṅgaha* dealing with the conduct of the layman, and perhaps was the predecessor of the more elaborate work the *Upāsakajanālanakāra*. II

### The Post-Commentarial Epoch

After a period of intensive literary activity spread over nearly one and a half centuries, a lull seems to have set in lasting up to the dawn of the 'golden era' in Pali literature, during the Polonnaru and Dambadeni periods in Ceylon's history. The five and a half centuries from the time

28. Malalasekera, *ibid.*, pp. 82 ff. Law, B.C., *A History of Pali Literature*, Vol. I, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London 1933, pp. 399 ff. VIII.

29. Nothing is known of Buddhaghosa's treatise Nāpodaya said to have been written in India before going to Ceylon. Mhv. xxxvii, 225.

30. *The Path of Freedom*, translated from the Chinese by Ven. Ehara (*et al*), D. R. D. Weerasuria, Colombo 1961 IX.

31. Transcript by Galakāṭiyagama Siri Ratanajoti Thera and Karalliyadde Siri Ratanapala Thera, printed by the Government Press (Colombo), 1963.

32. *Vide* Malalasekera, *ibid.*, p. 107 f.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 110 f. also *vide* note 10.



of the last of the recognized Commentators, Mahānāma to that of King Vijayabāhu I were comparatively bleak in literary production when contrasted with the eras that preceded it and followed it. The chequered political history of the Island during this period with incursions from South India, mainly for the purpose of pillage and plunder, wars of succession, palace intrigues, the presence of a large mercenary army of Malabars, machinations of foreigners who had wormed their way to positions of influence through royal favour, and, above all, weak rulers, was by no means helpful in promoting the arts and, in consequence, literary activity suffered a severe set-back and no works of a high order were forthcoming. The names of a few kings, however, stand out above the rest. Culla moggallāna as a poet Kumāradāsa as the author of the Sanskrit kāvya *Jānakiharanaṃ*, Aggabodhi I as a patron of the arts with a large circle of poets in his court, and Silāmegha-sena (Mat-vala-sen) as the author of *Siyabaslakara*, the Sinhalese work on prosody. Benefactions to monasteries continued when conditions permitted and the Tipitaka was assiduously studied. Kings like Kassapa V and Mahinda IV encouraged its study and the Abhidhamma was given pride of place.

Literary works in Pali were not altogether absent in this period. The activities of Culla-Buddhaghosa and one or two others who bore the name Dhammapāla after the ācariya of the same name should be assigned to the early part of this period. The *Nāmarūpasamāsa* or *Khemappakaraṇa* of the Elder Khema, a very short Abhidhamma manual of this period has become a recognized work in medieval literature. The *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, based on an earlier Sinhalese version *Mahābodhivaṃsakathā*, already mentioned is assigned to the last quarter of the tenth century.<sup>34</sup> Later writers including Gुरुlugomi of the twelfth century who wrote the *Bodhivaṃsaparikathā*, called *Dharmaṇḍipikāva* III in Sinhalese, ascribe its authorship to an Elder Upatissa. It is an ornate prose kāvya with unmistakable Sanskrit influence which was being gradually felt during the latter part of this period and exerted a powerful influence on Pali literature during the Polonnaru and Post-Polonnaru periods. The question of the *Anāgatavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* assigned to a Thera Upasena (not the author of *Saddhammapajjotikā*) by one tradition and to Upatissa in the *Gandhavaṃsa*, taken up elsewhere,<sup>35</sup> need not be discussed here as the author of the *Anāgatavaṃsa* himself lived in a much later age, if he was the same Thera Kassapa who wrote the *Mohavicchedanī*. The beautiful Pali poem, *Telakaṭṭhagāthā* IV, consisting of ninety-eight stanzas, also making the transition, like the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, to the ornate Pali kāvya of later years is assigned to the tenth century.<sup>36</sup> It is believed that the Kaccāyana system of Pali grammar was formulated and came to be accepted in Ceylon about the seventh century.<sup>37</sup> The grammatical terminology used by the Commentators is definitely anterior to that in the Kaccāyana grammar but the Tikās written in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great unmistakably follow this system. Although tradition connects it with Mahākaccāna Thera, who is said to have formulated

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 157 ff.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 160 f.

36. *Ibid.*, n. 162 f.

37. *Ibid.*, n. 184.

this system of grammar in Avanti, the influence of the Kātantra system of Sanskrit grammar of a much later age is evident here.

The works mentioned above, together with the later pakaraṇas, are the chief surviving works of the period and it is not unlikely that many more may have been lost owing to the unsettled nature of the times. As in the earlier period the books of the rival Schools to the Mahāvihāra have suffered even more. These works, until more evidence is forthcoming, are to be considered as the little oases in an otherwise barren intellectual desert. The works of the great Commentators were becoming more and more unintelligible. The *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*, too, lingered on until the time of the *Dhampiyā-aṭṭvā-gāṭapadaya* and the *Vamsatthappakāsini*. Their language having already become archaic, the books could no longer be used with facility. Hence, there arose the need for a new type of work for the comprehension of the Buddha's teachings. This led to the rise of the Gaṇṭhipada and Saṇṇa (Sinhalese Sannē) literature. A positive link between the commentarial and Tikā periods was provided by these works and the living tradition coming from the time of the apostle Mahinda has been faithfully transmitted to a later age to be embodied in works which go further into details than the Commentaries. They, in turn, needed further amplification with the result that there arose the Anutikā and still later the Navatikā in more recent times. There is evidence for the survival of this Gaṇṭhipada and Saṇṇa literature even after the time of the Anutikā not to speak of a few works like *Paṭisambhīdāmaggaṇṭhipada*<sup>38</sup> and the various *Atthayojanā*. The *Sāratthadīpani Vinayamahātikā*<sup>39</sup> knew three Gaṇṭhipada in Sinhalese and one in Pali, viz., *Mahāgaṇṭhipada*, *Majjhimaṇṭhipada*, *Cullagaṇṭhipada* and *Gaṇṭhipada* respectively. There is reference to the *Vinayaṇṭhipada* in the *Jinakālamāli*.<sup>40</sup> The *Vamsatthappakāsini* refers to a *Mahāvamsaṇṭhipada*, probably belonging to the same period. It is possible that the bulk of this literature went into disuse once the material was incorporated in the Tikā. Some of the Sinhalese Cāṭapada going as far back as the tenth and eleventh centuries, viz., *Dhampiyā-aṭṭvā-gāṭapadaya* and *Jātaka-aṭṭvā-gāṭapadaya* respectively, have survived. We are equally in the dark regarding the early Saṇṇa literature which doubtless provided invaluable source-material to the Tikā. To begin with, there was no difference between Saṇṇa and Gaṇṭhipada in Pali, but once the language employed became Sinhalese, a Sannē became a word-for-word paraphrase, while a Gāṭapada provided glosses to difficult words and phrases only. Among the oldest surviving Sannes in Sinhalese are *Visuddhimārga-mahāsannaya* and the *Vanavinisa-sannaya* of Parākramabāhu (1236-1270 A.C.). *Dīpani*, *Atthayojanā* and *Nissaya* (in Burma) are generic names are perhaps of later origin, although there is a large number of works of the sixth century with the term *dīpani* appended to their titles e.g. *Paramatthadīpani*.

38. Its authorship is unknown. It has been edited by Ven. Tudāve Ariyavaṃsa Thera, Rajagiriya, 1966.

39. This work which has been hardly utilized for critical scholarship contains a good deal of information which if properly sifted will yield valuable data for the reconstruction of the literary history of Ceylon up to its time.

40. Author: Ratanapanna Thera of Chiangmai City, Northern Thailand, written in 1516 A.C. with *addenda* till 1528 A.C. See *Epochs of the Conqueror*, Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 36, pp. 79, 86.



This brings us to the close of the Anurādhapura period. With the restoration of Sinhalese suzerainty over the whole Island under Vijaya-bāhu I conditions gradually returned to normal. The Bhikkhuni Order had disappeared beyond revival and the Upasampadā was restored with the assistance of Anuruddha of Pagan. Anuruddha himself had the Tipiṭaka copied out by Burmese monks and had it brought to his city for comparison with Burmese manuscripts which he found to be corrupt.<sup>41</sup> Monastic institutions which had been destroyed and plundered by the invader were restored and a great religious revival took place. This in turn led to a great intellectual re-awakening the full fruition of which is seen in the reign of Parakramahāhu the Great.

### Editor's Notes

- I. "The Classification of Forms and Formless Things", tr. Robert Exell. *Visakha Puja*, Bangkok 1964.
- II "The Adornment of the Laity", ed. H. Saddhātissa (PTS 1965) with an English introduction and synopsis of chapters.
- III See *The Lamp of the Law* (BPS, Kandy 1961), selected excerpts translated by Soma and Piyadassi Theras.
- IV See PBR 2, 3 (1977), pp. 127-140. In addition, the Editor has unearthed a third English translation of this poem, by S. K. Ramachandra Rao in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore 1957), pp. 214-227 and 260-281.
- V Repr. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1971.
- VI Repr. 1964.
- VII Repr. M. D. Gunasena, Colombo 1958.
- VIII Repr. Bhartiya Publihsing House, Varanasi 1974.
- IX Repr. BPS, Kandy 1978.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 142 ff. where it is said that King Anuruddha of Pagan, contemporary of Vijayabāhu I sent two monks, one of whom was Ananda, who learned the Vinyagantthipada in Ceylon and taught it in Pagan.

## PALI BUDDHIST STUDIES IN THE WEST

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### 11. Yugoslavia

The credit for fostering an interest in Pali Buddhism lies with one man—Bhikkhu Nāṇajivako.

Born 1915 in Zagreb as Cedomil Veljačić, he studied at the local university where he obtained his Ph.D. in Greek and Indian philosophy in 1939. After the War he entered the diplomatic service and was posted to Rome and Bonn. Whilst in the latter he studied Pali and Sanskrit and even contributed an article to the journal of *Les Amis du Bouddhisme*, *La Pensée Bouddhique* ("Le Bouddha et Kant", Vol. IV, No. 1, Paris, January 1951). His were the first translations from the Pali into Serbo-Croat and these, together with general articles on Buddhism, subsequently appeared in Yugoslav periodicals.

Dr Veljačić returned to Zagreb in 1961 to become a lecturer in Indian philosophy and then, from 1963, a visiting professor to Banaras Hindu University for two years. Thereafter, he crossed to Sri Lanka and received ordination in 1966 as Bhikkhu Nāṇajivako. In his hermitage at Pallepola, near Matale, he continued writing in English and Serbo-Croat, employing Western Existentialist terminology to clarify Theravāda thought. Apart from translations (see below), his best known work to date is *Filosofija istocnih naroda* ("History of Oriental Philosophy", Zagreb 1958) in two volumes. In the first tome an extensive survey of Buddhism is given together with translations of the Sāmaññaphala, Poṭṭhapāda, Kevaddha and Cūlavadda Suttas and extracts from the Milindapañha. He has now "retired" to Nuwara Eliya.

In Yugoslavia itself many, if not all, of the lecturers in Indology are "pupils" of Dr Veljačić. And these are centered mainly on Zagreb University which has become the centre for Oriental studies. At the Department of Indology, Prof. Radoslav Katičić teaches Sanskrit and Indian literature. A course in Pali was introduced in 1973 by Mrs Rada Iveković who obtained her Ph.D. from Delhi the previous year for her thesis, "The Problem of Soul in Pāli Buddhism", which was published under the title, "Early Buddhist Thought", five years later with two short extracts appearing in previous issues of this journal: "Suññatā-Anattā" (I, 3, 1976) and "Misconceptions about Buddhism" (III, 1, 1978). In collaboration with Ven. Nāṇajivako she has also produced a general survey of *Indijska i iranska etika* (Sarajevo 1980).

In 1974 Dr Iveković transferred to the Department of Philosophy and succeeded Dr Veljačić to teach Indian philosophy, including Buddhism, whilst her former position was filled by Mrs Ruzica Čiĉdak-Chand (who obtained a Ph.D. at Bonn the same year for her thesis on the Sāmajātaka). Original Pali texts are prescribed and students are expected to master the history of Buddhism in India together with Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Unfortunately, virtually all the recommended textbooks are in English or German.



Elsewhere, Mrs Vlasta Pacheiner teaches Sanskrit at Ljubljana University whilst Sinisa Stojanović endeavours to interest others in Buddhist psychology at Nis University.

Although students are encouraged to cultivate original theses, none have been published by (the external) commercial houses. However, a large number of books and articles have appeared. Apart from Veljačić's two-volume study (see above), the most notable are "Old Indian Literature" by R. Katičić and "A Thousand Lotuses" edited by Mrs Vesna Krmpotic. The former comprises a detailed history of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature whilst the latter is an anthology of Indian literature translated from European sources. Dr Čičak-Chand has also produced a dissertation to illustrate Buddhist influence on a native poet: *Indija u djelima Tina Ujevića* ("India in the work of Tin Ujević", Zagreb 1976). Translation from the Pali Canon by Boris and Rujana Kren have appeared in Belgrade and Zagreb periodicals. An independent study, *Druga znanja* ("Other Knowledges", Belgrade 1975) by Dusan Pajin, dealt with Buddhism as part of the Indian meditative traditions.

It is worth noting that some of the lecturers and writers mentioned above have also delivered public lectures and even given radio talks.

### Translated Texts and Anthologies

Iveković, Rada: "Riječi nauke" ("Words of the teaching"—from the Dhammapada; *Kolo* 10, Zagreb 1969)

"Buddhičstika pālijska književnost: Jātaka" (Buddhist Pali literature: three Jātaka stories", *Encyclopaedia Moderna* 17, Zagreb 1971)

"Problem apsoluta u buddhizmu" ("The problem of the absolute in Buddhism"—with translation of the Māra Sutta, S XXIII, 1; *Praxis* 3-4, Zagreb 1973)

Kren, Boris: "Izvesnost Buddhine riječi" ("The Certainty of Words" with D 1, 22 and M 118; *Ideje* 5-6, Belgrade 1973)

"Plemenita istina o izviranju bola" ("The Noble Truth of the Arising of Pain" with D 15; *Encyclopaedia Moderna* 24, Zagreb 1973)

Kren, Rujana: "Riječi u stihu" ("Words in Verses"—Sn I 11, II 2, 10, III 8, 9 and IV 1; *Forum* 9, Zagreb 1975)

"Buddhin poetični izričaj" ("The Buddha's poetical words" with S I 13, 19, 62, 64, 67, 76 and IV 21; A II 4 ii, III 11 vi; Sn I 2, IV 5, 15—*Dometi* 11, Rijeka 1976)

Krmpotić, Vesna: *Hiljadu lotosa* ("A Thousand Lotuses", Belgrade 1971). Includes the Dhammapada.

Veljačić, Cedomil: "Život i nauka Gotama Bude" ("The life and teaching of Gotama the Buddha"—the enlightenment and First Sermon from the Mahāvagga; *Republika* 1, Zagreb 1956)

*Filosofija istočnih naroda* (I—"Indian Philosophy", Zagreb 1958, repr. 1979). Includes a chapter on Pali Buddhism and translations of D 2, 9, 11, M 44 and extracts from the Milindapañha.

"Pjesma o nosorogu" ("The Rhinoceros"—Sn I, 3; *Telegram* 356, Zagreb 1967) "Tālaputo: pjesma vlastitom srcu" ("Tālaputo: a poem to one's heart" from the Theragāthā; *Kolo* 6, Zagreb 1968)

"Iz rane buddhističke lirike" ("From early Buddhist lyrics", *Telegram* 484, Zagreb 1969)

"Nekoliko sporednih tema u Buddhinu stavu prema religiji" ("Some controversial points in the Buddha's attitude towards religion"—with S XXII 61, 86, 89, 95 and XXIII 1-12; Zagreb 1971)\*

"Tri Buddhina govora" ("Three discourses of the Buddha"—S XXII 60; *Encyclopaedia Moderna* 20, Zagreb 1972)\*

"Buddhin govor o plodu isposničkog života iz zbirke dugih govora" (The Buddha's talk on the fruits of a recluse's life"—D 2; *ibid* 24, 1973)\*

"Problem nistavila u buddhističkoj filozofiji" ("The problem of nothingness in Buddhist philosophy" with M 121 and S XLI 7; *Praxis* 3-4, Zagreb 1973)\*

"Buddhini govori o religiji" ("The Buddha's talks on religion"—an introduction with M 95 and Sn I 12; *Dometi* 11, Rijeka 1976)\*

*Pjesme prosjaka i prosjakinja* (Sarajevo 1977). A selection from the Thera-therīgāthā.

N.B. Veljačić's translations of D 2, M 95 and 121, S I 3 and a selection from the Thera-therīgāthā were also duplicated at the Cetiyaigiri Aranna, Pallepola, near Matale, Sri Lanka, between 1970-72.

### General Studies

Dvorniković, Vladimir: *Hrist, Budha, Sopenhauer* (Zagreb 1925). Includes one third on Buddhism documented from German sources including Nyanatiloka's anthology, "The Word of the Buddha".

Iveković, Rada: *Književnost pāli* ("Pali Literature", Dept of Indology, Zagreb University 1969)

"Milinda i Nāgasena" (*Književna smotra* 16, Zagreb 1973)

*Problem sopstva i apsoluta u ranom buddhizmu* "The problem of self and the absolute in early Buddhism", Dept of Philosophy, Zagreb University 1974)

"Rani buddhizam" ("Early Buddhism", *Forum* 4-5, Zagreb 1974)

*Rana buddhistička misao* ("Early Buddhist Thought", Sarajevo 1977)

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## THE WAY OF BUDDHIST MEDITATION\*

Bhikkhu Nanajivako

This is *the hard way*, painstakingly documented and analysed for those wise men who already "well established in virtue" undertake the right effort of the *further* "ennobling of consciousness and understanding" (SI 13):

"Just as a woman or a man, or a smart boy or girl, looking at the image of his own face in a *clean* and brilliant mirror or in a basin of clear water, if it had a mole on it, would know that it had, and if not, would know that it had not,—...so the bhikkhu in his mind—concentrated, *purified*, translucent, blameless, *free of moral obstruction*, supple, ready to act, firm and imperturbable—directs and bends down his mind to that knowledge which penetrates the heart..." (Sāmañña-phala-suttam, D 2)

"Clean—purified—free of *moral* obstruction"—consequently nothing for hippies and multipurpose technicians on shortcuts to Nibbāna.

Only a mind which by moral purification (*sīlam*) and mental concentration (*samādhi*) has reached the height of spiritual clarity and calm (*samatho*) in his progress along the noble (*ariyo*) eight-fold path of cultivation (*bhāvanā*) can attain that perfection of quiet water on whose surface the spontaneous and effortless reflection of existential qualities may appear undistorted, adequately, in their true being (*yathā-bhūtaṃ*).

The warning of Jesus that "pearls should not be thrown to swine" corresponds in Buddho's more polite and rationally discursive explanation to the requirement of *selecting his disciples most carefully* among

"those sons of noble families who having trust in me have gone forth from home into the homeless life. Have they not found contentment in their *ascetic life*? ... To escape into this homeless state they have not been persecuted either by the king, or by brigands, or for debts, or by fear, or for being deprived of a livelihood ... (M 68)

—or, let us add, for trafficking in drugs, enslaved by the Mafia through addiction.

Ven. Kheminda Thera reminds us at the outset in clear terms of the essential statement that "there are two things that have to be developed in the course of Buddhist contemplation (*bhāvanā*): calm and serenity (*samatha*) and insight (*vipassanā*)". (P. XI)

The author undertakes to demonstrate on the ground of a precise, extensive and widely *interconnected* documentation—avoiding any doubt of superficial and tendentious fragmentation of "some sayings of the Buddha" from primary and secondary (commentarial) texts—the

\* Serenity and insight according to the Pali Canon—by Kheminda Thera, Vajirarama, Colombo 1980, xiv—66pp.



*inseparability* of these two essential components, pointing out not only the doctrinal and also *psychological impossibility* of their separation by merely verbal analysis of artificially detached fragments, but also the *organic danger of any attempt of such dislodging by vivisection*. The essential relation cannot be reduced either to an alternative or even to a dialectical "model" or "pattern" of thinking. It remains organically interwoven in a vitally essential sequence of a strictly determined structural development.

"The fruition of *samatha-bhāvanā* is the attainment of *samādhi*, concentration, a state of unification of mind...permeated by a sense of clarity and inward tranquility."

*Samādhi* is the eight and the last attainment of Buddha's eightfold path and the summit of the fourth and ultimate noble truth of the entire and integral structure of his teaching. Its development "comes to fulfillment in *jhāna-samādhi*". (P. XI)

"The second thing to be developed is insight"—*vipassanā*—"known as *paññā* or wisdom."—"Vipassanā, however, does not arise in a void, but upon secure foundations in the absence of which there can be no genuine insight..."

The author's thesis, underscored clearly already in the Preface is:

"The outcome, to state our conclusion in advance, will be an insistence upon the importance, indeed the necessity, of *sammā-samādhi*, Right Concentration, in the form in which it is defined in the *suttas*—as the four *jhānas* for the successful completion of the contemplative process ...And the indispensable foundation for the development of insight, its *proximate cause* we will see, is *sammā-samādhi*..." (P. XII)—attainable only in the progressive development of *jhānas*.

"The gradual progress in the Dhamma follows a certain order...This sequence of stages..." is contained in "the most comprehensive formulation...of the Three Aggregates (*ayo khandhā*), also known as the Threefold Training (*tividha sikkhā*): the aggregate of Virtue (*sīlakkhandha*), the aggregate of Concentration (*samādhikkhandha*), and the aggregate of wisdom (*paññakkhandha*). All the more specific formulations of the path to deliverance—the Noble Eightfold Path, the Seven Purifications, the *Invariable Sequence*—are, as we shall see, included in these three groups..."

"True penetration of knowledge occurs not abruptly". (P. 1)

"A second formulation for the gradual training is the progression called the Seven Purifications. "According to the Rathavināsa-suttam (M 24):

"...Purification of Virtue has for aim...Purification of Mind; Purification of Mind has for aim...Purification of View; Purification of View has for aim Purification of Transcending Doubt; Purification of Transcending Doubt has for aim...Purification

of knowledge and Vision of what is the Path and what is not the Path. (This purification) has for aim Purification of Knowledge and Vision of Practice;..." (P. 14)

It was necessary for the author to underscore it in particular that "in the *Saṅgīpatthāna Sutta*, too, provision is made for the abandonment of the five hindrances before the development of the four foundations of mindfulness". (P. 37)

Returning to the critical ailment "so typical of this age of speed and restlessness" (P. XII), the elitist and aristocratic character of Buddha's Noble Way of Liberation is singled out as an unavoidable prerequisite in such clear formulations by Buddha as e.g.:

(a) The transformation "from the state of the commoner (*putthujjana*) to that of the noble" character (*ariya-puggalo*). This process of transition is described in several *suttas*, quoted by the author, as "disenchantment-dispassion" (*nibbidā-virāge*) (P. 21). With "the attainment in strong insight, with immediate condition for the path of stream-entrance attainment, the yogi is called a *gotrabhū*, a changer-of-lineage" (P. 28), or more adequately, we might designate it as a biological change of *species* in his animal genus. But already "the sufficing condition of tender insight (*taruṇa vipassanā*) is nothing less than *jhāna*" (P. 22).

In many attempts, direct and indirect, to reduce the entire teaching of Buddha to a *putthujjana* level and thus to avoid even the ascetic seriousness of his First Noble Truth, even statistical methods have been applied in calculations of "semantic differentials" in order to prove that the word *sukhaṃ* occurs in Pāli *suttas* in a higher percentage of "instances." than the word *dukkhaṃ*.

But what does the positive attainment of that happiness or bliss mean in our serious contexts, and to what level of attainment is it essentially restricted?

"...we know from *sutta* passages and their commentaries that the expression 'Abiding in happiness here and now', is one of the descriptions in the four *jhānas*... 'abidings in happiness'... is an 'approximate synonym' for the form plane *jhānas*. The contemplators who sit having attained those (*jhānas*) experience the untarnished happiness of renunciation in this very life. Therefore they are called 'abiding in happiness here and now' " (M 6 quoted by Kheminda Thera on P. 43).

(b) To the question reminding us of the "modern" utilitarian concern with "the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number": "Will the whole world, or a half of it, or a third of it realise Nibbāna?" (A V 194-95), the only adequate (pre-Mahāyānist!) answer is that "the Tathāgata is concerned only with how Nibbāna is realised, and not with the question of how many realise it". (P. 34),—with the quality and not with the quantity of noble characters (*ariya-puggalā*).

Since the appearance of the first and the best voluminous manual of Buddhist meditation, the *Visuddhi-magga* by Buddhaghosa (5th. c. A.) until our days of universal spiritual decadence, the following essential



and basic condition has often been repeated, quoted here in the statement of a recent author of the same school on the same subject:<sup>1</sup>

"Thus we see that Virtue, Concentration and Wisdom (*sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*) are not isolated qualities, but integral parts of the Noble Eightfold Path which is also the Path of Meditation already outlined."

In the actual crisis of psychiatric theories, confronted with the rapid spreading of narcomania, one of the best known representatives of the psychoanalyst trend, Erich Fromm, insisting on the central importance of such reintegration of the "total personality" (partly also under direct influence of Buddhist schools of meditation, both Zen and Theravāda trends) seems to have formulated our problem in still clearer Buddhist terms:

"In fact, happiness and unhappiness are expressions of the state of the entire organism, of the total personality."<sup>2</sup>

This is the basic tenet of the whole *anti-technical* trend in the actual situation of psychological and psychiatrist theories.

Consequently, if a method of Buddhist meditation wishes to serve such therapeutic purposes, it is in the first place expected by psychiatrists of today *not to vivisect* any further its own primeval potentialities in disintegrating itself into practical "multi-purpose" tools and mechanisms, or even advertising its own "*anāntā-panacea*". Scientific psychology of today expects from us a help in fundamental prerequisites of quieting and mastering the "monkey-mind" and its endless attempts of trouble-shooting in superficial behavioural attitudes and shallowness of "models" standardised in dictionary "meanings of words", while we are confronted with deepest existential facts. The ideal of a "quiet mind" for which all their patients are groping, even when visiting quack *gurus* on their mass exodus to the East, is now more than ever expressible by the symbol of a clean mirror as the unique means of reflecting, without any stress and frustration, the world as it really is, *yathā-bhūtaṃ*. This symbol seems to have retained at least its sacred place until today in Zen and some Tibetan temples where the continuity of the oldest tradition of *jhānaṃ* has been preserved better than in some too "modern" attempts to revive the pressure of acute mental ailments short-cut fragments of the originally integral "threefold training".

The corroboration of the integrity of the Noble Eightfold Path, culminating in *samādhi*, was never so evident as it is now in our "modern" world of *dukkhaṃ* where exactly due to discarding the *ethos of knowledge* a materialistic civilisation bereft of spiritual culture (*—bhāvanā*) has been brought to its own ruin.

1. *Buddhist Meditation—The Way to Inner Calm and Clarity*, by Piyadassi Thera, Vajirarama, Colombo 1980.

2. Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself*, Holt, Rinehart and Winstone, New York 1966, p. 181. Cf. also D. T. Suzuki, Erich Fromm and Richard de Martino, *Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis*, London 1960, repr. 1974; subsequently translated into Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Serbo-Croat, Spanish and Swedish.

Unfortunately, this valuable book of the Ven. Kheminda Thera, the same as a few others on an equivalent level (e.g. *Forest Dhamma*, A Selection of Talks on Buddhist Practice by Phra Mahā Boowa Nāṇasampanno, Bangkok 1973), has been published for free distribution only and thus excluded from the net of wider distribution by bookshops.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Buddhist Studies in honour of walpola Rahula.** Edited by Somaratna Balasooriya et al. Gordon Fraser (London) and Vimamsa (Sri Lanka) 1980. pp. 293+xiii, photo, £20.00

This excellently printed and bound book contains twenty-four contributions by an international range of Buddhist scholars. In this review we shall look at only those essays which centre upon Pali Buddhism. For the others, though interesting, we have no room here.

Out of the twenty-four, nine are directly related to Pali studies and each of these will be briefly reviewed.

Kamaleswar Bhattacharya in an article entitled "Diṭṭhaṃ Sutaṃ Mutam Viññātaṃ" (Seen, heard, sensed, known) quotes at first the Snake Simile Discourse of the Middling Collection on fields of view (*diṭṭhitthāna*) and the difference between the uninstructed ordinary person and the instructed Noble Disciple. No translation is given but an interested reader may consult Ven. Nyanaponika's excellent rendering in "The Wheel" series. The author comments about this passage as follows: "The first five theories about the Ātman/Atman, mentioned in this passage, concern an Ātman belonging to this world, while the sixth theory concerns an other-worldly Ātman which ignorant people aspire to attain after their death. All these theories are false because they make of the Ātman an 'object', while Ātman, the Absolute, the Being in itself, can never be an object. The wise people therefore reject them.<sup>4</sup> This is clever jugglery. The Buddha taught about not identifying anything anywhere at all with self-soul.

Now *ātman* or *attan* in Sanskrit and Pali has the same sort of range of meanings as Self/self (plus soul) does in English. The Buddha is saying therefore that all *views* should be given up, and one of them is that there exists "Ātman, the Absolute, the Being in itself". Philosophers who cling to Ātman or Self-soul theories never seem to have considered *why* the words *ātman* and self which refer to attachment and self-identification, are also used metaphysically where their use is justified by saying that they are transcendental, or an aspect of God, and so on. They are still hanging on (*upādāna*) very firmly; this means that they are determined to get self, Self, SELF into the religious picture somewhere. Only the Buddha was forthright enough to show that however subtly conceived, the Ātman, Self is still an extension of one's very ordinary self. There is no way of transcending self like this, it is merely called refining self.



The essay following is by George D. Bond: "*The Netti-Pakaraṇa*": A Theravāda Method of Interpretation.

This book, translated by Ven. Nyanamoli as *The Guide* (published by the Pali Text Society), is not particularly easy reading nor is its purpose easy to understand. Hardy who edited the Pali text thought that it was a commentary, while Ven. Nyanamoli with more understanding styles it a guide for commentators. In this article the author points out its true function: it is a guide for senior bhikkhus who teach others and transmit the Dhamma to future generations.

"The Guide" when used properly brings but the essential meanings of a passage, makes it possible to find connections with related ideas and shows the way that it can be expanded without altering the sense of it. So, as the learned author says "it is a guide for preachers".

It should be emphasised here that they will need to be very learned preachers—otherwise they will never be able to use "The Guide". One wonders whether the elaborate categories of this book will really make a good preacher's guide. It could make him very dull indeed! Perhaps one could therefore go one stage further and call it a guide for bhikkhus engaged in thorough-learning (*pariyatti*=study) who also teach others. It will hardly be used by these teachers who look into their own hearts with practical Dhamma. "The Guide" is then one of the earliest scholastic works of the Theravāda tradition.

The rest of the author's essay is a clear explanation of what the various methods used for interpretation mean. While he has used the comprehensive introduction to "The Guide" for much of this information, his clarity of expression is commendable. He remarks at the end that "The Guide" indicates a time when Theravāda was becoming a system and so in need of defence. This means that standards have to be set up and definitions laid down so that opponents can be controverted. Finally he draws an interesting parallel with Christianity which is a good example of the universal tendency of teachings, at first rather fluid and applicable to certain persons or events, later to set rock-solid and become dogmatic.

Another interesting essay follows—"The Theravāda View of Saṃsāra" by James W. Boyd. This author argues that Theravāda has been much misunderstood in the West where World-withdrawn Arahants are often unfavourably contrasted with world-involved Bodhisattvas. This misunderstanding is propagated both by a number of Mahāyāna teachers in the West who may teach it either out of adherence to tradition (as the Tibetans), or as a sort of spiritual one-upmanship, and by Westerners who know only the books and have not been to Theravāda countries. When the great Teachers now alive in the Buddhist countries of South and Southeast Asia are taken into account with their totally beneficial effect on society such discriminations are seen to be merely ghosts in their authors' minds.

However, this author gives a clear idea of how saṃsāra is viewed in Theravāda so that a more adequate appraisal can be made from the

texts. His interesting essay has sections on Annihilationism, Nature of Saṃsāra, saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, Parinibbāna, Nirodha-saṃpatti, and Dhamma. At the end of a well-reasoned account he comes to this conclusion: "In the context of Dhamma, saṃsāra has a significance which is integral to the path and to the goal of the Theravāda Buddhist. On this matter, and its implications for the Arahant ideal, there is Fundamental agreement between Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhists." He has already remarked earlier that "Saṃsāra is Suñña, Nirvāṇa is Suñña" (void, empty) as much in Theravāda ways of interpretation as Mahāyāna ones. What are all the false discriminations for then?

"The Significance of former Buddha in the Theravāda Tradition" is the title of a paper by Richard Gombrich. Prof. Gombrich begins by remarking a difference between Buddhism and Christianity in respect of their founders.

The historicity of Jesus is fundamental to the latter, the truth of his words depending on him having lived, while for Buddhists, the Dhamma is eternally true whether discovered or not. Precisely when the Buddha lived, even if he never lived, is not really important when one remembers these words (from Anguttara-nikāya): Whether Tathāgates appear or they do not appear, there is this established condition of Dhamma, this fixed Law of Dhamma: "All that is conditioned is impermanent...all that is conditioned is dukkha...all dhammas are not-self...". We go on to remark how original the Buddha was, not attributing his message to another power nor picturing himself as a reformer of ancient doctrines which had deteriorated. (Both these views of the Buddha can be found these days too: there are those who desperately try to fit the Buddha into the idea of a messenger from a God, while others—this is a popular view in India, try to make him a mere reformer. Both must use procrustean methods!) Further he recounts how the Buddhist universe-view is without a beginning though subject to periodic destruction and evolution. Even given this much it could be conjectured that others had realised the same truths in the past and could be called "Buddhas" therefore. The earliest accounts of the Buddha's words, the Pali Suttas, do in fact mention six past Buddhas and very briefly indeed one to come in the future. Later works expand this to twenty-four, each having what the author calls their 'bio-data', except for the Buddha Dipaṃkara's life which is rather more detailed. Of course, once this process of creating Buddhas had begun there was no end to it, even quite early works like the Mahāvastu having hundreds of Buddha-names while the Mahāyāna treatises name even more with occasional legends about them. Generally speaking, it can be said that the further the story is in time from the Buddha Gotama the more improbable or artificial it becomes. This is illustrated in the present article by a story from a late Sinhalese source. The author makes the point that Theravāda presents some very hopeful aspects of our life in the present age—which is a *bhaddakappa*, an auspicious aeon in which there are no less than five Buddhas. As he says in his final sentence, "Grounds for a little cheerfulness".



Following this comes "Some Notes on the *Buddhavamsa* Commentary (Madhurattavilāsinī)" by the late President of the Pali Text Society, Miss I. B. Horner. This essay is difficult to say much about as it raises numerous points from the above commentary which she has translated and published under the title *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*. As it is a commentary upon the late "Lineage of the Buddha" it contains much legendary material. One can, by looking at the various stages of its growth, first in the Suttas, then in such late works which just scraped into the Pali Canon such as "The Lineage"...finally in the commentaries, and even the sub-commentaries, see now quite simple myths have become embellished, eventually hardening into dogma. The commentary itself should be read by those who wish to appreciate the great scholarship modestly displayed in this essay.

Quite a contrast follows in "Bhāvanā in Contemporary Sri Lanka: The Idea and Practice" by Jacques Maquet. This admirable anthropologist has involved himself in the world of Buddhist practice, particularly of meditation and mindfulness, also conducted interviews of well-informed Sinhalese Buddhists and noted carefully the ways that bhikkhus and lay people conduct themselves. He has found remarkable agreement on the two following paradoxical statements: 'meditation is essential and little practised' and 'liberation is the ultimate goal of life, inaccessible in the near future'. He then goes on to show how these attitudes come about. Also, he has unearthed the rather startling figures (from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs) that the ratio of town-dwelling, scholarly and active bhikkhus compared to forest-dwelling meditative ones is 97.05% to 2.95% (in 1972). A more recent figure might show an increase in the forest bhikkhus but still the numbers are very much out of balance. In the first period after the Buddha's Enlightenment, all bhikkhus were forest-dwelling and meditators. Later, as monasteries were built outside villages and towns, some could be called 'town-dwellers' but there was not much 'study' as all the Dhamma was learnt by heart. Long after the Buddha's time, 'scriptures' were written and so studied and then commented upon. In those commentaries study actually is made to be more important than practice, though this is not supported at all by the Buddha's words:

"Though often reciting sacred texts  
the heedless man's no practicer,  
as a cowherd counting others' kine—  
in samanaship he has no share."

(Dhp. 19).

To return briefly to this essay, the author there recounts some brief notes he made during a month or more at Kanduboda meditation centre and then comments that his experiences reflect both what is said in the Discourse on Mindfulness and in the *Path of Purification*.

K. R. Norman's "Four Etymologies from the Sabhiya Sutta" though certainly concerned with Pali Buddhism is rather a specialist's article and not really of interest unless one is well-versed in Pali.

In "The Nations of Citta, Atta and Attabhāva in Pali Exegetical Writings", Aloysius Pieris S. J. explores the use of these words specially in Acariya Dhammapāla's Works. This scholarly article shows how complicated *anatta* (not-self) can become for a Catholic! Of course, he is examining the **ideas about anatta** in books, not the practice. Had he gone to spend a month or two at Kanduboda, as Jacques Maquet did, his article would have been much more straightforward, or perhaps he would not have written it!

The last essay to be mentioned here is by Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa Sanghanayaka Thera and entitled "Pali Studies in Cambodia". This article completes his survey of Buddhist literature in Southeast Asia, essays on Thai and Lao contributions to Buddhist scholarship being published elsewhere. In the present article he has noted the great Cambodian undertaking of the translation of the Tipiṭaka into Khmer (Pali and Khmer translation on facing pages) in 110 volumes over the period 1929—1969.

Copies of this were, fortunately, sent abroad and a photo-reprint of the whole is now in progress at the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, New York. The venerable author has also given us a picture of Buddhist education in Cambodia prior to its near-total destruction by the Pol Pot regime. According to other sources, the Cambodian Sangha was well-disciplined and had a good nucleus of learned and practising bhikkhus. Their slaughter together with all other educated people has impoverished the country, a setback which it will take long to overcome.

Such are a few of the valuable contributions to this volume. It will be enjoyed by those who have already studied the Buddha's teachings in detail.

*Phra Khantipālo*

**La Meditacion (Segun la mas antigua tradicion budista).** Luis Mojica Sandoz. Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Puerto Rico 1979, Apartado de Correos X, Río Piedras, P. R. 00931

After preliminary considerations regarding the purely human trait of meditation the author proceeds to expound the system of meditation which traces its origin to the oldest Buddhist tradition, the so-called Theravāda.

The reason for this preference is that of all the meditative techniques that have been received in the West that of the Theravāda is the most radical, uncomplicated, honest and devoid of magic and suggestion.

The sources made use of are, as might be expected, the Buddha's original Discourse on the Foundation of Mindfulness (Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta) which, as is well known, is found in two places in the Buddhist texts, as it has been expounded by the masters Nyanaponika Thera and Mahasi Sayadow.



This, small in size, but important book, is written in Spanish. We can affirm that it is the only book so far published in the Spanish language which is addressed to this specific theme of meditation according to the Theravāda tradition.

Thus far the Western world has received so-called Eastern teachings, most of the time, through the medium of the English language. Apart from the merits of the English language as a transmitter of thoughts and ideas of other languages, it is obvious that this presents inconveniences to readers whose native language is not English, but who have acquired it. The ideal thing would be for us, Spanish-speaking peoples, to have translations direct from Pali into Spanish.<sup>1</sup> Taking in consideration these limitations, Luis Mojica Sandoz, whose native language is Spanish, but who has a perfect command of English, has done a praiseworthy job and has enriched the Spanish lexicon so that it is now in some measure a more adequate transmitter of the richness of the Theravāda.

The importance of making known correct information of the precious heritage of the Theravāda to the Spanish language community cannot be overstated: Spanish speakers will be the most numerous of the Western world, over 600 millions at the end of this century according to reliable demographic projections.

The translation of Buddhist terms in to Spanish, and other Romance languages, presents an interesting challenge. We have to be aware of the tendency to translate in to Spanish the English version of Pali thought. But sometimes there appears to be Spanish words better fitted to the Buddhist concept than the English currency.

Take *dukkha* for example. The difficulties in finding an adequate English word seem to be unsurmountable, so the original Pali word is in general use.

Now, Spanish has two verbs, *ser* and *estar* with very different meanings while English only has "to be". We say in Spanish, *soy un hombre bueno*, but, *estoy triste*, or *estoy contento*. In English it is said instead, "I am a good man", and again, "I am sad", or, "I am happy". *Ser* always has a metaphysical flare; *estar* is very concrete and temporal. So, Carmen Dragonetti has translated *dukkha* as *malestar*, in its morphological sense that is, "not to be in goodstanding", with a deep subjective taint of unsatisfactoriness, and that includes pleasure and everything that occurs to or in consciousness.

Mojica Sandoz translates *sati* as *percatamiento*: *catar* is a peculiar way of seeing that the word is also used as meaning "to taste" (*catador*: taster); with *per* as a preposition its immediacy and concreteness is reinforced. *Percatar* is an old common Spanish reflexive verb, that has a volitional ingredient, that to me tends to be absent in "mindfulness".

1. See Spanish translations of the Digha Nikāya, Udāna and Dhamapada by Carmen Dragonetti:

*Diálogos Mayores de Buda* (first six suttas only—Caracas 1977).  
*La Palabra del Buda* (Barcelona 1971; Caracas 1972).  
*El camino del Dharma* (Lima 1964; Buenos Aires 1967).

*Vipassanā* has been translated as *perspicacidad* which means precisely, deep insight.

There is another very important, although overlooked aspect of the Buddha's teachings, that is touched upon in earnest in the book we are reviewing. This facet is the relevance of the Dhamma to contemporary social problems. Quoting Trevor Ling's *The Buddha*, both human individual and social consciences are brought together as complementary aspects of the Buddha's teachings. Authors like Claude Levi-Strauss<sup>2</sup> point out that at certain levels of the understanding of social reality there is no fundamental contradiction or clash between Buddhism and Marxism. Without endorsing or negating such utterances, this aspect of the relevance of Buddhist thought *vis-à-vis* contemporary social doctrines seems quite unattended in Buddhist literature.

We certainly hope that Buddhist literature will continue to be enriched in Spanish, one of the great languages of the world. *La Meditación* by Mojica Sandoz is a step in that direction.

Alfonso L. Garcia-Martinez

2. Spanish edition of *Tristes (Tropique)* (*Tristes Tropicos*) at page 412.



### DHAMMAPADA

translated by Ven. B. Ananda Maitreya

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