A FRAGMENT OF THE NIDANASUTRA
Translated by John M. Cooper

1. Observations

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

The same sūtra occurs in a book by Tripāthi which deals with the Noble Eightfold Path and the Pratītyasamutpāda, illustrated by a comparison of an ancient road leading to an ancient town which have been rediscovered respectively as the Noble Eightfold Path and the chain of twelve causes which produce dukkha which had been rediscovered by the Buddha while he was still a Bodhisattva. Lévi’s folio tv corresponds to nos. 1-4 and the other folios to nos. 13-19 of the Samyutta-nikāya, Nidāna-samyutta, XIII, 65; nāgarāja “the town”\(^3\). The lacunae in Lévi’s fragments have been filled in from Tripāthi’s text pp. 94-5 for folio tv and pp. 99-103 for the remaining folios. In the translation Tripāthi’s text appears in parentheses. In the Sanskrit edition the chain of causation has been expounded at greater length than in the Pali.

Note that in folio tv, in line 2, the text supplemented from Tripāthi is longer than the lacuna in Lévi’s text. Taking the lacuna as 15 aśkaras this will accommodate Tripāthi’s phrase (eka) (smin samahe bhāgavān śrā) Vastayam viharatima ity. Thus the part which will not fit in, jet (avane ‘nāthapinda-dāvyārāmel) (latra) bhagānā bhikṣān ānantaṃ (a) pāram mhe bhikṣaṇa, is not important. The lacuna at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 is fitted exactly by Tripāthi’s text—gataya pratisuddhi (i) nayatvam cetai esāhara. The lacuna at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 (18 aśkaras) is fitted by Tripāthi’s text (dhyāna) te ‘pi nariṣate ‘pi īca; vate ‘py (u) patriṣyat ‘py (c) (17 aśkaras) with one space to spare. The...
lacuna at the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 (18 aksaras) is also bigger than Tripāṭhi's text (p) rajānas (til) (t) ya mamai (tad abha) vati ka (smin nu) sati (17 aksaras). In folio rv a small lacuna at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 (4 aksaras) is shorter than Tripāṭhi's text putā pāṇāvaka (5 aksaras). Maybe the pleonastic suffix ka was dropped in Lévi's text. The small lacuna at the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 (4 aksaras) is again shorter than Tripāṭhi's text putām pāṇāvaka (5 aksaras), maybe for the same reason. The other small lacuna in line 6 (3 aksaras) is fitted exactly by Tripāṭhi's text sa tatra but the sandhi of anvagchaṃs, as suggested by Tripāṭhi, suggests that this word was followed by tatra.

Two words in Tripāṭhi's text putā and dāpa I have translated as 'track' and 'park', following Tripāṭhi, although putābhada is given by the Pali dictionary as meaning a town ad dāpanavatā in Tripāṭhi corresponds to udāpanavatān 'having foundations of walls' in the Pali. I have differed from him in rendering bhava as 'becoming' instead of 'the enjoyment of existence' and in rendering sanskāras as 'prepositions' instead of 'formative powers' (or it could be translated as 'volitional actions').

The language of the fragment is BHS, as we see from such locutions as yad uta, nissaraṇa, yonilo mantikavattah, abhisamaya, upādāna, tasya mūyatād abhavat, bhava, āyatana, nāmapāya, sanskāra, upāyāya, skandha, anuśīlāya.

In describing the path followed by former sages Tripāṭhi's text four times uses pāṇāvaka rāthikā (rather abrahmanical word for sages), where the Pali has, corresponding to three of them, pāṭaka saṃsambuddhehi 'a path followed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times'.

In a passage tracing the conditioning of the nidānas (65.8-9), the Pali says that not only is name-and-form conditioned by consciousness (65.6) but consciousness is conditioned by name-and-form, that it turns back and goes no further than name-and-form, and then traces the conditioning of the nidānas in the other order, so missing out predispositions and ignorance; in Tripāṭhi's reconstructed text (5.12-14) the tracing continues from name-and-form to consciousness, consciousness to predispositions, predispositions to ignorance, and then (5.15) traces the conditioning of the nidānas in the other order. Both Pali and Sanskrit texts then say that thus arises this whole mass of ill. Similarly, in tracing the dependence of the annihilation of one nidāna upon the annihilation of another nidāna (65.11-17) the Pali text makes them culminate in the annihilation of name-and-form (65.16.17), whereas in Lévi's text (folios s and r) and Tripāṭhi's text (5.16-27) they culminate in the annihilation of ignorance (Lévi folio rr and Tripāṭhi 5.26-27). Both Sanskrit and Pali texts then say that thus ceases this whole mass of ill. They both relate the discovery of the ancient road leading to the ancient town, and say that the Noble Eightfold Path is the road, and they relate how the Bhagavat, following that path, realised (or saw) the nidānas (except ignorance) and (the Sanskrit in an abbreviated form) their annihilation and the path leading to their annihilation, and both texts culminate in the predispositions (sanskāra, saṅkhāra), omitting ignorance. It is interesting to see that the Pali text here brings in the saṅkhāras, having twice omitted them and

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

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

2. Translation

Folio rv (Corresponding to Tripāṭhi 5. 1-4, pp. 94-5)

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

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

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

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

4. See translation by Ria Kloppenborg, The Sutra on the foundation of the Buddhist Order (chapter 1, Leiden 1975)

* Lewis' text misses out jātāmaxaṇa from this sentence and substitutes the word ūna, which I do not understand.
[There are two folios between these two folios i and i (Lévi). The lacuna between folios iv and xv, according to Tripāṭhi's text (5.5 to 5.17), says that birth is conditional upon becoming, that becoming is conditioned upon clinging, that clinging is conditional upon craving, that craving is conditional upon feeling, that feeling is conditional upon contact, that contact is conditional upon the six sense-bases, that the six sense-bases are conditional upon name-and-form, that name-and-form is conditional upon consciousness, that consciousness is conditional upon feeling, that feeling is conditional upon contact, that contact is conditional upon the six sense-bases; these are the dispositions that predispose to the six sense-bases, to name-and-form, and to consciousness. Thus arises the whole great heap of misery. From the annihilation of birth arises the annihilation of old age and death. From the annihilation of becoming arises the annihilation of birth. The rest of Lévi's text is practically identical with Tripāṭhi 5.18 to 5.29.]

Folio iv

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

Folio xv

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

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

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

Folio iv

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

5. From the annihilation of what [arises] the annihilation of predispositions? Then there occurred to me as I thoroughly concentrated my mind the following realisation of the facts of the matter: When ignorance (6) does not exist predispositions do not come about. From the annihilation of ignorance [arises] the annihilation of predispositions, from the annihilation of predispositions [arises] the annihilation of consciousness, from the annihilation of consciousness [arises] the annihilation of name (and-form).
way, an ancient town, an ancient royal palace (endowed with gardens, groves and lotus pools, beautiful, provided with parks, delightful).

[A little less than two folios are missing after this folio r. (Lévi). This lacuna following folio r⁵, according to Tripāṭhi's text (5.30 to 5.40), says that the man should report the existence of this ancient city to the king and ask him to rebuild it. The king should do so, creating a flourishing city. This ancient way is the Noble Eightfold Path, frequented by ancient sages. Following this path the Bhagavant saw the (eleven) members of the chain of causation (omitting ignorance). He communicated his realisation to monks and others, who, undertaking this path, achieve the wholesome Dharma, causing it to become widespread].

NEW APPROACHES TO BUDDHISM—
THE HARD WAY

Bhikkhu Nānaṭiloka

Human kind cannot bear very much reality.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the Saṅgārava-sutta (M 100) the Buddha complains among other of teachers who are takki-vimānas or, literally, “logical analysts” of texts, whose “perception of knowledge” is based on “mere faith alone”, and who are not “knowing directly by themselves alone”, “here and now”.

While working under the duress of his academic career, Nānananda certainly could not have quoted such texts in his Concept and Reality. However, he was not any longer the first among the therī-ouda pandits of our time who dared express his doubts “about what ought to be doubted” (A I 63).

Discussing the commentarial definition of the word dīthi in the Brahmapājā-sutta, Nānananda singled out (p. 36) the “tendency evident in the commentaries, which, while defining tathā and māna in a more elementary form as to be comprehensive, take great care to be more specific in the case of dīthi. This may be due partly also to a desire to safeguard ‘Right-view’ (samaṇī-dīthi). But it appears that this commentarial definition has created new problems...Besides, the tendency towards dīthi in the sense of dogmatic involvement in concepts, can also become manifest through Samaṇī-Dīthi in its theoretical aspect. It can assume the form of attachment to concepts which constitute Samaṇī-Dīthi. It is precisely this danger that the Buddha forewarns against, in the ‘Parable of the Raft’...

With reference to Udāna 9, Nānananda points out “facts which seem to have been overlooked by the commentator Dhammapāla” for whom terms referring to the ‘Nihāna-element’ “assume a certain degree of grossness and banality”, and whose explanation ultimately “exposes the inadequacy of his interpretation” (op. cit. p. 56).

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

In his second book, The Magic of the Mind: An Exposition of the Kālakārama Sutta, written in 1972, Nānananda demonstrated how his first scholarly work has served him for a further delicate task and service to the living spirit of the Buddha-dhammo.

The acknowledgement of the historical factor in the method of the logic of cultural sciences (in contradistinction to the statical attitude of formal logics applied to the scientific objectification of “nature”, mainly in its obsolete Newtonian meaning) has become in the course of the 20th century characteristic also for modern efforts to save from stagnation the perennial values (samaṇī-dhamma) of the ancient Asian wisdom. In his Introduction on the ‘Historical Background’ of the short root-text (mālam) selected for his existential interpretation in The Magic of the Mind (A II, Kālakārama-sutta) Nānananda states first that “the discourse...does contain some marvellous aspects of the Tathāgata's

3. Published in 1974 by the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy.
transcendental wisdom". Among tabu terms on which he wishes to put a new stress, we find, on the next page 2, also the statement that "beneath that dryness and that strangeness in formulation there lie vast resources for a perennial philosophy". The author's sensitivity for the actual value of the dimension of historicality (as Heidegger's translators would call it) and his interest in comparative philosophy is affirmed, in the same introductory frame, in the following statement:

The Sutta gains a high degree of historical importance owing to the tradition handed down by the commentaries and chronicles, that it was preached by the venerable Mahārakkhittha Thera to convert the country of the 'Yonakas' during the great missionary movement which took place in the reign of the Emperor Asoka.

If the identification of the 'Yonakas' with Greeks is correct, the choice of this deeply philosophical discourse for such a significant occasion, could not have been a mere coincidence. It might have been prompted by the consideration that the philosophically mature minds of the Greeks would be able to receive it well.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In his Note he undertook to demonstrate the possibility of a ‘vertical view’ which proceeds by the rational method of focussing an extensive range of documentary material, definitions of epistemological key-terms from the Sutta-pitakam converging upon the most complex structure in the archaic formulation of categorial interdependence of mental functions —paticca-samuppāda—within the transcendential limitation of pure reason by metaphysical nescience—avijjā. (The terminological adequation to basic standards of Kantian philosophy is mine.)

Avijjā, the primordial term and phenomenological source of Indian metaphysics of knowledge since the earliest upanisadīś points in Nāṇavīra’s interpretation (though the point remains implicit) to the ultimate metaphysical justification of “the philosophical faith” (cf. Jaspers’ formulation of Der philosophische Glauben), and still more clearly to the decisive for existential inseparability of religion-and-philosophy against the false scholastic dilemma formulated in our case in the sophisticated question: “Is Buddhism a religion OR a philosophy?”:

In order to put an end to ariyā, which is a matter of recognising ariyā as ariyā, it is necessary to accept on trust from the Buddha a Teaching that contradicts the immediate evidence of the pathujjana’s reflexion. This is why the Dhamma is paṭīsolagāmi (…) or ‘going against the stream’. (P. 22-3)

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

Paticca-samuppāda has nothing to do with temporal succession (cause-and-effect). Precedence in paticca-samuppāda is structural not temporal: paticca-samuppāda is not the description of a process. For as long as paticca-samuppāda is thought to involve temporal succession (as it is, notably, in the traditional ‘three-life’ interpretation), so long is it liable to be regarded as some kind of hypothesis (that there is re-birth and that it is caused by ariyā) to be verified (or not) in the course of time (like any hypothesis of the natural sciences), and so long are people liable to think that the necessary and sufficient criterion of a ‘Buddhist’ is the acceptance of this hypothesis on trust...But the Buddha tells us(…) that paticca-samuppāda is sādhisthāk akālika ekhiyissi opanayii paccattani vedittabbii vinuññii, What temporal succession is akālika(…) For an ariyādakkha paticca-samuppāda is a matter of direct reflexive certainty. (P. 66-8)

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

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

7. In Nāṇamoli’s translation of Visuddhimagga (The Path of Purification, Ch. VII, 76-83): visible here and now, it has no delay (lit. takes no time), inviting of inspection, onward-leading, directly experienceable by the wise.
It is sometimes thought possible to modify this interpretation of *paticcasamuppada* by confining its application to the present life. Instead of temporal succession we have continuous becoming, which introduces the notion of a flux, where the effect cannot be clearly distinguished from the cause—the cause becomes the effect. But this does not get rid of the temporal element. The problem lies in the present, which is always with us; and any attempt to consider past or future without first settling the present problem can only beg the question. Any interpretation of *paticcasamuppada* that involves time is an attempt to solve the present problem by referring to past or future, and is therefore necessarily mistaken. (P. 68-70)

This seems to summarise, from the stand-point of the modern transcendental philosophy, the gist of Nāṇavira’s essentialism.

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

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

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

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

8. In its traditional dogmatic interpretation divided in three parts referring to “the present existence”, “the frequent existence” and “the subsequent existence”.

9. Suggestion is made to the Little of a minor booklet by Bhikkhu Nāṇananda, dedicated to “An exposition of the Bhaddakaratta Sutta” (Wheel Publication No. 188. P. 8, Kandy 1973).

of “being-in-the-world” (Heidegger), to escape from reality. There is no “Escape to Reality” as the *puññavīra*, the believer in the ‘bliss-of-ignorance’ imagines it, because beyond the magician’s show there is nothing—and that is all:

The world...looks as though it would last
But to him who sees there’s naught.

In Nāṇananda’s words, supported by an elaborate many-sided evidence:...

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

Nāṇananda’s shyness to confirm explicitly the arguments of his very eloquent documentation on subjects of decisive importance for a deeper essential understanding of the Buddha-dhamma appears perhaps most symptomatically in his hesitation, at the end of the book, to take a resolute stand in discussing the “meaning of the word” nibbāna;

Despite obvious canonical evidence there is a hesitation to recognise the fact that it essentially signifies an “extinguishing” (if not “extinction”—the dismal word!). There is something traumatic in one’s response to the so-called ‘negative definitions’ and hence we usually leave the word Nibbāna untranslated, though more ‘sociable’ companions fare better in this respect. This tendency becomes more marked when, for instance, Nibbāna is clearly defined in the Suttas as the destruction of lust, hatred and delusion (n. S 4 251), and even the commentary (SA) is rather apologetic.

The “sociable companions” mentioned above and misused especially in “modern” Western interpretations for the purpose of applying “semantic differentials” in order to scatter and to explain away rather than to focus the attention on the integrity of the unique essential significances—those “companions” (which certainly are not strictly speaking connotations) are specified in a footnote to the quoted passage as “thirty three epithets given at S 4 367ff”.

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

11. Ud. 79, quoted in *The Magic...* P. 79.
The rejection of the translation of stong-pa-nyid (snyan-rta) by 'emptiness' or 'void' is based on the following consideration: snyan-rta is not a container that can be emptied nor is there anything that could be taken out of snyan-rta. The choice of the term 'emptiness' dates back to the time when under the influence of idealism mind was conceived as a container of ideas, and when the ideal seemed to be to leave an empty blankness.

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

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

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

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

15. One of the best known names in later Japanese philosophy, also in this connection, is Shin-ichi Hidamaro, Professor of philosophy and religion, Kyoto, author of an essay on "The Characteristics of Oriental Nothingness" in Philosophical Studies of Japan II (UNESCO 1960).
18. The following quotation is from my essay, "The Philosophy of Disgust—Buddhism and Nietzsche" in Schopenhauer Jahrbuch 1977 (Frankfurt, M.).
Renounce son and wife, father and mother, property and income, relations, and all the pleasures as limitations.
Go alone as the rhinoceros.

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

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

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

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

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

In April 1976 I met at the Buddhist Publication Society in Kandy a young Dutch scholar from Utrecht University, Dr. Ria Kloppenborg. Her Ph.D. thesis, *The Paccabuddha, A Buddhist Ascetic* (Leiden 1974) was received as sabbadana dharmadana jinii (the gift of truth which excels all gifts). It will remain a basic scholarly elaboration of source material for any further work on "Khaggavasi-Sana Buddha" as I understand it. A new designation has been added to it by identifying this archetypal pre-Buddhist and pre-Aryan model (often met with in the oldest Jain tradition) with the ideal personality of a paccabuddha. Trying to define this ideal in the Introduction, Dr. Kloppenborg had to start with the statement of the following facts:

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

The paccabuddha is rarely dealt with in the secondary literature.

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

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

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

The commentary of the Khaggavasi-Sana-suttam vivisects first the whole poem into 41 single "sayings" ascribed to various paccabuddhas, setting each "saying" into some naïve hagiography, mainly of mythological "kings of Benares". Once they have attained their paccabuddhi, they are disposed off by a collective transfer to a specific bhāmī ("ground") between heaven and earth, a mythical area called the Nandamilaka-slope of Mount Gandhamādāna "beyond the seven mountains" of the Himālayas.

A paccabuddha is a "silent sage" or muni (as still today Jain monks are called) Consequently the only possible way of instructing which is

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19. The rhinoceros was the emblem of the 11th Hrthakarēcē Śrīparīkṣha. The virtue of "going along as rhinoceros" (khaggavasina tu thavasa) is praised e.g. in the biography of Mādhavika in the Kappa-suttam 118, and as a characteristic of r muni in general in the Śrīyagada-suttam. II, 2.70. (cf. H. Jacobi's transl. *Jaina Sūtras*, *SBE* Vol. 22 and 45, Part I, *The Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 261, and Part II, *The Śrīvatsatāsūtra Sūtra*, p. 378).

20. Cf. in the Sutta-nipata in the same opening, chapter (Uragavaggo) with the Khaggavasi-suttam its *pendent* in the last poem (12) Muni-suttam describing the same ideal of the silent sage.
followed by them by personal example without intention to be a model for others.

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

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

...it is clear that even if a paccakkadhamma intends to teach, he is thought not to be capable of revealing the essence, i.e. to teach what he thinks is unteachable. 22

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

Then let us take it today as our own predicament (or nearly so, because dogmatic orthodoxy would not yet allow us to take it quite so pessimistically). For example, No. 22, described it from the standpoint of his "Religion within the limits of bare Reason" 23).

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

The purpose of Dr Kloppeberg's thesis was not to encourage further exploration of its existential actuality. If this should be undertaken now, another volume of the same size might hardly suffice to exhaust the philosophical counterpart on the background of this exegetical analysis. Let us, however, try to summarize the range of this essential notion in a more modest, personally limited way:

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

Second, the attainment of the paccakka-buddha should be understood essentially as a "truth that cannot be repeated" but refers always to "one own" existential condition.

Third, the pedagogic value "for others" (parāththā in Dharmakīrti's logic) of a paccaka-buddha's pointers towards the intimate depth-dimension of "one own" truth should not be reduced to the superficial point of view (dīptā) of "absolute irrationalism" and despising of all reasoning, even method "technique". Such irrationalism, in disregarding the critical analysis of transzendental limitations (anānīthā) of phenomenal consciousness (abhava bhātā), or in its direct givenness, would sacrifice a priori the most important premise of culture and civilization, understood in all Indian systems of spiritual development as bhāvānā, a term more appropriate to its basic meaning than its European substitute "meditation" (Even in the case of Zen I am reluctant to understand it either as "irrational" or, still less, as purely "pragmatic", despite the relatively late scholastic accessory structure of quasi-rationalised koans). 24

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

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

---Where will this path lead us?

--- To the forest.

22. ld. p. 77.
23. Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen ihrer Wirklichkeit (beginning) "The lamentation about the miserable condition of the world is as old as the history, even more, as the still older poetry; as old as the oldest of all poems, those preserved in the religion of priests.... The happiness (of the primeval golden age) vanishes as a dream, so that now (and this way as old as history) we live in the last period, the doomsday and the destruction of the world are imminent, so that in some parts of India they worship the judge of the world and its destroyer Rudra, called also Shiva, as the god who has already taken over the government, after the world's maintainer Vishnu, too tired of his work, which was transferred to him from the creator Brahma, had abandoned this duty many centuries ago."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If it is still not quiet both externally and within one's heart, Dhamma will not arise... In other words, sīla will start to become pure, samādhi will begin to appear in his heart and develop in the stages of samādhi, and pānāhā will begin to rise up and move as soon as samādhi starts to appear and it will develop in the stages of pānāhā step by step...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

...we should have a basis of reason to back us up and unable us to diminish the gladness and sorrow so that they are not overpowering. (P. 49)
LITERARY ACTIVITY IN PALI*

N. A. Jayawickrama

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

1. The formative period in the Pali literary tradition, from the time of the official introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon to the beginning of the commentarial epoch.

2. The period of the crystallization of the historical and commentarial traditions, the epoch of the great chronicles and the standard Commentaries.

3. The period of relative inactivity, the post-commentarial epoch.

The Formative Period

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

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

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

Along with the task of the preservation of the Teachings the equally important function of teaching and disseminating the knowledge of the Dhamma was in the hands of competent teachers who are often described by such familiar terms as Vinayapāthikā, Bhavanikā, Dārikā, Ṛṣihā, etc. Their task was as important as that of the custodians of the Dhamma. The language of the Canon itself might not have presented difficulties at least for a few centuries, for the learned idiom (Pāli) might not have been unintelligible to the Aryan settlers and the Aryanized inhabitants of ancient Ceylon who were the speakers of an early Middle Indian dialect, yet the contents of the Pali Canon needed explanation in the spoken idiom of the day. Whether we accept the tradition that Mahinda himself was the author of the Sīhāla-aṭṭhakathā or not, the fact remains that, apart from the texts, the interpretations given in the spoken idiom of the day were considered to be of equal importance as the Teachings themselves. These interpretations, based on traditional exegeses current among the Theravādins teachers of India, gradually paved the way to an unwritten corpus of knowledge which in due course assumed definite shape as commentaries. This briefly is the beginning of the so-called Sīhala-aṭṭhakathā—Sīhala, because the then-current Prakrit of Ceylon was used instead of the language of the Canon. These formed the chief source-materials of the monumental Commentaries of the fifth century A.C.4

The interpretations given in these traditional commentaries appeared to have varied considerably on minor points although there was general agreement on main issues. The Mahā- or Maha-aṭṭhakathā of the Mahāvihāra at Anuradhapura, the commentaries by the first class of authors, was second to none other monastic centres also received the attention of Buddhaghosa and his successors. The Andhaka-aṭṭhakathā,5 probably representing the Theravāda tradition of the entire peninsular region of India, provoked a good deal of adverse comment at the hands of these commentators who were frequently conversant even with its language. The internal evidence of the Pali Commentaries definitely points to extensive exegetical activity prior to their time. It was probably the eminent Ādikārīs whose names are frequently cited in the Commentaries as authorities, who were responsible for some of the statements attributed to the Porāṇa. The quotations6 themselves are restricted to short prose or verse passages, but are a true index to the type of literary activity prior to the time of the Pali Commentaries and indicative of an extensive literature. The exact period cannot be determined with any accuracy except through other external evidence. The activities of the teachers (ācāryās), the 'reporters' (bhrāṇikā) and the 'ancients' (porāṇa) appear to be quite extensive and the numerous references and quotations found in the Commentaries are a clear indication of the magnitude of their literary contributions.

Another important fact one has to keep in mind is the anxiety on the part of the teachers of the Theravāda to arrange and preserve the Buddha's teachings in systematic collections. Within the framework provided by the recitals at the Three Councils, a process of arrangement and rearrangement has taken place right down to the fifth century A.C., though it may have been less marked after the so-called Omathārāhavanagiri in the first century B.C. How much was systematized and how much was preserved in its original form, is a matter beyond solution. However, a few examples can be shown. There are instances of passages from canonical texts which are not recognized by Commentators even as late as their time. The finalization of the porāṇa attributed to a monk, named Dipa, and the preparation of the Khuddakaṇḍa anthology from earlier existing material and now admitted as a text in the Khuddakaṇḍa can be cited as examples. Further, if the traditional date assigned to the Khuddakaṇḍa and the Mūlasīkhā is correct, these works too point to literary activity in Pali in the pre-commentarial period.8 Whatever it is there is a paucity of separate works, as such, until the fifth century A.C., but this dearth of documentary evidence in no way proves the absence of literary activity during this period.

A landmark in the history of Pali literature in Ceylon is the writing down of the Canon in the first century B.C. The rise of a rival school to the Mahāvihāra, the Dhammaruci in the Abhayagiri Monastery, newly established by the reigning king Vattagamini-abhaya, fancies, incursions by South Indian adventurers and, above all, if the tradition that the writing down took place in the Abhās Cave in far-off Matala under the patronage of a district chieflain is correct, the King's lukewarm attitude can have no bearing on the Mahāvihāra may have all been contributions to this event that prompted the monks to write down the Canon. The significance of this event is that, for the first time, the Canon has been subjected to editorial handling before it was put into written form although parts of it may have been written down earlier. It is further stated that the available exegetical material too was written down at the same time.

Before passing on from the formative period of the Pali literary tradition in Ceylon, it should be mentioned that side by side with literary and exegetical activity the various monastic centres maintained historical records which were designed to serve as introductions to the exegetical literature known to them. One such set of records paved the way to a more systematic work, incorporating accounts of all the important events in the progress of the Śāsana from its earliest beginnings in India right up to the time of its compilation, and probably may have been brought up to date from time to time. On the evidence furnished by the Vamsatthapakāsāsini this had been named the Sīhala-aṭṭhakathā-mahāyaṃ. It doubtless served as an historical introduction to the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā in much the same way as the opening sections of the Mahākāvukkanaṃ served as an historical introduction to the Khuddaka. We also hear of a similar document belonging to the Uttaravihāra or Abhayagiri. It was the crystallization of all these historical traditions that we later see in the Dipan смогу5 Dhārayuranāsā of the Samantabhadrasa and the Mahāyaṃ.9

6. Ibid chapter II; Malalasaker, ibid, pp. 91 ff.
7. Originally handed down at Kāḷāpūrāṇa, Malalasaker, G. P. ibid, p. 91.
8. Adhikārī, ibid, pp. 11 ff.
9. Ibid, table at p. 17 and Appendix II.
10. James Gray in the introduction to his edition of the Āsākāmrā dates it as 426 B.C. misinterpreting the phrase 'Sattarasaṃsa vasse' as 117 years after the parinibbāna. 11. For a summary of the discussions on the sources of the Pali Canon see my Inception of Discipline and Vienna Niidam, Pali Text Society, London 1962, pp. xxxi ff.
The Crystallization of the Historical and Commentarial Traditions

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

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

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

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

While the Dipavamsa thus reproduces various traditions haphazardly put together, the Mahāvamsa, the later chronicle, which also deals with the same period, i.e. up to Mahāśēna's reign, presents a highly systematic narrative couched in elegant verse, for the most part in sūkla metre. Although one cannot be justified in assigning a single authorship for all the contents of the Dipavamsa, the Mahāvamsa was the work of one author, the Elder Mahānāma in the early part of the sixth century A.C. Whether it is to be considered as a dipikā, an expository work on the Dipavamsa or not, is based on the same source material as the latter. The Sīkāpa-atthakathā-mahāvamsa was considered by the author to contain too many details in some places and to be too brief in others, and also full of repetitions. Avoiding these blemishes, his idea was to translate into the Pali language from the original Sinhalese 'the ancient Commentary of the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra which was designated as the Mahāvamsa'. The same Pajjapatipannasas used by the Vamsatthappakkasini, laying stress on pājja, 'verse', is an indication that the original source was in prose unlike the sources of the Dipavamsa. The Porāṇa verses common to both Chronicles merely indicate a common feature of the Sīkāpa-atthakathā, that of being interspersed with Pali verse. While Mahānāma's chief source was the historical introduction to the Mahāvihāra, he has also occasionally consulted the Uttaravihāra-atthakathā. The Uttaravihāra-mahāvamsas mentioned in the Vamsatthappakkasini was probably the same work. He has also consulted the Vinayatthakathā, probably the predecessor of the Samantapāsādikā. Similarly, the independent traditional accounts dealing with the Great Bodhi, the Great Thūpa and so forth, which actually led to the composition of the subsequent chronicle or chronicles such as the Mahābhodhiyavamsa, Thīpavamsa, etc., may have formed ancillary sources. It is however, quite clear that the author has been very discriminative in the selection of his material from his main source, for we see the wealth of information left out from the Mahāvihāra to which the author of Vamsatthappakkasini had access in the original Sīkāpa-atthakathā-mahāvamsa even as late as his time.

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

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12. The prose passages occurring among the verses in the editions in Roman script are really verses in irregular metres now re-arranged as verses in the Sinhalese editions.
antapāśādikā, p. 104). The main source of the work is the Vinayatthaka-
kāthā of the accepted Sihala-atthakāthā, the chief of which was the Mahā-
atthakāthā of the Mahāvihāra. It has also incorporated the Porāṇa material21
and has even quoted passages from the Dipavamsa. In giving the
historical foundation of the Vinaya, Buddhaghosa has skillfully woven
together into the narrative a good deal of useful information regarding
the literary traditions pertaining to the growth and classification of the
Pali Canon. The historical background of the book portrays the con-
tinuity of the Vinaya, and Buddhaghosa has extracted the relevant
information for his purpose from the earlier sources on which were based
both the atthakāthā and the vansakāthā in Pali literature.

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

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

Buddhaghosa is rightly looked upon as the earliest Commentator,
though Buddhadda, the author of Vinayavinicchaya, Uttaravinicchaya,
Abhidhammapada, Rāpīḍaprabhāgagē and Mahāvattadhavattini was his
senior contemporary. Legend has it that the two of them met at sea.

21 Jayawickrama, ibid., pp. 225 ff.
22 Ibid., pp. xxiv ff.
23 Adikaram, ibid., p. 7 f.; Malalasekera, The Pali Literature of Ceylon, op. cit.
p. 117 ff.
24 Malalasekera, ibid., p. 115 ff.
Pali literature, and works written either on their inspiration or guidance in due course came to be ascribed to them.²⁵ Next came Upasena who wrote the Saddhammapajātikā on the Mahāniddesa and Cullananīdesa in the year 435 A.C. as mentioned above. He was followed by Mahānāma, a Ceylonese monk, who wrote the Saddhammapakkāsini on the Patissambhidamagga in the third year after King Moggallāna’s death, i.e. 515 A.C. in Kumāravīda’s reign.

The majority of the Commentators were either Cola monks or those who had connections with South India. Buddhadatta was a native of Uragapura (Uraiyur near Tiruchirappalli) and wrote his works in a monastery in Bhūpatimālaga.²⁶ He has also lived in Kāyarpattinam, Uragapura and Kāñcipuram. Venhuḍāsī, his patron, was the Kalabha king of Vasavitikakanda or (Acūtā Nārāyana) of the Cola. Buddhagahosa, as legend has it, was from the region of Juddha Gaya, but is said to have lived in Māvārāpapattana (Māvārapam), Kāñcipuram (Kumāravīda), Chingleput District, and in the Mahāvibuddhagama, he is referred to as a resident of Morandakhetaka, identified as the two villages of Kotanemalipuri and Gudlapatti in Ceylon.²⁷ Dhammapāla was a native of Tambaram (Tirunelveli District). He is generally referred to as Badarattivatthu (probably modern Kaḷaliṇī) whereas the commentator’s Netipakkāraṇa-āṭṭakāḥāṃ refers to a vīhare in the port of Nāgarajainam. While in India he has resided in Kāñcipuram and Tanjai also.

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

Before passing from the commentarial period, brief mention should be made of the earlypakarama literature of Ceylon. It is the Visuddhimagga of Buddhagahosa that comes foremost to one’s mind in this field. It is a compendium of Buddhist doctrine and metaphysics presented in a logical and systematic manner under the three important heads of sīla, samadhi and pātāha. The work can be looked upon as an exposition of the ninefold teachings of the Buddha, navamassā attaśāhanāyā. It is a masterly summary of the Buddha’s teachings.²⁸ This work served as a model on which the subsequent pakarama literature was based.²⁹ Although it is generally believed that the Visuddhimagga is based on an earlier work, Vinimmagga of Upatissa Thera, neither the Chinese translation Gedatt De Koon of Venerable Saṅghapāla of Funan nor the Vinimmagga published by the Government of Ceylon, both attributed to Upatissa, has any close resemblance to the Visuddhimagga. While the Visuddhimagga draws from all the Three Pitaka the Upatissa is based on early pakarama’s of a more specialized nature. Buddhagahosa’s works have already been mentioned. The Abhidhammakuṭāra, his Abhidhamma treatise, has much in common with the Visuddhimagga whose technique it even improves upon,³⁰ while the Vinayapitakāsāhaya reflects a more developed phase of monastic life than that portrayed in the Samantapāsādikā. As the name indicates, the Rājāparivaṭikā is an Abhidhamma treatise and the Uhattarapitakāsāhaya is a further treatise on the Vinaya. In all these works, Buddhagahosa shows great predilection for verse and displays considerable poetic talent. It is not altogether unfounded praise when an anonymous writer exclaims mādāraya ṭhe kāṣṭa ṭhe Buddhatadde divangate ‘Verily, my like are poets now that Buddhagahosa is gone to heaven!’ This may have been one of the reasons why the comparatively late ornament kāvya Jinaśālokā in the life of the Buddha is attributed to him.³¹

Another important work belonging to this period is the Saddhammapiyana, an Abhidhamma treatise in verse, written by Ananda Thera of the Abhayagiri Fraternity. With the suppression of the activities of the Abhayagiri School and the continued burning of ‘heretical works’ very few books longed to that School survived. Perhaps the general agreement found in this book with Theravāda teachings of the Mahāvihāra saved the work for posterity. A pakarama of a still later date is the Patipattiyaanga dealing with the conduct of the three men, and perhaps the predecessor of the more elaborate work the Upasakapālamākāra. It

The Post-Commentarial Epoch

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

²⁵. Ibid., chapter V.
²⁹. Nothing is known of Buddhagaha’s treatise Nāgarāja and it appears to have been written in India before going to Ceylon. Mvy, xxxvii, 225.
³². Vidy Malalasekera, ibid., p. 107 f.
³³. Ibid., p. 110 f. also note 10.
of the last of the recognized Commentators, Mahānāma to that of King Vijayabahu I were comparatively bleak in literary production when contrasted with the eras that preceded it and followed it. The chequered political history of the Island during this period with incursions from South India, mainly for the purpose of pillage and plunder, wars of succession, palace intrigues, the presence of a large mercenary army of Mahābodhi andachinations of foreigners who had wombed their way to positions of influence through royal favour, and, above all, weak rulers, was by no means helpful in promoting the arts and, in consequence, literary activity suffered a severe set-back and no works of a high order were forthcoming. The names of a few kings, however, stand out above the rest. Culla moggallāna as a poet Kumārādasa as the author of the Sanskrit kavya Ādakharanam, Aggabodhi I as a patron of the arts with a large circle of poets in his court, and Silānegha-sena (Mat-vala-sen) as the author of Sujakṣaṭakam, the Sinhalese work on the Jātaka. Benefactions to monasteries continued when conditions permitted and the Tipitaka was assiduously studied. Kings like Kassapa V and Mahinda IV encouraged its study and the Abhidhamma was given pride of place.

Literary works in Pali were not altogether absent in this period. The activities of Culla-Buddhagosa and one or two others who bore the name Dhammapāla after the ācāriya of the same name should be assigned to the early part of this period. The Nāmarātasaṃśa or Kheṇapakaraṇa of the Elder Khema, a very short Abhidhamma manual of this period has become a recognized work in medieval literature. The Mahābodhi-vamsa, based on an earlier Sinhalese version Mahābodhi-vamsa-kathā, already assigned to the last quarter of the tenth century. Later writers including Guru Jigomi of the twelfth century who wrote the Bodhiyana-nipatikā, called Dhammapadigikā in Sinhalese, assigned some of its ascriptions to an Elder Upatissa. It is an ornate prose kavya with unmistakable Sanskrit influence which was being gradually felt during the latter part of this period and exerted a powerful influence on Pali literature during the Polonnaru and Post-Polonnaru periods. The question of the Anugatavamsa-athakathā assigned to a Thera Upasena (not the author of Suddhamappojitā) by one tradition and to Upatissa in the Gandhavamsa, taken up elsewhere, need not be discussed here as the author of the Anugatavamsa himself lived in a much later age, if he was the same Thera Kassapa who wrote the Mahārākacchā. The beautiful Pali poem, Tīrakṣaṭhāgathā IV, consisting of nine-stanza stanzas, also making the transition, like the Mahābodhi-vamsa, to the ornate Pali kāvya of later years is assigned to the tenth century. It is believed that the Kaccāyana system of Pali grammar was formulated and came to be accepted in Ceylon about the seventh century. The grammatical terminology used by the Commentators is definitely anterior to that in the Kaccāyana grammar but the Tīkās written in the reign of Parākrama-bahu the Great unmistakably follow this system. Although tradition connects it with Mahākaccāyan Tera, who is said to have formulated this system of grammar in Avanti, the influence of the Kātantra system of Sanskrit grammar of a much later age is evident here.

The works mentioned above, together with the later pakarāṇas, are the chief surviving works of the period and it is not unlikely that many more may have been lost owing to the unsettled nature of the times. As in the earlier period the books of the Theravāda Schools to the Mahāvihāra have suffered even more. These works, until more evidence is forthcoming, are to be considered as the little oases in an otherwise barren intellectual desert. The works of the great Commentators were becoming more and more unintelligible. The Sīkha-athakathā, too, lingered on until the time of the Dhampyā-ātika-gātikadaya and the Vamsatthapakāsīri. Their language having already become archaic, the books could no longer be used with facility. Hence, there arose the need for a new type of work for the comprehension of the Buddha’s teachings. This led to the rise of the Gaṇṭhīpada and Saṅgha (Sinhalese Saṅhī) literature. A positive link between the commentarial and Tīkā works was provided by these works and the living tradition coming from the time of the apostle Mahinda who was partly transmitted to a later age to be embodied in works which go further into details than the Commentaries. They, in turn, needed further amplification with the result that there arose the Anuttika and still later the Navatikā in more recent times. There is evidence that this survival of this Gaṇṭhīpada and Saṅgha literature even after the time of the Anuttika is not to be spoken of as a few works like Paṭisambhi-dāmaggagātikādīpika and the various Athāyojāna. The Sīrāthādīpikā, Vinayamahākātika knew three Gaṇṭhīpada in Sinhalese and one in Pali, viz., Mahāgaṇṭhūpada, Majjhimagaṇṭhūpada, Cullagaṇṭhūpada and Gaṇṭhūpada respectively. There is reference to the Vinayagāthapada in the Jīnaka-lamāli. The Vamsatthapakāsīri refers to a Mahāsangamaṇgagātikādīpika, probably belonging to the same period. It is possible that the bulk of this literature went into disuse once the material was incorporated in the Tīkās. Some of the Sinhalese Cātāpada going as far back as the tenth and eleventh centuries, viz., Dhampyā-ātika-gātikadaya and Tīrakṣaṭhāgathādīpika respectively, have survived, and we are equally in the dark regarding the early Saṅgha literature which doubtless provided invaluable source-material to the Tīkā. To begin with, there was no difference between Saṅgha and Gaṇṭhīpada in Pali, but once the language employed became Saṅhī, a Saṅgha became a word-for-word paraphrase, while a Cātāpada provided glosses to difficult words and phrases only. Among the oldest surviving Saṅhīs in Sinhalese are Vindhahāruga-mahāsāmmaya and the Vamsatthāmona of Parākramabahu (1256-1270 A.C.). Dipani, Athāyojāna and Nissaya (in Burmese) are generic names which are perhaps of later origin, although there is a large number of works of the sixth century with the term dipani appended to their titles e.g. Paramatthadīpani.

38. Its authorship is unknown. It has been edited by Ven. Tādāvī Aravīlayanagā Thera, Rajagiriya, 1966.
39. This work which has been hardly utilized for critical scholarship contains a good deal of information which if properly sifted will yield valuable data for the reconstruction of the literary history of Ceylon up to its time.
40. Austin, Ratanamana Thero of Chiangmai City, Northern Thailand, written in 1516 A.C. with addenda till 1528 A.C. See Epochs of the Conqueror, Polled Text Society Translation Series No. 36, pp. 79, 86.
This brings us to the close of the Anurādhapura period. With the restoration of Sinhalese suzerainty over the whole Island under Vījaya-bāhu I conditions gradually returned to normal. The Bhikkhuni Order had disappeared beyond revival and the Upasampadā was restored with the assistance of Anuruddha of Pagan. Anuruddha himself had the Tipiṭaka copied out by Burmese monks and had it brought to his city for comparison with Burmese manuscripts which he found to be corrupt. Monastic institutions which had been destroyed and plundered by the invader were restored and a great religious revival took place. This in turn led to a great intellectual re-awakening the full fruition of which is seen in the reign of Parakramabāhu the Great.

Editor’s Notes

IV. See PBR 2, 3 (1977), pp. 127-140. In addition, the Editor has unearthed a third English translation of this poem, by S. K. Ramachandra Rao in the Quarterly Journal of the Mystic Society (Bangalore 1957), pp. 214-227 and 260-281.
VI. Repr. 1964.
IX. Repr. BPS, Kandy 1978.

11. Yugoslavia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Translated Texts and Anthologies**

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

“Buddhistička palijska knjizevnost: Jātaka” (Buddhist Pali literature: three Jātaka stories”, Encyclopaedia Moderna 17, Zagreb 1971)

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

Kren, Boris: “Izvjesnost Buddhism riječi” (“The Certainty of Words” with D 1, 22 and M 118; Idije 5-6, Belgrade 1973)

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

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

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


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

**General Studies**

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

Ivekovic, Rada: Književnost pali (”Pali Literature”, Dept of Indology, Zagreb University 1969)

“Milinda i Nāgasena” (Književna smotra 16, Zagreb 1973)

Problem sojstva i apsoluta u ranom buddhizmu “The problem of self and the absolute in early Buddhism”, Dept of Philosophy, Zagreb University 1974)

“Rani buddhizam” (“Early Buddhism”, Forum 4-5, Zagreb 1974)

Rana buddhistička misao (“Early Buddhist Thought”, Sarajevo 1977)

Katić, Radoslav: Stara indijska knjizevnost (“Old Indian Literature” —Buddhist section pp. 147-213; Zagreb 1973)
THE WAY OF BUDDHIST MEDITATION*  

Bhikkhu Nanajivako

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Serenity and Insight according to the Pali Canon—by Kheminda Thera, Vajirarama, Colombo 1980, xiv—66pp.
inseparability of these two essential components, pointing out not only the doctrinal and also psychological impossibility of their separation by merely verbal analysis of artificially detached fragments, but also the organic danger of any attempt of such dislodging by vicissitude. The essential relation cannot be reduced either to an alternative or even to a dialectical "model" or "pattern" of thinking. It remains organically interwoven in a vitally essential sequence of a strictly determined structural development.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since the appearance of the first and the best voluminous manual of Buddhist meditation, the Visuddhi-maggo by Buddhaghoso (5th, c, A) until our days of universal spiritual decadence, the following essential
and basic condition has often been repeated, quoted here in the statement of a recent author of the same school on the same subject: 1

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

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

"In fact, happiness and unhappiness are expressions of the state of the entire organism, of the total personality."

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

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

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


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

BOOK REVIEWS

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

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

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

Kamaleswar Bhattacharya in an article entitled "Dīṭṭhaṃ Suttaṃ Mutan Vīṇātātaṃ" (Seen, heard, sensed, known) quotes at first the Snake Simile Discourse of the Middle Collection on fields of view (dīṭṭhīhībhāca) and the difference between the un instructed ordinary person and the instructed Noble Disciple. No translation is given but an interested reader may consult Ven. Nyānapātika's excellent rendering in "The Wheel" series. The author comments about this passage as follows: "The first five theories about the Ātman/Attan, mentioned in this passage, concern an Ātman belonging to this world, while the sixth theory concerns an other-worldly Ātman which ignorant people aspire to attain after their death. All these theories are false because they make of the Ātman an 'object', while Ātman, the Absolute, the Being in itself, can never be an object. The wise people therefore reject them. This is clever jugglery. The Buddha taught about non identifying anything anywhere at all with self-soul."

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, this author gives a clear idea of how saṃsāra is viewed in Theravāda so that a more adequate appraisal can be made from the texts. His interesting essay has sections on Annihilationism, Nature of Saṃsāra, saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, Parinibbāna, Nirvāṇa vs. saṃsāra, and Dhamma. At the end of a well-reasoned account he comes to this conclusion: “In the context of Dhamma, saṃsāra has a significance which is integral to the path and to the goal of the Theravāda Buddhist. On this matter, and its implications for the Arhat ideal, there is fundamental agreement between Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhists.” He has already remarked earlier that “Saṃsāra is Suhkha, Nirvāṇa is Suhkha” (void, empty) as mehu in Theravāda ways of interpretation as Mahāyāna ones. What are all the false discriminations for then?

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

The historicity of Jesus is fundamental to the latter, the truth of his words depending on him having lived, while for Buddhists, the Dhamma is eternally true whether discovered or not. Precisely when the Buddha lived, even if he never lived, is not really important when one remembers these words (from Anguttara-nikāya): Whether Tathāgata appears or they do not appear, there is this established condition of Dhamma, this fixed Law of Dhamma: “All that is conditioned is impermanent...all that is conditioned is dukkha...all dhammas are not-self...”. We go on to remark how original the Buddha was, not attributing his message to another power nor picturing himself as a reformer of ancient doctrines which had deteriorated. (Both these views of the Buddha can be found these days too: there are those who desperately try to fit the Buddha into the idea of a messenger from a God, while others—this is a popular view in India, try to make him a mere reformer. Both must use prurient methods!) Further he recounts how the Buddhist universe-view is without a beginning though subject to periodic destruction and evolution. Even given this much it could be conjectured that others had realised the same truths in the past and could be called “Buddhas” therefore. The earliest accounts of the Buddha’s words, the Pali Suttas, do in fact mention six past Buddhas and very briefly indeed one to come in the future. Later works expand this to twenty-four, each having what the author calls their bio-data, except for the Buddha Dipamkara’s life which is rather more detailed. Of course, once this process of creating Buddhas had begun there was no end to it, even quite early works like the Mahāvastu having hundreds of Buddha-names while the Mahāyāna treatises name even more with occasional legends about them. Generally speaking, it can be said that the further the story is in time from the Buddha Gotama the more improbable or artificial it becomes. This is illustrated in the present article by a story from a late Sinhalese source. The author makes the point that Theravāda presents some very hopeful aspects of our life in the present age—which is a bhaddakappo, an auspicious age in which there are no less than five Buddhas. As he says in his final sentence, “Grounds for a little cheerfulness!”
Following this comes “Some Notes on the Buddhavanamya Commentary (Madhurasthavilasini)” by the late President of the Pali Text Society, Miss I. B. Horner. This essay is difficult to say much about as it raises numerous points from the above commentary which she has translated and published under the title The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning. As it is a commentary upon the late “Lineage of the Buddha” it contains much legendary material. One can, by looking at the various stages of its growth, first in the Suttas, then in such late works which just scraped into the Pali Canon such as “The Lineage”…finally in the commentaries, and even the sub-commentaries, see how simple myths have become embellished, eventually hardening into dogma. The commentary itself should be read by those who wish to appreciate the great scholarship modestly displayed in this essay.

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

“Though often reciting sacred texts
the heedless man’s no practicer,
but a cowherd counting others’ kine—
in samanaship he has no share.”

(Dhp. 19).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pīra Khantipālo

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

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

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

The sources made use of are, as might be expected, the Buddha’s original Discourse on the Foundation of Mindfulness (Satipathāna Sutta) which, as is well known, is found in two places in the Buddhist texts, as it has been expounded by the masters Nyanaponikha Thera and Mahasi Sayadaw.
This, small in size, but important book, is written in Spanish. We can affirm that it is the only book so far published in the Spanish language which is addressed to this specific theme of meditation according to the Theravāda tradition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. See Spanish translations of the Dīgha Nikāya, Udāna and Dhammapada by Carmen Dragonetti:
   - Díalogos Mayores de Buda (first six suatas only—Caracas 1977).
   - La Palabra del Buda (Barcelona 1971; Caracas 1972).
   - El Camino del Dharma (Lima 1964; Buenos Aires 1967).

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

translated by Ven. B. Ananda Maitreya

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