UDĀNAVARGA

Chapter II

KĀMĀVARGA - Desire

1. O desire, I know your root; it is from imagination that you spring. I will not imagine you, and you will not arise in me.

2. From desires springs grief, from desires springs fear; men free from desires have no grief; whence could fear (come to them)?

3. From pleasures springs grief, from pleasures springs fear; men freed from pleasures have no grief; whence could fear (come to them)?

4. At first sweet, but bitter in their maturity... desires burn the madman, as a torch burns the hand, if it is not relinquished.

5. It is not the bond of iron, of wood, of bāla grass, that the venerable ones have declared solid. (The solid bond) is the attention which attaches the mind to earings of precious stones, to children, to women.

6. This is the bond that the venerable ones have declared solid, everywhere rigid, difficult to unbind. But men without desires, even breaking that bond, devote themselves to the wandering life, renouncing the joys of desire.

7. The brilliant things of this world are not desires, man’s desire is coloured by imagination. Brilliant things exist in this world, and here below, the wise tame their desires.

8. Desires are not eternal among men. And transitory are the things to which men subject to desire are attached. He who renounces this in order to avoid being reborn, I say that he will not go the kingdom of death.

9. Of the man in whom the aspiration (for Nirvāṇa) is born, who has escaped impurity (?), whose mind is calm, whose thought is not attached to desire, it is said: He is above the stream (ariṣṭhenaṃ bhojati).

10. Gradually, little by little, tirelessly, the wise man should cast out the defilement in himself, like the workman that in silver.

11. Like the cartwright (?) cutting out shoes from leather... as one cuts out desires, things take a more favourable turn.

12. He who seeks complete happiness, let him renounce all desires; having renounced all desires, he attains supreme happiness.
13. As long as desire is pursued, mental contentment is not found; then, those find contentment, who find it in wisdom.

14. It is better to have contentment in wisdom; for desire does not content; the man who finds contentment in wisdom does not fall under the blow of a (second) existence.

15. Men distracted by desires, in truth delight in the wrong; they do not perceive the danger, even if their life is near its end.

16. Possessions cause the downfall of the fool, but not of him who seeks by himself. The fool through his possessions and his cravings causes his own downfall as well as that of others.

17. Even a shower of kāraṇāna does not bring the satisfaction of desires; there is only a faint taste of happiness in desires, the wise man knows this.

18. Even in the heavenly enjoyments, delight is not found. The Buddha's disciple finds his pleasure in the suppression of craving.

19. Even a golden mountain such as the Himalayas could not be treasure enough for a single man; knowing this, one goes in peace.

20. The man who knows what suffering is and what its origin is, how could he find delight in desire? Attachment, in this world, is wretchedness; with this thought, the wise man would learn to cast it out.

(Translated by Sara Boin Jebb from the French of W.P. Chakravarti)

NOTES ON PĀḷI CANONIC STYLE

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Notwithstanding certain re-evaluations of the views of the older Anglo-German school on the authentic value of the Pāḷi Canon, this preserves its importance as the most complete and consecutive exposition of earlier Buddhist dogmatics, the exposition presenting a source, irreplaceable both from a historical and literary point of view. Within the frames of the Canon, the Dhamma Nikāya (DN) - "the book of longer sayings" - opens the second of the three Piṭakas - dedicated first of all to ethics and containing the best artistic specimens of Pāḷi. The genre of sutta is represented in DN by the longest (cf. the title of the book) and the relatively complex texts, as regards plot and composition. At the same time DN is evidently one of the oldest parts of the Pāḷi Canon, compiled during the first two-three centuries after the Buddha's death. The analysis of DN style seems, therefore, to be significant for the study of earlier Pāḷi artistic style and, wider, of classical Indian poetics, including non-Buddhist tradition. The language of DN excels by a rich vocabulary (surpassing in this respect some of the Hindu canonical texts - e.g. the Upanisads) and together with some other Piṭakas books, can be regarded as a model of classical Pāḷi.

DN is divided into three parts (vagga) containing, respectively, 13, 10 and 11 suttas unified according to rather different principles. The first part, Sīlakhandavagga ("A section referring to ethical rules"), includes I – XIII suttas with common content each of which presents certain rules of moral conduct (āti), leading to the highest concentration (jhāna), which are divided into the highest concentration (jhāna). Corresponding admonitions repeat themselves with certain abbreviations and variants (such as different restraints) addressing that change according to the personalities of interlocutors; use of synonyms - e.g. āti - caṇa etc.) in II–XIII, beginning with the words idha... Dhammo loke upādāti - "There appears in the world... an abhava..." (II 40 a.c.) - and ending with paccana itthattābhāti - "After this present life there will be no beyond..." (II 98 a.c.). This repetition, divided in different suttas into a different number of paragraphs (see NOTE 1) comprises II 40–96 = III 2.2 = IV 23 = V 27 = VI 16–19 = VII 2–5 = VIII 19–20 = IX 7–13 = X 1.7–1.36 = XI 9–66 = XII 19–77 = XIII 40–42. As for other parts of these suttas, some of them include independent narratives with various precepts (III, V, XIII), while some present strictly speaking only more or less original frames of the repetition mentioned (cf. below). Most of them contain in the last lines (though sometimes a little earlier) stereotype words of the Buddha's converted opponent, who sought to be accepted into the
Notes on Pali Canon Style

The verses (avakāsā) of MN, based on the syllabic principle, are mostly represented (with certain digressions) by metres containing eight (pāli: sāmaṃṭhāsaka), or eleven (uttathāsaka) syllables in each of four (or six) parts (avakāsā). 11 As stated, those verses are almost absent in the first part of MN, where they serve only as a résumé of separate verses (cf.III 128; XII 85). They occur more often in the second and even more so in the third part, fulfilling a narrative function and freely alternating with prose (cf. e.g., in XVI). Sometimes they play an independent rôle which is confined neither to didactic nor narrative and sounds somewhat emotional (cf.XX 44: monologue of Paññasāla in XXI 5 sq.; etc.). They can constitute a prominent part of separate suttas — e.g., almost all XX (5-22), or XXXI (1-7, 10); an interesting case is that of XXXI in which prose systematically alternates with verses containing metrical variations (cf.also XXXII). Every part of MN is also concluded by a strophe, listing all corresponding suttas, the rôle of verses in MN and more so in some other Tipitaka books permits one to suggest that the Pali Canon is based not only on narrative prose but also on poetic texts as well. 12

2.0. Francis suggests that the supposed unity and completeness of MN indicates a single man’s authorship and literary collection. 14 Such unity, however, seems to be somewhat exaggerated by him and is refuted by some scholars. As we see, within the framework of different parts the narration is different enough with respect both to style and composition. It has already been observed (F.Bapat, G.Pande a.o.) that a lack of uniformity can be perceived not only in separate parts of MN, but in separate suttas as well. At the same time, one cannot deny certain traits which are common to the whole book. In particular, some textual and thematic (cf. below) parallels between neighbouring suttas of different professions in I-II. evidence in Bhikkhu in IV-V, connection between events described in XVI and XVIII (death of the Buddha) etc. 16 Another trait is that of consequent "fastenings" (Vesakapāram) between I and II, II and III, III and IV etc. with the help of specific formulae. These observations are quite correct, though it remains very probable that such parallelisms were, for the major part, stimulated not so much by the redactors’ premeditated unification of the text, as by more general and impersonal traits of Pali canonical style such as use of stereotype expressions, formulas, repetitions (see below) etc. These traits permit one to establish numerous textual coincidences, not only within the framework of MN but e.g., between different Nikāyas of the Sutta Pitaka itself.

Among such common principles, important for the structure of the text, one can mention the description based on the enumeration (exhaustive or se-
lective) of logical possibilities or of qualities combined within a definite set - a device which goes beyond the Buddhist or Hindu tradition and leads us to a more general problem of the history of scientific language. For example, we find it already in ½ where the following possibilities are enumerated: "Whether there is another world?" - "Whether there is not another world?" - "Whether there both is and is not another world?" - "Whether neither is nor is not another world?" and so on, concerning other phenomena (I 2:27: cf. similar constructions of the type P, not P (on opposite to P), P and not P, neither P nor not P, in VI 6 sq.; VIII 4; IX 27, 31 etc.). One can see that a major part of these enumerations is necessarily based on fourfold sets, which can be correlated with an evidently predominant role of tetrad and its multiples in Buddhist canonical texts. Such as, e.g., a number of precepts connected with "four grounds" (vattthu) in I 1:30; 2:4 sq.; 16 sq.; 23 sq. etc. The 62 doctrines (diṭṭhī, i.e. the wrong views described by the Buddha in II 10:18 classified according to these grounds are distributed thus: 10 (4 4 4 4 4) + 44 $\sqrt[16]{6} (4 4 4 4 4) + 8 (4 4 4) + 8 (4 4 4) + 8 (4 4 4) = 2$. We can cite in this connection II 9:1; IV 4 sq.; VI 5:7; VI 7:7; VII 36:77; XXXI 6 etc. The corresponding principle is perhaps the most important in traditional Buddhist doctrine - cf. such concepts, often mentioned in II 11, also as the four noble Truths (sīva saccas), the four degrees of perfection (phāsā), the insight path (attākāmappan), the thirty-two signs of the Buddha (lakkhanas) etc.

The principle of trichotomy is relatively less important, though we can trace it on different levels as well. Apart from more general regularities (cf. division of the Tipiṭaka itself), we find it consecutively in the triple structure of II, in I and in I 1 (1:7-10; 11-20; 21-27). This principle is used in the structure of repetitions (see below) - cf. threefold addresses in XI 1:3; XIV 3:6-36; XV 5:24 etc.; questions in III 1:20; XI 8:1-23; XIII 11 etc. Concerning dogmatics, one can be reminded of numerous references to the Three Refugees (Tipiṭaka, Buddha, Dhamma, Sāṅgha), used for joining the Order. Of. also three kinds of self (attā) - IX 39 sq.; three bodies of doctrine - X 1:6; three kinds of wonders - XI 1 etc.

Other number complexes, though not so important, were often used in Buddhist tradition - numerous examples are presented in XXXII and XXXIV. They built on corresponding principles. The analysis of separate lists, however deliberate they may seem, can also show certain regularities - cf. for example, the role of sevenfold sets in II 20 (seven kinds of gods, of men, of demons, of great lakes etc.). Some of these examples have noteworthy parallels in other traditions. At the same time separate fragments can be probably regarded as a tribute to a kind of "number automatism" - for example in the exposition of XXXIII and XXXIV, already mentioned above, where we find a consecutive gradation from 1 to 10 (relatively more restricted in XXXIV, which gives ten examples of every separate number complex - cf. also XXXI). A similar principle serves as a basis for a much larger Pali canonical text - Abhidhāna Piyāya, compiled evidently later. We find other examples of such automatism in I 1:1 sq. where the Buddha speaks consecutively of one, two, three, four, five, etc., former births.23

The character and rôle of number symbolism in II is connected with another characteristic trait of the text - that of repetitions. The latter is also typical of classical Indian texts beyond the Buddhist tradition (cf. e.g. Bhagavān Rāmāyaṇa, Upaniṣads II 4; IV 5; Bhavabhūti Up. I 1; Kauṭiκa Up. IV etc.) and has numerous analogies in other cultures (for example, in the synoptic Gospels). One can see, however, that in Pali canonical texts (and particularly in II) this device is employed almost to the extent of cliché in the greater part of certain suttas.24 A tendency towards repetition can be discerned in different levels of the text - from separate morphological, lexical, phonological units to relatively long fragments including, sometimes, scores of paragraphs.

E.g. a characteristic of classical Buddhist prose is the repetition of certain words in different combinations (objects with the same verb, attributes with noun, etc.). In the very beginning of II we find such stereotype descriptions of the Buddha, his followers etc.: bhūta bhikkhu = sāṅgha saddhussa paṇḍa -matthā bhikkhu anābhī "(with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred brethren - I 1:1 etc.). bhuddhassv vassanā bhaṣati... bhuddhassv vassanā bhaṣati" (speaking in praise of the Buddha, in praise of the Doctrine, in praise of the Order... in praise of the Buddha, in praise of the Doctrine, in praise of the Order... - ibid.). asampphūsā sāvyagā = rato maṇṇaṃ - maṇṇaṃ anāpaṃ = karavi vinnā bhūtaśi "(a peacock, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace... - I 1:1) kalā = vidda bhūta = viḍa aththa = viḍa dhamma = viḍa vin- nā = viḍi "(in season he speaks, in accordance with the facts he speaks, words of meaning he speaks, on religion he speaks, on the discipline of the Order he speaks - ibid.). Of. also I 3:74: Aththa = jīvan... Dhamma = jīvan... Dhamma = jīvan... Diṭṭhi = jīvan... I 1:1: Asampphā... ratti, abhībhūta... ratti, dasseyya... ratti, phāsīka... ratti, lakkhanas... ratti, II 102: khaṭṭhakā bhikkhāvā rati, upasaheti bhikkhāvā rati. In this connection another similar device can be mentioned - a consecutive use of words, synchronically close to each other, with possible sound repetitions on lower (particularly morphological) levels - for example: abhāsissati parimānasati paripaceti paripachatā "This very body does he so pervade, pervade, pervade and suffice with joy... II 75 sq.; cf. XXII 16 etc.).25 On the other hand the anonymous pairs are
also usual - some of them enter the enumerations of logical possibilities (see above) and for their part certain repetitions on different levels. Cf. for example: samayadana or abhagamana or asamada or bhavana ("rising up and passing away...sweet taste...danger" - I 1,36 sq.;) okkana - sasattikā okkana = sasattikā (ethernalists...non = Ethernalists - I 2,1 sq.;) sukhe dukkhe ("and ease and pain" - II 89); dībe on mānusa ca, ye dhārataika ca ("both human and celestial, whether far or near" - II 89); an = ēkāno; viha = ākāno; ("the passionate...the calm,..." - II 91-92) etc.29 Such constructions, when "unfolded", can often result in a certain parallelism of separate paragraphs and parts of the suttas, which differ one from another only by corresponding elements (cf. below).

Besides certain formulas common to different texts (like e.g. evam me suvattam in the very beginning) IN contains numerous phrase repetitions, within the frames of separate suttas and their fragments. Such are anaphoras raṭṭha vi paṇḍaka bhuco samagga = bhānagga... in every paragraph of I 1,11-27; idha bhikkhave okkana samagga vi bhikkhu vu (in I 3,1-34) and so on. There are phrases like: dōppi vu ha bhikkhave pathakkam pathānayasa vāmaga vaddhaka vaddha-yo (I 1,8-27); idam gīnena hiti sīlana (II 42-63 etc.). A stereotype description of the Buddha's qualities often is repeated: ten his ṣeva Bhagavanta Gotama evam kalīño kiti = sado abhaggato... ("And this is the good report that has been nodded abroad as to Gotama the Blessed One" - II 6; III 1,21 IV 6; III 7 etc.; cf. XXVII 25 etc.). Some repetitions evidently fulfill certain narrative functions, ensuring a kind of retardation in descriptions of personalities and situations; in admonitions, speeches and replies, which are repeated partially or in full, sometimes with certain variations - cf. for example: I 1,4-4; 2,17-20, 24-25; 3,32-44, 45-57, 50-70; II 2-7, 16, 19-29, 21-22 etc. (where in the exposition of different doctrines only intermediate paragraphs - 17, 20, in the exposition of different doctrines only intermediate paragraphs - 17, 20, are repeated more substantially): 83-84, 95-96, 87-96, 85-90, 91-92 etc.; III 1,12-13, 2,3) IV 5-6 (= V 6-7); V 12, 16 sq; VI 6-7, 9-9, 10-11; VII 6-12; I 1,24; XI 67-81; XII 2, 4-6, 8, 16-10; XIII 4-5, 8 sq., 31-32, 80; XIV 4 sq., XVI 1,2-5 sq. etc. Some of these variations are, for their part, connected with certain devices. Such is the gradual addition of the elements enumerated in V 23 sq. ("perpetual gift" - "perpetual gift" + "putting up of a dwelling place" - "perpetual gift" + "putting up of a dwelling place" + "taking the Buddha and the Truth and the Order as one's guide" etc.). In a similar manner VIII 22 repeats in progression (from I to 10) the qualities of the Buddha's sermon. As was mentioned above separate repetitions include rather large parts of the text, sometimes unifying different suttas - cf. the sīla sections in II-XIII (see above); IX 35 = XIII 13; IX 37 = XIII 21; XVI 1,16-17 - XVIII 1-2 etc. Corresponding variations often refer to a specific set of concepts, pertinent to the admonition. This principle was already testified in respect of other Pāli texts30 and beyond the Buddhist tradition as well.31

The device of repetition is closely connected with the functions of the Pāli Canon and the character of its tradition. We must remember that a major part of the Canon served an admonition transmitted orally.32 To keep it in mind one had to resort to mnemonic devices, doubtlessly fulfilled by some of these repetitions - particularly of specific formulas and rules of logmatic importance. At the same time, the repetition of separate fragments led to a certain monotony which could presumably result in a kind of "fascinating" effect and thus facilitate the listener's concentration.33 Such repetitions, generally typical of sacred texts, can also lead to certain elements of magical practice - particularly in cases where their composition is motivated by a certain number symbolisms: cf. for example some threefold repetitions mentioned above (III 1,20; XI 1,3; 81-83; XIII 11 sq. etc.).

All this certainly does not exclude the factor of the redactor's work as the possible cause of some repetitions. In order to make the exposition more complete, the redactor could use different versions of the same text one after the other - cf. for example VII presenting an abridged variant of VII; XI 1, 15-17 and XVIII 1-2, or beyond the frames of IN - suttas 124-126 and 191-192 of the Saṃyutta Nikāya. The material of different collections could also be plagiarised which helps to explain certain parallels between separate canonical books (e.g. between the second part of IN and separate suttas of the saṃyutta Nikāya).34

IN abounds with comparisons that make the Buddha's admonitions rather vivid and picturesque.35 One can divide them conditionally into two classes (both are frequent enough but it is not always easy to make a fine distinction between them). The first is represented by short laconic similes close to metaphors; the second by a more or less developed situation, sometimes "unfolded" into a kind of parable illustrating a specific precept. Among the examples of the first kind one can mention the images of the lion's roar (sīlānaṃ = describing the Buddha's sermon: VIII 22, 24; XVIII 1), a string of blind men clinging one to the other (about the bhikkhus versed in the three Vedas - XIII 15), a waterless desert, a pathless jungle etc. (XIX 36), a lotus flower (XIV 1,34; cf. XIX 5 etc.,) a tangled skein, a matted ball of thread etc. (XV 1), a mirror (XVI 2,8), a lamp (XVI 2,26), a figure made of gold (XVIII 17), different animals (XVII 20), butter, honey, comb etc. (XVII 14), moonshine (XXIV 6), brigands (XXVII 9) etc. A number of metaphors occur among the Buddha's 32 signs - rounded shells, antelope's legs, lion's jaw, cow's eyelashes etc. (cf. XIV 1,32; XX 1,2).
"Unfolded" comparisons are often introduced by a formula: seyyathyi di evan eva. ("just...as when...just so..."). Such is the image of a fisherman (I 372). A man freed from passions is likened to a debtor who has paid off his debt; a patient who has recovered from disease; a prisoner who is set free from his bonds; etc. (II 69). The bhikkhāna who does not know the way to Brahman, but tries to speak of it, is like a man who speaks about his love for the most beautiful woman in the land, but can say nothing about her regency or her name and does not know whether she is tall or short, dark or blonde, etc. - in other words, who loves a woman he has not seen and does not know. He is likened, further, to an architect who begins to erect a staircase at the crossroads in order to mount to the upper storey of the mansion, but does not know where this mansion will be situated, how high it will be etc. (IX 35,71; cf. XIX 19,21). We find here comparisons with products received from the cow (II 52); with a bird that helps sailors find land in the open sea (XI 85); with crossing the river (XIII 24 sq.); with a precious stone through which a string is threaded (II 84; XIV 1,21 etc.); with a man plunged in a pit of fire (XIII 9 sq.); with a gourard who has swallowed poisoned disc (XXII 27); etc. Some of these comparisons are in fact similar to short tales of a parable type - cf. for example XIII 13 - about the bhikkhāna wife who killed an unborn infant in her own womb; XIII 29 - about a man seeking for treasure; etc. Such digressions can be placed in a successive line (cf. II 69 sq.; XIII 9 sq.). Some of them are correlated, presenting positive and negative variants of the same image - cf. for example IX 37 and 46 concerning the already mentioned ignorant architect and an expert one who knows all about the building.

Apart from the artistic function of this device, one should pay attention to the cultural importance of separate comparisons. We find here interesting data on ancient Indian life, on manners and occupations of different estates - bhikkhānas, warriors, merchants, artisans etc. At the same time, the choice of certain objects is evidently not arbitrary but motivated by Buddhist symbolism. Such are the images of a lotus (II 80; XIX 1,5 etc.); the crossing of a river (XIII 24, 26, 29); a gem (amāiga - cf. II 84 etc.); an elephant (XII 7,5); etc.

Suttas of III present examples of relatively developed narrative techniques. An important function is performed here by dialogue, sometimes rather lively and dramatic. Such is, for example, the Buddha's conversation with young Ambattha (III). It is not restricted to pure didations, but passes through different stages in the course of which Ambattha's pride and arrogance is replaced first by fear and finally by respect. The mood of his followers changes respectively, while the Buddha's replies are, accordingly, charged with emotion and are connected with these states. At the same time the general tendency and function of the dialogue remains the same: teaching genuine knowledge. The Buddha's discourses can be compared in this respect with the exposition in the early Upaniṣads - where the dialogue, likewise, develops into a monologue preaching the Truth.

Each suttas begins with the stereotype words, evam eva uttam ("Thus have I heard"). According to tradition, evam refers here to the Buddha's favourite pupil, Ānanda, who cannot be correct in the case of certain suttas: e.g. in X the preceptor is not the Buddha, but Ānanda; in III, in XIX, this function is fulfilled by another pupil of the Buddha, Kassapa, whom Ānanda could scarcely esteem as his teacher (cf. also XIX and XXIV). We can evidently refer here to different persons who followed corresponding traditions of the doctrine, from preceptor to pupil - a process testified by the formula itself.

The most usual initial point of the plot (especially in the first part of III) is the arrival of the Buddha and the monks following him (their traditional number is five hundred) at a certain place - Kosala, Mago, Māyāthā etc. One of the local inhabitants - often a certain bhikkhāna authority or his pupil (Pakkharaśāli, Kassapa, Subha etc.) - forms the scene also by Ajātaśatru, King of Māyāthā - hears of the Buddha's arrival and approaches him in order to elucidate a certain question. As a rule, he supports a wrong view. The Buddha begins to admonish him and eventually refutes his delusions, whereas the opponent, being satisfied, asks for reception into the Order. This general scheme is subject to specific variations. Thus, in III the Buddha admonishes young Ambattha first and then the latter's teacher, Pakkharāśali. Sometimes he teaches two interlocutors at the same time: Sandeasa and Jāliya in VIII, Vaiśeṣika and Māravijśa in XIX. As we have previously stated, the teaching in X is presented by Ānanda and in XIX by Kassapa. Usually, the Buddha is not only surrounded by pupils and attendants but by opponents as well, and the latter are not always passive - at times they react quite emphatically to the Buddha's teaching (cf. III). So, for example, some bhikkhūs are discussing whether their colleague Sonanda should approach the Buddha or not (IV 6 sq.; cf. V 5 sq.), while Sonanda himself is afraid of their disapproval (IV 6 sq.).

In his sermons the Buddha often inserts tales about the origin of the Sakya tribe (III 1,6), the sacrifice of King Māravijśa (V 10-20), etc. Sometimes he refers to a corresponding precedent in his own life (cf. VIII 23; XXIV 1,7 sq., 11 sq.). One can easily trace here the frame-composition which is subject to certain variations. Such, for example, in the Buddha's repeated precept of II-XIII. In II 40-90 this precept is inserted into an admonition...
to King AjaStasutta while in III 1.2 sq; IV 23 sq; and VIII 10 sq. It is expressed in a similar manner, when illustrating the image of the bhikkhu who has reached the perfect state (cf. also X 1.7-2.5, where the narration is divided into three parts). In other suttae we find variants ensuring additional functions of the precept repeated. In V 27 it is inserted into the tale about the "sacrifice" which is more fruitful than all other traditional sacrifices (cf. similar motifs in Upanisadic dogmatism). In VI 16-19 (-VII 2-5) it is the part of the conversation with Mahā - the Buddha recalls here one of his previous sermons to two wanderers to whom he deplored, with the help of this precept, the state of a monk who does not ask improper questions (as these wanderers did, by questioning his about the difference between the life principle - Atman and the body). IX 7-17 uses it as an exposition of self-training leading to certain states of consciousness and in the end - to the cessation of consciousness. In XI 8 sq. the realization of this precept is the third and the highest of the Buddha's wonders (in the exposition of the three kinds of his wonders). In XII 19 sq. it serves as the admonition of a preceptor, belonging to the highest sort (in the narrative about four kinds of teachers). Finally, in XIII 40 sq. it illustrates the state of an adept knowing the way to union with Brahmā and having the same signs as Brahmā (in dialogue with Yasodhara where the Buddha expresses the imperfection of bhikkhu as versed in the three Vedas but not knowing the right way to Brahmā).

The frame-composition is generally preserved in the second and third parts of IN (particularly thanks to traditional initial points and tailpieces). At the same time, in comparison with the first part, we find here certain new traits. The role of narration, its specific gravity, grows here considerably. Accordingly, XIV contains the story of the Buddha's previous births (near to the genre of Apadāna) - a new detail of dogmatism, absent in the first part. XVI speaks of the last days of the Buddha and of events that followed immediately after his death - the text being perhaps a combination of different legends, reminding one of the genre of chronicle (separate fragments of which it probably preserved); for the dogmatism is interwoven here with narration that is somewhat dramatic and emotional. XVII is closely associated with the previous suttae. The device of a frame is executed by talk between the Buddha and Ananda regarding the place of the Buddha's future burial. During this conversation the Buddha relates the story of one of his previous births, containing elements of a fairy tale (cf. the description of the town Kauśāsana). Similar traits are found in the next XVIII-XX suttae, where a prominent rôle is played by mythological personages 40 (in the first part such personages are introduced but rarely - cf. the appearance of the yakṣaka Vajrā -pāñj before Anātha in III 1.21 or of different gods in XI 69). Another pecu-

liarity can be observed in the exposition of XXI, the first section of which alternates prose and verses and includes a love episode (1.6-7).

As we see in IN suttae, the node of exposition, the development of plot, and certain compositional traits suffer considerable changes in separate parts.41 One can add that these differences concern also the principles of denominations. Cutting more specific details, we can distinguish here two particular principles: that pertaining to certain traits of the contents, and that pertaining to the hero's name. In the first part the former principle is used only in I (Brahmājī containing a metaphorical description), II (Sukhaπhala) and XIII (Teja-vijaya), while in XIII-XXI the titles are based on the names of the Buddha's interlocutors (Anātha, Sosananda, Khandanta etc.) with a single complication in XIII (Kassapa = amāna - name + a metaphor of the Buddha's sermon). In the second part the situation is to a certain extent reversed: the majority of its suttae (6) are, in one or another way, denominated after their contents (XIV, XVI, XX, XXI - of. above on amāna ) and four after heroes' names (XVII-XIX, XXII: Mahānāmasena, Jayaranathā etc.). Such names are still more rare in the titles of the third part - cf. XXIV (Prakara) and XXXI (Sāgiśravasā). The other titulae are somehow other connected with contents, being at the same time (like the corresponding suttae themselves) rather heterogeneous. So, for example, we find here geographical names (the park Sambharika in XXV, presumably the town Anāthā in XXXII), figurative expressions (amāna in XXX, XXVI; of. also XVII, XXI etc.), the titles of XXIII (Vīgati) and XXIV (Kanasa) are based, strictly speaking, more on the principle of exposition than on the contents. As it was said, the latter themselves (Sīlakhandavagga - Mahāvagga - Pāthikavagga) are named after different principles.

This variety, however, is combined with a certain constancy of motifs and heroes' images, which repeat themselves throughout the whole book. Such is, for example, the motif of the quest for Truth that makes people seek the Buddha. Some of his interlocutors are full of obedience and respect from the very beginning (like AjjaMatta). Others cling to their delusions and first oppose him (like Anātha), though in the end they are all converted by him.42 Certain scenes, evidently characteristic of the Buddha's way of life and his surroundings, are repeated constantly - cf. for example, greeting the Buddha, approaching him, suggesting entertainment to him and his monks (III 2.19; V 30; XVI 4.5; etc.).

The stereotype characteristic of the Buddha, already mentioned above, constantly calls him an incomparable tutor of men, full of compassion and tolerance, abounding in wisdom etc. Among typical traits of his behaviour one can note Maśsile (tappu) as a sign of consent - cf. III 2.19; IV 25; etc.43 A
certain ambiguity is characteristic of him, his benevolence sometimes alternates with threats (e.g. to Ambhattha, cf. explicitly a traditional spell: "amicabala ambhaṁ pātantaṁ - his head splits into pieces on the spot") pronounced by the Buddha in III 1.20 (cf. also V 21; XXVII 1.22 - a scene of Pittaka's humiliation). Such an attitude, traces also in some Upanisadic texts (where it is expressed even more strongly), lends a kind of ambivalence to the image of the founder of Buddhism.

At the same time, different suites of IN depict the Buddha in various different manners (though somewhat consecutively). While in the first part of the book the Buddha's image is based mainly on the traits of "earthly", "everyday" character, the second (cf. already in XIV) adds the motif of his previous births. His attitude towards wondrous also varies - cf. a negative approach in XI (see also VI 5 sq.) and, on the other hand, the plot of XXIV. The second and third parts present a kind of Buddha's "deification", in this process (still more typical of later Mahayana trends) one can suggest - apart from possible typological affinities - certain influences of some archaic (particularly Vedic) mythological motifs and concepts. These details do not exclude, however, numerous signs of everyday life, with which they are interwoven (e.g. in the list of the Buddha's 32 signs - XIV 1.10; XXI 1.21; cf. above). All this provides, within the frames of IN, rich material on the earlier evolution of the Buddha's image and doctrine. It is worthwhile to add here that, as regards corresponding analysis, we should be careful in speaking of the Buddha's "deification", since we inevitably use here such distinctive features as "man-god" and introduce, thus, certain theistic concepts evidently alien to Buddhism. As A. Prince puts it, the Buddha is not more "sanctified" in Mahayana than "humanized" in Hinayana. The concept of "Buddha-hood" as a complex of the Buddha's qualities cannot be explained by this opposition ("Manhood - godhead") as it is a specific concept, sui generis, within the frames of the corresponding system.

IN also contains interesting characteristics of other personalities - pupils and followers of the Buddha (Ananda, Kasapa), laymen converted by him (Kousanda, Pokkharasāli) etc. noting a combination of stereotypical and individual traits. vivid in the image of King Ajatasatta in II, who adores the moonlight, is not satisfied with his teachers, trembles before the Buddha, adores his son, and repents of his sins. We have already spoken about the dynamics of Ambhattha's image, whose change of attitude is accompanied by changes in his followers' attitude towards him, that is, from respect to criticism (III 1.17-22). His teacher Pokkharasāli suffers analogous evolution - from mistrust of the Buddha to entering the Buddha's Order. Corresponding characteristics reflect the ambiguity marked above in respect of the Buddha. It has already been noted that some images are depicted with certain humour - e.g. the son of Pittaka wanting to rise from his seat and being unable to do so (XXV 1.20).

Some of the stylistic and compositional traits noted above seem to be typical of the earlier stage of "scientifico" description in ancient Indian literature, as reflected in its ethical and philosophical texts - cf., for example, certain parallels in Vedic canonistic style, particularly that of the early Upanisads. At the same time some of these devices - such as frame-composition, a system of definite metaphors etc. - are developed in later Buddhist literature tradition - both Buddhist (cf. genre of Jātakas) and Hindu ("framed story", certain poetic genres etc.).

NOTES


4 Cf. P.V. Desai "The different strata in the literary material of the Dīgha Nikāya", Dharma and the Buddhist Oriental Research Institute 9, Part 1, 1926, p. 1 sq. These principles are different in the other canonical books as well (e.g. in Majjhima Nikāya - cf. W. Hartmann A History of Indian Literature II, Calcutta 1931, p. 56).


6 We refer here and below to MN edition: The Dīgha Nikāya, ed. by T.J. Rhys Davids and J.R. Carpenter, 3 vols., PPS 1900, 1903, 1910 (RSO) and translation: Dialogues of the Buddha, tr. by T.J. Rhys Davids, 3 vols., PPS 1900, 1903, 1910 (RS).

7 Cf. on all these repetitions, MN I, p. 59.


9 J. Kashiwagi (IK III, p. 57) remarks that a more correct title should sound sākṣikā (i.e., part beginning with Pākṣa Sutta) and that pākṣa is evidently used here in this sense.

10 Cf. Desai, p. 2 sq.


12 Hazle, 1967, p. 34.

13 Ibid., p. 226.


16 Franke "Der Verknüpfung", p. 414 sq. (cf. his commentary in DP).

17 Ibid., p. 419-461.

18 Concerning similar enumerations see also A. Syrkin "On the beginning of the Sutta Piṅaka (Brahmajīla Sutta)", Budhis, Studies, Ancient and Modern, ed. D. LaViolette and A. Platonov, London 1983, p. 11. The device of such combinations is characteristic of other classical Indian treatises beyond the Buddhist tradition as well (cf. A. Syrkin "Notes on the Kaṇha Sūtra", Religions I, No. 1, 1974, p. 35 sq.);


21 See H.C. Las Three refugees (tisāraṇas) in Buddhism", The John Bodhi 61, 5-6, 1953, p. 155 sq.

22 Cf., for example, numebral lists in D. Course Buddhist Meditation, London 1956, p. 174 sq.


24 See B.Heidemann "Significance of numbers in Hindu philosophical texts", Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art VI, 1930, p. 92 sq.; Syrkin, Popov, p. 30. Of also notes on the structure of the Kumāragīna (Kumāragīna), where similar gradation (1-10) is found, and some other texts - V.N. Popov "La triade et la téttrade, structure and symbolical logic", Materialy po istorii i filologii Centr'nogo Azii 3, Ul'an-Ude 1960, p. 56 sq.


29 Cf. Alazanovskaya, p. 188.
27 In this connection one can mention another characteristic trait of the Buddha's didactic style - that of negation. The latter is displayed in phonology and techniques of discourse (cf. anaphoras in I 1.8, refrains in I 1.11 sq., II 97; IX 16 etc.) and can be traced in separate important concepts ( nibbana, annata etc.). Cf. R.O. Franke "Der Negativismus in der alten Buddhakunde", Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte Vorindischer und Indo-Aryaner, Heidelberg 1926, p.352 sq.; W. Walser "Der buddhistische Negativismus", Zeitschrift für Indische Sprache und Literatur, Vol. XII 1923-4, p.160 sq.; R.C. Rya Davide "Buddhistic and the Negative", JPS 1924-27, p.232 sq.; W. Petersen "Gottam the Buddha, what do we know of him and his teachings?", Archiv Orientali, 1, 2, 1929, p.238; G. Brühl La religion du Bouddha, la religion de la connaissance, Paris 1944, p.161 sq.; N. Sasaki "The historical evolution of the concept of negation in Buddhism and Mahayana", JABS 53, 1963, p.477 sq.; A. Jayaman "The Buddhist 'Not this, Not this!'", Philosophy East and West 11, 3, 1961, p.79 sq. See also concern- ing noteworthy parallels in the Upanisads (e.g. na in I in the Brhadaranyaka Up. II 3.6 III 9.26, etc.; cf. ibid. III 0.8; IV 3.22; Svetasvatara Up. III 9.10 etc.; Sākara, Candragīrti and other traditions (beginning with Vasumūlīts) - B. Heimbach "The significance of negation in Hindu philosophical texts", B.C. Law Volume II, Poona 1946, p.408 sq.; A. Jayaman Robustive problems incidenita upanisads, Iocomo 1971, p.187 sq., etc.


31 E.g. in description of "vital forces" (prāṇa) in Brhadaranyaka Up. IV 3.23-30; in Isha Up. 9-14, etc. (Snyyinn, "Zemetski", p.94-9).


33 Cf. Oldenberg Zur Geschichte, p.46 sq.

34 Geiger, p.12; cf. also concerning parallels in verses: Franke "Die Githä", p.311 sq.


36 Petersen A \'History II, p.75 sq.


38 "Le symbole bouddhique de la rose", Samākāla, Cahiers d'études bouddhiques 11, 1, 1972, p.31 sq.; 3, p.120 sq.; S.N. Goenka "Animal symbolism in early Buddhist literature and art", Baptist and West 3, 3, 1974, p.111 sq., etc.


41 Cf. particularly corresponding characteristics in " the, p.38 xvi; II p.3 xxi-vii; p.20 xii-vii.


44 One can note that Anabita does not perish like Śākya in Brhadāranyaka Up. III 28 (possibly because the former repeated at the right time). Cf. Snyyinn "Zemetski", p.99.


48 Cf. also Senarat Passala's Pasala "Die Buddhalehre", 1915, p.455 sq.; J. R. Dalley Links between early and later Buddhist mythology, Calcutta 1972, etc. We are discussing here only certain traits of the Buddha's traditional image as reflected in canonical texts (cf. in this connection refer to the pragmatic approach in Kern, p.12 sq.; P. Ultramar L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde II, Paris 1923; A. Keith Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon, Oxford 1923; E. Larouze "La personnalité de l'esprit de Dhamma", Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et de Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique XII, 5, 1955, p.199 sq.; A. Poucher La vie du Bouddha, Paris 1949, etc.) and do not dwell on the problem of his historical existence - which question, independently of the authenticity of separate biographical data and of the evolution mentioned, must be solved positively. (See Winternitz "Gotama", p.235 sq.; Renou, Pillosat, II, p.46 sq.; Larouze La légende", p.40; H. Smith "On the ancient chronology of India" II, JAS 77, 4, 1957, p.266 sq.; A. Baretto Recherches sur la biographie de Bouddha dans les Śrīvaiśnavas et les Vaiṣṇavas anciens I-II, Paris 1963/70, etc.) H. Prinawaleh "The historical data we possess on the person and the doctrine of the Buddha", East and West VII, 4, p.374 sq.) remarks particularly that evidences of the Buddha are in any case more reliable than those of certain Greek philosophers at that time (like Thales).

49 A. Prince "The concept of Buddhahood in early and later Buddhism", Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia 7, 1-2, 1970, p.116 sq. The author (ibid., p.147) reminds us in this connection of C. Joncas's "Saviour" applied to Buddhism (cf. the latter's article "Buddhist Saviours" in his Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies, pp.33-47) and notes that the character of "salvation" in Buddhism and Christianity is entirely different. Cf. also F. Smith "Problems of the application of Western terminology to Theravada Buddhism, with special reference to the relationship between the Buddha and the gods", Religions II, 1, 1972, p.37 sq.


51 Cf. Bapat, p.13; Bk III, p.1 sq. The problem of humour in Buddhist texts seems rather complicated since we must take into consideration the inadequacy of corresponding criteria (cf. A. J. Syrkin "Začijnu draimiljena-rjona Jamerov", Materiália iz istorii i filologii Central’noj Azii 3, Ulan-Ude 1969, p.66 sq., 74). One can suggest in any case a certain irony in separate ascriptions of the Buddha - cf. his talk with Kukkuttha (XI 4 sq.), his parables of a woman in love with a woman he did not see, or of an ignominious ascetic (IX 5, 37 = XII 19, 31 - cf. above, p.76). Cf. also A. S. Clédat-Stähelin "Bouddha dans les textes Bouddhiques", Buddhischem Kulturpolitik III, 1, 1921, p.37 sq.

52 Concerning these analogies, cf., for example, Syrkin "Začijnu", 93 (repetitions), 99 (compositions), 99 sq. (ambiguity of the teacher's words), etc. Cf. remarks of X. T. Winternitz (A History II, p.26) about distinctive traits of Pāli and Sanskrit texts, particularly about certain parallels connecting them with the Spanish and Purana respectively.
THE PLACE OF AHIMŚĀ IN BUDDHA-DHAMMO

(The Place of Ahimsa in Buddha-Dhammo)

(Translated by Dr. N. H. D. Wijegunaratne)

(In memory of Richard Abeyasekera)

Nekkhana-sadkappo avabhāsa-sadkappo
avihimā-sadkappo, sam vaccato bhikkhave
sammā-sadkappo.

Mahāsatipātana-suttantaṁ (D XXII 21)

The intention of renunciation,
the intention free of ill-will,
the intention of non-violence,
this is called, bhikkhus, the right intention.

In Pāli, non-violence is designated by the term ahimṣā as in Sanskrit (cf. Bhi 225, 267, 270, 300; D XXX 1, 6, 8 I 165, etc.), or by av-ahimṣā, an etymologically stronger term of the same stem, as in the definition of the second component of the Eightfold Path Leading to the Cessation of Suffering, quoted above (cf. D XXII 21; D XXXII 1, 9, 10; 21 (XXIV); Sn 292; It IV 4, 9, etc.).

In the short definition quoted above and most often in other texts on the Noble Eightfold Path, ahimṣā is the climax of a threefold gradation of the same basic virtue of right intention.

In Jainism, the religion closest to Buddhism, considering itself to be the oldest on the high level of universal cultures (as it is still extant also in the pre-Biblical and pre-Islamic tradition of the ancient Arabia Felix), "ahimṣā is the highest law" (ahimṣā parāno dhammaṁ). This is the only essential tenet which could be considered as its exclusive dogma. All the rest of its normative teaching are maxims deduced from this categorical imperative, tolerating also exceptions, since Jainism is the religion of extreme tolerance, defined as the "toleration of many codes of truth": "The faith in one truth or even in a plurality of truths, each simply given as determinate, would be rejected by it as a species of intolerance."

The eightfold path of the Buddha starts from the stance taken against "the pursuance of views, adherence to views, jungle of views, contention of views, oscillation of views, fetter of views" (M 2 and several other texts).

This critical prerequisite is the reason why the sifting of world-views (dīttas) and dogmatisms is placed before ahimṣā as a preliminary step on the eightfold path of the Buddha. His "right views" do not consist of any dogmatically infallible propositions and beliefs, such as are dismissed in the oft-repeated warning against the affirmation "this only is true, all the rest is false". The best analysis of the shortcoming of his authoritarian opponents is given in Cūkka-suttaṁ (M 95). The basic definition of "right views" (sammā dīttas) in our context underscores the purely existential restriction of the problem to which the intention of this first decisive step refers: "The understanding of suffering, the understanding of the origin of suffering, the understanding of the cessation of suffering, the understanding of the path leading to the cessation of suffering. This, bhikkhus, is called right view" (D 22 and other texts).

The Buddha often warned his worldly minded interlocutors (putthijanā) against "untrustworthy teachers" who are used to "take and apply the correct criterion in such a way that, while it extend only to one side it excludes other...right criteria concerning good bodily conduct, good verbal conduct and good mental conduct". The Buddha taught the method of detecting such "unripe criteria" by independent nature thinking (apannaka-suttaṁ, M 60) - the best known instance of such advice is contained in the Kīḷaka-suttaṁ (M III 65), in the Buddha's answer to the complaint:

- Some sammā and kāma...expound only their own tenets while they abuse and renounce and rail at the tenets of others.

- Kīḷika, do not be satisfied with hearsay or with tradition or with legendary lore or with what has come down in your scriptures or with conjecture or with logical inference or with weighing evidence or with liking for a view after pondering over it or with someone else's ability or with the thought 'The monk is our teacher'. Then you know in yourselves these things are wholesome, blameless...then you should practise them and abide in them.

Such was the original teaching of the Buddha's Noble Truth on acquiring correct standpoints in an historical epoch of Indian culture considered still by modern scholars in comparison with the highest standard of European culture as an age of "Renaissance".

Swami Vivekananda, in a talk on "Buddha's Message to the World" (in San Francisco, 1900) boldly affirmed that 600 years B.C. "Indian civilization already completed its growth". A few decades later the same assessment was confirmed by the best known European sociologist, Max Weber, who considered the atheist and caste-free Jainist and Buddhist movements at that time as "intellectualist heterodox aetiology" characteristic of the "drawing-room" elitist ideology in the cultural ambience of royal courts and cities.

...
In the later twentieth century a new and most brutal wave of Western penetration to the Asian East, reaffirming with its authoritarian dogmatism that "this only is truth, all the rest is false", often threatens with a direct attack the first step of our Noble Path. At the other end, the last and highest eighth step and attainment of amākkha is being snared by the new wave of Western fashion in "meditation", advertising "shortcuts to Nirvana" by eliminating not only the beginning but also the end of this Noble Path for the convenience of hippies. The next immediately endangered stage are the second - anāgā - and the sixth, in the concluding section of the Path dealing with the contemplative attainment of jhāna, "right effort" - saṅkñī vipaścayā. On this point I wish to underscore a recently ripened statement (saham dhamma) of one of the oldest gāruḍa (or rather anti-gāruḍa in up-to-date anti-cultural terms), Kāśyapa: "Meditation is hard work. It demands the highest form of discipline - not conformity, not imitation, not obedience - but a discipline which issues from constant awareness. Without laying the foundation of a righteous life, meditation becomes an escape and therefore has no value whatsoever. A righteous life is not the following of social convention, but the freedom from envy, greed and the search of power." 4

II

Historically, on the ground of several discourses of the Buddha, I consider the origin of Buddhism as an apostasy of Jainism at the time of Mahāvīra's conservative reform aiming at a purely formalistic rigorism. In the Buddha's discourses with and about Jains, a resolute break with their overladen tradition is always strongly underscored, not to speak of the often obsessive continuance of the Jains' background stories. In comparison therewith, the Buddha's criticisms of brahminic traditions appear most often as a mild irony or rebuke for some more or less dangerous stupidity. 5

On the other hand, the Buddha's renunciation of the same kind of ascetic penances, described even in formal details in terms identical with the practices of Jain ānûnas, is still today most often superficially understood and discussed as an episode of exclusively negative and even misleading Jain influences on the ānarā Gotama, who before he became a Buddha, had to break through them and liberate himself from this last "error" after all the seven stages of strenuous endeavours to attain his ultimate perfection.

Richard Abeyasekera, in the course of 25 years of his dedicated work for the Buddhist Publication Society in Kandy, has published only one tiny booklet of his own. His recent death shocked me in so far as the value and relevance of his meditation on "The Master's Quest for Light" for the subject of my long years of studies of the historical relations between Jainism and Buddhism.

The Place of Ahimsa in Buddha-Dhamma

The origin of the bad faith, praising Buddhism as an anti-asetic religion appears at our time to be prevalent, though not exclusively, of "modern" Western origin. Richard Abeyasekera begins his "Reflections" with singling out "without the great characteristics of the Buddha... his boundless compassion, his indomitable courage and his unwavering allegiance to truth. To achieve the supreme knowledge of the Buddha, the latter had to perfect himself through severe ordeals of suffering in his innumerable past lives." 6

All this superman's power personified in ascetic heroism was essential and imperative for the attainment of "firm control of mind" with which "he checked all inclinations to indulgence...". Only through a relentless increasing of the ordain of self-inflicted penances "right through those long years of trial, this power to surmount every obstacle on his path to Enlightenment grew stronger in him". 7

Richard Abeyasekera quotes a discourse with Śāriputta in which the Buddha confides "to have practised the four kinds of ascetic life and discipline. Rigorous have I been in my ascetic discipline, rigorous beyond all others. Repulsive have I been in my ascetic practices: repulsive beyond measure. Scrupulous have I been in my ascetic life: I have practised the height of scrupulousness. Solitude have I sought in my practice of asceticism: the utmost extreme of solitude."

Unlike our age of badalininga, degeneration, when all non-pleasurable efforts to improve one's character are labelled as the worst disease of "masochism", while its opposite, "sadism", is considered as the safest and preventive "panacea" against all suffering, the age in which the Buddha was born is sketched also by Richard Abeyasekera as "an age of intense intellectual and spiritual activity. A time of religious unrest... of bold investigation and high achievement - not just in the realm of man's thought, but also too it was no backward age. But it was essentially a time when the things of the spirit... mocked higher than the seen, the material and the gross... It was in fact the night of an ascetic in yellow garb that showed the Master the way to solve life's misery and urged his renunciation... His courage in those experiments (as described in the Mahāvagga-sutta, III 36) was marvellous... Then followed the supreme expression of strength in that last act of his struggle for light", when he realised to have attained the utmost limits of asceticism and "courageously abandoned them in the face of ridicule of his erstwhile admirers" (an allusion to the Mahāvagga-sutta, S V xii 11). And then "he took his seat of grass under the Bodhi tree at Gaya and boldly resolved: Let my flesh, bones and skin shrivel and wither and my blood dry up, yet I shall not lose strength in my aversion. Never from this seat will I stir until I have attained full Enlightenment." 8

Obviously the result of his attainment was strictly proportioned, up
to the last moment of his struggle, to the climax of extreme efforts in ascetic self-mortification of the Bodhisatta "who had to perfect himself through severe ordeals of suffering in his innumerable past lives" - and not simply realizing of his worst "mistake" at the last moment. This was explicitly admitted and underscored as the essential prerequisite in the Buddha's discourse on bearing "the fears and terrors" of the forest-life (Sthaviravasa-sutta, N. 4):

"Suppose some monk or brahman is unpurified in bodily, verbal or mental conduct... is subject to fright and horror... unconcentrated and confused in mind, devoid of understanding... when such a monk or brahman retreats to a remote jungle-thicket abode in the forest, then owing to those faults he evokes unwholesome fear and dread. But... I have none of those defects. I retreat to a remote jungle-thicket in the forest as one of the Noble Ones, who are free from these defects. Seeing in myself this freedom from such defects, I find great solace in living in the forest... I thought: But there are the specially holy nights... suppose I spent those nights in such awe-inspiring abodes... which make the hair stand up - perhaps I should encounter that fear and dread. And later I thought: Why do I dwell in constant expectation of the fear and dread? Why not substitute that fear and dread while maintaining the posture I am in, when it comes to me? And while I walked... sat... lay down... the fear and dread came upon me; but neither I stood nor sat... till I had subdued that fear and dread."

In the archaically deepest and most beautiful (and therefore most neglected) poem ascribed to the Buddha, on the symbol of "The Rhinoceros", the first, middle (27) and last (41) stanzas form the essential knots on which the whole texture is harmoniously knitted and woven. The climax is reached on the central point in the statement:

Escaped from the excitations of views, arrived to the clearing, take the straight way:

"I have attained the wisdom not guided by others."
- Go alone as the rhinoceros.  

(Sn. 55)

Without having reached this point of clear orientation at the end of the thorny and tortuous pathless passage through the "jungle of views" and of misleading opinions, one will necessarily still remain with the lost orientation within the vicious circle of eternal reproduction and renewal of interdependent causes and intricate relations of cetasamūnga; torn by all the currents of the stream of kāma, unable to swim across and ultimately strand the "pine away like old cranes in a lake without fish" (Dhp. 155). Even a casual visit to a buddho and a talk with him will remain useless and annoying - as in the classic case of Mahāñcāgatissa (M. 65), or recently in the most famous and romantically most attractive novel skillfully shaped for the taste of our hippie youth by Hermann Hesse in the bhagavata ideal of his Siddhartha.

III

(1) In the Buddha's discourses on the subject of ahimsā with Jain nihantu (followers of his opponent Mahāvīra) the most conspicuous topic of discussion was the question of "the modes of action in doing evil deeds, namely, action of body, of word and of mind" (analyzed most extensively in the Upāti-sutta, U. 56).

Ujja-Tagasā, the naked ascetic, a follower of Mahāvyāna Ṣātāputra, the Mahāvīra, on one occasion visited the Buddha in Midda, and the latter asked him:

- Well, Tagasā, how many modes of action does Mahāvyāna Ṣātāputra declare there are in evil acting and behaving?
- No, friend Gotama; the performed action is not declared by Mahāvyāna Ṣātāputra to be an action, it is declared to be an offence.
- Well, Tagasā, how many modes of offence does he declare there are in evil acting and behaving?
- ... offences of body, of word and of mind,... Of these three offences,... bodily offence is the most blamable. Verbal offence and mental offence are not so blamable.

On the contrary, according to the Buddha,
- Of these three actions (kammic), then analyzed and differentiated, mental action, I declare, is the most blamable. Bodily action and verbal action are not so blamable....

Then, on a later occasion, another follower of Mahāvīra, Ujja, insisted again on the same standpoint as Tagasā, the Buddha asked him:

- What do you think, householder? Suppose there were a naked ascetic with the four kinds of restraint, restrained as regards all evil... he, while walking up and down, inflicts destruction upon many tiny creatures. Now, what does Mahāvyāna Ṣātāputra declare is the result of this?
- He declares that what is unintentional is not blamable....
- And in which offence does Ṣātāputra recognize intention?
- In mental offence.
- Householder, householder, think carefully before you reply. This latter does not agree with your former statement that bodily offence is the most blamable and not so the mental and the verbal offences....
In my attempts to verify this statement on the gradation of evil deeds in Jain scriptures or oral tradition I have never come across any confirmation of the sequence inscribed upon by Bhāgava statements in the quoted text and repeated in other Buddhist references. The sequence confirmed in the subsequent Jain tradition is always just the same as the Buddhist mind-world-body, and there is no mention of its debatability at any time. As this was the time of deep religious reform in several Jain communities (among those that of Mahāvīra, preceding Mahāvīra only about two centuries was the most authentic), we should not exclude the possibility that such discussions with the Buddha and his followers might have influenced the contemporary Jain reformers - a problem that still might be worthy of further investigation in comparative studies of these two closely related and therefore historically antagonistic religions of ahimsa.

In the Jain Ayāranga-nāyika (Sk. Lekhānā-nātṛya), in the first book, Bhāma-cetikā (3, 4, 3), dealing with the training in ascetic discipline (brahma-nāyika), the concluding statement—"There are degrees in injurious acts, but there are no degrees in non-violence"—indicates, in its context, a deeper approach to the whole problem discussed in our context from the standpoint of the various circles of socially reprehensible acts.

(2) The Dhammapada is the most popular collection of aphoristic verses attributed to the Buddha, occasionally taken out of his more extensive discourses. Like the Jātaka tales, some of these verses convey the archetypal symbols and their meaning from ancient Indian wisdom applied to Buddhist contexts. In Jainism, the Uttarājñāyana-sūtra (Sk. Uttarāśāraya-nātṛya) in its 36 chapters comes closest to the genre of both the 26 chapters of the Dhammapada and the more extensive collection of 1149 stanzas, interwoven with tales and dialogues, in the Sūtra-nātṛya. Some of these verses, contained sometimes in chapters under analogous headings in both the Dhammapada and Uttarājñāyana-sūtra, correspond to each other not only in analogous but also in homologous sequences of several stanzas. In the following selection of Dhammapada verses we shall begin with a few examples confirming this analogy.

The title of the eighth chapter of the Dhammapada is "The Thousands" (Shaksa-vagga). The following stanzas correspond closely to the same style and contents of utterances ascribed to King Hadi, a pacciya-buddha (Pali paccakka-buddha) of Jain tradition, after his sāvāja (Pali sabbakkha, escape from the world) at the beginning of chapter IX of Uttarājñāyana-sūtra.

**Dhammapada**

If a man were to conquer in battle a thousand times a thousand men, and another conquer one, himself, he indeed is the greatest of conquerors.

**Uttarājñāyana-sūtra**

Though a man were to conquer thousands and thousands enemies, greater will be his victory if he conquers only himself.

Conquest of self is indeed better than the conquest of other persons; he who conquers of one who has disciplined himself, himself through himself, who always practices self-control, will obtain happiness.

(101-4)

If a man after month after month for a hundred years should sacrifice a thousand offerings, and if he only for one moment would honour a man with a developed self, that honour is, indeed, better than a century of sacrifice.

(105)

Let a fool after month after month eat his food with a kusa-grass blade; nevertheless he is not worth the sixteenth part of those who have well understood the Truth (dhamma).

(79)

The last, 261, chapter of the Dhammapada (Shaksa-vagga) contains a sequence of stanzas ending with the refrain "Him I call a brahman" (tan shān brāhmaṇa). In the 261 chapter of the Uttarājñāyana-sūtra a sequence of 16 stanzas (13-14) end with the refrain "Him we call a brāhmaṇa." The following few samples are characteristic for our analogy.

Him I call a brahman who does not hurt by body, speech, or mind, who is controlled in these three things.

(39)

Him I call a brahman who has laid aside the rod with regard to beings, whether weak or strong, who neither kills nor lets others kill.

(40)

Independently of such implications the word ahimsā occurs in the following aphorisms of the Dhammapada:

The silent sages abstaining from violence (ahimsā), always restrained in body, go to the state from which they never relapse, whither gone they never grieve.
(7) Some Jātaka tales were also motivated by the same virtue and intention to illustrate the application of ahimsā in daily life.

NOTES


5. My main Yugoslav work on "the medians of Asian philosophies" (Hazmea azijskih filozofija I, Part 2 on "Jainism and Buddhism", chapter 5 a-o, pp. 173-95. Ed. "Liber", Zagreb 1970) contains a survey of Pali texts on the Buddha's discussions with Jains and some texts characteristic of his attitude to brāhmaṇas. Suttas most characteristic of the sharpness of their controversy are: M 56 Upāli, M 58 Abhayasāka, and M 104 Rāma (on the occasion of Mahābodhi's death). Discussion of the Jain doctrines of unlimited and always present absolute knowledge of a tirthakara (kveyan-Rāma) and the extreme limits of ascetic restraint (sāvāvara) are described in M 71 Tevijja-vaagācchita, M 76 Sākāra, M 101 Devadaha and some minor texts in Abhayasākti and Sākyaputta-nikāya. Characteristic of the Buddha's ironic rebuke of brāhmaṇas are, amongst others: M 51 Kendrasaka - on the four types of men (the first, "torturer of himself" in the Jain ascetic, the second, "torturer of both himself and others" is the brahman performing sacrifices for a king and the king himself); D 31 Sigālovāsa (the stupidity of literal understanding of ritualistic texts), and D 4 Jopāśanda (the self-convict of a mighty brahman).

6. Most of the specific penances practised by the Buddha immediately before his spiritual awakening at Druvaiṣa were specifically and peculiarly according to the Jain tradition. They are described in M 12 Kehā-Gaṇadhā-sutta and other texts from the same period of his struggle for awakening. The similarities of both teachings, Jain and Buddhist, are most strikingly presented in two beautiful poems included in the *Sutta-nipāta*: "The Rhoosoroi" (Rhauggavisāna) and *Kusa sutta* - describing the ascetic attitude of a Jain munī (silent sage) as opposed to the traditional and institutionalised Buddhist "priest."

7. This and some of the preceding quotations are from Bhikkhu Bhikkhu's *The Life of the Buddha* (BO, Kandy 1972). Underlinings are mine.

8. The texts in the sequel are taken from H. Jacob's *Jaina Sūtras*, SEI 22 and 45, 2nd ed., Delhi 1964. Disparities between translations from Prākrit and Pali in analogous texts are partly due to my impossibility of consulting original Prākrit editions.


The story of the Bodhisatta's quest for Enlightenment is related in identical terms in four Pali discourses of the Middle Collection: the Discourse on the Exalted Quest (Ariyapaṭipattinī-sutta), the Greater Discourse to Saccaka (Makkaccānakā-sutta), the Discourse to Prince Bothi (Bothi-sāja-kumāra-sutta) and the Discourse to Sadgārī (Sadgārī-sutta) (Śājīma Nīkāya 26, 36, 85 and 100).

An important section of this account deals with the Bodhisatta's meeting with and study under two contemporary teachers of yogic or ecstatic techniques, Ālāra Kalāma and Udāka Rāmaputta. The similarities of the accounts of these meetings in the Pali have led several translators to gloss over important differences between them and treat them as virtually identical, with a mere substitution of names. Such is entirely the case with the late I. B. Horner's English translation of the Discourse on the Exalted Quest (Middle Length Sayings I, PTS 1967, pp. 207-210), and, to a lesser degree, with Bhikkhu Kāmānuñci's translations of the Discourse to Prince Bothi and the Discourse on the Exalted Quest (A Treasury of the Buddha's Words, Mahāvaṇṇaka Rājaratīśavāya Press, Bangkok II pp.273-6, III pp.201-4 - see book review on p.17).

The main difference is one of tense change: while in the account of the first meeting Ālāra Kalāma is spoken of in the present tense, in the account of the second meeting Udāka Rāmaputta is spoken of in the present, but Rāma is spoken of in the aorist or past tense. This tense change makes it clear that Udāka Rāmaputta and Rāma are not one and the same person, as given in the above-mentioned translations, but that Udāka is the disciple, either the spiritual or real son (putta) of the deceased teacher Rāma.

In the passage in question, the Buddha relates how he, as a bodhisatta, met Ālāra Kalāma, mastered his teaching - the attainment of the plane of nothingness - and then, because it did not lead to Enlightenment, rejected it. He then went to Udāka Rāmaputta, who as accepted into Udāka's community, he quickly mastered the teaching verbally and intellectually. The Buddha then goes on to relate - the whole account is in the first person - as follows: "I, then thought, 'It was not out of mere faith that Rāma taught (parravicīna) this dharma, saying 'I dwell having attained, having realized by my own direct knowledge'; I am certain that Rāma dwelt (vīhāra) knowing and seeing this dharma'. I then went to Udāka Rāmaputta and asked, 'What is the extent, sir (dīna, vocative), of the dharma that Rāma (Rāna, nominative) taught, having attained it, having realized it by his own direct knowledge?' On being asked this, Udāka Rāmaputta instructed me in the plane of neither perception nor non-perception.
I then thought, 'Rāma had (abhāsā\|sthī) no monopoly on faith; I too possess faith; Rāma had no monopoly on energy, mindfulness, concentration or wisdom; I too possess energy, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom. Let me then act myself in order to realise the dharma that Rāma taught, saying 'I dwell having attained, having realised by my own direct knowledge.' And not long afterwards, indeed quickly, I dwell having attained to this dharma, having realised it by my own direct knowledge. I then went to Uddaka Rāmaputta. and asked, 'Is this the extent, sir (āvagy, voc.), of the dharma that Rāma (Rāma, nom.) taught, having attained it, having realised it by his own direct knowledge?' Then he answered in the affirmative, I said, 'I too dwell having attained to this dharma to the same extent, having realised it by my own direct knowledge.' (And Uddaka Rāmaputta said, 'It is a blessing, sir, it is indeed a blessing that I should meet with a companion in the spiritual life such as you! You now dwell having attained to, having realised by your own direct knowledge, the dharma that Rāma taught, having attained to it and having realised it by his own direct knowledge ... the dharma that Rāma knew (abhāsā\|jñāni), you know ... as was (abhāsā\|--) Rāma, so are you ... Come then, sir, may you lead this community!'"

A difference in status between the two individuals, Āḷāka and Uddaka, is revealed in the concluding parts of the accounts of the two meetings, where another important difference occurs. When the Bodhisattva informs Āḷāka Kāśyapa that he has mastered the latter’s teaching, Āḷāka, after proclaiming the Bodhisattva to be his equal, says, "Come then, sir, let the two of us lead this community together." In his narration of this event, the Buddha remarks, "Thus Āḷāka Kāśyapa, my teacher (āgāvaj), set me, his disciple (antevāsin) in equal footing with himself, and honoured me with the highest of honours." In the account of the second meeting, however, after Uddaka has proclaimed the Bodhisattva to be the equal of Rāma, he says, "Come then, sir, may you lead this community." (see translation above). Of this the Buddha remarks, "Thus Uddaka Rāmaputta, my companion in the spiritual life (sahajavivāda) established me in the position of teacher (āgāvajā), and honoured me with the highest of honours." This implies that, while Āḷāka was accepted as a teacher in his own right, Uddaka was simply the leader of a community through succession, by virtue of his teacher’s death.

The relationship between Uddaka Rāmaputta and Rāma is borne out by two accounts of the second meeting preserved in Chinese. The first, from a discourse of the Sarvāstivādins school, describes Rāma as the father of Uddaka; the second, from the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas school, describes Rāma as Uddaka’s teacher, and states specifically that Uddaka started teaching after the death of his teacher, Rāma (both passages translated and discussed by A. Baren in *Recherches sur la biographie du Bouddha dans les Sūtra-cités et les Vinaya-cités anciens*, 1952, Paris 1963, pp. 23-27). Of the extant Sanskrit texts dealing with the Bodhisattva’s meeting with Uddaka, who is variously referred to as Buddhist Sanskrit texts as Udaka, Uddaka, Udraka and Rudraka, the Mahāvastu of the Lokottaravādins school, in which is certain an ancient passage, also makes this relationship clear. While the Bodhisattva addresses Uddaka as “hrdaya Udraka” ("good Udraka"), the latter speaks of the "good Rāma" in a way that clearly implies that Rāma was his teacher. Thus he says, "Just so much, good Gautama, was attained, realised and taught by the good Rāma (bhavattā rāma) the plane of neither perception nor non-perception." When the Bodhisattva announces that he has also attained to this plane, Uddaka replies, "Then the good Gautama knows that same dharma which the good Rāma (bhavattā Rāma) knows (jñāti; third person, "historical present")." (Mahāvastu Asvāka 2, ed. R. Fuson, Sakatkiya Sanskrit College, Calcutta 1958, pp. 167-9.) Unfortunately, the English translation of this passage is faulty, and implies that Uddaka and Rāma are one person, as do the translations from Pali (J. Jones The Mahāvastu 2, SBE, London 1952, p. 116-7).

The account given in the Lalita-vistara (ed. P. Valdey, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, Mithila Institute, Barhanga 1956, p. 160-1) seems to have undergone the same confusion as that of some modern translators. When the Bodhisattva asks Uddaka (hara Indraka), "Who is your teacher, whose teaching do you profess?", the latter replies, "I do not have any teacher! I have realised (this teaching) correctly by myself and on my own". This account differs widely in style and content from the Pali, Chinese and Mahāvastu accounts, which are generally similar, and is clearly later.

Two accounts, virtually identical in their translated form, are preserved in Tibetan translation in the Abhidharma-kosa of an unknown school (but, because of the close agreement of this and other passages with the following, presumably Sarvāstivāda or Mahā-sarvāstivāda (P. 967, vol. 39, p. 16.4.14f) and in the Vīnyāsa of the Mahā-sarvāstivāda (P. 1030, vol. 42, p. 34.4.1f; oh.17, Sangha-gheya-vasta). Although older than that of the Lalita-vistara, and closer to the style of the early accounts, the narrative of the two meetings in these texts fails to preserve any differences: the two meetings are described identically, the only difference being the names and attainments of the two teachers.

Of the extant texts as a whole, the concluding portions of the Pali version bring out the difference in status between the two individuals the most clearly. The Mahāvastu version, though briefer than the Pali, is also quite clear. There the Buddha relates that Āḷāka Kāśyapa suggested that the two of them lead the community of disciples together, and thus set the Bodhisattva on equal footing with himself (mahānātha-ye aṭṭha-vinay), while Uddaka asked the Bodhi-
sattva to take over the community of disciples, and thus established the Bodhi-
sattva in the position of teacher (Aññāraṇa-samettati). The two Chinese
versions are less clear, but still preserve some differences. The Lelita-visan,
in its account of the second meeting, combines elements from both meetings,
generally using the vocabulary of the Mahāvastu: Udāka says, “Come then, let you
and I lead this community”, thus setting the Bodhisattva on equal footing with
himself (Aññāraṇa-samettati) and establishing him in the position of teacher
(Aññāraṇa-samettati). The Abhijnakramana-sātra and the Vinavatavastu again
fail to preserve any difference whatsoever.

Finally, it should be noted that Udāka Rāmaputta is never addressed or
referred to as Rāma, as is given in the English translations of the Pāli and
implied by the English translations of the Mahāvastu. In Pāli he is addressed
simply as Adyāna, in the Mahāvastu as bho Rāmagha or simply Rāma, in the Lelita-
visan as adīya; in Pāli he is referred to as Udāka Rāmaputta, in the Mahā-
vastu as Udāka Rāmaputta, and in the Lelita-visan as Bādaka Aññayata or
simply Bādaka. Elsewhere in Sanskrit texts he is referred to as Udāka, not
Rāma (Kāryāvadāna, ed.V. Pāliya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, Barabagra 1979, p.251;
etc.). In the Pāli commentaries as well he is referred to simply as Udāka
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The material given above is sufficient to make it clear that Udāka Rāmaputta
and Rāma were two different persons, and that Rāma, Udāka’s teacher, had
died by the time of the Bodhisattva’s meeting with Udāka! It does not, however,
tell us whether or not Udāka was the actual son of Rāma, as implied by his
name and one Chinese translation. It is also not clear whether or not Udāka
had himself attained to the plane of neither perception nor non-perception.
The texts that treat Udāka and Rāma as different persons, and give the difference
in status between Āḷira and Udāka, imply that he had not; otherwise, why the
difference in status? Thus the sub-commentary on the Pāli version of this pass-
age states that only Rāma had attained to this samettati, not Udāka. The other
texts imply that Udāka, as a teacher in his own right, had attained to the
state that he taught; on their side is the fact that in Indian yogic systems
attainment is held to be one of the prerequisites of teaching; later Sanskrit
Buddhist traditions certainly held that Udāka had attained, and give him as an
example of one who had reached the summit of existence (bhavārtha - the plane of
neither perception nor non-perception) and been reborn there, but was bound,
because of past karma, to fall once more into the realm of Āḷira, to the animal-
or even the hell-planes. For example, the Saṁsārakāna-sūtra of Aññaghoṣa states
that “even though the sage Udāka attained to the formless summit of exist-
ence, he will depart from there when his karma is exhausted, and fall to the
animal-plane”.

As regards the age of the passages studied here, the Pāli and the Mahā-
vastu accounts are clearly the oldest; the latter, as simpler and less stereo-
typed, may be the older of the two. The Lelita-visan, like the Mahāvastu in
general, contains material from various strata mixed with verses; thus the bulk
of the account of the meeting with Āḷira, given in the first person, is quite
early in style, and strongly resembles that of the Mahāvastu, while the ac-
count of the meeting with Udāka, given in the third person and opening with an
explanation of how the Bodhisattva studied under Udāka only as an expedition
(āyaṇa), in order to demonstrate that mundane meditations do not lead to release
(laukika-saṁādhi-taṇhā-niścayam), is clearly much later. The accounts of the
Abhijnakramana-sātra and the Vinavatavastu, though preserving a relatively an-
cient style, underwent alteration at a later date.

NOTES

1 In the PTS edition only the account of the Añña-pariyāsana is given in full; the others are virtually abbreviated out of existence. The Thai, Burmese and Indonesian editions give the account in full in each case. M.26 quite the sections on the three similes and the austerities.

2 In order to show the difference of tense clearly, the past forms of the verbs in the account of the second meeting are given in parentheses, followed by the present forms that occur in the account of the first meeting, that with Āḷira.

3 In the account of the first meeting, Āḷira is addressed in the vocative by his rōta name as Adyāna - Ki ṅma: cf. Pāpaṇas-samadhi (Mahanakta Mājavīrīlaya, Bangkok, Vol.1, p.77); Buddhavaṇa-attikhāthi, Dālibalo Bhikkhu Foundation, Bangkok 1979, pp.12, 34, 527.

4 While Bhikkhu Ānāgoli has translated this portion of the narrative correctly, I.B. Horner has simply repeated the passage dealing with Āḷira with the names changed.

5 The text of the Mahāvastu is somewhat corrupt. In Basak’s edition, p.166.12, correct bha Udrakāna to bha Udraka; at p.167.1 correct ānāṣa-pānāna-yāvanena to naiva-pānāna-yāvanena; the whole phrase should probably read vamānasāvaṇena (cf. 168.13). A lexicon occurs in the account of the meeting with Āḷira, p.166.8-10, and should be corrected on the basis of the account of the meeting with Udraka, p.166.8-11; cf. also Lelita-visan 174.19-22.

6 This portion of the narrative has been mistranslated by Jones (1900-1).
7 The Thai script versions of the passage dealing with Uddaka are corrupt, and do in fact give the vocative Ṛṣiṃ in place of the nominative Ṛṣi; furthermore, the vocative Ṛṣevedi occurs as the present Ṛṣavedī. Other verbs, however, remain in the vocative: viṭkāni, abhijnati, abhāvati, according to the notes on variant readings in the Burmese script Chhattha-saṅgīti-pitakka, the vocative also occurs in the Sinhalese and Khmer script versions, as well as in some Burmese versions (Hla-paṇṇa-sūtī, p.221, n.4; Ṛṣiṃas-pān, p.221, n.4, and Ṛṣiṃas-pānī, p.451). The note given at the first occurrence of the variant, that is, p.26, is by far the lengthiest note in the entire Burmese script hājīhāna, which demonstrates that the confusion of the identity of Uddaka and Ṛṣiṃ is one of the major textual problems of that collection. The full text of this valuable and interesting note is as follows: "Ṛṣiṃa: Śhala-poṭhake, Śyāma-poṭhake, kathaci hājīhāna-poṭhake dīsasaṇa-pātho. Mahābuddha Rāmaputta-eva avasā, na hājīhāna. Āna hi tatttha gaṅgaci bhayaeva, taṁ ca kālāsāko asanto. Tenevetha hājīhānaṃ kriya-pādūti aṭṭa-kāla-vasena āgāthi, Udāko na Rāmaputte mahāsāsana eva bhavati eva vutto na mātrīyo-ṭī. Tiṭkāyo ca: "Pāliyam Rāmasavahānāti-lābbhit āgāthi na Udāsāti! メディ paścātthāgāṭhe pakkāsīta." (Hla-paṇṇa-sūtī, p.221, n.4). Unfortunately I did not obtain the Burmese script edition until after the article was completed, so could not refer to this note in the body of the text. Another point worthy of note is that the Burmese and Thai editions prefer the spelling Udāko, which is one of the variant spellings of the Mahāvastu.

8 Hla-paṇṇa-sūtī, part 2, Burmese script ed., Rangoon 1951, p.139.

9 The Saundaranandas of Āvavara, ed. and tr. by H.H.Johnston, repr. Delhi 1975, p.195 (note at text verse 96) and translation p.63, note at verse 96. Although Johnston excludes verses 96 and 97 from the body of the text as "undeniably apuricous", I see no cogent reason for doing so. The two verses fit the context admirably, and bhegeva is not, as Johnston would have it, particularly "a late word": it occurs at least once in the Pali Canon in the same meaning as in the later non-canonical Sanskrit texts: 

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\text{ātthāvāso novā-roṣa-māna-saṅkhāraḥ -nāsaḥ svākāṭ ēkāvā samāhārap adhāna} \]


10 The Pali Buddhist Review 6, 2 (1981-2)
(ii) "Then, Aggivesana, another, a second, smile, never heard before at any point in the past, came to me spontaneously. Suppose there is a piece of net, sappy wood, lying well away from the water on dry land, and someone happens along with a fire-stick, thinking, 'I will make a fire and produce heat.' Do you think that he will be able to do so, by rubbing the fire-stick against this piece of net, sappy wood, lying well away from the water on dry land?"

"Certainly not, good jotaka even though it is lying well away from the water on dry land, that piece of wood is wet and sappy; the person in question would only get wearying and frustrating himself."

"Such is the case, Aggivesana, with sappo and bhuphappo who shall only physically withdraw from sense-pleasures, but whose tendency towards sense-pleasures...(as above)...is neither inwardly well-abandoned nor well-subdued; even if, as a result of their striving, these respected sappo and bhuphappo undergo unpleasant feeling, sharp and harsh, they will be incapable of knowledge, vision and unsurpassed enlightenment, and even if they do not undergo unpleasant feeling, sharp and harsh, resulting from their striving, they will still be incapable of knowledge, vision and unsurpassed enlightenment. This, Aggivesana, is the second smile, never heard before at any point in the past, that came to me spontaneously."

(iii) "Then, Aggivesana, another, a third, smile, never heard before at any point in the past, came to me spontaneously. Suppose there is a piece of dry, sappo wood, lying well away from the water on dry land, and someone happens along with a fire-stick, thinking, 'I will make a fire and produce heat.' Do you think he will be able to do so, by rubbing the fire-stick against this piece of dry, sappo wood, lying well away from the water on dry land?"

"Indeed he could, good jotaka, for that piece of wood is dry and sappy, and, more than that, is lying well away from the water on dry land."

"Such is the case, Aggivesana, with sappo and bhuphappo who shall both physically and mentally withdraw from sense-pleasures, and whose tendency towards sense-pleasures, derive for sense-pleasures, infatuation with sense-pleasures, thirst for sense-pleasures and burning for sense-pleasures is both inwardly well-abandoned and well-subdued; even if, as a result of their striving, these respected sappo and bhuphappo undergo unpleasant feeling, sharp and harsh, they will be incapable of knowledge, vision and unsurpassed enlightenment, and even if they do not undergo unpleasant feeling, sharp and harsh, resulting from their striving, they will still be incapable of knowledge, vision and unsurpassed enlightenment. This, Aggivesana, is the third smile, never heard before at any point in the past, that came to me spontaneously."

In the application of the second simile, the PTG edition reads, as in the application of the first simile, "Aggivesana, the second, physically and mentally withdrew, and do not dwell physically withdrawn from sense-pleasures." However, as noted by Jerramani himself and as given in the 2nd edition, the reading should be "Aggivesana, the second, physically and mentally withdrew, and do not dwell physically withdrawn from sense-pleasures." This is demanded by the context here the piece of wood, the mind, though still not saturated with sense-desires, is in dry land, that is, without sense-desires. This error in the PTG edition has given rise to faulty translations in L. Inhorn's "Meditation: Je Tsong Khapa" (1991, p.236) and in Jerramani's "Reflections...I (1992, p.40-1)."

The second problem, that of variant readings, is more complex. The 2nd script edition and the corrected PTG edition give the part of the application of the three similes under discussion as follows:

(i) do not dwell physically withdrawn from sense-pleasures (kha-ra pa'i snying-po rdzogs-pa chen-po che dang chen-po bzhugs-sa po;)

(ii) dwell physically withdrawn from sense-pleasures (kha-ra pa'i snying-po rdzogs-pa chen-po bzhugs-sa po;)

(iii) = (ii)

This gives the context and would stand as it is; however, the Barneys and Wood edition, introducing a further element, read as follows:

(i) dwell neither physically nor mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures (kha-ra pa'i snying-po dang chen-po bzhugs-sa po;)

(ii) dwell both physically and mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures (kha-ra pa'i snying-po rdzogs-pa chen-po bzhugs-sa po;)

(iii) = (ii)

Here again, only the first and the last statements fit the context: "not being mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures", in the first simile, summarises "their tendency towards sense-pleasures... is neither inwardly well-abandoned nor well-subdued; "being mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures", in the third simile, summarises "their tendency towards sense-pleasures... is both inwardly well-abandoned and well-subdued." But in the second application, "being mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures" contradicts "their tendency towards sense-pleasures is neither well-abandoned nor well-subdued, and further contradicts the simile itself, for the piece of wood, the mind, is still wet, that is saturated by sense-desires.

Equivalent Sanskrit-Tibetan texts (according to A. Bareau, op.cit., p. 43; the Chinese texts studied by him do not give the passage on the three similes) give the following readings:
The Three Smiles

A. Lalita-vistara (op.cit., p.181-2, Sanskrit; the Tibetan translation gives the same readings)
(i) dwell neither physically nor mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures
(kāhehi avanakkṛta-kāyā viharanti sam kāhehi avanakkṛta-cittaṅga viharanti sam)
(ii) dwell both physically and mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures
(kāhehi avanakkṛta-kāyā-cittaṅga viharanti)
(iii) = (ii)

B. Mahāvastu 2 (op.cit., pp.169-173, Sanskrit only)
(i) dwell neither physically nor mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures
(kāhehi avanakkṛta-kāyā viharanti avanakkṛta-cittaṅga)
(ii) dwell physically withdrawn but not mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures
(kāhehi vanakkṛta-kāyā viharanti avanakkṛta-cittaṅga)
(iii) dwell both physically and mentally withdrawn from sense-pleasures
(kāhehi vanakkṛta-kāyā viharanti vanakkṛta-cittaṅga)

C. Abhininkramana-sūtra (op.cit., p.185.2f, Tibetan) and Vīnayavastu (op.cit., ch.17, p.37.1.2, Tibetan)
(i) dwell neither physically nor mentally withdrawn (thec oring ba-vyanak-
krta? from sense-pleasures
(ii) dwell having abandoned (upong ba-vyanak-h?) sense-pleasures physically
but not mentally
(iii) dwell both mentally and physically withdrawn from sense-pleasures.

Firstly, it may be noted that all Sanskrit-Tibetan versions give both body and mind, as do the Burmese and Mālandā editions; the Lalita-vistara agrees entirely with the latter two texts - with the same vocabulary but different phrasing - and thus does not solve the problem of the application of the second simile. The Mahāvastu, the Abhininkramana-sūtra and the Vīnayavastu versions, however, fit both the context and the progression of thought: in the second simile, "physically withdrawn from sense-pleasures" is equivalent to "on dry land", out of the "water" of sense-pleasures; "mentally not withdrawn from sense-pleasures" corresponds to the piece of wet wood, the mind still saturated by sensual desires.

The main problem now becomes whether or not the Pāli text should include the phrase "(not) mentally withdrawn" in addition to "(not) physically withdrawn", and if so, how to resolve the problem of the application of the second simile. It may be argued that the addition of "mentally withdrawn" is redundant, since it is difficult to take it as anything other than an equivalent of the list of near-synonyms beginning with "tendency towards sense-pleasures". However, redundancies abound in both Pāli and Sanskrit texts; it is given in the majority of

texts studied and may be further supported by other canonical texts, which, both in Pāli (DII 285 = A IV 152; SV 67) and Sanskrit (Sārṣṭi-sūtra, ed. K.Mittal, in Nāgārjuna Bānaśīkāra in Śārīra Buddhism, Berlin 1957, p. 84), mention physical and mental withdrawal (kuśa-, tīta-, vīvanakā/- vyanak-
krta) together. Non-canonical texts of the Sanskrit traditions also deal with these two, but give them broader definitions (cf. Abhininkrama-kāsā, Bhāṣya and Vishnuśā, Sūtra Artha-śāstra-sūtra-nibandhana, ed. N.Sastri, Patna 1971, p. 204; Śrīvaṭa-bhaṇḍa of Sāntaka, ed. K.Shukla, Patna 1973, p.362). Further, one of the Pāli discourses that contains this passage, the Greater Discourse to Saccakas, opens with the question of "physical and mental development" (kuśa-, tīta-
-bhavan). Thus it seems likely that both physical and mental withdrawal should be included in the Pāli text.

It is, however, difficult to include both in the application of the second simile as it stands. Adhering as closely as possible to the extant manuscript tradition, the only possible reading would be "kāhehi vīya na cittena kā
hehi vīyakkātthā viharanti", which sounds unidiomatic. The only acceptable solution for the time being is to cite the reference to mental withdrawal in the application of the second simile, a solution which is not entirely satisfactory, but at least can be supported by available manuscripts. Thus we get, as translated above,
(i) kāhehi cītiṣa na kāhehi avīyakkātthā viharanti
(ii) kāhehi cītiṣa kāhehi vīyakkātthā viharanti (see Pāli ed. p.550 and Bhikkhu Pamāno, op.cit., Vol.3, p.195, notes, for other suggested readings;Pamā
no suggests the same readings as here for (i) and (iii))
(iii) kāhehi cītiṣa na kāhehi vīyakkātthā viharanti.

Numerous other differences occur in the various versions of this passage, while the Pāli text situates this incident at Uruvelā, Sānāṅgāna, on the banks of the Nerañjana river, after the Bodhisatta has left Uddaka Rāmaputta and before his practice of self-mortification, the Abhininkramana-sūtra and the Vīnayavastu situate it "south of the Gaṅga" (Abhininkramana, doubtless an error for the following) or "south of Gaṅgā" (Vīnayavastu), at Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa's (Kāśyapa, given by both texts, probably an error) Sānāṅgāna, by the Nerañjana river, after the practice of austerity (Abhininkramana) or after the practice of the bulk of the austerities (Vīnayavastu). The Sāhāvakas and the Lalita-vistara situate the event on Gañālārāya mountain, after the Bodhisatta has left Uddaka Rāmaputta; after the three similes have occurred to him he then proceeds to Uruvilvā Sānāṅgāna (ka) and the Nerañjana river, and begins his practice of austerities.

The latter two texts, which agree with the Pāli in situating the three
similes before the austerities, give a passage, not found in Pali; after the similes but before the austerities, which connects the two: "Then, O monks, I thought, 'I shall both physically and mentally withdraw from sense-pleasures, and have thoughts about sense-pleasures, desire for sense-pleasures, burning for sense-pleasures and attachment to sense-pleasures will under control (prati-vincha)[even if I should undergo unpleasant feelings - acute, harsh and reeling, that torment the self and torture the body - I will yet be capable of knowledge, insight and understanding of that which transcends the human state" (Khapavatru, p.461, p. 17); Lalita-vistara gives a similar passage, worded differently).

Another difference is in the string of synonyms for mental desire, beginning in Pali with "tendency towards sense-pleasures", and in the partitives denoting their (non-) relinquishment; these differ from text to text, but need not detain us here as the differences do not affect the meaning. The similes themselves are also worded differently in the various texts; the only significant difference here being that in the Abhinirmasrama and Vajyavastu the first two similes are exactly the same - "a piece of sweet honeywood, taken from the water and placed on dry land" - which raises the reverse of the main problem dealt with above: the same simile with two different applications. Another difference which does not affect the meaning concerns the order of the material: while the Pali, the Abhinirmasrama and Vajyavastu give the similes first, followed by their applications, the Mahavastu and Lalita-vistara give the "applications" first, followed by the similes, then by a repetition of the applications (the Mahavastu gives the text in full throughout, with one omission in the first simile, probably a lacuna or mistrans, while the Lalita-vistara abbreviates the second and third similes considerably). Further, in the Pali and the Mahavastu, no doubt the most ancient versions, the narrative is in the first person; in the other texts it is related of the Bodhisatta in the third person.

All the texts studied here give a follow-up passage, after the practice of self-mortification, that refers back to the applications of the three similes. The Pali version (II 1, p.245.25) reads as follows, "Then, Aggavasam, I thought, 'This is the limit (asifva-puramata) of unpleasant feeling - acute and harsh, resulting from striving - undergone by any samana or brahmanas in the past, the future, or the present: there is nothing beyond this!'" (summarized translation). The Mahavastu (p.102.3) reads "Then, monks, I thought, 'This is the limit of unpleasant feeling - acute, severe and harsh, that torments the self and tortures the body - undergone by any respected ascetics or brahmanas in the past or of present: no one is capable of surpassing this'".

The one major difference that occurs in the applications of the similes is that all Sanskrit-Tibetan versions mention only that, even should the ascetics and brahmanas be tormented by pain as a result of their self-mortification, they will or will not be capable of enlightenment, while the Pali version alone introduces a second alternative: whether or not they are tormented by pain as a result of their self-mortification, they will or will not be capable of enlightenment. Although the Pali version cannot be rejected outright, it seems unnecessary to include this second alternative. The general application of the similes, here as well as in other contexts (cf. N 119, III p.95; M 126, III pp.141-144; Patsokpala, p.1-2) is impossible/possibility in this context only when the mind, the piece of wood, is both physically and mentally withdrawn or removed from sense-pleasures can it give birth to the "spark of enlightenment"; thus the practice of self-mortification can only be effective when the practitioner is so withdrawn. It would seem that, had the Bodhisatta further realised that enlightenment could be realised without the practice of self-mortification - the second alternative to the third simile in the Pali - he would not have embarked upon such practice, for no less than six years, according to common tradition. That at that point the Bodhisatta believed the practice of austerities to be necessary is clearly given in one of the Pali discourses that contains the passage in question, the Digha to Prince Bodhi (II 85); if II 31), where the Buddha introduces the narration of the quest for enlightenment and the practice of self-mortification with the statement, "before my enlightenment, when I was an enlightened bodhisatta, I thought that happiness is not to be attained by means of happiness; happiness is to be obtained through suffering!". The relation of the austerities itself confirms this: it is only when the Bodhisatta realises that he has reached the limit of suffering to be attained through self-mortification that he sees that this practice has not led him to enlightenment. Wondering if there is another path to enlightenment, he reflects upon a past experience of meditation (shana, dhvina), and realises that this is the path. He then reflects, "Why should I fear a happiness that is free of sense-pleasure and free of unhealthy states of mind?", and goes on to reject self-mortification, adopt a healthy diet, practice meditation and attain enlightenment. (M 246-7; the Sanskrit-Tibetan texts studied here all contain this passage, with the usual differences of phrasing.) Thus the second alternative given in the Pali seems unlikely, and may well be a later interpolation; it brings to mind the interpolations in the Lalita-vistara, where it is said that the Bodhisatta already knew the futility of self-mortification but practised it to the limit in order to demonstrate this futility (op.cit, p.102-3, etc.).

In this case the Mahavastu seems to give the most ancient and the clearest version of this event; the other versions all present difficulties and appear to have become corrupted with the passage of time.
Notes

1. As in the case of the discourses dealing with the meetings with Śāraṇa and Uddaka, only the first discourse of the Pali edition (I.36) gives the text in Pāli; the Thai, Burmese and Mālanda editions all give the Pali text in each case.

2. After the commentary, Pāpeña-sūlīṇa (Vol.2, Mahānākata Mahāvīryālāya, Bangkok, B.E.2463, p.307); mākkākkā-sa-nībbatānā.

3. Pāpeña-sūlīṇa, loc. cit.: mākkākkā-sa-nībbatānā; cf. Kośa 66a, mākkākkā-sa-nībbatānā; Suvālakṣṇa.


6. The Mahāvāstu is here very corrupt; see Kopplon's suggested corrections, which are followed here (Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, repr. Delhi 1972, p.150b, 152b). Whatever the original may have been, the general idea is confirmed by the Pāli, Lalita-vistarā (p.132,133), Abhinirakāma (29.1.7) and Vinaya-vastu (37.5,2), and Jones' rendering (op. cit., p.125) is certainly wrong. I.B. Horner's translation from the Pāli (op. cit., p.340), though perhaps not literally wrong, is unhappy and fails to bring out the meaning clearly; Bhikku Nāṇaśiṅhā's rendering (op. cit., Vol.1, p.203, Vol.3, p.197) is much preferable.

Abbreviations and Terms Used

Pāli: the P.T.S. (Pali Text Society, London), the Burmese script Chanda-saṅgīti (Mangoon), the Thai script Mahānākata Mahāvīryālāya, Bangkok) and the Mālanda (Mālanda, Bihar) editions have been consulted for the passages dealt with here; of these the Burmese gives the best readings, which are mainly followed by the Mālanda edition, which adds modern punctuation. References to other Pāli texts, except when otherwise noted, are to Pāli editions, with standard abbreviations.

Tibetan: the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka (P), Sūtra Research Foundation reprint, Tokyo-Kyoto, has been used; references are to catalogue number, followed by volume number, page, col. and line.

Names: for the sake of consistency, the Pāli forms (buddhists, Uddaka, etc.) have been used, except in direct citations from the Sanskrit.

News & Notes

Conference on Mahāvīryālāya Sanskrit Literature

The third conference sponsored by the Kommission für buddhistische Studien der Akademie der Wissenschaften was held in Göttingen between 13th and 16th July 1982. The occasion was also made to coincide with the 85th birthday of Ernst Walser, the demon of researchers in Central Asian literature.

An indication of the scope of the proceedings is provided by the titles of those papers (all of which will be published in 1983) which are likely to prove of most interest to our readers: S.Keizer "Zur Frage der Schreibzeichen - kraft der Fragmente des Abhidharma-kāraṇānyasastra und der Lokajātra"; V. Kajita "Schools of the Chinese T'ou Āgama. Studies in Japan"; Bhikku Pannā "Sanskrit "Bericht über die Himmeln von Kamon-Zitaten aus dem Abhidhamma-kāraṇānyasastra. The presentation of individual elements in the central tendencies"; B. Sayont Rang "Über die Nikāya der Śākṣekas in the Upaniṣads and in the Upādhyāya of the philosophical schools of Buddhism" and Ch. Tripathi "Vāraṇāsī, Māndāra 29 and Bhotakhāsa-Parallelies hierzu."

The fifth conference of The International Association of Buddhist Studies was held at Hartford College, Oxford, between 16th-21st August 1982, under the presidency of Ven.Dr Walpole-Behula. It had been organized by the local Secretary (and Hon.Secretary of the Pali Text Society), Prof.Richard Gombrich.

All aspects of Buddhism were covered, including special sessions on Buddhist Logic and Epistemology, Art and Iconography, Anthropology of Buddhism, Tibetan Religious and Philosophical Thought, and Contemporary Japanese Buddhism. Reports were received on the Critical Pāli Dictionary, Pāli-Tibetan Concordance, Pāli-English Dictionary (proposed revised edition) and the Journal of the Pāli Text Society (proposed revival) (by the Editor-in-Chief of the JPS and President of the P.T.S., K.R.Kornman), Buddhist (French-language encyclopedia of Buddhism based in Kyoto - Robert Durt), "Sanskrit Dictionary of Buddhist Texts from the Tripitaka" (Siglinde Dietz), "Systematic Survey of Buddhist Pāli Literature" (Akira Yuyama - who presented the same report in German in Göttingen), and "Group for Buddhist and Jain Philological Studies" in France (Gérard Pommier).


Catalogues of Buddhist MSS

Assessing the literary holdings of archives and libraries is a necessary prerequisite to revealing their contents by means of text editions and translations. Thus, the first issue in the series, "Catalogue of Oriental manuscripts, xylographs, etc. in Danish collections" is a welcome addition to this literature. The late C.R.Godskovitz (see PR II 62) has produced a Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts (1980) which not only updates previous descriptive lists of Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhala texts in the possession of the publishers, the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, but incorporates the manuscripts in private hands. For details of the Rank Collection, the nucleus of the Library's collection of Pali texts, and the work of editors and lexicographers in Denmark, see Russell Webb "Pali Buddhist Studies in Denmark", PR II 162.

The above volume complements similar works from the same source, viz. G.Cauchie Catalogue des manuscrits en pali, lactien et sindola provenant de la Thailande (1966) - each of which was translated for H.Buddhist's paper, "Pali Literature from Laos" (Studies in Pali and Buddhism, ed. A.K.Barui, Delhi 1979) - and A.Haelens and C.Bewern Catalogue of Mongol Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs (1971).

In London, as far back as 1876 Z.Hase compiled a Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pali Books in the British Museum. Cecil Benall later prepared a Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali and Pali-Prakrit books in the British Museum (1931), followed by L.Barnett's 2nd and 3rd Supplements (1938 and 1928) which are still available. JCPB II (1903), repr.1976 featured a "List of Pali MSS in the British Museum" (and similar lists for Cambridge, Copenhagen and Stockholm) by L.B.Hoeming who supplemented it in Vol.XII (1968). Unpublished supplements were subsequently drafted by him (1993) and Barnett (1930). Related to these materials is the Neill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts from which the long-awaited Catalogue of Pali-Sinhalese Buddhist Texts, compiled by K.D.Somadasa, is expected to be published in autumn 1983.

The present work, "described as a compendium of the entire teaching of the Buddha", is divided into the three sections of the Noble Eightfold Path - Morality (samma) Concentration (samadhi) and Wisdom (pajapati), texts (or extracts thereof) are arranged in this order to present an authoritative and indispensable guide to the practice of Buddhism.


For the materials in the other languages of Buddhist South-East Asia see Pe Luang Jin "Burmese manuscripts in the British Museum" (Journal of the Burma Research Society 24, Rangoon 1924), J.D.Barnett List of Pali manuscripts, excluding the Neill collection (typescript, 1930) and Catalogue of the Burmese books in the British Museum (1931), P.H.Herbert "The Sir Arthur Fagge collection of Burmese manuscripts" (British Library, Journal 1, 1975), J.H.Harrison Buddhist of the Tai and Non-Kmer manuscripts in the British Museum,.... (typescript, 1966) and, in preparation by Herbert, Harrison and H.Simberg, "Catalogue of mainland South-East Asia manuscripts in the British Library".


The Buddha's Path to Deliverance

The 4th edition of this classic anthology of Pali texts in translation has just been published by the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy. The compiler was the late German scholar, W.F."Hartt, who is remembered also for his other, world-acclaimed anthology (based on the Four Noble Truths), The Jatakas.

The present work, "described as a compendium of the entire teaching of the Buddha", is divided into the three sections of the Noble Eightfold Path - Morality (samma) Concentration (samadhi) and Wisdom (pajapati), texts (or extracts thereof) are arranged in this order to present an authoritative and indispensable guide to the practice of Buddhism.
Only as a result of unrelated correspondence has the Editor learned of the death of Dr. Johansson at his home in Södertälje, Sweden, sometime during the summer of 1981. (His wife declined to reply to the Editor's request for further details but it is known that her husband was obliged to retire from Lund University for health reasons some years ago.)

Born 1916, he studied Psychology, Sanskrit and Pali at Lund and obtained his licentiate in 1954. He continued his studies in Sanskrit at the University of Calcutta and in Pali at the University of Ceylon where he prepared a long paper on "Citta, Nano, Vimāna - a Psychoanalytic Investigation" (University of Ceylon Series XXIII, 1965). His English study, The Psychology of Nirvāṇa (London 1969), was the first attempt to fit all the different explanations of Nirvāṇa contained in the Pali Canon into a consistent picture, relating the whole to western psychology. A sequel to this work, based upon the formula of Patticchā-sampādā, was published in 1978 by the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies in Copenhagen under the title, The Dynamic Psychology of Early Buddhists.

The first Pali grammar in Swedish was composed by him. Entitled, Buddhistska Texter på Pali, it appeared in the Årabok 1957-60 which was published in 1969 by the "Seminar for slavic Languages" at Lund University. An expanded version in English - Pali Buddhist Texts explained to the beginner - was subsequently published by the Scandinavian Institute (Copenhagen 1973). Apart from this primer and a short essay on "Psychological Causality in Early Buddhism" (PRM III 22), Johansson's most notable achievements were the translations of the Dhammapada (the first directly from the Pali - Stockholm 1967) and the Sutta-Nipāta (Buddhistiska bällader och årskolter, Stockholm 1976). For some inexplicable reason the publisher omitted six sutta (Parākkhava, Vasatā, Vaṇṭāka, Bhikkhumalika, Vassāna and Koṭṭikāya) from the latter collection and these subsequently appeared in Buddhistska Osmopå, the journal of an association with the same name, during 1978-9.

The Dynamic Psychology of Early Buddhism (scheduled for reprint in 1983), Pali Buddhist Texts (revised and enlarged ed. 1961) and the Sutta-Nipāta translation were reviewed for this Journal (IV 92: 123 and 115 1961 and II 67 respectively). The author provided much of the background material to the Editor's survey on "Pali Buddhist Studies in Sweden" (PRM IV 28).

His is undoubtedly a serious loss to Pali Buddhist research in Scandinavia. May he be at peace.
pleasing spot." "Yes, sire," he replied. When the state carriages were ready, he informed the king: "Sire, the state carriages are ready for you. Now it is time to do as you think fit."

Readers may judge for themselves which version they prefer. It is obvious that the proximity of the original must be in any translations even Miss Horner has done this a little (though one might not think so) and Nāṇamoli's version too could be still further cut out without loss. At this point I must declare an interest, in both senses of the word. Being engaged on a new translation of the Dīgha Nikāya, I am naturally directly concerned with the problem and have already learnt much from a close study of Nāṇamoli's way of tackling it. The quoted passage contains nothing remotely "controversial", as some passages inevitably do. Sometimes Nāṇamoli allowed his enthusiasm for "experimental" renderings to run away with him, and the introduction lists a number of cases where more conventional translations have been substituted for terms introduced by him. His use of "divinest" for "Brahmins", which seems to me to be a not altogether happy conceit, has however been retained. Arguably, though, his "thinking and pondering" for vitakka-vibhāga is preferable to the substituted "initial and sustained application". However, I will not go further into such matters here. In sum, it seems to me that in the difficult search for a suitable style of translation, Nāṇamoli made significant advances without, perhaps, always attaining the ideal version.

Ven. Khantibodho's introduction is excellent and covers a lot of ground. Here, I will merely draw attention to his remarks (p.xiii) on the classification of suttas according as the doctrine is stated in terms of dhammas or in terms of persons. His comments on the purely intellectual understanding some people have of the suttas (or of Abhidhamma), and of its limitations, are judicious. He also expresses his opinions, forthrightly but fairly, on one or two other matters. And in general, his introductions to the individual suttas are equally valuable. However, I confess I found his remarks on the Gopaka Röggalimīna Sutta (No.136 Vol.I, p.232) a trifle disturbing, the more especially as coming from the author of an excellent book on tolerance! His statement that "in Mahāyāna the Buddha becomes an eternal God" is, as regards most Mahāyāna schools at least, incorrect, while his remark on the same page that "sattriarchates wherever found in Buddhism are bogus" is needlessly tactless.

Finally, I would offer one suggested solution to a small problem and a few technical criticisms. The note on p.96 of Vol.II mentions an "untraceable word in the original Is: 'metecorative'? or 'metecorative', 'metecorative'??". I suggest that the word is probably 'selloductive', which makes fair sense. The book is well printed and produced and attractive in form, but something seems to have gone wrong with the chapter headings of the suttas which should have been checked. I will merely instance the Dhammapāda Sutta (Vol.I, p.246), which is given the meaningless name of Dharmnaya Sutta. There is also a discrepancy between the title on the cover, A Treasury of the Buddha's Words..., and that on the title page, A Treasury of the Buddha's Discourses..., which will be the despair of all cataloguers. Also, the only clue as to the book's date is that given at the end of the introduction: 1977. If it really was published as long ago as all that, it must have been an un conscientious time in costing to the notice of the outside world - which is a great pity!

Maurice Waddell

New translations of the Dhammapāda:
Balthang Yannapak (ed. and tr.) The Buddha's Words. Distributed by Sukham Thai, Bangkok 1979. xxi + 424pp. $5.00.

With already over thirty English translations of this ever popular anthology, it seems surprising that yet more Pali scholars should attempt further renditions, especially in view of the fact that quite a number of Pali texts remain either untranslated or in urgent need of retranslation.

However, the translators of the first two versions under review justify producing "new" retranslations even if, after a succession of textual permutations spanning a century, the arguments employed no longer sound convincing. (Since the third version is wholly in Thai with the exception of the actual stanzas I cannot ascertain the translator's reasons for producing it, other than incorporating the full text in Thai script and a Thai translation.) Thus, Ven. Khantiplipho states: "English translations of the Dhammapāda..., are costly in prose. This seems that although they may to accurate, beauty and ease of memorizing have been sacrificed. The few attempts at a metrical rendering... have resulted in another extreme - the loss of accuracy through attention given to poetic civility and even to rhyme. Pali verses do not employ rhyme and distort -ion of meaning is inevitable if a translator tries to press the Buddha's words into it."// An English translation must, of course, lose some of the subtle meanings, particularly in the case of words derived from a single root in Pali, where there are no similar forms in English. The present translation is the result of quite a long effort to present the Buddha's words in a way that is both meaningful and accurate - as far as this can be achieved. For this reason, verse form was chosen and the work was also based on an earlier attempt (Growing the...
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in heedfulness rejoice, delighting in the realm of Ariyas."

Kaviratna's equivalent renderings in prose, however, tend to flow in a more relaxed manner (but no doubt the temptation to elaborate beyond the strict confines of the original text is always present), thus:

"Vigilance is the path to immortality; non-vigilance is the path to death. The vigilant do not die; the non-vigilant, though alive, are like unto the dead."

showing this outstanding feature of vigilance, the wise delight in vigilance, rejoicing in the ways of the Noble Ones (ariya)."

But the latter mode is surely preferable when what is at stake is comprehension and lucidity, thus Kaviratna renders v.16:

"The doer of wholesome deeds rejoices here and rejoices hereafter; thus he rejoices in both places. Having beheld his pure deeds he rejoices exceedingly."

Kantipallo, on the contrary, tries to scan the verse by inexplicably using a noun as a verb: "Here he joys, he joys hereafter: in both wise does the merit-maker joy; he joys, then does he rejoice, his own pure human seeing."

The term "delights" may not be strong enough to convey the sense of the original term but what is wrong with the tried and tested term "rejoices"?

It would be physically impossible to make comparisons of this nature throughout the two main translations under review. A choice of stanzas must necessarily be subjective, but, whereas there are many fine metrical renderings in Kantipallo's version which aptly crystallise the Buddha's teaching of direct appeal to heart and mind, it has nevertheless to be admitted that the general rule of losing an intangible quality by means of secondary verse translations holds good. For that reason, no doubt, most translators adopt the safer and less arduous method of prose translation. (Suttanippan's translation, despite an impressive Foreword by Prof. S.Tambiah, has been ignored here because of its similarity with Ukkanda's classic rendering which, in the minds of many, including that of the late I.B.Kumar, constitutes the most authoritative rendition.)

Kaviratna has included a list of the rarest Dhammapada manuscripts and their provenance in Sri Lanka together with a Pali-Sanskrit-English glossary of key terms related to the relevant verses. Kantipallo has provided appropriate line drawings to illustrate the main themes in each verse, an index of first lines in English and, most useful of all, a "Thematic Index" of subjects descri-
which the Buddha sometimes made up when explaining words by means of a non-historical etymology or etiology, e.g. the explanation of bhāmama as bhītā-gāra "one who has expelled his evil". This type of equivalence is more appropriately called "folk-etymology" and is found in other languages besides Pali, e.g. asparagus ("asparagus") is "grass for asparagus". Folk etymology is a very important subject in its own right and merits an independent monograph, but meanwhile it is helpful to have Dhadhade's list of some of the more important examples found in the Tipiṭaka. A further extension of the usage of the term "synonym" takes us beyond the point where the English definition of the word is appropriate, for in his treatment of synonyms Dhadhade includes the 100 epithets of the Buddha found in Uḍḍila's verses in the Mahābhārata, although it does not really seem possible to regard a word such as nāma "man" as a synonym for ṛṣjuvai.

Much of this book is theoretical and analytical in nature, and to that extent it is perhaps too academic for ordinary students of Pali. The needs of such are, however, partly catered for by providing a number of examples of the way in which synonyms enable a reader to decide upon the meaning of a Pali word which by itself is ambiguous or even unintelligible. There are particularly striking examples in the case of synonymous cognates, when a word is explained by a derivation from the same root but with a different suffix, e.g. sandha usually means "doubt" in Sanskrit, but the meaning "body" is ascribed for some contexts in Pali by the occurrence of āha "body" as a synonym.

Although, as noted above, the author has gone further in some directions than the usual definition of "synonym" would seem to allow, the limitation of his enquiry to the Tipiṭaka means that the use of the phenomenon in non-canonical and commentarial texts still awaits investigation. One can do no better than to quote the pair of synonyms with which Dr Dhadhade himself concludes his book: bahucikcoṭ mārāya bahukārapatiya "we have such to do, we have much to perform".

K.R. Norman


Although the Vattadaya is the only extant Pali text dealing with metrics and prosody, it has attracted but little interest from English-speaking scholars since G.E. Feyer published an edition and English translation of it, with extensive notes, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1977. In 1983 R. Siddhartha produced another edition and English translation in the Journal of
The Vuttodaya was written by Sañgharakṣita in Ceylon during the reign of Parśvarajadēva (A.D. 1173-86). It is based upon Vasāvatārakṣita's (Sanskrit) Vṛtaratnakūra, as Professor de Jong states in the newly added Preface which gives a brief, but very valuable, bibliographical survey of Vuttodaya studies. In 136 stanzas, or portions of stanzas, including an introduction in four stanzas, and a conclusion in three (which Siddhārtha notes), Sañgharakṣita describes a large number of Pali metres, each description being, in fact, a pañca of the relevant metre. He does not, however, describe all Pali metres. He omits the archaic form of the Ayā metre found in a few of the very oldest texts in the Pali Canon, and does not mention the Upamattapaccīṇī metre found in the Dhammapāda of the Dānghāmaṇīya. A possible explanation for this is that when Sañgharakṣita states that he will describe the lokavat metre, he is imitating the Janādādi usage of lokavat, i.e. popular (post-Vedāntic) as opposed to Vedāntic prosody. He therefore means non-canonical Pali metres and is consequently justified in omitting mention of metres found only in the Canon.

Siddhārtha's work has certain defects. Since the Vuttodaya states that the mark of the long syllable is curved, and that of the short syllable straight, Siddhārtha adopts this system throughout his translation, e.g. he shows the dactyl as v - v, instead of v - v, which is the normal European form, and the unwary reader is likely to be misled. There are also errors in his translation. He translates samm as "metres which are regular" and abhinnas as "metres that are partly regular", whereas Pryer is more accurate with "metres the quarters of which are similar" and "metres the half lines of which are similar", for abhinnas refers to metres such as Vaiṭṭāliya in which the first and third, and second and fourth, pādas are similar.

Since Pryer gives a critical apparatus for his edition, states the commentaries which he has consulted and quotes from them, gives more detailed comments upon his translation, and offers several examples of each metre described, it is perhaps to be regretted that the publishers chose to reprint Siddhārtha's work rather than Pryer's. Nevertheless, this reprint is to be welcomed as being likely to draw attention to a somewhat neglected text.

K.R. Norman

Editor. A work related in theme to the foregoing two is Topica in Pāli Historically Phonologically, published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1979, at Rs 60. Its author, Indira Yalaghere, is Associate Professor in the Department of South Asian Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, and teaches Indo-Aryan Linguistics, Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi and Indian Philosophy. Her book "is an account of the phonological development of the Pāli language from Sanskrit times, which incorporates the latest developments in linguistic scholarship. Within the frame-work of generative phonology, it deals with a number of interesting aspects concerning sound changes. It examines the underlying forms, the bases for their postulation, readjustment rules, phonological rules, their order with respect to each other and with respect to the rules in The other set. The study operates synchronic rules from historical processes, inherited rules from innovated rules, and generalized rules from particularized rules. Furthermore, it discusses re-structuring and global constraint, and suggests some phonological universals on the basis of Pāli assimilatory processes."

This highly specialised study was also reviewed by the President of the Pāli for Vijnana 54, 1 (Amsterdam 1991, pp. 31-99) to which the reader's attention is directed.


This German-Pali dictionary will, of course, be of interest only to those readers who know at least some German. It contains, we are told, 7,400 German words with 14,200 Pali equivalents. The author claims that "as there are English-Pali dictionaries, it is time there was a German-Pali one, which can be used for practice translations into Pali (a possibly old-fashioned, but still useful exercise for those learning any language). He also thinks it would serve as an aid to scholars investigating the sociological and other such material found in, for instance, the Jātakas, though I am not quite sure how it is supposed to further this aim. It could, of course, also be of use to those, such as Oriental scholars-bhikkhus, who know Pali already and are learning German.

Anyway, on reflection I realize that it probably has more uses than at first occurred to me, for instance, as a first brief appreciation to a Pali 'Boget's Theaurus', as for many entries a number of synonyms are given (e.g.
For *Hand* 'dog' seven variant forms are shown, and for *Hātara* 'guardian' five eye-twists). In some cases an attempt at differentiation is made, but not in others. This feature, as far as it goes, can be quite useful to the student, and it might inspire somebody to attempt a real treasures on a larger scale.

Names are entered in the nominative form, not the *stems* as in the PSI Dictionary, thus *sahab* not *sahāb*, for the final nasal (*sāhinī*) I noted with interest that the author's typographer has the symbol a (really the international phonetic slug for *ā* as in *sing*) which says it clearly introduced instead of under- or over-dotted g. It has long seemed to me that the threefold representation of this letter causes quite unnecessary inconvenience as well as disputes. It should suffice to print an ordinary *g*, the student being simply taught that (as in French) a special nasal pronunciation occurs in syllable-final position: *atīga*.

The choice of entries seems to be a little arbitrary, depending on input on the particular sources extracted. As the author is in fact a doctor, it may be assumed that the medical term included are more accurate than in some other dictionaries and translations.

The book is clearly a labor of love, nicely produced in (for the most part) good clear typescript and very well bound, appropriately in yellow.

Without checking every entry, I noticed a couple of mistakes and other small errors: on p.31 *sāriyākittī* should read *sāriyākittī* (I have submitted a plain *g* here for the phonetic symbol mentioned above), and on p.51 *vesakā* should of course be *vesakā* (a word well known from the Bçegeta). On p.92 *dānīcica* occurs under two different head-words. The second of them, *dānīcica* 'Origin, conditioned', is fine; but the first, *dānīcica* **Abhāsīcica** 'Origin, dependent-simultaneous', nearly reflects the mistranslation of an earlier German scholar. There might be a case for including the term, but it should then be marked as inaccurate. On the same page 02 I was delighted to find the 'Bhaktarian *Anticentric* (un-becoming's) as a head-word for *vihāra*.

**Jameela Valsala**


This is an unusual book with a still more unusual history. The author was Danish and originally published his book in German around the beginning of this century. It was then translated and published in English (and I wonder why no Western publisher has thought it worthwhile republishing, now that interest in Buddhism is so much greater), and sometime after rendered into Thai by two famous literary figures whose pen-names are now the title of the above Foundation, Piya Anuman Rajadhon and Pura Sapsrapasat respectively.

After its translation into Thai it proved so very popular that it was eventually adopted for Buddhist sermons which to this day can be bought in Bangkok printed on the traditional palm-leaves. This is high praise indeed for a Western novel on the Buddha's times! It has now, probably for the benefit of Thai students learning English, been presented by the enterprising firm of Sukhit Siam, in a bilingual edition. Copies may be obtained from the address above.

First, a few words about production and minor errors. This edition (the cheaper one), probably for students, is printed on a Thai paper resembling newsprint. That means its 500 odd pages are not too bulky but on the other hand the book will not last too long. Then the photographic reproduction of the English translation page by page with the Thai, though useful for learning languages, could have been done better. The covers are attractive Indian-style drawings while the text is graced with four drawings by the well-known Thai artist, Angkarn Kalayanajit. It is surprising in view of the novel's age that there are no more errors in the Buddhist parts of the book. Actually there are very few, notably a rather unclear list of Noble Eightfold Path factors on p.214. Also, on the same page, where the Three Characteristics are listed, Max Muller's translation, "All phenomena are unreal", should read - "All dhammas (events) are not-self" (sabbe dhamma anatta). I noticed also, the word 'walk' (p.390, 432), perhaps a literal translation from the German, where 'conduct' or 'practice' would have been more appropriate. There is an omission easy to amend, on p.212 of the words "Truth of the End of all Suffering". And from a Viniya point of view it could be objected that the Buddha stands to address the audience (as on p.306), while, of course, he would have sat cross-legged upon a dais or seat. And on p.384 for 'penury' one should read 'material things'. Apparently a footnote is missing on p.230.

Having noticed these small matters that could easily be corrected, it is time to praise further the very broad Indian knowledge of the author as well as his fine and inspiring style. I do not know if the author had ever been to India, but certainly he impresses us with a fascinating picture of high life in ancient times there. His picture is very convincing in its wealth of detail. Even his flights of fancy like the mendihly clever robber priest, Vajrayavas and his Kriśa Śrātras, are vivid and like enough to be true.

His story is basically of a young merchant's finding of his true love in
a far distant city, and the many difficulties that prevent them from enjoying each other's company thereafter.

All through the long story is woven the figure of Angaliśa, at first known as a robber much more terrifying than in the suttas, and later a tuned and compassionate bhikkhu. But at the beginning and near to the end the Buddha is depicted in a heart moving way. For sure the author was a true Buddhist.

Though a large part of the book is Kāṣita's account of his life given to the Buddha during the early part of a night, towards the end his beloved, Vināthipī, who has practised far on the path as a bhikkhunī, discourses on her life, her account of the Buddha's Parinibbāna, and from her great wisdom manages to raise up Kāṣita from his attachment to sensuality and sceptical doubt.

I would call the account of Śuddhavatī (not to be confused with Amida's paradise, but more like one of the six sensuāl-realm heavens), where they are both born in lotuses, quite superb. If words can express heavenly delights then our author has done a very fine job. When it comes to the couple's next rebirth in the Brahā world, the writing is even more astonishing and I can only admire the author's excellent and convincing imagination. Finally, there is the attempt to convey their 'going-out' or Nibbāna, which is the finest of most evocative pieces of writing - where words cannot really tell.

Then, of course, there is the Dharma running like a thread all the way through. The author has very skilfully borrowed pieces of suttas and woven them into the right places in his story.

Anyone who enjoys a good tale and loves the Dharma will like this book. It could be a good introduction to the Buddha's Teachings for some, while for others it will conjure up those famous days when our Master walked the land of Jambu.

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* First published Frankfurt 1903 and translated into Danish (1906), English (London 1911 and New York 1912), Hungarian (Budapest 1922) and Polish (EDITOR).
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