

Vol. 1 no. 1, 1983-4

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| Editorial | 1 |
| Udānavarga III (translation) | 2 |
| The Assessment of Textual Authenticity in Buddhism - Étienne Lamotte | 4 |
| How is the Buddha different from an Arahant in Theravāda Buddhism? - Arvind Sharma | 16 |
| Vietnamese Buddhist Literature: An Introduction - Russell Webb .. | 25 |
| Two Sūtras on Dependent Origination - tr. John M. Cooper .. | 31 |
| - Editor's Notes and Bibliography | 35 |
| News & Notes | 39 |
| Obituaries: É. Lamotte, R. Shih, J. Filliozat and J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw | 47 |
| Book Reviews | 53 |

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PALI BUDDHIST UNION

This association of individuals and groups in various countries was formed to promote the teachings of the Pali tradition as contained in the canonical texts, Commentaries and later exegetical literature; to compose, publish and translate such literature in European languages; to circulate relevant news and information; and to give moral support to existing organisations having similar aims.

MAY THE PRESENT PUBLICATION FURTHER
OUR MUTUAL AIMS!

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* * *

Description of emblems on front cover

Top: A traditional Buddhist manuscript rests on a lotus and symbolises the supramundane Buddhadharma which leads to liberation from the mire of the defilements. It was designed and drawn by David Philbidge.

Bottom: Chinese characters denote Gr̥dhrakūṭaparvata ("Vulture Peak Mountain") from which the Buddha is reputed to have expounded several sūtras; underneath is a traditional Chinese Triratna seal representing the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. (Both were contributed by Van.Thích Huyền-Vi, Head of Linh-Son, Paris.)

BUDDHIST STUDIES REVIEW

Vol.1, No.1

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EDITORIAL

We are pleased to present to readers a new journal which, it is hoped, will continue the policies set by the periodicals it succeeds - *Pali Buddhist Review* and *Linh-Sđh - Publication d'études bouddhologiques*. Those familiar with these publications will recall that each specialised in the early classical traditions of Buddhism - the one expressed through the medium of Pali, the other through Sanskrit and Chinese. Precisely because these traditions have interacted on each other, the logical step has been taken to join forces and present what has been described as the most authentic Buddhist source materials - evidenced by the writings of the broad Hīnayāna and Indian-based Mahāyāna.

Other Buddhist traditions, notably the Tibetan and Far Eastern, are well represented by, amongst other periodicals, *The Tibet Journal* and *The Eastern Buddhist*. However, serious literary contributions to "mainstream" Buddhism have, over the years, tended to compete for space with non-Buddhist items in the somewhat conservative academic journals of Europe. Now, thanks to the confidence and moral support expressed by the specialists forming the Advisory Committee, it is hoped that other readers will feel encouraged to participate in this new venture. Original translations from Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese and Central Asian languages will be published, together with textual exegeses and general expositions relevant to the scope of the journal, book reviews, news and notes.

Our special thanks go to the Vietnamese Buddhist community of the Monastère Bouddhique Linh-Sđn, under the inspiring leadership of Ven.Thích Huyễn-Vi, whose generous support has effectively guaranteed production of the first two issues. In gratitude the main editor has dedicated to them a paper on their little-known Buddhist literary tradition and hopes that more detailed studies on this subject will appear in future issues.

This first issue also contains a tribute to the late lamented Mgr Étienne Lamotte. Apart from having been one of the most dedicated scholars of Buddhism in this century, he embodied the most profound knowledge of classical Buddhism. As he endeavoured to disseminate this by means of his translations (one of which appears in this issue), so we hope to pursue a similar path aided by our readers and supporters.

UDĀNAVARGA

Chapter III

TṚSNAVĀRGA - Craving

1. In a man driven mad by doubt, given over to violent passions, avid for happiness, cravings ceaselessly increase; he creates a [solid] bond for himself.
2. But he who delights in appeasing doubt, who thinks only of suffering, ever aware, he will escape craving; he, most certainly, causes his rotting bond to fall away.
3. Caught in the net of blind desire, enveloped in craving, the negligent are kept in bonds like fish in a bow-net; they hasten to old-age and death, like the calf which [hastens] to suck at its mother.
4. In a man of negligent conduct, craving grows (like the māluvā)... ceaselessly, like a monkey seeking a fruit in the forest.
5. Tempting, in truth, attractive, in truth, are enjoyments for men; those who, caught in the bonds of pleasure, hasten after happiness, they, in truth, are men subject to birth and death.
6. Assailed by craving, men throw themselves like hares at the net; the attachments catch them in their bonds, they ceaselessly and indefinitely fall back into suffering.
7. Beings caught in the knots of craving, whose minds delight in existence and non-existence, [who are attached to the bonds of Māra], men who find pleasure in the attachments, hasten to old-age and death; for to get beyond the attachments is difficult.
8. But he who here below rejects craving in existence and non-existence, such a bhikṣu without desires has destroyed craving, attains Nirvāṇa.
9. He who is under the weight of that coarse craving, so difficult to avoid in this world, his sufferings grow like the vetiver (Bīraṇa) after rain.
10. But he who rejects that coarse craving, so difficult to avoid in this world, his sufferings will be shed like raindrops on a lotus.
11. These are good words that I say to you, to you all who are assembled : eradicate that craving with its roots, as one does when one requires the root of the vetiver; once the roots of craving are eradicated, there is no more suffering and nothing to fear.

12. A man who has craving as his associate, for a long time because of desire is reborn ceaselessly... (undergoes) ceaselessly, in all the conditions, a succession of comings and goings.
13. But, rejecting craving, one is free from craving in existence and non-existence; one is not subject to rebirth; indeed, one does not know craving.
14. Attachment, on which gods and men depend and which they seek, reject it; do not let the moment pass; those who let the moment pass suffer in the hells where they are cast.
15. In truth craving is the source of the river, attachment is the root of the trunk and spreads like a net here; if one wholly avoids that creeper which is craving (of desires), suffering moves away forever.
16. Just as, so long as its root is intact, a tree, even though cut down, grows ever again, so, as long as the attachments of craving are not eradicated, suffering returns ever and again.
17. Like a home-made arrow which hits you when it has been badly positioned (on the bow?), so craving leads the creepers which grow on the terrain on the personality to strike living beings.
18. If one sees the danger of that which produces the suffering of craving, let one avoid that craving; without desire, without attachment, mindful, let the bhikṣu devote himself to the wandering life.

(Translated by Sara Boin Webb from the French of N.P. Chakravarti)

THE ASSESSMENT OF TEXTUAL AUTHENTICITY IN BUDDHISM *

Étienne Lamotte

The Buddha never promised his disciples his unending assistance. He did not tell them that he would not leave them as orphans, nor that he would be with them in centuries to come. On the contrary, a short time after his Parinirvāṇa, he gave Ānanda to understand that he could no longer be counted upon: "It is only when the Tathāgata, leaving off contemplating every external object (*sabbanimittānaṃ amanasikāra*) and having destroyed every separate feeling (*ekaccānaṃ vedanānaṃ nirodhā*), remains plunged in objectless mental concentration (*animittaṃ cetosamādhiṃ upasampajja viharati*), it is only then that the Tathāgata's body will be at ease" ¹. In such a state, the master could do nothing further for his disciples.

Neither did the Buddha appoint himself a successor; he did not constitute his Saṃgha into an hierarchical church, a repository of his teaching and a perpetuator of his work. A short time after the Parinirvāṇa, Ānanda declared to the brahman Gopaka Moggallāna: "There is no special bhikkhu designated by the venerable Gotama (*bhotā Gotamena ṭhapito*), or chosen by the Saṃgha and designated by the Elders and monks (*saṃghena samato sambahulehi therehi bhikkhūhi ṭhapito*) to be our refuge after the disappearance of the Buddha, and in whom we could henceforth take refuge" ². Nevertheless, Ānanda continued: "We are not without a refuge (*paṭisaraṇa*); we have a refuge, we have the Doctrine (Dhamma) for a refuge". Here the disciple was alluding to some of his master's final words when he said: "Henceforth (after my decease), be your own lamp and your own refuge, seek no other refuge; may the Doctrine be your lamp and your refuge, seek no other refuge" ³.

In the beginning, before elaborating the doctrine of the Three Bodies (*trikāya*), the Buddha did not incarnate the Dharma which he left as an inheritance: "I did not create the twelve-limbed Doctrine", he declared, "and neither did anyone else create it" ⁴. "Whether the Tathāgatas exist or do not exist, this dharma-nature of dharmas, this subsistence of dharmas remains stable" ⁵. The Doctrine is superior to the Buddha; immediately after his Enlightenment, Śākyamuni, having retired to the Herdsman's Banyan tree, had the following thought: "It is wrong to remain without having someone to esteem and respect; who, then, is that monk or brahman whom I could honour, respect and serve?" Finding no-one superior to himself, he then had the following inspiration: "Suppose I were to abide by the Doctrine which I myself discovered (*dhammo mayā abhisambuddho*) in order to honour, respect and serve it?" ⁶ And so it occurred.

Such is the Doctrine which the Buddha solemnly bequeathed to his disciples. Since it was nowhere consigned to writing, this legacy was in practice limited

to the mere remembrance of the Buddha's teachings. The disciples had to determine for themselves the source of the Dharma, establish its authenticity and supply the correct interpretation of it. The heuristic and external study of the Dharma by the early Buddhists will be the subject of the present article, their exegetical method being reserved for a later study.*

I The sources of the Dharma

1. The principal and undisputed source is the very word of the Buddha (*buddha-vacana*). Śākyamuni expounded a Dharma "good in the beginning, in the middle and at the end; its meaning (*artha*) is good, its letter (*vyañjana*) is good, it is homogenous, complete, pure; the brahma-faring is revealed in it" ⁷. In his statement of beliefs (*agraprajñapti*), a Buddhist declares that: "Among all dharmas, whether compounded or not, the Dharma of renunciation (expounded by the Buddha) is the best of all" ⁸.

Its truth could never be questioned, for: "During the interval that began with the night when the Tathāgata entered Supreme Enlightenment and ended with the night he entered Nirvāṇa-without-remainder, all that he said, uttered and taught, all that is true and not false" ⁹. His word remains for ever: "The sky will fall with the moon and the stars, the earth will rise up with the mountains and forests, the oceans will dry up; but the great Sages say nothing untrue" ¹⁰. Truthful, the word of the Buddha is furthermore stamped with courtesy: "The Tathāgata does not utter any word he knows to be false (*abhutā*), incorrect (*ataccha*), useless (*anattasamhita*) or, at the same time, unpleasant (*appiya*) and displeasing (*amanāpa*) to others" ¹¹. The good word of the Buddha is designated by four characteristics: "It is well spoken and not badly spoken (*subhāsitañ ñeva bhāsati no dubbhāsitaṃ*); in conformity with deliverance and not contrary to deliverance (*dhammañ ñeva bhāsati no adhammaṃ*); pleasant and not unpleasant (*piyañ ñeva bhāsati no appiyaṃ*), true and not false (*saccañ ñeva bhāsati no alikaṃ*)" ¹². In brief, we can conclude along with Aśoka in his edict at Bhairāt: "All that the blessed Lord Buddha said is well said" (*E kechi bhante bhagavatā Budhena bhāsita sarve se subhāsita*) ¹³.

2. However, the Buddha was **not** the only one to expound the Dharma; during his own lifetime, he sent disciples on missions: *desettha bhikkhave dhamma ādikalyāṇaṃ*, etc. (Vin I, p.21, S I, p.105; It, p.111). Following their master's example, the great disciples were zealous instructors (D II, pp.104,106; III, p.125; S V, p.261; A IV, p.310; Ud, p.63), and the texts mention the talent and missionary activity of Śāriputra (S I, p.190; III, p.112; V, p.162), Udāyi (Vin IV, pp.20-21; S IV, p.121; A III, p.184), Abhibhūta (Th 1, v.225), Nārada (A III, p.58), Uttara (A IV, p.162), Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra (S III, p.106), Nandaka (M III, p.276), the nun Isadāsī (Th 2, v.404) and even Devadatta (Vin II, p.199; A IV, p.402) ¹⁴.

After the Buddha's decease, the disciples became the sole spokesmen for the Dharma. In order to stress that they limited themselves to transmitting the master's teaching, without adding anything themselves, they preceded their address with the sacred formula: *Evam mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye* "Thus have I heard at one time". The formula indicates that the content of the sūtra dates back to the Buddha himself, but the Buddha, who was omniscient and had no master, could not say "I have heard" since that would lead to the supposition that he was ignorant of the matter concerned; it was his disciples who said "I have heard"; through the intermediary of Ānanda, the Buddha ordered his disciples to place this formula at the beginning of the sūtra in order to emphasize its authenticity ¹⁵.

3. Buddhists like to believe that the Dharma was also expounded by the sages (*ṛṣi*), gods (*deva*) and apparitional beings (*upapāduka*). Among the sages of the early times, Araka can be cited (A IV, p.136), as also the disciples of previous Buddhas such as Vidhura (M I, p.333) and Abhibhū (S I, pp.155-6). The god Śakra, himself a disciple of the Buddha, maintained he proclaimed the Doctrine as he had heard and studied it: *yathāsutaṃ yathāpariyattaṃ dhammaṃ desemi* (D II, p.284).

Therefore, the Dharma had various sources which tended, with time, to multiply. The Vinayas attempted to enumerate them. Those of the Mahāsāṅghikas (T 1425, ch.13, p.336a 21) and the Mūlasarvāstivādins (T 1442, ch.26, p.771b 22) counted no more than two. According to the former: "The Dharma is either what the Buddha proclaimed, or what he approved with his seal. What the Buddha proclaimed, it is the Buddha himself who proclaimed it; what the Buddha approved with his seal, it is the Śrāvaka disciples and other men who proclaimed it, and the Buddha approved it with his seal". The other Vinaya merely says that "The word Dharma signifies the Doctrine which was proclaimed by the Buddha and the Śrāvakas".

The Pāli Vinaya (IV, p.15) and that of the Dharmaguptas (T 1428, ch.11, p. 639a 16) add two new sources: "The Doctrine", they say, "is what was proclaimed by the Buddha, the Śrāvakas, the sages (*ṛṣi*) and the gods (*deva*)". To this list the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1435, ch.9, p.71b 1-2), followed by the Mppś. (T 1509, ch.2, p.66b = *Traité* I, p.81), further add the apparitional beings (*upapāduka*).

By being transmitted via so many spokesmen, the Saddharma ran the greatest of dangers. From the beginning, it should have been enclosed in a code of authentic writings, recognised by all the members of the Community unanimously; however, the Buddhists only belatedly perceived the necessity of a codification of the Dharma; moreover, the oral transmission of the Doctrine rendered such a task, if not impossible, at least very difficult.

It may be, as the Mppś. (T 1509, ch.2, p.70a 20 = *Traité* I, p.113) and Para-

mārtha¹⁶ claim, that, in the very lifetime of the Buddha, Mahākātyāyana, the disciple from Avanti, has composed an explanatory collection of the Buddha's Āgama-sūtras. According to the Mppś. (ch.18,p.192b = *Traité* II,pp.1074-5), the collection originally contained 3,200,000 words; however, after the Buddha's decease, human life-span decreased, intelligence weakened and men became incapable of reciting it in full; some holy men who had "found the Path" then composed a summary in 384,000 words. This abridgement is possibly the basis of the Petakopadeśa, still consulted today in the south of the Indian continent. However, this work, of uncertain date and doubtful canonicity¹⁷, was only considered authoritative in Ceylon.

Immediately after the Buddha's decease, the Elders (*sthavira*), assembled in council at Rājagṛha, "chanted the Doctrine (Dharma) and Discipline (Vinaya)", but we know none of the texts which were recited on that occasion. In fact, the narratives dealing with this Council come from chroniclers who mostly belonged to organised Buddhist schools, each having its own canonical writings. Each claims that the writings of his own school were compiled at Rājagṛha¹⁸. By their conflicting testimony, these authors show that they were no better informed than ourselves on the literary activity of the Council.

One thing seems certain: the sessions at Rājagṛha did not succeed in setting up a canon of writings which was universally acceptable to the Saṅgha and closed to the inclusion of any new texts. Five hundred bhikṣus, led by Purāṇa, did not take part in the Council; informed of the work carried out by the Elders, Purāṇa declared: "Venerable ones, the Doctrine and the Discipline have been well chanted by the Elders; nevertheless, I maintain that I retain the Doctrine in my memory just as I heard it, just as I obtained it from the very lips of the Blessed One"¹⁹.

Some time after the Buddha's decease and the sessions of the Council, new sūtras were composed and enjoyed an authority equal to that of the older ones, and passed with them into the collection of each school. We can cite, for example, the Madhura- (M II,p.83; T 99,ch.20,p.142a), the Ghoṭamukha- (M II,p.157) and the Gopakamoggallāna- (M III,p.7; T 26,ch.36,p.653c), which themselves take place at a time when the Buddha had already entered Parinirvāṇa; the Nārada- (A III,p.57); T 125,ch.24,p.679a), composed in the reign of Muṇḍa, Ajātaśatru's grandson; the Assalāyana-, many recensions of which (M II,p.147; T 26,ch.37, p.663b; T 71,p.876b) mention the Yona-Kambojas of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the Yueh-chih of the Kusāṇa dynasty.

From the linguistic point of view, the early Buddhist texts were undoubtedly recited in the Middle Indian dialects of the eastern group. In any case, the titles of the works recommended by Aśoka in his edict at Bhairāt are in a special Māgadhi, more advanced from the phonetical point of view than the

official Māgadhi of Aśoka's inscriptions. Practically nothing has come down to us of these Magadhan originals.

The Aśokan period marks the end of what can be called the early or pre-canonical literature of Buddhism. The enormous expansion undergone by the Sādharma during the great emperor's reign constituted terrain conducive to the formation of schools and sects. Spatially separated, individual communities asserted themselves increasingly: each of them determined to compile its own collection of writings. These separate canons - which have come down to us complete or incomplete, in original texts or in translations - all derive from a common basis constituted by the early Buddhist literature. They differ in content (insertion of new texts or even of new collections²⁰), in layout of the sections and in language: Pāli, Sanskrit or Hybrid Sanskrit. These canons were never closed except perhaps by the extinction itself of the sects to which they belonged; in fact, in the course of time, they grew ever larger with the addition of new compositions. In the Pāli Canon, the Vinaya-piṭaka contains a Parivāra, a later work by a Sinhalese monk; the Suttapiṭaka includes a fifth collection, the Khuddakanikāya, which has no exact equivalent in the collections of the other schools; its authority was disputed even among the Sinhalese since, at the time of Buddhaghosa (5th century A.C.), the commentator Sudinna Thera, under the pretext that there is no Word of the Buddha not in any sutta (*asutta = nāmakam Buddhavacanam nāma n'atthīti*), rejected the majority of the books of which it was composed²¹; even today, Sinhalese, Burmese and Thai Buddhists differ over the exact content of the Khuddakanikāya²². The Sarvāstivādin writings are particularly uncertain: the Saṃyuktāgama includes whole chapters on the legend of Aśoka (T 99, ch.25 sq.), and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya describes in detail the conversion of north-west India and even goes so far as to mention Kaṇiṣka (T 1448, ch.9, pp.40b-41c).

The early Buddhist literature was completely absorbed into the unsettled mass of the schools' texts. The old recitation which, as we have seen, never succeeded in obtaining recognition by the whole community, completely disappeared. There was, according to the sacred expression, *mūlasaṃgītibhramśa* "a loss of the original recitation".

This fact, if the scholars are to be believed, had two fatal consequences. Firstly, it led to the disappearance of a large number of sūtras (*bahulāni sūtraṇy antarhitāni*): "Originally", says the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch.16, p.79b), "the Ekottarikāgama listed the dharmas from 1 to 100; it now stops at 10; and, in those 1 to 10, much is lost, little remains....On Ānanda's attaining Nirvāṇa, 77,000 Avadānas and Sūtras, 10,000 Abhidharmaśāstras were lost". Among the vanished sūtras, the Vibhāṣā itself notes those which listed the six *hetus* (ch.16, p.79b), the twenty-eight *anuśayas* (ch.46, p.236), the thirty-seven *bodhipāksikas*

(ch.96, p.496a). Identical remarks can be found in the Abhidharmakośa (II, p. 245n.) and in a whole series of texts collated by the historian Bu-ston²³.

Another even graver consequence was the deterioration of the Saddharma and the appearance of apocryphal texts (*adhyāropita, muktaka*). Already at the Council of Pāṭaliputra, under Aśoka, a certain Mahādeva wanted to incorporate the sūtras of the Mahāyāna into the Three Baskets, and this demand was one of the causes of the schism between the school of the Elders (*sthāviriya*) and that of the Great Assembly (*mahāsāṃghika*)²⁴. "After the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha", says the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, ch.185, p.929c) "in the Sūtras, false Sūtras were placed; in the Vinaya, false Vinayas were placed; in the Abhidharma, false Abhidharmas were placed." The Abhidharmakośa (III, p.40) in turn remarks: "What can we do about it? The Master has entered Nirvāṇa, the Saddharma no longer has a leader. Many sects have formed which debase the meaning and the letter as they fancy." The Buddha had foreseen this deterioration of the Dharma when he announced: "The suttas promulgated by the Tathāgata (*tathāgata bhāsita*), profound, profound in meaning, transcendental (*lokuttara*), teaching emptiness (*suññatāpaṭiṣaṃyutta*), they will not listen to with faith, they will not lend their ears to, they will not accept as true (*aññacittam na upaṭṭhāpesanti*)... But the suttas composed by poets (*kavikata*), poetic (*kāveyya*), of artistic syllabary and sound, profane (*bāhīraka*), promulgated by the disciples (*sāvaka bhāsita*), they will believe... Thus it is that the suttas of the first category will disappear" (S II, p.267; T 99, ch.47, p.345b).

II The assessment of textual authenticity

The multiplication of the sources and their progressive deterioration particularly complicates an attempt at the assessment of textual authenticity, the rules of which - purely theoretical - are set out in the Mahāpadesasutta.

Here first are some bibliographical references to this sūtra. The Pāli text is in D II, p.123, and A II, p.167. A short Sanskrit adaptation in Mahāyānasūtra-lankāra, ed. Lévi, p.4; Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin, p. 431; Abhidharmakośa, IX, p.252. Several Chinese versions in Ch'ang a han and the parallel versions (T 1, ch.3, p.17c; T 5, ch.1, p.167a; T 6, ch.1, p.182c; T 7, ch.1, p.195c); Tsêng i a han, T 125, ch.20, p.652b; Ken pen shuo... tsa shih, T 1451, ch.37, p.389b. References to the *mahāpadeśas* in Śikṣāsamuccaya, p.63, l.18, and Bodhisattvabhūmi, p.108, l.25. Commentary on the sutta by Buddhaghosa in Sumaṅgalavilāsinī II, pp.565-8, and the Manorathapūraṇī III, pp.158-60. Translation of the sutta by T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha* II, p. 133; R.O. Francke, *Dīghanikāya in Auswahl übersetzt*, p.220; W.L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings* II, p.175; L. de La Vallée Poussin, 'Mahāpadeśa, Kalapadeśa' in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* III, 1938, p.158.

Mahāpadeśa (divided as *mahā - apadeśa*) literally means "great argument". Buddhaghosa (I.c.) has the following explanation: *Mahāpadese ti mahā-okāse mahā-apadese vā. Buddhādayo mahante apadisitvā vuttāni mahākāraṇāni ti attho*: "Alleged causes (or authorities) in referring to the Buddha or other great persons". We find in the Chinese versions the equivalents 大教法 *Ta-Chiao-fa* "great rules of teaching", 大決定 *Ta Chüeh-ching* "great determinants", 大廣演之義 *Ta Kuang-yen chih-i* "great rules of propagation"; the Tibetan version of the *Bodhisuttvabhūmi* has *Chen po batan pa* "great instructions". Modern translators render *mahāpadeśa* as "true authorities" or "great authorities" (Rhys Davids, Woodward), "Hinweis (auf eine Autorität)" (Francke), "règles ou références" (de La Vallée Poussin).

Pāli recension of the Mahāpadeśa. Here, while omitting unnecessary repetitions, is an as literal as possible translation of the *Mahāpadesasutta* (D II, p.123; A II, p.167): In a certain case, a bhikkhu could say: Venerable ones, from the lips of the Blessed One (*sammukhā bhagavato*), I have myself heard (*sutam*) and learnt (*paṭiggahītam*) this, and this is therefore the Dhamma, Vinaya and Teaching of the master (*satthu sāsanaṃ*).

Furthermore, a bhikkhu could say: In such and such a place, there resides a Community (*samgha*) where there are Elders (*satthera*) and Leaders (*sapāmoḅkha*); from the lips of that Community, I have myself heard and learnt this, and this is therefore Dhamma, etc.

Furthermore, a bhikkhu could say: In such and such a place, there reside many learned (*bahussuta*) bhikkhu Elders, having received the Scripture (*āgatā-gama*), knowing by heart the Dhamma (*dhammadhara*), the Vinaya (*vinayadhara*) and the Summaries (*mātikādhara*); from the lips of those Elders, I have myself heard and learnt this, and this is therefore Dhamma, etc.

Furthermore, a bhikkhu could say: In such and such a place there resides a single bhikkhu Elder, learned, having received the Scripture, knowing by heart the Dhamma, the Vinaya and the Summaries; from the lips of that Elder, I have myself heard and learnt this, and this is therefore Dhamma, Vinaya and Teaching of the master.

In the four cases envisaged, the Buddha²⁵ orders his monks to apply the following rule: That bhikkhu's utterance (*bhāsita*) should be neither approved (*abhinanditabba*) nor rejected (*paṭikkositabba*). Without either approving them or rejecting them, those words and syllables (*tāni padavyañjanāni*), having been carefully understood (*sādhukaṃ uggahetvā*), should be collated with the Sutta (*sutte otāretabbāni*), compared with the Vinaya (*vinaye sandassetabbāni*). If, collated with the Sutta, compared with the Vinaya, they cannot be found in the Sutta (*na c'eva sutte otaranti*), then the following conclusion should be reach-

ed: "Certainly, this is not the Word of the Blessed One (*bhagavato vacanam*) and has been misunderstood (*duggahītam*) by that bhikkhu, that Community, those Elders or that Elder", and you will in consequence reject that text. If the words and syllables proposed... are found in the Sutta and appear in the Vinaya, the following conclusion should be reached: "Certainly, this is the Word of the Blessed One and has been well understood (*suggahītam*) by that bhikkhu, that Community, those Elders or that Elder".

Sanskrit recension of the Mahāpadeśa. The Sanskrit formula seems to be a development of the Pāli formula, as it also requires that the proposed text "does not contradict the nature of things".

Mahāyānasūtrāṅkāra, p.4: *Buddhavacanasyedaṃ lakṣaṇam yat sūtre 'vatarati vinaye samdrśyate dharmatām ca na vilomayati*: "The characteristic mark of the Word of the Buddha is that it is found in the Sūtra, appears in the Vinaya and does not contradict the nature of things".

Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā. p.431: *Yad guruśiṣya paramparayamnāyāyātam buddhavacanatvena yac ca sūtre 'vatarati/samdrśyate dharmatām ca na vilomayati tad buddhavacanam nānyat*: "Whatever reaches us as the Word of the Buddha traditionally through the succession of masters and disciples, what is found in the Sūtra, appears in the Vinaya, does not contradict the nature of things, is the Word of the Buddha and nothing else".

This conformity with the nature of things is also required by the Abhidharmakośa IX, p.252, and a post-canonical Pāli text, the Nettipakaraṇa, p.22

Interpretation of the text. The Mahāpadesasuttanta includes two distinct parts:

1. The Buddha first determines an established usage among the monks: when a bhikṣu wanted to have some or other text admitted by the community of monks, he appealed to one of the four "great authorities", of unequal but sufficient value: the authority of the Buddha, of a specific Saṅgha, of several Elders who did not constitute a Saṅgha but were especially learned, of a single especially learned Elder.

It is essential to note that the Buddha does not condemn this usage; he merely establishes that reference to the Great Authorities alone is not sufficient to guarantee the authenticity of a text. This is well in keeping with his character since, even if he found it indispensable to expound the Saddharma to mankind, he never asked that he be taken at his word. After a particularly important discourse, he addressed his monks with these words: "And now, monks, that you know and think thus, are you going to say: We honour the Master and, through respect for the Master, we say this or that? We will not do so, Lord. What will you assert, O monks, is it not what you yourselves have realised

(*ñātam*), seen (*ditṭham*) and grasped (*viditam*)? It is just so, Lord." (M I, p. 265; T 26, ch.54, p.769b).

2. In this spirit, and however firm the authorities on which a text rests may be, the Buddha asks his disciples to discover also whether it is found in the Sūtra, appears in the Vinaya and, according to the Sanskrit formula, whether it contradicts the nature of things.

How is this demand to be interpreted? Is it merely a matter of discovering whether the proposed text is found in the Scriptures? This is what we are led to believe by the translation by R.O.Francke, *l.c.* p.220 [tr.]: "Rather should you (try) to ascertain whether the Bhikkhu's assertion can, word for word and syllable by syllable, be compared to the Sutta (footnote: or a Sutta) and authenticated by the Vinaya". However, this interpretation is unacceptable since, as we have seen, the Buddhists never possessed a corpus of writings of indisputable authority and able to serve as a norm for the whole community. Had they possessed such, they would have rejected any new text foreign to the original compilation as apocryphal.

Setting aside the commentary by Buddhaghosa who constructs the most fanciful hypotheses ²⁶, we will try to interpret the sūtra in the light of the Chinese translations:

T 1, ch.3, p.17c: If a bhikṣu speaks these words: "Venerable ones, in such and such a village, such and such a kingdom, I heard and received this teaching", you should neither believe nor reject what he tells you. You should, as to the Sūtras, discover the true and the false; relying on the Vinaya, relying on the Dharma, discover the essential and the ancillary (*pên mo*). If the text (proposed by the bhikṣu) is not Sūtra, is not Vinaya, is not Dharma, you should say to him: "The Buddha did not say that, you have grasped it wrongly. Why? I rely on the Sūtra, I rely on the Vinaya, I rely on the Dharma, and what you have just said is in contradiction (*virodha*) to the Dharma".

T 1451, ch.37, p.389b-c: The Bhagavat said to Ānanda: It is thus that one can know if a teaching is true or false. As from today, you should rely on the teaching of the Sūtras and not rely on (the authority) of a person (*puḍgala*). How can one rely on the teaching and not rely on a person? If a bhikṣu should speak these words: "Venerable ones, formerly I heard this word of the Tathāgata and, having heard it, I remembered it; I say that this is the Doctrine of the Sūtras. I say that this is the Teaching of the Vinaya and is truly the Word of the Buddha". When a bhikṣu, having heard that, speaks thus to you, he should be neither reproved nor rebuffed; you should listen to what he says and remember clearly the syllables and phrases; then you should return to the basic sources (住處), examine the Sūtra literature and the Vinaya teaching. If what he has

said is in contradiction to the Sūtra and the Vinaya, you should tell him: "What you said is not the Word of the Buddha; it is something which you have misunderstood, it does not rely on either the Sūtra or the Vinaya; it should be rejected".

So therefore, in order that a text proposed with reference to one of the four Great Authorities be guaranteed, it is not necessary for it to be literally reproduced in the Scriptures, it is enough that its general purport be in keeping with the spirit of the Sūtras, the Vinaya and the Buddhist doctrine in general. In fact, the spirit of the Sūtras is condensed in the Discourse on the Four Noble Truths; the Vinaya prescriptions are essentially aimed at the appeasing of the passions, and the keystone of Buddhist philosophy is the theory of Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) which Aśvajit summarised for Śāriputra in a famous stanza, untiringly reproduced on Buddhist monuments: *Ye dharmā hetuprabhāvā*, etc. The Nettipakaraṇa (p.??) has perfectly grasped the spirit of the Mahāpadesasutta, when it remarks: "With which Sutta should the texts be collated? With the Four Noble Truths. With which Vinaya should they be compared? With the Vinaya (which combats) craving (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). Against which doctrine should they be measured? Against the doctrine of Dependent Origination".

Taking the best they could from the late sources they had at their disposal, the Buddhists drew their inspiration, for the assessment of textual authenticity, from very sure principles, successively using external and internal criteria. First, they endeavoured to test the extrinsic value of the texts by determining their origin: the Buddha, a specific Saṅgha, a single or several particularly learned Elders. Then, they went on to the examination of their intrinsic value, and sought to find out whether the texts proposed for their approval were indeed in the spirit of the Dharma, Discipline and Buddhist philosophy.

Abbreviations

A Aṅguttara Nikāya D Dīgha Nikāya It Itivuttaka M Majjhima Nikāya
 Mppś Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra Th 1 Theragāthā Th 2 Therīgāthā
 Sn Sutta-Nipāta T Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Ud Udāna Vin Vinaya
Traité *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna*. Annotated translation of Mppś by É.Lamotte. 5 vols, Louvain 1949-80.

Notes

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- 1 D II, p.100; T 1, ch.2, p.15b.
- 2 M III, p.9; T 26, ch.36, p.654a-b.
- 3 D II, p.100; T 1, ch.2, p.15b; T 1451, ch.36, p.387b. Also see D III, pp.55, 77; S V, p.163; T 1, ch.6, p.39a; T 26, ch.15, p.520b.
- 4 Tsa a han, T 99, No.299, ch.12, p.85b-c; reproduced in the Mppś, T 1509, ch.2, p.75a (= *Traité* I, p.157); ch.32, p.298a (= *Traité* V, p.2191).
- 5 This is the well-known formula: *Utpādada vā tathāgatānāṃ anutpādāda vā tathāgatānāṃ sthitaiveyaṃ dharmānāṃ dharmatā dharmasthititā*; cf. S II, p.25; A I, p.286; Visuddhimagga, p.518; Śālistambasūtra, ed.de La Vallée Poussin, p.73; Pañcasāhasrikā, p.198; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, p.274; Laṅkāvatāra, p.143; Kośavyākhyā, p.293; Madhyamakavṛtti, p.40; Pañjikā, p.588; Śikṣāsamuccaya, p.14; Daśabhūmikā, p.65.
- 6 S I, pp.138-40; T 99, No.1188, ch.44, pp.321c-322a. Also see an aberrant version of this sūtra in Mppś, T 1509, ch.10, p.131c (= *Traité* I, pp.586-7).
- + Published as "La critique d'interprétation dans le bouddhisme" in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* IX, Brussels 1949, pp.341-61.
- 7 An extremely widespread formula: Vin I, pp.35,242; D I, p.62; M I, p.179; S V, p.352; A I, p.180, etc.
- 8 See the complete text of the *agraprajñāptis* in A II, p.34; III, p.35; It, p.87; Divyāvadāna, p.155; Avadānaśataka I, pp.49-50, 329-30.
- 9 D III, p.135; A II, p.24; It, p.121; Chung a han, T 26, ch.34, p.654b 18; Mppś, T 1509, ch.1, p.59c (= *Traité* I, p.30). On the modifications which the Mahāyāna brought to this text, see Madhyamakavṛtti, pp.366,539; Pañjikā, p.419; Laṅkāvatāra, pp.142-3.
- 10 Divyāvadāna, pp.268,272; also see T 310, ch.102, p.574a; T 190, ch.41, p.843b.
- 11 M I, p.395.
- 12 Sn III, 3, p.78.
- 13 E.Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol.I, Oxford 1925, p.173.
- 14 I have taken these references from the fine work by M. and W.Geiger, *Pali Dhamma vornehmlich in der Kanonischen Literatur*, Munich 1920, pp.40-1.
- 15 This is according to the Mppś, T 1509, ch.2, p.67a (= *Traité* I, p.87).
- 16 See P.Demiéville, "L'Origine des sectes bouddhiques", *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* I, Brussels 1931-2, pp.49-50.

- 17 Cf. E.Hardy (ed.), *Nettipakarāṇa*, p.viii sq.; M.Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma*, RAS of Great Britain and Ireland, London 1909, repr.1966, p.5.
- 18 See J.Przyłuski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, Paris 1926, pp.353-9.
- 19 Pāli Vin II, p.290; J.Przyłuski, *op.cit.*, pp.159-61, 195-9.
- 20 Like the Abhidharmapiṭaka in the Vibhajjavādin and Sarvāstivādin schools.
- 21 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* II, p.566; *Manorathapūraṇī* III, p.159.
- 22 Cf. M.Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* II, Calcutta 1933, p.77, n.3.
- 23 See E.Obermiller, *Bu-ston, History of Buddhism* II (Materialen zu Kunde des Buddhismus, Nos.18,19) Heidelberg 1931-2, pp.169-71.
- 24 P.Demiéville, *op.cit.*, p.30. The same remark in *Dīpavaṃsa* V, vv.32-8 regarding the Mahāsaṃgīti implemented by the bhikṣu Mahāsāṃghika after the Council of Vaiśālī.
- 25 It could be believed that the Buddha here is only a figurehead and that the rules for assessment were set up by scholars who lived long after him. On the Four Authorities, etc., also see the Mppś in *Traité* I, pp.536-40.
- 26 Thus, according to Buddhaghosa (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* II, p.565 sq.), in the phrase *sutte otaranti vinaye sandissanti*, *sutta* would designate the Sutta=vibhaṅga (first part of the Vinayapiṭaka), and *vinaya*, the Khandakas (second part of the Vinayapiṭaka); or else, *sutta* would designate the Suttapiṭaka, and *vinaya*, the whole Vinayapiṭaka; or again, *sutta* would designate the Suttapiṭaka and Vinayapiṭaka, while *vinaya* would refer to the Vinayapiṭaka; finally, *sutta* would include in itself the whole of the Word of the Buddha contained in the Tipiṭaka.

HOW IS THE BUDDHA DIFFERENT FROM AN ARAHANT IN THERAVADA BUDDHISM

Arvind Sharma

At the second annual conference of the Australian Association for the Study of Religions, Dr Telwatte Rahula of the University of Melbourne [now at McGill University, Montreal, Canada], who had himself formerly been a monk in Sri Lanka, read a paper entitled: "The Buddhist Arahant: Is his attainment of Nirvāṇa as perfect as the Buddha's Enlightenment?" He concluded that though some scholars maintain that "the arahants were not as fully emancipated as the Buddha" ¹, "so far as the Pali canon is concerned, there is absolutely no ground even to suggest that the essence of the arahant's attainment was different from that of the Fully Awakened One... they all without exception claim to have realized the threefold knowledge" ², this threefold knowledge consisting of :

- (i) the knowledge of one's own previous births ³;
- (ii) the knowledge of the rebirths of others ³; and
- (iii) knowledge regarding the utter cessation of āsavas ⁴ or mental intoxicants.

Nevertheless, although the Buddha and arahants are seen as identical in the achievement of salvation in the state of Nibbāna, it is clear that in some ways the Buddha is more than an arahant. This paper is an effort to identify the ways in which he may be regarded as different from an arahant in the Theravāda tradition.

At first there seems to have been virtually no distinction between the Buddha and the arahants. Thus, "In the Buddhist movement the Buddha was the first arahant. He was regarded as an arahant, along with other arahants, without any distinction. Thus after the conversion of the group of five monks (*pañcavaggiya*), the first converts to the teaching of Gotama, it is stated that there were six arahants in the world (Vin.I, 14), the Buddha being reckoned one of them" ⁵.

The last sentence provides the clue to the first line of differentiation between the Buddha and arahants. The Buddha was the first arahant and the arahants subsequent Buddhas. In the Theragāthā, for instance, the arahants are described as *buddhānubuddha*:

"... the Buddha as well as his disciples follow the same path and reach the same goal, and the distinction between the Buddha and the disciples who became arahants is not with regard to the attainment, but with regard to the fact that the Buddha rediscovered the age-old path (*purāṇaṃ añjasam*) to the city of Nibbāna, while the disciples come to the same city having followed the

path discovered by the Buddha. The Buddha is, therefore, called the revealer of the path (*maggassa akkhātā*). He is the teacher (*satthā*) who teaches the disciples to attain the same ideal as attained by him" ⁶.

Dr Rahula amplifies this point of distinction. After maintaining that, "An arahant may even with justification be called a *buddha*", he adds: "It should be admitted that the arahant's status was never regarded to be equal to that of the the Buddha. The Buddha is esteemed as unparalleled (*asama*) equal only to those who are themselves unequalled Buddhas (*asamasama*). Disciples cannot be the equals of the Master who finds the path for the first time. Being the pioneer and path-finder, he deserves to be venerated as such. Apart from that, the early strata of the Pali canon make no distinction between the Buddha's attainment of *nirvāṇa* and that of the arahant. Although he was later regarded as omniscient in the popular sense of the word, the Buddha himself never claimed to be so" ⁷.

The question of the Buddha's omniscience may be postponed awhile to consider another significant fact here. The Buddha, though he spent some time with Ājāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, had no Master as such; it is equally important to realise that none succeeded to his position in the Buddhist movement. For, "After the *parinirvāṇa* his place as Way-shower (*Majjhima-Nikāya* iii 6) was to be taken, not by any monk (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, Sutta No. 108), for, being Way-followers, not one of them resembled him, but by Dharma: 'Dharma is our support' (or mainstay, *Majjhima-Nikāya* iii 9), as monks are recorded to have said after the teacher had died. This statement fully accords with the injunction the Buddha had given to Ānanda, his constant companion, shortly before this event: 'The Dharma I have taught and the Vinaya I have laid down - that after my passing is to be your Teacher' (*Dīgha-Nikāya* II 154)" ⁸. Not only is the Buddha unique by virtue of being the first Teacher, he was also unique, in the context of the early community, in being the last.

The claim to omniscience which the Buddha did make was that he knew all that was to be known to achieve salvation. ⁹ Such a claim could not be made by the arahants. Thus another dimension to the distinction between the Buddha and the arahants enters the picture now. Not only is the Buddha different from an arahant in that he was the pioneer of the spiritual path they followed; because he was a Teacher, as distinguished from disciples, or a leader as distinguished from followers but also different in the comprehensiveness of his knowledge. There are suggestions in the Pali texts that he knew more than he taught. He did not have the closed fist of teacher only where matters of salvific significance were concerned for we are told that "once when sitting under a *śimśupa* tree, Buddha took a few of its leaves in his hand and asked his disciples that

had assembled there to tell him whether they were all the śīmśupa leaves or whether there were more on the tree. When they replied that there were surely many more, he said: 'As surely do I know more than what I have told you'. But he did not dwell upon all that he knew, since he saw no practical utility in doing so. It would, on the contrary, he thought, only make his hearers idly curious and delay their setting about the task of exterminating evil. 'And wherefore, my disciples, have I not told you that? Because, my disciples, it brings you no profit, it does not conduce to progress in holiness, because it does not lead to the turning from the earthly, to the subjection of all desire, to the cessation of the transitory, to peace, to knowledge, to illumination, to Nirvāṇa; therefore have I not declared it unto you'." ¹⁰

It seems that the line of differentiation between the Buddha and the arahants, originating in the fact of the Buddha being the Master and the arahants being the disciples, must have been accentuated by the formation of the Order or the Sangha. Not only was the Buddha to be distinguished as the first arahant; not only was he to be distinguished as soteriologically omniscient but once the corpus of his discourses began to take shape he also became further distinguished by the fact that a body of doctrines was associated with him as distinguished from an arahant; a body of doctrine in the emergence of which the early followers may or may not have had enough part to play to justify C.A.F. Rhys Davids calling them the co-founders of Buddhism, but a body of doctrine in any case uniquely associated with him. As I.B. Horner points out, "the epithet of *dharma-kāya* (*Dīgha-Nikāya* iii 84), the body of dharma, was applicable to the Buddha alone". ¹¹ This point is picked up by the *Milindapañha*. One of the pieces of conversation between Nāgasena and King Menander runs as follows:

"The king said: 'Is there such a person as the Buddha, Nāgasena?'

'Yes.'

'Can he then, Nāgasena, be pointed out as being here or there?'

'The Blessed One, O king, has passed away by that kind of passing away in which nothing remains which could tend to the formation of another individual. It is not possible to point out the Blessed One as being here or there.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? When there is a great body of fire blazing, is it possible to point out that any one flame has gone out, that it is here or there?'

'No, Sir. That flame has ceased, it has vanished.'

'Just so, great king, has the Blessed One passed away by that kind of passing away in which no root remains for the formation of another

individual. The Blessed One has come to an end, and it cannot be pointed out of him that he is here or there. *But in the body of his doctrine he can, O king, be pointed out. For the doctrine was preached by the Blessed One!*'

'Very good, Nāgasena!'"¹²

Thus the statement that the Buddha was different from the arahants in that he was the Master is easily made but its ramifications are far-reaching in setting the Buddha apart from the arahants.

Thus one obvious way in which the Buddha is different from the arahants consists in his having shown the path to them and his ability to show it to everyone else. This seems to represent the first stage in the differentiation between the Buddha and the arahants. But as Weeraratne points out:

"...as time passed, the Buddha-concept developed and special attributes were assigned to the Buddha. A Buddha possesses the sixfold superknowledge (*chaḷ-abhiññā*); he has matured the thirty-seven limbs of enlightenment (*bodhipakkhiya dhamma*); in him compassion (*karuṇā*) and insight (*paññā*) develop to their fullest; all the major and minor characteristics of a great man (*mahāpurisa*) appear on his body; he is possessed of the ten powers (*dasā bala*) and the four confidences (*catu vesārajja*); and he has had to practise the ten perfections (*pāramitā*) during a long time in the past.

"When speaking of arahants these attributes are never mentioned together, though a particular arahant may have one, two or more of the attributes discussed in connection with the Buddha (S II 217, 222)." ¹³

The distinction here now turns on the question of the possession of supernormal powers by the Buddha and the arahants. However, as Dr Rahula points out: "Now the position of the great arahants endowed with supernormal powers is still not equated with that of the Buddha. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* there is a list of chief disciples who are declared by the Buddha to be pre-eminent in particular achievements or talents, e.g., intelligence, meditation, energy, confidence and so on. *Sāriputta* is thus proclaimed to be superior in wisdom, *Moggallāna* in magical powers and *Kassapa the Great* in ascetic practices. They are foremost, the Buddha declares, in these achievements amongst 'my disciples' (*mama sāvakānām*), implying that the Master remains above comparison. This superiority of the Buddha's powers is maintained, with an increasing emphasis, throughout the post-canonical literature. *Sāriputta*, the pre-eminent in wisdom, fails to recommend to a monk a subject of meditation that would suit his character and sends him to the Buddha. *Moggallāna*, despite his superior magical powers, has to be advised by the Buddha while taming a stubborn *nāga*. After *Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja's* performance, again, the Buddha displayed his wonderful supernormal pow-

ers, unsurpassed by anyone else in the world. Such episodes may reflect the strong tendency to hold the Master above his disciples in all matters; nevertheless, the attitude of the early Buddhist literature seems to be rather ambiguous in this regard, for we find on some occasions the Buddha conceding to individual *arahants* unreserved pre-eminence in certain qualities or personal virtues. The *arahant* Sivali is highly praised for his power to receive gifts, and Kassapa the Great is extolled for his strict adherence to ascetic practices. It is probable that in such references survives the memory of an early tradition which held that individual *arahants* may claim equality with the Buddha in spiritual attainments. On the other hand, it is not unusual of the Buddha to praise someone or something merely in order to encourage others." ¹⁴

The superior psychic attainments of the Buddha may be taken to constitute another possible point of distinction with the *arahant*. But the juxtaposition of the adverse happenings overtaking both Moggallāna and the Buddha provides an interesting occasion for introducing some relevant material from the "Questions of King Milinda", which takes us into the consideration of another point: is there any difference *karmically* between the Buddha and the *arahants* after they have attained Nibbāna? On this point of the post-Nibbānic state of karma, Lama Anagarika Govinda remarks:

"Still, in most cases, a last unresolved remainder will be left over, for even if the mind has already come to a state of peace and harmony, that is, if the karmic after-effects are equilibrated, or, removed through a change of attitude, the karma that is bound in corporeal form may still for a long time go on vibrating before complete harmonizing within the same (in form or corporeal perfection, as far as this is possible), or complete emancipation takes place. To the saint it is naturally given to withdraw himself from bodily pains with the aid of concentration; but, generally speaking, so long as the body exists, so long exists also the possibility of the sensation of pain, not so much on account of organic disturbances (illnesses) which hardly come into consideration - for mental well-being (saintliness) signifies also bodily well-being (health) - as rather the ground of external influences, such as, in the case of the Buddha, was the partaking of unwholesome food, or in the case of Āṅgulimāla, wounding through stone-throwing and the like. That, however, here also the external influence, the apparently external happening, does not dispense with the inner, fate-like connexion, is clearly evident from the story of Āṅgulimāla. The robber (converted by the Buddha) who, in consequence of the knowledge that suddenly dawned within him, had become a saint, one day on his round for alms of food is recognized by the crowd and ill-treated so that he comes to the Buddha, all streaming with blood." ¹⁵

The interesting point here is that Govinda does not connect the Buddha's

dysentery due to external agency to any "inner, fate-like connexion". Does he imply that in the case of the Buddha there is no such connection, while it exists in the case of the arahant? Govinda is not specific on the point but the fact that "Moggallāna ... was murdered by hired assassins and the Buddha himself had to encounter a number of unfavourable things" does indicate that both the arahant and the Buddha are subject to post-Nibbānic adversity. This is a common point between the two. What, if any, is the difference?

This point emerges clearly from a comparison of two dilemmas presented to Nāgasena by King Menander. The first of these is the 31st dilemma: How could Moggallāna have possessed miraculous powers seeing that he was murdered?¹⁶ From the point of view of this paper, the significant fact is that he was one of the Buddha's chief disciples¹⁷ and an arahant¹⁸, and that in spite of being an arahant "his death took place by his being beaten with clubs, so that his skull was broken, and his bones ground to powder, and all his flesh and nerves bruised and rounded together".¹⁹ And Nāgasena attributes this end of Moggallāna to the power of karma as "no other influence can avail the man in whom Karma is working out its inevitable end. That is why the venerable one, great king, the great Moggallāna, great king, at a time when he was possessed by Karma, he was being beaten to death, was yet unable to make use of his power of Iddhi".²⁰

Moggallāna's case may be compared with that of the Buddha in the 8th dilemma: The Buddha's sinlessness and his sufferings.²¹ As Menander put it to Nāgasena:

"...if the Tathāgata, on his becoming a Buddha, has destroyed all evil in himself - this other statement that his foot was pierced by a splinter, that he had dysentery, and so on, must be false. But if they are true then he cannot have been free from evil, for there is no pain without Karma. All pain has its root in Karma; it is on account of Karma that suffering arises."²²

In this case Nāgasena maintains that, "It is not all suffering that has its root in Karma" and shows how some of it might arise from natural or present causes. He lists eight causes by which suffering may arise:

"And what are the eight? Superabundance of wind, and of bile, and of phlegm, the union of these humours, variations in temperature, the avoiding of dissimilarities, external agency, and Karma. From each of these are some sufferings that arise, and these are the eight causes by which many beings suffer pain. And therein whosoever maintains that it is Karma that injures beings, and besides it there is no other reason for pain, his proposition is false."²³

And he goes on to show that all the sufferings the Buddha underwent were on account of factors other than his karma. To take the case of the Buddha's foot being hurt:

"Now when the Blessed One's foot was torn by a splinter of rock, the pain that followed was not produced by any other of the eight causes I have mentioned, but only by external agency. For Devadatta, O king, had harboured hatred against the Tathāgata during a succession of hundreds of thousands of births. It was in his hatred that he seized hold of a mighty mass of rock, and pushed it over with the hope that it would fall upon his head. But two other rocks came together, and intercepted it before it had reached the Tathāgata; and by force of their impact a splinter was torn off, and fell upon the Blessed One's foot, and made it bleed. Now this pain must have been produced in the Blessed One either as the result of his own Karma, or of someone else's act. For beyond these two there can be no other kind of pain. It is as when a seed does not germinate - that must be due to the badness of the soil, or to a defect in the seed. Or it is as when food is not digested - that must be due to either a defect in the stomach, or to the badness of the food.

"But although the Blessed One never suffered pain which was the result of his own Karma, or brought about the avoidance of dissimilarity, yet he suffered pain from each of the other six causes. And by the pain he could suffer it was not possible to deprive him of his life. There come to this body of ours, O king, compounded of the four elements, sensations desirable and the reverse, unpleasant and pleasant. Suppose, O king, a clod of earth were to be thrown into the air, and to fall again on the ground. Would it be a consequence of any act it had previously done that it would so fall?

"No, Sir. There is no reason in the broad earth by which it could experience the result of an act either good or evil. It would be by reason of a present cause independent of Karma that the clod would fall to earth again.

"Well, O king, the Tathāgata should be regarded as the broad earth. And as the clod would fall on it irrespective of any act done by it, so also was it irrespective of any act done by him that that splinter of rock fell upon his foot.

"Again, O king, men tear up and plough the earth. But is that a result of any act previously done?

"Certainly not, Sir.

"Just so with the falling of that splinter. And the dysentery that attacked him was in the same way the result of no previous act, it arose from the union of the three humours. And whatsoever bodily disease fell upon him, that had its origin, not in Karma, but in one or other of the six causes referred to." ²⁴

In other words, while arahants had to undergo the results of residual karma, it was not so with the Buddha, who "had burnt out all evil from within

him".

It is clear, therefore, that although the Nibbāna of the Buddha and of the arahants is the same in Theravāda Buddhism, the Buddha is different from the arahants in the various ways pointed out above.²⁵

Notes

- 1 *Religious Traditions* [Dept of Religious Studies, University of Sydney], Vol.1, No.1 (April 1978), p.39.
- 2 *Ibid.*
- 3 W.G.Weeraratne, "Arahant" in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* II, 1 (Colombo 1966), p.42.
- 4 Weeraratne, "Āsamkkhaya-Ñāna", *ibid.*, p.155.
- 5 Weeraratne, "Arahant", *op.cit.*, p.41.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p.42.
- 7 T.Rahula in *Religious Traditions*, *op.cit.*, p.40.
- 8 I.B.Horner, "Buddhism: The Theravāda" in R.C.Zachner (ed.) *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths* (Boston 1959), p.282.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p.301.
- 10 H.Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (London 1932), p.137. For a detailed discussion of the concept of the Buddha's omniscience in the Pali Canon see K.N.Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (London 1963), pp.376-81, etc.
- 11 Horner, *op.cit.*, p.282.
- 12 III.5.10: tr. T.W.Rhys Davids in *The Questions of King Milinda* (repr.Delhi 1969), pp.113-4 - emphasis added. It is interesting to note that the fire metaphor is used in the Pali text in the context of the discussion of the post-mortem state of the arahants and not just of the Buddha (Majjhima Nikāya, Sutta 72).
- 13 Weeraratne, "Arahant", *op.cit.*, p.42.
- 14 T.Rahula, *op.cit.*, pp.38-9. Dr Rahula goes on to add: "Granted that the Buddha was in fact superior to his disciples, the arahants, in these psychic attainments, still it would not affect the early Buddhist ideal of perfect liberation, materialized by the great arahants. The Buddha himself was not interested in magical performances, and actually made it an offense against the disciplinary rules for a monk to display such powers. A person's spiritual quality cannot be judged by his supernormal attainments alone,

and even an evil person like Devadatta could acquire them. Moggallāna, the best authority in such powers, was murdered by hired assassins, and the Buddha himself had to encounter a number of unfavourable things" (*ibid.*, p.39).

- 15 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy* (London 1961), pp.110-1.
- 16 T.W.Rhys Davids, *op.cit.*, pp.261-3.
- 17 Edward Conze, *Buddhism, Its Essence and Development* (repr. New York 1959), p.14.
- 18 Kenneth W.Morgan (ed.) *The Path of the Buddha* (New York 1956), p.48.
- 19 T.W.Rhys Davids, *op.cit.*, p.261.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p.263.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p.190.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p.191.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp.193-5.
- 25 Two final observations may be made, one common, the other somewhat uncommon. One difference between the Buddha and the arahant is so patent that it has not even been mentioned hitherto in the paper, that in a previous existence the aspirant to Buddhahood resolves to become a Buddha and thenceforth becomes a Bodhisatta. No such resolution is associated with an arahant. The other difference is that while there can be a female arahant there can be no female Buddha in Theravāda Buddhism.

VIETNAMESE BUDDHIST LITERATURE: An Introduction

Russell Webb *

The literature of Vietnam is as distinctive as the prevalent indigenous Buddhist tradition which is a remarkably successful and influential amalgam of Ch'an (Zen) and Ch'ing-tu (Jōdo), known locally as Thiền and Tịnh-Độ respectively. In comparison to the attention lavished on the neighbouring Indian-based and Chinese Buddhist traditions, however, very little has been written on either Buddhism in Vietnam or its canonical and exegetical works. This observation also applies to the otherwise unique achievements of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* which, based at Hanoi and later Saigon for half a century, rarely contributed studies relevant to Buddhism in the region other than describing the popular observances. However, this attitude may have resulted from the fact that a Confucian veneer overlaid Vietnamese society at the time and that a resurgence of a dynamic and nationalistic Buddhism, accompanied by popular writings in the adopted romanised script, did not begin to surface until the 1920s and 1930s.

Buddhism first penetrated the northernmost region of Giao-Châu (Tonkin) from the end of the second century A.C. The most notable Dharmadūtas were, in chronological order, as follows:

Mau-Po (Mâu-Bác or Mâu-Tú¹) from Han China (189 A.C.).

K'ang Seng-Hui (Khu'ông-Tăng-Hội), a Sogdian who subsequently settled in Nanking, China, in 247.

Kalyāṇaruci (Cư'ng-Lu'ng-Lâu), a Yüeh-Chi (or Indo-Scythian) who translated the *Saddharmasamādhisūtra* etc. into Chinese from 255.

Mārajīvaka (Ma-La-Kỳ-Vật), an Indian who went on to Loyang, China, c.306.

Vinītaruci (Tỳ-Ni-Đa-Lu'Chi), an Indian who trained in China before coming to Pháp-Vân temple, Hà-Đông province. He translated into Chinese the *Mahāyānavaipulyadhāraṇīsūtra* and founded the first Thiền (Ch'an) school in Vietnam in 580.

Wu-Yen-Tung (Vô Ngôn-Thông), a Chinese who settled at Kiển-Sơ temple, Bắc-Ninh province, in 820, and founded the second school of Thiền.

Ts'ao-Tang (Thảo-Đường), a Chinese monk captured during a defensive campaign against Champa (an Indianised region which became a vassal state of Annam) in 1069. Appointed National Teacher (Quốc Sư), he resided in the capital Thăng-Long (now Hanoi) and established the unified practice of Thiền and Tịnh-Độ.

King Trần Nhân-Tôn (1258-1308) [Tuệ-Trung Thu'ng-Sĩ, according to Thích Nhất-Hạnh] founded the Trúc-Lâm ('Bamboo forest') school which fused Confucianism and Taoism with a dominant Buddhism and resulted in a humanistic and

nationalistic religion.

Nguyễn-Thiều (d.1712) fled the Manchu invasion of China and settled in Huế (1665) where he founded a school of Lin-Chi (Lâm-Tế or Rinzaï Zen) which was, in turn, systematised by Liễu-Quán (d.1743).

From the establishment of the nation's first independent dynasties - the Ngô (939-967) and Đinh (968-980), the bhikṣus who comprised the learned élite composed most of the indigenous prose and poetry, either in Chinese or in the partly modified script of Chũ'-Nôm ("popular writing"). Such writers included at least one Sangharāja, Chân-Luh (d.1011), whilst Buddhist literary endeavours continued to flourish during the Lê (980-1009) and Lý (1010-1225) dynasties which spanned the golden age of the Buddhadharma in Vietnam. Society was enriched by such activities of the bhikṣus who were influential in affairs of state and provided educational facilities in the temples where their spiritual and narrative literature was imparted.

The treasures of Vietnamese literature are largely inaccessible to a wide readership because they have rarely been translated into Western languages. Exceptions include the sixteenth century collection of *jātaka* literature, the *Truyện Kỳ Man Lục*, translated by Nguyễn Trăn-Huân under the title, *Vaste Recueil des Légendes merveilleuses* (Paris 1962), and the national epic poem, *Kim-Vân-Kiều* (or *Truyện Kiều*, *The Tale of Kiều*). Although its author, Nguyễn-Du (1765-1820), was a Confucian scholar, this ever popular work incorporates the themes of *karma*, *anitya* and *duḥkha*. It has been lauded as "...a masterpiece which enjoys unrivalled popularity because of its lively musical quality, the beauty of its verse which is incomparable, and above all because of its rich treasurehouse of thoughts from noble Buddhist inspiration. It would be no exaggeration to state that this poem which elaborates a theme which is akin to the life of the country, has of itself achieved much more than thousands of treatises on morals or philosophy as regards the good fight it led for the triumph of goodness, forgiveness, purity of thoughts, and loftiness of ideals. Even now a hundred years later and in spite of the attractions of modern culture, it still is for some a sort of encyclopaedia of the Vietnamese language or a sort of literary Bible, and for others a civic and moral code, and finally for the whole world a manual of elementary and practical Buddhism". **

The poem was first transcribed in Quốc-Ngũ' (the romanised "national Language" devised by Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century but not officially recognised until 1910) in 1875. From the first modern edition by Nguyễn Duy-Nguê and Vũ Đình-Long (Hanoi 1928), several versions and studies have appeared as listed in the full bibliography of Huỳnh Sanh-Thông's English translation (New York 1973; revised edition with Vietnamese text, Yale University Press, New Haven 1983). The only other English translation was made by Lê Xuân-

Thúy (Saigon 1968), whilst five French versions were made by Abel des Michels (Paris 1884-5), René Crayssac (Hanoi 1926), Nguyễn Văn-Vĩnh (Hanoi 1943), Xuân-Phúc and Xuân-Việt (Paris 1961) and Nguyễn Khắc-Viện (Hanoi 1965). To celebrate the bi-centenary of the poet's birth, Maurice Durand edited a collection of essays entitled *Mélanges sur Nguyễn Du* (EFEO, Paris 1966).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, French academic circles and the colonial authorities began to take a serious interest in Vietnamese culture. A *Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-chinoise* was published in Paris and this was followed by the establishment in Saigon of the Société des études indo-chinoises, as evidenced by the regular appearance of its *Bulletin* from 1883-1975. These developments were, however, overshadowed by the foundation in Hanoi of the École française d'Extrême-Orient. Its world renowned quarterly *Bulletin* was launched in the same year (1901).

Beginning with *Histoire ancienne et moderne de l'Annam, Tong-King et Cochinchine* [the three main provinces of Vietnam] (Paris 1884) by Adrien Lounay, a majority of French scholars concentrated on the art and archaeology of Indochina. However, a substantial number of works appeared on the religions of the region in general and Buddhism in particular. Gustave Dumoutier described, inter alia, *Le Grand-Bouddha de Hanoi. Étude historique, archéologique et épigraphique sur la pagode de Trân-Vũ* (Hanoi 1888), *Les cultes annamites* (Hanoi 1907) and "Le clergé et les temples bouddhiques au Tonkin" (*Revue Indochinoise* X, Hanoi 1913) and contributed some "Notes sur le Bouddhisme tonkinois" (*Revue d'Ethnographie* VII, Paris 1888). These were followed by Edouard J.J. Diguët *Les annamites: société, coutumes, religions* (Paris 1906), Charles-Georges Cordier *Littérature annamite* (Hanoi 1914) and *Études de littérature annamite* (Saigon 1933), Paul Mus "Les religions de l'Indochine" (in S. Lévi *Indochine*, Paris 1931), A. Coué "Doctrines et cérémonies religieuses du pays d'Annam" (*Bulletin de la Société des études indo-chinoises*, NS VIII, Saigon 1933), Émile Gaspardone "Bibliographie annamite" [including Buddhism and its literature] (BEFEO, Hanoi 1934), Lucien Escalère *Le Bouddhisme et cultes d'Annam* (Shanghai 1937), Léopold-Michel Cadière *Croyances et pratiques religieuses des Vietnamiens* (I - Saigon 1944, repr. 1958; II - Saigon 1955; III - EFEO, Paris 1957), Maurice Durand "Littérature vietnamienne" (in R. Queneau *Histoire des littératures* I, Paris 1955) and, with Nguyễn Trân-Huân, the definitive *Introduction à la littérature vietnamienne* (Paris 1969). The last-named study constitutes a detailed historical survey where the Buddhist component is noticeable in the chapters on "Littérature folklorique" and "Le Kim Vân Kiều et les romans en vers". A unique forty-page biographical dictionary is also featured and it was upon that basis that Dr Ivo Vasiljiev of The Oriental Institute at the Charles University (Prague) contributed several entries on Vietnamese writers to the *Dictionary of*

Oriental Literatures II (ed. D.Zbavitel, London 1974), including the most prominent Buddhist poet in this century, Khái Huêg (1896-1947). Editions Thanh-Long, a Vietnamese distributor in Brussels, have published two relevant works by Jacques Baruch: *Essai sur la littérature du Viêt-Nam* (1963) and *Bibliographie des traductions françaises des littératures du Viêt-Nam et du Cambodge* (1968).

The foregoing activity served as a stimulus to indigenous scholars and writers. General works from their pens include *La Civilisation annamite* (Hanoi 1944) by Nguyễn Van-Huyễn and *Le Viêt-Nam, histoire et civilisation* (Paris 1955) by Lê Thành-Khôi, whilst Trần Văn-Giáp contributed "Le Bouddhisme en Annam. Dès origines au XIIIe siècle" (BEFEO, Hanoi 1932), "Les deux sources du Bouddhisme annamite. Ses rapports avec l'Inde et la Chine" (*Cahiers de l'EFEO* XXXIII, Hanoi 1942) and *Contribution à l'étude des livres bouddhiques annamites conservés à l'EFEO* (Tokyo 1943). However, almost every other item relevant to this field of study has appeared in Vietnamese. During the 1920s and '30s Nguyễn Văn-Ngọc and his brother, Nguyễn Quang-Oánh, promoted the series, Viêt-Văn Thu-Xã ("Library of Vietnamese literature") and Cổ-Kim Thu-Xã ("Library of old and new works"). We also have on record the following studies: Phan Kê-Bính, *Viêt-Hán Văn Khảo* ("A study of Sino-Vietnamese literature", Hanoi 1918, repr.1930); *Viêt-Nam Phật Điển Tùng San* ("A collection of Vietnamese Buddhist literature", Hội Việt-Nam Phật-Giáo [Vietnamese Buddhist Association] and EFEO, Hanoi 1936); Đào Duy-Anh, *Viêt-Nam Văn Hóa Sử Cubhg* ("History of the evolution of Vietnamese civilisation", Hanoi? 1938), Phan Văn-Hùm, *Phật-Giáo Triết-Học* ("The philosophy of Buddhism", Hanoi? 1941), Ngô Tất-Tố, *Viêt-Nam Văn-Học-Sử* ("History of Vietnamese literature", Hanoi? 1942), Thích Mật-Thế, *Viêt-Nam Phật-Giáo Sử-Lược* ("History of Buddhism in Vietnam", Saigon 1942, 8th ed., Nha-Trang 1964), Dương Quảng-Hàm, *Viêt-Nam Văn-Học Sử-Yếu* ("Summary of the history of Vietnamese literature", Hanoi 1944, repr.1951), Nghiê-m-Toán, *Viêt-Nam Văn-Học-Sử trích yếu* (ibid., Saigon 1949) and, with Hoàng Xuân-Hãn, *Thi Văn Viêt-Nam* ("Vietnamese literature", Hanoi 1951); Văn-Tấn et al., *Sơ Thảo Lịch Sử Văn-Học Viêt-Nam* ("Outline of a history of Vietnamese literature", Hanoi 1957), Phạm Văn-Diêu, *Văn-Học Viêt-Nam* ("Vietnamese literature", Saigon 1960) and Thích Thiên-Ân, *Lịch-Sử Phật-Giáo Viêt-Nam* ("History of Buddhism in Vietnam", Saigon 1965), *Gia-Trị Triết-Học Tôn-Giáo trong Truyện Kiều* ("Philosophical and religious values in the Tale of Kiều", Saigon 1966) and *Ảnh Hưởng Phật-Giáo trong Văn-Chubhg Truyện Kiều* ("Influence of Buddhism in Vietnamese literature with reference to the Tale of Kiều", ?).

The Tripitaka (Đại-Tạng Kinh) was imported from China in the late tenth century and several studies and translations from both this corpus and the Pali Canon have been made by Vietnamese bhikṣus in recent years. Such work was facilitated by the establishment of the Institute of Higher Buddhist Studies in

Saigon (1964) and this was shortly transformed into Vạn Hạnh University. This centre was soon recognised as the most prestigious of its kind and allowed for exchange scholarships with external universities, as a result of which some bhikṣu students were enabled to pursue higher studies in which the use of English or French led to a wider dissemination of their writings. (For further details of Vạn Hạnh see pp.98-109 in *International Seminar on Higher Education in Buddhism*, WFB Books Series 17, Bangkok 1968.)

The Rector of Vạn Hạnh University (- since 1975 changed to the status of "Institute"), Thích Minh-Châu, had written on the "Influence of Buddhism on Vietnamese Literature" (*The Maha Bodhi* 66, Calcutta 1958) before enrolling at the Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra - a post-graduate institute of Pali and allied studies in Patna. In affiliation with the University of Bihar, he obtained his Ph.D. in 1961 for a study and partial translation of *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pali Majjhima Nikāya* (published Saigon 1964). This was followed by a comparative study of the *Milindapañha and Nāgasonabhikshusūtra* (Calcutta 1964). Thereafter he devoted all his energy to translating the entire Sutta Piṭaka into Vietnamese. By 1975 both the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas were printed with the original texts and within the next three years the Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas, Dhammapada, Udāna and Sutta-Nipāta were translated and published in cyclostyle format. The remaining books of the Khuddaka Nikāya have now been translated and duplicated in Vietnam. In collaboration with his students, A.P. Buddhadatta's *New Pali Course* and *Higher Pali Course* have also been translated.

Thích Huyền-Vi, the spiritual supervisor of Tự-Viện Linh-Soh in Paris (and President of Linh-Soh Buddhist Association in France and England), obtained his doctorate in 1970 from Magadh University (Bodh-Gaya) for *A Critical Study of the Life and Works of Sāriputta Thera* (published Saigon 1972) - an unique survey in need of reprinting. He has also produced a study based on the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, *The Four Abhidhammic Reals* (Linh-Soh, 1982); *Lược Sử Tổ Bồ-Đề Đạt-Ma* ("History of Master Bodhidharma", Saigon 1961); *Tu Sĩ và Họa-Sĩ trên Đất Phật* ("The Buddhist Monk and the Painter in the Buddha-Land", Suối Trời 1966); *Phật-Lý Căn-Bản* ("The Basis of Buddhist Doctrines", Hướng-Đạo 1974); *Gubha Sáng Nguõĩ Xưa* ("The Bright Mirrors of the Predecessors", Hướng-Đạo 1975). A fellow bhikṣu at Magadh University, Thích Thiện Thanh, has also obtained a Ph.D. for "A comparative study of the Pāli Dīgha-Nikāya and Chinese Dīrghāgama" (c.1976), whilst Thai Văn-Chai was awarded his doctorate in 1972 for an "Early History of Buddhism in Vietnam".

Thích Thiện-Châu, the spiritual director of the Association des Bouddhistes Vietnamiens en France and incumbent of Chùa Trúc-Lâm in Paris, has been honoured with two doctorates from the Sorbonne: for a translation of a Chinese and-

galavādin treatise, "Le Tridharmakaśāstra" (Ph.D. 1971), and a pioneer survey of "La littérature des personalistes (Pudgalavādin) du Bouddhisme ancien" (D. Litt. 1977). He has also translated the Pali Dhammapada into Vietnamese.

Apart from the foregoing, only privately produced secondary translations have appeared, such as George Grimm's *Die Lehre des Buddha* as *Tuê-Giác Của-Phật* (Saigon 1964), Nārada Mahāthera's authoritative version of the Dhammapada (from English, Saigon 1971), his exposition of Theravāda Buddhism, *The Buddha and His Teachings* (translated, Saigon 1970) and his translation of the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, *A Manual of Buddhism* (translated, 2 vols, Saigon 1973/5).

* In the course of preparing this essay, the author gratefully acknowledges the advice of Ven.Thích Huyền-Vi and Bhikkhu Pāsādika. To the former he owes his knowledge of the intricacies of Vietnamese diacritical marks even if they could not all be reproduced accurately here.

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TWO SŪTRAS ON DEPENDENT ORIGINATION

Translated by John M.Cooper

Two sūtras on Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) edited by N.Aiyaswami Sastri are here translated from the Sanskrit for the first time with the kind permission of the publishers¹. The first sūtra is from a Sanskrit original, but the second had been rendered by Sastri into Sanskrit from its Tibetan translation.

The first sūtra belongs to the Hīnayāna tradition according to Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. It gives an explanation of the factors of the Dependent Origination formula.

The second sūtra's connection with this formula lies mainly in the fact that it contains a verse called *Pratītyasamutpādagāthā*. The mention of Nārāyaṇa together with Mahābrāhma and Maheśvara seems reminiscent of the triad, Brāhma, Viṣṇu and Śiva, of Hinduism.

I am grateful to Dr M.N.Kundu who went over the translation and made a number of useful suggestions.

The sūtra called the elucidation of the starting-point and the explanation of dependent origination

Salutation to the Triple Gem.

Thus have I heard. At one time the Blessed One was living at Śrāvastī, at the Jeta grove, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada, with a great community of monks, 1,250 monks. On that occasion the Blessed One addressed them: "To you, monks, I shall teach to you the starting-point of dependent origination and its explanation. Therefore, listen well and duly ponder on it. I shall speak (as follows).

"What is the starting-point of dependent origination? That is to say (i) This being, that becomes; from the arising of this, that arises. (ii) Conditioned by ignorance are volitional activities, conditioned by volitional activities is consciousness, conditioned by consciousness is mentality-materiality, conditioned by mentality-materiality are the six senses, conditioned by the six sense senses is contact, conditioned by contact is feeling, conditioned by feeling is craving, conditioned by craving is clinging, conditioned by clinging is becoming, conditioned by becoming is birth, conditioned by birth old age and death, grief, lamentation, misery, dejection and perturbation arise - thus is the arising of this whole mass of misery. This is called the starting-point of dependent origination.

"What is its explanation? In 'conditioned by ignorance are volitional

actions', what is ignorance? 'That which is in the past is ignorance; in the future is ignorance; in the past and future together is ignorance; inside is ignorance; outside is ignorance; inside and outside together is ignorance; in action is ignorance; in the resultant is ignorance; in action and resultant together is ignorance; in the Buddha is ignorance; in the teaching is ignorance; in the community is ignorance; in misery is ignorance; in its arising is ignorance; in its cessation is ignorance; in the path is ignorance; in the cause is ignorance; in states produced by causes is ignorance; in states skilful and unskilful, sinful and sinless, to be practised and not to be practised, dependently originated with distinction of inferior, superior, evil and pure, is ignorance; or again in the six contact-bases disclosing them as they really are.' In whatever place there is ignorance of reality, not seeing, not clear understanding, darkness, bewilderment, darkness of ignorance, this is called ignorance.

"In 'conditioned by ignorance are volitional actions', what are volitional actions? There are three types of volitional actions, volitional actions of the body, volitional actions of speech, volitional actions of mind.

"In 'conditioned by volitional actions is consciousness', what is consciousness? There are six bodies of consciousness: eye-consciousness, and consciousness of ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.

"In 'conditioned by consciousness is mentality-materiality', what is mentality? There are four formless aggregates. What four? The aggregate of feeling, the aggregate of perception, the aggregate of mental conditions, the aggregate of consciousness. What is materiality? Whatever is materiality, all that is the four great elements. And in view of the four great elements, therefore, this materiality and the previous mentality by being put together as one are called mentality-materiality.

"In 'conditioned by mentality-materiality are the six senses', what are the six senses? They are the six internal senses; the internal sense of the eye, the internal senses of the ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.

"In 'conditioned by the six senses is contact', what is contact? There are six groups of contact: eye-contact, ear-, nose-, tongue-, body- and mind-contact.

"In 'conditioned by contact is feeling? There are three types of feeling: pleasant, unpleasant and neither pleasant nor unpleasant.

"In 'conditioned by feeling is craving', what is craving? There are three kinds of craving: craving for sense-pleasures, craving for form and craving for the formless.

"In 'conditioned by craving is clinging', what is clinging? There are four

types of clinging: clinging to sensual pleasures, clinging to views, clinging to ceremonial practices, clinging to belief in the self.

"In 'conditioned by clinging is becoming', what is becoming? There are three types of becoming: sensuous becoming, corporeal becoming, formless becoming.

"In 'conditioned by becoming is birth', what is birth? That which is considered to be birth of various beings in this or that group of beings is coming into existence, conception, coming into being, appearance, obtaining the aggregates, obtaining the elements, obtaining the senses, coming into being of the aggregates, the appearance of the faculties of life.

"In 'conditioned by birth are old age and death', what is old age? Whence there is baldness, greyness, an abundance of wrinkles, withering, stooping, having a humpbacked bent-over posture, having the body covered with moles, having a body that rattles in the throat when breathing out, having the body bent forwards, holding fast to a stick, slowness, feebleness, diminution, deficiency, ripening and injury of the faculties, the volitional actions becoming worn out and decrepit, this is called old age.

"What is death? It is that falling which of various beings from this or that group of beings is separation from movement, separation of mind, relinquishment of life, relinquishment of heat, cessation of the faculties of life, abandoning of the aggregates, dying, completing one's time, this is called 'death'. Here death and the preceding old age are both taken together and called 'old age and death'.

"This is called the explanation of dependent origination.

"I shall teach you the starting-point of dependent origination and its explanation', so I said to you and this is here the answer", thus said the Blessed One, and delighted those monks approved the words of the Blessed One.

The sūtra called the elucidation of the starting-point and explanation of dependent origination is concluded.

The holy Mahāyāna sūtra called dependent origination

Salutation to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Great Beings.

Thus have I heard. At one time the Blessed One dwelt among the thirty-three gods (seated) on a stone slab like a woollen blanket together with the great disciples Jitāśva etc., Bodhisattvas, Great Beings, the holy Maitreya, the holy Avalokiteśvara, Vajrahasta etc., with gods Mahābrāhmaṇa Suhāmpati, Nārāyaṇa, Maheśvara etc. adorned with the jewels of immeasurable qualities, with Śakra king of the gods, and with the king of the Gandharvas, Pañcaśikha. Then

Avalokiteśvara the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, rose from his seat, put his upper robe over one shoulder, rested his right knee on top of Meru, made a reverential salutation to where the Buddha was with his hands joined and said this to the Blessed One: "These gods, Blessed One, rejoicing in adoration of a monument, having fallen from the circle of this assembly, with difficulty acquiring the merit of chastity, and in the world with its gods, Māras and Brāhmas, among mankind with its ascetics and brahmins, monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees, acquiring very abundant merit, thus beg the Blessed One's teaching of the Doctrine."

Then the Blessed One said the verse of dependent origination: "Those states which arise from a cause, their cause the Tathāgata has told, and that which is their cessation the great ascetic has accordingly declared.

"That is to say, Avalokiteśvara, this dependent origination is the body of doctrine of the Tathāgatas. He who sees the dependent origination sees the Tathāgata. That son of good family, Avalokiteśvara, or daughter of good family, endowed with faith, who, having put in an unestablished place a monument the size of an āmalaka fruit ², a tree of enlightenment the size of a needle, and a parasol the size of a vakula flower ³, recites a verse of dependent origination, which is the sphere of religion, acquires the supreme merit. Having been made to fall from here and dying he is born in the world of Brāhma. Having been made to fall from there and dying he is born as one of the gods of the Pure Abode."

When the Blessed One had thus spoken, those disciples, those Bodhisattvas, Great Beings, and that circle containing all, together with the worlds of gods, men, demons and Gandharvas consented to and applauded the words of the Blessed One.

The holy Mahāyāna sūtra called dependent origination is complete.

Those states which arise from a cause, their cause the Tathāgata has told, and that which is their cessation the great ascetic has accordingly declared ⁴.

To abstain from all evil, to attain the skilful, to control one's own mind, this is the instruction of the Buddhas ⁵.

May all the worlds be happy.

1 *Ārya Śālistamba Sūtra, Pratītyasamutpādavibhaṅganirdeśasūtra and Pratītyasamutpādagāthā Sūtra*. Adyar Library Series No.76, The Theosophical Society, Adyar 1950.

2 An āmalaka fruit is slightly larger than a gooseberry.

3 A vakula flower is yellowish brown, circular, and about half an inch in diameter.

4 Vin, Mahāvagga 23, 5, and elsewhere.

5 Dhp 183.

EDITORS' NOTES

1. The Āryaśālistambasūtra, probably the best known source text for the formula of *pratītyasamutpāda* outside the Pali Canon, was edited from the Tibetan recension by L.de La Vallée Poussin under the title *Théorie des douze causes* (Ghent 1913). Into French he included a translation of Nāgārjuna's *Pratītyasamutpādahrdayakārikā*, the autocommentary (*vyākhyāna*) to which was rendered into English by Sastri for the *K.V.Rangaswami Aiyanger Commemoration Volume* (Venkateswara Oriental Institute, University of Travancore, Madras 1940): "Nāgārjuna on the Buddhist Theory of Causation". Sastri later edited the Tibetan text, preceded by an essay which described "Nagarjuna's Exposition of Twelve Causal Links", for the *Bulletin of Tibetology* (V, 2, Gangtok 1968).
2. Noble Ross Reat (from the Department of Religion, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52402, USA) obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Lancaster in 1980 for a study of the Āryaśālistambasūtra, "The Origins of Buddhist Psychology". He intended to reconstruct the Sanskrit text, edit the Tibetan text and provide an annotated English translation. He introduced this work at the Second Conference of The International Association of Buddhist Studies on 18.1.80 by means of a paper entitled "The Śālistamba Sūtra: Continuity and Creativity in Early Mahāyāna Literature". However, since taking up a position at the University of Queensland, no further progress on this text has been reported and we are, therefore, pleased to hear that Mr Cooper has undertaken to provide this journal with a complete translation.
3. The *Pratītyasamutpādavibhaṅganirdeśasūtra* (from both the Saṃyukta- and Ekottorāgamas) was edited in romanised Sanskrit by N.P.Chakravarti in *Epigraphia Indica XXI* (Delhi 1931) and followed by an annotated English translation by P.C. Bagchi.
4. Bibliographical data on the *Nidānasamūyukta* of the Saṃyuktāgama will appear in a future issue when we hope to publish the late Ronald Brown's translation of Ch.Tripathi's *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamūyukta* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden VIII, East Berlin 1962).
5. Finally, we would take this opportunity of providing a comprehensive bibliography of modern writings on *paṭiccasamuppāda/pratītyasamutpāda* which will hopefully encourage readers to study this doctrine of fundamental importance:

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General articles on this subject have appeared in Buddhist magazines but since they are often repetitious they have been omitted from this list. However, the Editors would appreciate hearing from readers of any other original contributions that may have been published.

NEWS & NOTES

Research Facilities in USA

1. "The *Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions* was established in 1970 to assist the study and teaching of world religions. In order to serve both the academic community and general public worldwide, the Institute has undertaken various programs which have the following objectives:

- (1) To collect, analyze, and preserve religious materials and make them readily available.
- (2) To provide bibliographical and research information for world religious studies.
- (3) To study and present the relevance and applicability of religious thought to modern life.
- (4) To design and develop research tools for the study of religions.
- (5) To translate Asian religious materials into English.
- (6) To publish religious texts and studies in various languages.
- (7) To strengthen contacts and cooperation among those concerned with the academic study and practical applications of world religions.
- (8) To encourage leaders of different religions to find a common ground whereby they may serve mankind collectively.

In developing its research facilities, information services, and publications, the Institute gives priority to Buddhism and Hinduism as a whole...The Institute also recognizes the importance of other religions and assists their study and teaching whenever opportune and feasible."

Its Library in the State University of New York "now contains over 60,000 volumes, 280 current and 575 noncurrent periodical titles (5,100 volumes), and approximately 30,000 manuscripts and monographs in microform.

"The Library is particularly strong in its collection of Buddhist materials, which include various Chinese, Japanese and Korean editions of the Chinese Tripitaka; the Pāli Tipitaka in Burmese, Cambodian (rare), Devanāgarī, Lao (rare, incomplete), Roman, Sinhalese, Thai, and Vietnamese (rare, incomplete) scripts, as well as translations in these and other languages; and numerous Buddhist Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Vietnamese texts. The Tibetan collection includes the Japanese reprint of the Peking edition of the Bka'-'gyur and Bstan-'gyur (Kanjur-Tanjur: Tibetan Buddhist Canon), most of the Tibetan texts published in India during the past 20 years, and microeditions of the Snar-thañ Bka'-'gyur, Sde-dge Bka'-'gyur, Lhasa Bka'-'gyur, and Co-ne Bstan-'gyur. In addition to these materials on Tibetan Buddhism (about 10,000 volumes), the Library has approximately 5,200 volumes of Chinese and Japanese

Buddhist canonical literature, commentaries, and modern textual studies, and about 3,050 volumes of reference works, monastic biographies, and collected writings of Buddhist monks and scholars. It also has numerous works in Asian and Western languages for advanced research on Buddhist thought, art, history, and societal role in Central, East, South, and Southeast Asia.

"The holdings of the Library include the following: the Richard A. Gard Collection of Buddhist and Related Studies; the Ngiam Hoo-pang Collection of Chinese Buddhist Texts; the Galen Eugene Sargent Collection of Asian Philosophy and Comparative Literature; the Ming Southern Edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (incomplete); the P.L.480/SFC Collection (Tibetan books printed in India, Nepal, and Bhutan); and microform copies of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and Chinese manuscripts from Tun-huang in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

"The resources of the IASWR Library at Stony Brook are available to general readers as well as students, scholars, teachers, and other specialists. Visitors to the Library have included researchers and Buddhist monks from Asia, Europe, and North America. The Library exchanges selected books and periodicals with other libraries and institutions, and its staff provides reference and bibliographical services upon request by mail or telephone."

Files are maintained on planned or ongoing research and published work on Buddhism. Also, "files on various Asian library classification schemes, curricula development, religious organizations, institutes, and related data for the study of world religions. This information will be incorporated into a data base by means of a newly designed tagging structure which will enable the Institute to respond more quickly to requests for such information from scholars, educators, librarians, and others in the field of world religions."

Special periodical bibliographies include "*Buddhist Research Information (BRI)* [which] lists inquiries about Buddhist studies and reports on Buddhist research planned, in progress, or completed. This information is intended to supplement bibliographies of published scholarship. The data are divided into ten categories: 1. Reference Works; 2. General Works; 3. Introductory Works; 4. Histories; 5. Biographies and the Buddha Ideal; 6. Literature (excluding texts and commentaries); 7. Principles and Practices; 8. Organization: Movements, Schools/ Sects; 9. Cultural Arts; 10. Miscellany. *Buddhist Text Information (BTI)* provides cumulative bibliographic information for the study of Buddhist texts. In addition to descriptions of texts and their published editions, translations, studies, etc., special attention is given to projects planned, in progress, or recently completed/awaiting publication.

"The Microform Resource Program has been conducted by the Institute since

1972 as a principal part of its research work. Rare publications and manuscripts are searched out, analyzed, cataloged, and filmed. Microfiche copies of these materials are then made available at nominal cost. The program now offers nearly 30,000 documents on microfiche. The original texts of the materials are kept in public and private libraries or collections in Asia, Europe, and the United States. Written in many Asian and Western languages, they primarily concern Buddhism and Hinduism. In addition to individual texts, microedition sets of texts are also available at nominal cost so that libraries and scholars may have them conveniently on hand.

"The microeditions include a collection of 471 Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts filmed from private collections in Nepal, a large collection of Tibetan religious works, the University of Pennsylvania's Indic Manuscript Collection, the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka from the Sung Dynasty (incomplete), and the Cambodian Pāli Tipiṭaka. These and other editions provide ready access to important Sanskrit, Tibetan, Cambodian, Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian language materials. More recently, many volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East* series in English have been reproduced on microfiche. Suggestions for texts to be filmed are welcome".

In 1980 a Public Resources Program was established "to collect, develop, and distribute resource materials on world religions for the general public. The aim is to present the results of scholarly research in a format designed for the non-specialist, and to provide information on the relevance and applicability of religious thought to modern life.

"The materials offered through this program consist of surveys of the history, teachings, and practices of various religions, as well as educational packets for a wide range of uses. A Public Resources collection is being assembled to include materials in these formats: books, documentary films, video tapes, audio tapes, and visual study aids such as slides, maps, and diagrams.

"The current emphasis of the program is two-fold: to review and select existing materials which are suitable for general use, and to produce new materials in areas where adequate resources appear to be lacking. The Institute has initiated the *Basic Buddhism Series* for the publication of literature on Buddhism from the modern perspective, and a project is underway to produce video tapes of lectures and demonstrations of meditation techniques. A bibliographic reference service providing research assistance for the general public is also offered."

Book publications (in cooperation with other institutions) have included: *Sūtra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva* (tr. Bhikṣu Heng Ching, 1974), *Buddhist Monastic Discipline. The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins* (tr. Charles S. Prebish, 1975), *The Holy Teaching of*

Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra tr. Robert A.F. Thurman, 1976), *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra tr. Leon Hurvitz, 1976), *Hua-yen Buddhism. The Jewel Net of Indra* (by Francis H. Cook, 1977) and *A Treasury of Mahāyāna Sūtras. Selections from the Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* (ed. Garma C.C. Chang). The Madhyamakālaṅkāra-kārikā and -vṛtti by Śāntirakṣita and its commentary, the Madhyamakālaṅkārapañjikā by Kamalaśīla, are in the course of translation.

The founder-President of the Institute is Mr C.T. Shen, Director - Dr Richard A. Gard, and chief Librarian - Hannah G. Robinson (the widow of the Buddhist scholar, Richard H. Robinson). The translation team includes Garma C.C. Chang, Lobsang Lhalunpa and Peter Della Santina.

Further enquiries should be directed to the IASWR, Melville Memorial Library, State University of New York at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York 11794, USA. Tel. 516-246 8362, 246 8365 or, after 5.00p.m. and at weekends, 751 4162.

2. As an offshoot of the Nyingma Institute and Dharma Publishing, from June 1984 the *Yeshe De Buddhist Research and Translation Project* will function at the Odiyan County Center in northern California.

The programme "is designed for scholars who can take a year to work full-time on a project of their choice. Scholars who have retired or who are on sabbatical will be the most likely participants; scholars well-established in the field will be given priority. Once in residence, scholars will be free to work without interruption or distraction. They should not plan on making substantial outside commitments such as teaching or lecture series during the time of their stay. For those who wish there will be opportunities for informal meetings with other scholars in residence, and research and secretarial assistance will be regularly available.

"In reviewing project proposals, priority will go to translations of canonical works, especially Sutras. Preferred source languages are Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Pali; followed by translations from Mongolian, Japanese and Korean. Consideration will also be given to translations from other European languages into English. In general the language of translation will be English; for scholars more at home in other languages we will be able to provide expert editorial assistance in creating the final English version. Proposals should be framed in terms of producing a publishable work that can be completed within one year; renewable appointments are available for more extensive works, up to a maximum of three years

"Every participant in the Odiyan Program will sign a publishing agreement granting Dharma Publishing first rights to any book produced during the course

of the program. Dharma Publishing follows an editorial policy of producing works for both the scholarly community and a broader audience. Translation language should be clear and direct, and scholarly apparatus should be limited or presented unobtrusively through separate notes or glossaries. Obscure terminology and excessive interpretation are discouraged. Experienced staff can offer assistance in designing works that meet these criteria."

Application forms are available from the Nyingma Institute, 2425 Hillside Ave, Berkeley, California 94704.

3. Over ten years ago Dr Leo M. Pruden founded the College of Oriental Studies in Los Angeles, a non-accredited institution of higher education, based on "the principles of Buddhism, where we teach Asian Cultures and the Buddhadharma in an academic setting". Renamed the *American University of Oriental Studies*, it "offers BA, MA, Ph.D. and D.D. degrees in East-West Philosophy, East-West Psychology, Asian Studies, Buddhist Studies, Religious Studies and a Ph.D. in Chinese Medicine and Acupuncture".

Dr Pruden himself teaches the Abhidharma (currently through the Abhidharma-kośabhaṣya), Japanese Buddhism (covering the Kamakura period of Honen, Shinran, Dōgen and Nichiren) and Japanese Tantric Buddhism (Shingon and Tendai). Other Faculty staff and prescribed subjects include Dr Thích Thanh-Thiền (Head of The Gotama Temple) - History of Buddhism in India and History of Theravāda Buddhism; Dr Thích An-Huê (Deputy Head of The Gotama Temple) - Zen and the Psychology of Consciousness and Introduction to East-West Psychology; Lama Kalzang Gyaltzen - "The Four-Mandala Rite of Green Tara"; Bhikkhu Lokananda - Vipassanā (Insight) Meditation; Jean-Louis d'Heilly (Vice-President, World Buddhist Sangha Council) - Ānāpānasati Bhavana "Mindfulness of Breathing"; Jared Rhoton - Thup-Pa'i d-Gongs-Gsai "The Sage's Intent" (based on the 13th century Sakyapa Head's treatise on Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy) and Tibetan Language. Otherwise, the following languages are offered: Bengali and Hindi (Lokananda), Burmese (Bhikkhu U Pyin Ypanneinde), Chinese (Dr Thích Duc-Niêm and Prof. Ch'en Ch'uan-hsueh), Pali (Ven. Ahangama Dhammārāma, Head of the Los Angeles Buddhist Vihāra, and Lokananda), Sanskrit (Dhammārāma and Dr Vladimir Svidensky) and Sinhalese (Dhammārāma).

For further details write to The Registrar at 2835 W. Olympic Blvd, Los Angeles, California 90006.

... from the Far East

1. An International Buddhist Research Institute has been established in Bomyung Sa Temple, Seoul, S. Korea. It developed as a specialist affiliate to Dongguk University who are providing the faculty staff.

2. The Institute for Sino-Indian Buddhist Studies (22 Lane 110, 2 Section, Yang Te Road, Shih Lin, Taipei, Taiwan) has announced the publication of the *Great Chinese Collection of Buddhist Scriptures* (in Chinese) which is available from the Commission for the Compilation of Tripitaka Sinica, 16 Lane 41, Wu Fong Road, Hsintien Taipei County, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC.

At present it is not known how this work compares with the Nanjio and Taishō editions of the Chinese Canon. Bunyiu Nanjio himself compiled a *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford 1883) which has been revised by Lokesh Chandra for publication in New Delhi 1980. E. Denison Ross prepared the index to both this work and the reprint of the Canon (Kyoto 1905) under the title, *Alphabetical List of the Titles of Works in the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka* (Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta 1910), which, unfortunately, has not reappeared.

Beginning of Oriental Studies

The systematic study of Oriental culture in the West may be considered as having its inception on 15th January 1784 with the founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. The moving spirit behind the Society was Sir William Jones (1746-94) who had studied Latin, Greek, Arabic and Persian at Oxford (from 1764) and Law at the Middle Temple, London (1770-4), before becoming a judge in India in 1783.

At that time Indian studies were confined to Hinduism, Islam, Bengali and a few other regional languages, but primarily Sanskrit. The last language was learnt by Jones partly from an official of the East India Company, Charles Wilkins (1749-1836), who had translated the *Bhagavadgīta* (1784) and *Hitopadeśa* (1787). Jones "revealed the beauty of Sanskrit literature to the Western world" by his translation of Kālidāsa's drama, *Śakuntalā* (1789). Prior to the (still current) *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (begun in 1832), Jones edited *Asiatic Researches* (from 1788) and its 22 volumes have been reprinted by Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, almost exactly two centuries later.

Other English Indologists soon made their mark in the West. Alexander Buchanan Hamilton (1762-1824), a founder member of the Society, became a prisoner on parole in Napoleon's France where, in 1803, he became the first to teach Sanskrit in Europe. Across the Channel it was first taught at the East India Company's training college in Hertford from 1805.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837), a son of a Chairman of the Company, studied Sanskrit language and literature in India. He became President of the Society and was instrumental in founding the Royal Asiatic Society in London 1823. (This was followed by branches in Bombay 1841, Colombo 1843, Shanghai 1847, Tokyo 1872 and Singapore 1878.) His *Miscellaneous Essays* (3 vols, London

1873) were reprinted under the title *Essays on the History, Literature and Religions of Ancient India* (2 vols, Delhi 1977).

Horace Hayman Wilson (1789-1860) became the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford in 1833. He contributed a "Notice of three texts received from Nepál" (*Asiatic Researches* 1828; translated for *Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1831), "Note on the Literature of Thibet" (*Gleanings in Science* III, Calcutta 1831), "Analysis of the Kah-gyur" (*JASB* 1832), "Notes of a Correspondence with Sir John Bowring on Buddhist Literature in China" (*JRAS* 1856) and "On Buddha and Buddhism" (*JRAS* 1859).

Back in India, the British Resident in Nepal, B.H.Hodgson (1800-94), submitted evidence of lost Buddhist Sanskrit texts to *Asiatic Researches* (1828) - "Notice of the Languages, Literature and Religion of the Baudddhas of Nepál and Bhotan" - which was soon to be followed by other material and to lead directly to Buddhist studies in Europe (pioneered by Eugène Burnouf in Paris).

Finally, in this brief introduction to Indological studies, mention must be made of James Prinsep (1799-1840). Architect, numismatist and Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1832 until his enforced return to England six years later, he singlehandedly deciphered the inscriptions of Aśoka and just before his departure into oblivion published (in the Society's *Journal* VII, 1838) the facsimiles, transcriptions and translations of the sixteen Major Rock Edicts.

The foregoing pioneer efforts were to be intensified in the years that followed until every aspect of Oriental research became the subject of specialised attention.

Further reading: A.J.Arberry *Asiatic Jones* (London 1946) and *British Orientalists* (London 1943), Garland Cannon *Oriental Jones* (London 1964), David Kopf *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (University of California, Berkeley 1969), S.N.Mukherjee *Sir William Jones* (Cambridge 1968) and G.R.Welbon *The Buddhist Nirvāna and Its Western Interpreters* (University of Chicago Press, 1968, p.22 for a bibliography on Jones).

New Translations or Reprints

1982

A.K.Coomaraswamy and I.B.Horner *The Living Thoughts of Gotama the Buddha* (repr. New Delhi), J.Torre i Godori (tr.into Catalan) *El Dhammapada. La Sendera de la Perfecció* (Abadia de Montserrat), I.B.Horner *The Book of the Discipline* I, II and IV (PTS repr.), Chr.Lindtner *Nāgārjunas filosofiske vaerker* (comprising Bodhicittavivarana, Bodhisambhāra(śāstra), Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, Śūnyatāsaptati-vṛtti and Vighrahavyāvartanī - Copenhagen) and *Nagarjuniana: Studies in the*

Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna (*ibid.* but excluding the *vṛtti* and substituting the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* for the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*), Nānamoli *Mindfulness of Breathing* (incl. M 118, BPS repr.), *The Greater Discourse on Voidness* (M 122, BPS repr.) and *The Path of Discrimination* (Paṭisambhidamagga tr., PTS), Nyana-ponika *The Greater Discourse on the Elephant-footprint Simile* (M 28, BPS repr.), Nyanatiloka *The Buddha's Path to Deliverance* (BPS repr.), Amalia Pezzali *Śāntideva, il Bodhicaryāvatāra e le Kārikā del Śikṣāsamuccaya* (rev.ed., Bologna), C.A.F.Rhys Davids and F.L.Woodward *Kindred Sayings II* (PTS repr.), Soma *The Lesser Discourse on the Elephant-footprint Simile* (M 27, BPS repr.) and *Kālāma Sutta* (A III 56, BPS repr.), F.L.Woodward *Gradual Sayings II* (PTS repr.).

1983

Jean Dantine *La Splendeur de l'Inébranlable* [Akṣobhyavyūha]. I. Les Auditeurs (Śrāvaka) (PIOL 29, Louvain-la-Neuve), Siglinde Dietz *Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens* (comprising Buddhaguhya's Bhoṭasrāmidāsalekha, Kamalaśīla's Duḥkhaviśeṣanirdeśa, Āraṇyaka's Gurulekha, Sajjana's Putralekha, Śrīghoṣa's Sārasaṃgrahalekha and Atīśa's Vimalaratnalekha - Wiesbaden), Jotiya Dhirasekera *Parable of the Snake* (M 22 - Encyclopaedia of Buddhism Research Studies Series, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Colombo), Prajñānanda [René Joly] *Dhammapada. Les Stances du Dhamma* (repr. Ed. Thanh-Long, Brussels), Nyanaponika *Contemplation of Feeling* (tr.Vedanā-Saṃyutta, BPS), Richard Sherburne *A Lamp for the Path and Commentary* (tr.Atīśa's Bodhipathapradīpa, London), Gareth Sparham *The Tibetan Dhammapada* (Mahayana Publications, New Delhi), John S.Strong *The Legend of King Aśoka. A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* (Princeton University Press), Jon Wetlesen *Selverkjennelse og Frigjøring. Et buddhistisk perspektiv* (rev.ed., Oslo; incl. D 13 and 22, M 8, 38, 63, 72 and 121-2, S V xii 4, XII (from Nidāna, i 2 and ii 10), XXII 59, XXXV 28 and LVI 11, Sn 143-52 (Metta Sutta) and 766-71, 778-80, 787, 793-803, 824-7, 829, 830, 832-4, 837, 842, 843, 878-84, 894, 919 and 1075-6 (Atthakavagga), Udāna VI 3 and VIII 1-4, Itivuttaka II ii 7 and Visuddhimagga IX 93-6), M.Winternitz *History of Indian Literature II* (repr. New Delhi).

OBITUARIES

Étienne Lamotte (21.11.03 - 5.5.83)

A prelate of the Pope's Household who was declared "Proficient in Buddhist Scriptures" (*Pariyatti Visarada*) by a section of the Sangha in Sri Lanka six weeks before his death, a master of Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan who devoted his life to the study and translation of Indian Buddhist texts extant only in the last two languages, the loss of this extraordinarily gifted humanist may well prove irreparable.

Born in Dinant, Belgium, Étienne Paul Marie Lamotte was the son of the President of the area magistrate's court. He specialised in Graeco-Latin Humanities at the local Collège Notre-Dame de Belle-Vue (1915-20) and went on to Louvain University (1922) to study classical philology. He read theology at Malines (1923-5) and spent a year at the Università della Sapienza in Rome (1926-7) where he was able to take a course under the Orientalist, Carlo Formichi. Returning to Belgium, he obtained doctorates in Oriental languages (1929) and Philosophy and Literature (1930) at Louvain.

He proceeded to France where he studied at the Institut de Civilisation indienne at the Sorbonne, l'École des langues orientales vivantes, l'École des Hautes-Études and the Collège de France. Under various teachers he mastered Sanskrit (Sylvain Lévi and Alfred Foucher), Chinese (Paul Demiéville), Tibetan (Marcelle Lalou) and Pali (Jean Przyluski).

Until the great master's death, Lamotte studied under Louis de La Vallée Poussin who turned his interest towards Buddhist studies, especially in the field of translating those Chinese and Tibetan texts where the original Sanskrit documents had disappeared. Assigned to Louvain in 1932 (in the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature), he taught Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Indology. From 1937, as Professor, he became attached to the Institut Orientaliste (of which he became President, 1950-9) where he included courses in Pali and the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages. He was appointed a director of l'Académie Royale de Belgique in 1966. Two years earlier he became Editor-in-Chief of *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* and an adviser at the Secretariat Pro Non Christianis (in the Vatican), for whose *Bulletin* he contributed "Avec le bouddhisme" (1966) and "Le Triple Joyau du bouddhisme d'après Nāgārjuna" (1968; repr. in *Chinese Culture* X,2, Taipei 1969). He also spoke at conferences of Buddhist scholars at the Collège de France (Paris 1957), Venice (1959), the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Rome 1959), University of London (1963) and Göttingen University (1971). Whilst in Venice he delivered three lectures on "The Message of Buddha Śākyamuni", "The Ideal of the Buddhist Monk and of the Lay Brother" and "Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor". These were

translated into Italian and English and published by the Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale (Venice-Rome) under the titles *Lo Spirito del Buddismo Antico* (1959) and *The Spirit of Ancient Buddhism* (1961). For further details of his life see *Notice sur Mgr E.Lamotte* (Ed. Peeters, Louvain 1972).

His full-length contributions in the field of Buddhist knowledge (submitted handwritten for publication) include *L'Explication des Mystères* (the Tibetan text and translation of the Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra, Louvain University 1935), *Le Traité de l'Acte de Vasubandhu* (Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa - including the translation of Chapter 17 of the Prasannapadā, Bruges 1936), *La Somme du Grand Vehicule d'Asaṅga* (Mahāyānasamgraha - Tibetan and Chinese texts, translation and commentary, 4 parts, Louvain 1938-9, repr. in 2 vols, 1973), *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra - 2 vols, Louvain 1944-9, repr.1981; Vol.3, 1970, Vol.4, 1976, Vol.5, 1980 - in course of translation by Sara Boin-Webb and eventual publication in Belgium), *Histoire du bouddhisme indien, des origines à l'ère śaka* (Louvain 1958, repr.1976), *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti* (annotated translation of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra from the Tibetan and Chinese recensions, Louvain 1962; tr. Sara Boin *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, PTS 1977), *La Concentration de la Marche héroïque* (translation of the Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra, Brussels 1965, repr.1975; tr. Sara Boin-Webb and in course of publication by Asian Humanities Press, Berkeley), *Introduction à l'étude du bouddhisme indien* and *À la rencontre du bouddhisme / Towards the meeting with Buddhism I* (Rome 1970) which provided an historical account of Buddhism in India.

For the *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (Brussels) he contributed "Les trois caractères et les trois absences de nature propre dans le Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra" (Chapters VI and VII, 1935), "La bienveillance bouddhique" (1952), "Les premières missions bouddhiques en Chine" (1953), "La personnalité et l'esprit de Śākyamuni" (1955), "Un festin d'immortalité dans le bouddhisme" (1963), "Le Suicide religieux dans le bouddhisme" (1965), "Note bibliographique sur le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna" (1970), "Perspectives chrétiennes et bouddhiques sur l'acte humain" (1972) and "Le Concept de vacuité dans le bouddhisme" (1977).

Papers and articles published elsewhere include "L'Alaya-vijñāna (le Réceptacle) dans le Mahāyāna-samgraha" (a translation of Chapter II, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* III, Brussels 1934-5), "Chronique bouddhique" (*Le Muséon* Louvain 1941), "La conduite religieuse du Faisan dans les textes bouddhiques" (*ibid.* 1946), "La critique d'authenticité dans le bouddhisme" (*India Antiqua*, Leiden 1947 - translated on p.4 of this journal), complemented by "La critique d'interprétation dans le bouddhisme" (*Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, Brussels 1949), "La légende du Buddha" (*Revue*

d'histoire des Religions, Paris 1947), "Une nouvelle Vie du Buddha" (a review article of A.Foucher's study - *Le Muséon* 1949), "Alexandre et le bouddhisme" (*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi 1951), tr. (from the Tibetan recension) "Les troisième Bhāvanākrama de Kamalaśīla" (for P.Demiéville *Le Concile de Lhasa*, Paris 1952), "Sur la formation du Mahāyāna" (*Asiatica. Festschrift Weller*, Leipzig 1954), "Le bouddhisme des laïcs" (*Studies in Indology and Buddhology presented in honour of Professor S.Yamaguchi*, Kyoto 1955), "De quelques influences grecques et scythes sur le bouddhisme" (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Brussels 1956), "Problèmes concernant les textes canoniques mineurs" (*Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1956 - tr. by S.Boin-Webb for the H.Saddhātissa Felicitation Volume, Colombo - in the press), "Buddhist Controversy over the Five Propositions" (of Mahādeva - *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta 1956), "Khuddakanikāya and Kṣudrapīṭaka" (*East and West*, Rome 1957), "Prophéties relatives à la disparition de la Bonne Loi" (*Présence du Bouddhisme*, ed.René de Bernal, Saigon 1959), "Mañjuśrī" (T'oung Pao, Leiden 1960), "Aśoka et les missionnaires bouddhiques" (*Studia Missionalia* XII, Rome 1962), "Vajrapāṇi en Inde" (*Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M.Paul Demiéville*, Paris 1966), "Les yakṣa Ajakalāpaka et Bakkula dans les Écritures canoniques du bouddhisme" (*Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris 1968), "Un Sūtra composite de l'Ekottarāgama" (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London University 1967), "Trois Sūtra du Saṃyukta sur la Vacuité" (*ibid.* 1973), "Der Verfasser des Upadeśa und seine Quellen" (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen 1973), "Passions and Impregnations of the the Passions in Buddhism" (*Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B.Horner*, Dordrecht 1974), "Die bedingte Entstehung und die höchste Erleuchtung" (*Beiträge zur Indieforschung.Festschrift for E.Waldschmidt*, Berlin 1977) translated as "Conditioned Co-production and Supreme Enlightenment" (*Buddhist Studies in honour of Walpola Rahula*, London 1980), "Lotus et Buddha Supramondain" (*BEFEO* LXIX - À la mémoire de Paul Demiéville, Paris 1981) and "The Gāraṇvā-Sutta of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya and its Mahāyānist Developments" (*Journal of the Pali Text Society* IX, London 1981). In his own honour a volume was presented under the title *Indianisme et Bouddhisme. Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1980) which is reviewed on p.53 of this journal.

Buddhist studies at Louvain came to an abrupt end with his retirement in 1974. Three years later he moved to Brussels where he completed the translation of the major and most important sections of *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna*. In his will he left his collection of 5,000 Buddhist titles to the library of the *Hōbōgirin* (- the French-language Buddhist encyclopaedia) in Kyoto.

Loaded with international honours, Mgr Lamotte was nonetheless an extremely

modest man, imbued with warmth and the desire to be of service to friends and colleagues. His penetrating comparative overview of the Indian-based schools of Buddhist thought displayed a breadth of vision rare in contemporary Buddhist scholarship and exceptional in those outside its religious fraternity.

Robert Shih (1927 - 5.5.83)

Born in Shanghai, he was Professor of Chinese at the French-speaking University of Louvain-la-Neuve in Belgium. In the field of Buddhism it would appear that his only works were an annotated translation of the first three *chüan* of Hui-chiao's *Kao-seng chüan - Biographies des moines éminents. I. Biographies des premiers traducteurs* (Louvain 1968) - and a translation of Seng-Ju^ñi's introduction to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* which Mgr Lamotte left untranslated - "La préface du *Ta tche che louen*" (*Indianisme et Bouddhisme. Mélanges...Lamotte*, Louvain 1980).

Jean Filliozat (4.11.06 - 27.10.82)

Born in Paris, he studied under Sylvain Lévi, Alfred Foucher and Jules Bloch, and Louis Renou whom he succeeded at the Collège de France as Professor of the Languages and Literatures of India in 1952.

After graduation in 1936 he was attached to the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale for which he compiled a *Catalogue du fonds sanskrit* (I. 1941, II. 1970) of the materials deposited by B.H.Hodgson and E.Burnouf in the mid-19th century. Between 1937-9 he supervised the courses in Tamil at l'École des langues orientales vivantes and from 1941 held the Chair of Indian Philology at the Sorbonne. He was Founder-Director of l'Institut français d'Indologie which was established in 1955 when French political control of Pondicherry was transferred to the Government of India. This centre conducts research on the history, archaeology, languages, literatures, religions and philosophies of the sub-continent and publishes appropriate monographs. Between 1956-77 he also directed l'École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris. (His son, Pierre-Sylvain, currently lectures on Sanskrit at the Sorbonne.)

He surveyed (with Hōryū Kuno) "Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin" (= romanised Sanskrit texts and translations from the Chinese recension in the Pelliot Collection, *Journal Asiatique* 1938) and the Hodgson texts in "Catalogue des manuscrits sanskrits et tibétains de la Société Asiatique" (*JA* 1941-2); contributed a series of articles on Asoka to *JA* - "Les deux Asoka et les conciles bouddhiques" (1948), "L'énigme des 256 nuits d'Asoka" and "Les 'deva' d'Asoka, 'dieux' ou 'divines majestés'?" (1949) - translated under the collective title *Studies in Asokan Inscriptions* (Calcutta 1967) - and "Les festivités du dhamma chez Asoka" (1957); co-edited (with Louis Renou) *L'Inde classique II*

(EFEO, Paris 1953) which includes, under the section on Buddhism, entries on "1. Les sources, 2. La vie du Bouddha, 3. L'histoire du bouddhisme, 4. Les doctrines bouddhiques, 5. Discipline bouddhique - Le communauté, 6. Cultes bouddhiques"; and wrote on "The Psychological Discoveries of Buddhism" (*University of Ceylon Review* 13, 1955), "Aśoka et l'expansion bouddhique" and "Les étapes des études bouddhiques" (*Présence du Bouddhisme*, ed. René de Berval, Saigon 1959), the "Graeco-Aramaic inscription of Asoka near Kandahar" (*Epigraphia Indica* XXXIV, Calcutta 1961-2), "Travaux récents sur l'histoire du Tibet" (on works by J. Bacot, P. Pelliot and R.A. Stein - *Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1962), "La mort volontaire par le feu et la tradition bouddhique indienne" (*JA* 1963), "Indian Studies in France" (*Indian Studies Abroad*, Bombay 1964), the "Bstan-Hgyur" (= Tanjur, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* III, 2, Colombo 1972), "Sur la domaine sémantique du *Punya*" (*Indianisme et Bouddhisme. Mélanges... Lamotte*, Louvain 1980) and *Les philosophies de l'Inde* (Paris 1970, repr. 1978). He left, amongst other papers, a translation of the Samādhirājasūtra.

J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1919 - 83)

The sudden death in December 1983 of this archaeologist and writer has deprived the Buddhist world of one of its ablest exponents.

Dr Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw was born in Amsterdam and became a pupil of her equally outstanding predecessor in the field of Indian archaeology, Philippe Vogel. Between 1938-42 she studied under him at Leiden and thereafter at Utrecht and after graduation successively occupied the posts of Assistant Lecturer in Sanskrit (Groningen, 1943-51) and Lecturer in Indian Art and Archaeology (Cambridge, 1951-9). Thereafter she was appointed Professor of Archaeology and Prehistory, Ancient History and History of the Art of South and South-East Asia at Amsterdam. She founded the Institute of South Asian Archaeology in 1959 (which was abruptly closed in 1976) and, at a meeting at Cambridge in 1970, it was agreed to hold biennial conferences of South Asian archaeologists in Western Europe. As a tribute to her own enormous contribution in this field, she was elected Permanent Secretary to the conferences. She also served as editor of the above Institute's series, *Studies in South Asian Culture*, and the *Kunst und Archäologie* series of the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (both published in Leiden).

Her vast output of writings include, first and foremost, her doctoral dissertation which remains unequalled in this field: *The Scythian Period*. "An approach to the history, art, epigraphy and palaeography of North India from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D." (published Leiden 1949); "South-East Asian Architecture and the Stūpa of Nandangarh" (*Artibus Asiae*, Ascona 1956), "The ancient Buddhist Monastery at Pahārpur" (*Antiquity and Survival* 2, The

Hague 1957), "Het Indische Cultuurgebied: Voor-Indië, Ceylon, Birma, Kambodja, Campa, Thailand, Viet-nam" (*Algemene Kunstgeschiedenis V*, Zeist 1959), "The Preservation of Archaeological Remains in Indonesia" (*Indologentagung 1959*, Göttingen 1960), "The 'Stone Buddha' of Chiengmai and its Inscription" (*Artibus Asiae*, 1961), "Arte dell'Indonesia" (with M.Taddei, *Le Civiltà dell'Oriente IV*, Rome 1962), "Einführung in die Kunst Thailands" (*Schätze aus Thailands, Kunst eines buddhistischen Königreiches*, Keulen 1963; Dutch ed., *Kunst uit Thailand*, The Hague 1963 and Brussels 1964; Danish ed., *Kunst frå Thailand*, Copenhagen 1965), "The Kuṣṭarajāgala Image" (*Paranavitana Felicitation Volume*, Colombo 1965), "The Dhyāni-Buddhas of Barabudur" (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 121, The Hague 1965), "The Paṭṭikerā Chundā and Variations of her Image" (*Bhattasali Commemoration Volume*, Dacca 1966), "India and its Cultural Empire" (*Orientalism and History*, ed.D.Sinor, Bloomington and London 1970), "The Rock-Cut Sculptures at 'Isurumuni'" (*Ceylon Today XIX*, 1970 and *Ancient Ceylon 3*, Colombo 1979), "The Rock-Reliefs at Isurumuni" (*Acta Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden 1971), "Gandhāra and Mathurā: their cultural relationships" (*Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden 1972), *Sculpture from Cambodia and Thailand* (exhibition brochure, Eersel 1977), "Gandhāra Culture" (*Pakistan Past and Present*, London 1977), "Archäologie und Kunst" (*Einführung in die Indologie*, Darmstadt 1979), "The Pre-Muslim Antiquities of Sind" (*South Asian Archaeology 1975 - papers from the 3rd International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe held in Paris - ed.by her*, Leiden 1979, and in *Sindological Studies*, Jamshoro 1979), "The Stūpa in Indonesia" (*The Stūpa. Its religious, historical and architectural significance*, Wiesbaden 1980), "New Evidence with regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image" (*South Asian Archaeology 1979*, Berlin 1981, and *Tableau 4,3, Sculpture Supplement*, Mijdrecht 1981), *Some Buddhist Sculptures and Indian Paintings* (Amsterdam 1981), *Sri Lanka. Ancient Arts* (London 1981), "The Ancient Art of Sri Lanka" (*Museum XXXIII*, Paris 1981), "The Pre-Muslim Antiquities of Sind" (*Sind through the Centuries*, ed. II. Khuhro, Karachi 1981), "The Dvārapāla of Barabudur: New Evidence for the Date of the Foundation of the Monument" (*Barabudur. History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, ed.L.O.Gómez and H.W.Woodward, Berkeley 1981) and "Which European first recorded the unique dvārapāla of Barabudur?" (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 138, The Hague 1982).

We regret to announce the deaths of John Brough, Giuseppe Tucci and David L.Friedman on 9.1.84, 4.4.84 and 11.4.84 respectively. Their obituaries will appear in the next issue.

BOOK REVIEWS

Indianisme et Bouddhisme. Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte. Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 23, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980. Printed and distributed by Ed. Peeters, B.P. 41, 3000 Leuven, Belgium. xvi + 376pp. B.Fr.1600

*Labhā vata suladdham me
Yo 'ham passāmi paṇḍitam
Mittam Lamottam sambhattam
Pariyattivīsāradam.*

This is a regrettably belated review of a much deserved and worthy volume issued in honour of Étienne Lamotte, the late Professor Emeritus of Louvain University where he taught Sanskrit, Pali, Indology, the History and Philosophy of India and what came under the umbrella-term of "Buddhist languages", as well as Greek. No scholar, perhaps since the time of his own teacher, L.de La Vallée Poussin, has covered such a wide field or produced so many valuable works concerning it. Details of these are to be found in his obituary on p.47 of this journal.

Here we have a volume containing twenty-eight papers contributed by international scholars, his colleagues and ex-pupils. It is not possible to discuss all the articles in detail, one can but select those most connected with one's own field of interest. The first paper, by D.Donnet, "L'Oeuvre de Mgr Étienne Lamotte", consists of a short but comprehensive overview of the great scholar's bio-bibliography, listing all his books, articles and book reviews published up to the date this volume appeared, with an account of Lamotte's academic career.

André Bareau offers a fascinating study on "Le Buddha et Uruvilvā", in which he discusses whether the Buddha ever actually went to Uruvilvā (now Bodh-Gayā) at all. Was he enlightened *there* and did he convert the Kāśyapa brothers and their followers *there*? These are the only two occasions when the texts, canonical or not, mention this village, and even they are inconsistent. Both events, the Enlightenment and the conversion of the Kāśyapa brothers took place close together in time. The Buddha never returned there nor did any of his disciples, despite the fact that in a famous discourse a few hours before his decease, the Buddha enjoined his disciples to make a pilgrimage to the spot where he was enlightened. Prof. Bareau's research leads him to believe that, due to a misunderstanding of terms concerning a tree in Uruvilvā which was called 'old', *vṛddha* in Sanskrit, *vuddha* in Pali, and which is similar to *buddha* and led to another term, *bodha*, a whole host of legends arose and were incorporated into the texts, the truth of which is still difficult to disentangle.

Heinz Bechert then contributes an article, "Sīhalanīti, ein Ceylonisches Sanskrit-Werk in Birmanischer Tradition", in which he discusses this text in the context of the various *nīti* works of Burma and Sri Lanka and the problems of the languages involved. [Subsequently, with H. Braun, he edited *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma*, PTS 1981.]

The late Edward Conze presents a stimulating piece on "Contradictions in Buddhist Thought", basing his thesis on Aristotle's Principle of Contradiction (PC) and shows how differently this is applied in Buddhist thought, or rather how it is not, as he suggests "all Buddhists depart from the Aristotelian logic in essential points" and lists nine points to show how Buddhist dialectics, especially in the Mahāyāna, are completely opposed to Aristotle's PC, and much more besides.

Hubert Durt, in his article "Mahalla/Mahallaka et la crise de la Communauté après le Parinirvāṇa du Bouddha", refers to the attitude of the bhikṣus shortly after the Great Decease and describes some episodes which appear in canonical and commentarial texts concerning certain members of the Community who were overjoyed at the event: since their Master was no longer with them they could relax some of the rules and, if they committed an offence, there was no-one to condemn them. It is thought that events of this nature were the reason for Kāśyapa convening the First Council so quickly in order to prevent such incidents going further. In one of the incidents referred to, a monk known as Subhadda (Subhadra) used the term *mahalla* to refer to the Buddha in a derogatory sense, i.e. meaning 'senile', and since he himself is elsewhere referred to as *maḥalla* (*mahallaka*), Dr Durt seeks to track down its true meaning through various sources in Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan.

The late Jean Filliozat, in his paper, "Sur la domaine sémantique du *Puṇya*", discusses the semantics of this term in Hinduism and its application to Buddhism. Kotatsu Fujita writes on "Pure Land Buddhism and the Lotus Sūtra" and compares the various versions of the latter with the Sukhāvatīvyūha texts (Large and Small). Prof. Fujita believes that all these texts were probably first composed separately and under different circumstances, perhaps as early as 100 A.C., but that later additions in the *Lotus* show proof of the influence of Pure Land Buddhism, with its reference to the Buddha Amitayus and a description of the Sukhāvatī. Prof. Fujita gives further examples to show the close relationship between Pure Land Buddhism and the *Lotus Sūtra*, a subject which has not drawn much attention before.

In "Early perceptions of Vimalakīrti in Japanese art", Christine Guth Kanda draws our attention to the popularity the Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra enjoyed among generations of Chinese and Japanese and shows how, in Japan, a particular cult developed around the figure of Vimalakīrti (Yuima in Japanese), so

that much imagery of him appeared, especially the famous scene depicted by unbaked clay statuettes at the Hōryūji Pagoda, where interest in the text centred on Vimalakīrti as the model Buddhist layman. In contrast, the development of the *Yuima-e* cult at the Hōfokuji temple (Hosso school) in Nara, where images of both Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī are housed, laid more emphasis on the text's healing powers. The scripture also enjoyed great favour in the Tendai school, especially among the monks on Mount Hiei. Prof. Guth Kanda describes the way in which the Vimalakīrti image developed through the ages and accompanies her article with eight plates.

Minoru Hara in his "A Note on the Buddha's Birth Story" considers the Hindu concept of *janma-duḥkha*, which is described in Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* as "the suffering which is the greatest of all sufferings". Prof. Hara contrasts this concept as applied to ordinary human beings with the miraculous birth of the Buddha as described in the majority of accounts of it and according to which he did not suffer any of the classic difficulties of birth. This may well have added to the mythification of the story as handed down to us.

In his article "The Meaning of 'Dharma' and 'Abhidharma'", A. Hirakawa takes up some of the various interpretations of the word *dharma*, especially as understood by Buddhaghosa, Candrakīrti and the Sarvāstivādin school, as well as the Mahāsāṃghika idea of *abidharma*. Marcel Hofinger, in his paper "Le vol dans la morale bouddhique", defines just what theft, or 'taking the not-given' as the texts define it, means in Buddhism, and the various penalties its perpetrator in the Saṃgha could incur as cited in the various Vinayas and quotes several examples. He also discusses the karma-results which are likely to ensue.

The late I. B. Horner's contribution on the "Mahā- and Cūḷa-Vaggas and Suttas of the Majjhima-Nikāya" is actually a reprint of an article she wrote several years ago, but her discussion of the question of *Yamaka*, 'pair', 'twin', as opposed to *Mahā* (great or greater) and *Cūḷa* (small or lesser) in connection with the Pali texts remains relevant today and does not seem to have been taken up since elsewhere.

Junsho Kato writes in his paper "Notes sur les deux maîtres bouddhiques Kumāralāta et Śrīlāta" on these two great Dharma-masters, both of whom had strong links with the Sautrāntikas about which little is as yet known. He has collated all the sources available both on the legends and on the historical data of these two masters and then posits the thesis that, despite what may have been believed before, careful attention to some of the sources referred to indicate that Kumāralāta was the master of Śrīlāta (and Harivarman), and so was not born as early as 100 after the Nirvāṇa, but lived just before Śrīlāta, Harivarman, Vasubandhu and Saṃghabhadra.

In "Āryadeva et Candrakīrti sur la Permanence", Jacques May starts by

saying that Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka* can be divided into two parts, the first eight chapters dealing above all with ethics, the last eight being devoted to philosophical debate. He considers chapter nine as pointing the main direction of this latter and devotes most of his article to a (French) translation of its opening six *kārikās* and the first half of the seventh, which have been preserved in Sanskrit, together with Candrakīrti's *vṛtti* or *ṭīkā*. The text, with various internal subdivisions, is devoted to 1) Negation of permanence in general, 2) Criticism of the refutation by the 'Dialecticians' of permanence in the *Vaiśeṣika*, 3) Criticism of *Vaiśeṣika* substantialism, 4) Refutation of space and other unconditioned phenomena, and 5) Criticism of temporalism (*kālavāda*).

K.Mimaki takes up the discussion raised by others elsewhere in his "Sur le rôle de l'*Antaraśloka* ou du *Samgrahaśloka*", and divides his study into three headings: whether these two terms differ, whether they are original verses or not, and who wrote them. In "Tranquil flow of mind, an interpretation of *upekṣa*", Gadjin M.Nagao contributes a fascinating study on the many Buddhist contexts in which this term appears as well as the various ways in which it is translated, particularly when classified as a morally good mental factor.

In Hajime Nakamura's contribution, "The *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* and the Chinese and Tibetan versions of a text similar to it", we learn that there exists in the Taishō collection (No.1685) a short work the literal translation of which is "The *Sūtra* that describes the names of the Eight Spiritual *Stūpas*" which is of especial interest because not only does it give the location of the eight *stūpas* in question, but also mentions how many years and in which places the Buddha *Sākyamuni* spent his life. No extant version survives in Sanskrit. Prof.Nakamura gives the Chinese text followed by an English translation and then gives the equivalent Tibetan text with translation, from the Tibetan *Tripitaka* (Peking ed. No.2024), which we can see differs considerably from the Chinese and makes no mention of where or how long for the Buddha stayed.

Walpola Rahula, who composed the Pali verse at the beginning of this review while paying a visit to Mgr Lamotte, writes in his article - "Psychology of Buddhist Meditation" - on how many Westerners misinterpret the term Buddhist meditation by believing it merely consists of sitting quietly with crossed legs. He goes on to detail what an umbrella term this really is and how, in innumerable texts, genuine deep meditation can involve listening earnestly and attentively to an exposition of the Truth or even taking part in a profound discussion. Ven.Dr Rahula goes on to describe the various kinds of meditation, what they are aimed to remove (i.e. the five hindrances) and what to achieve (i.e. attentiveness of mind, higher mystic states of concentration and even arahantship or *Nibbāna*) and how they should be practised. This is a very full overview of the subject in general and in particular and should clear up several misunder

standings.

Two articles deal with Buddhism in relation to Manichaeism. One, by Julien Ries - "Bouddhisme et Manichéisme" - traces the undeniable Buddhist influence on the teaching of Mani, despite the fact that early research seemed to see Manichaeism linked more with Christianity and Greek gnostic ideas. However, documents have been discovered, particularly in Turfan and Tun-huang, that throw much light on the matter. By 621 Manichaeism had reached China, and in 762 it was accepted as the state religion of the Uighurs who furthered its cause in China. Prof. Ries refers to the formulae of confession in the Manichaean *Chuastuanift* and shows how closely it follows the Buddhist *Prātimokṣa*. He gives several other quotations, titles etc., which bear strong witness to Buddhist influence, and also refers to Mani's missionary visit to north-west India where, it is implied, he was welcomed by the indigenous Buddhists since his teachings were not so different from those of Śākyamuni. Other points are cited to show that the two teachings had many points of contact and interaction. Other research has shown that Manichaeism may well have been of influence in Tibet and this point is further enlarged upon in the contribution by R.A. Stein, "Une mention du Manichéisme dans le choix du Bouddhisme comme religion d'état par le roi tibétain Khri-sron Lde-bcan". The king in question, who was much influenced by his friend, the famous Śāntaraksita, issued a proclamation which in part states why the religion of the Buddha is the quintessence of (all) the holy texts (or doctrines), and uses a philosophico-critical examination of the then known "doctrines of the world" to show that Buddhism should be adopted as the state religion. In this, the king refers to the great imposter from Persia, Mar Ma-Ne, and says that his borrowing from every doctrine to establish one of his own is not to be supported. How could Manichaeism have been known to the Tibetans at the time? It must have been through the Chinese as Mar-Mane ("great deceiver from Persia") can only be Mani who was known by a similar title, Mār-Māni (Ch. Mo Mo-ni), in Chinese documents of the eighth century, but which was soon replaced by the briefer Mo-ni as the religion became more widespread. It seems, from the two articles under consideration, that although Manichaeism was acceptable to the north-west Indian Buddhists, it was not to the Chinese who barely tolerated it, saying that the followers of Mani claimed to be Buddhists and in this guise converted the latter to their beliefs. In Tibet, however, Manichaeism was to appear again at the beginning of the eleventh century in the Kālacakra-tantra, this time with Indian-based terminology.

In his short paper "On the Wu-t'ing-hsin-kuan", Hajime Sakurabe deals with this set of five forms of contemplation for the cessation of passions, which was a familiar theme of discussion in the works of the Chinese Buddhist scholars of the Sui and Tang dynasties. The term itself is not a translation

but seems to be of Chinese origin, although the set of contemplations are called *avatāramukhāni* in certain Indian texts where they are listed as *asubhā*, *maitrī*, *pratītyasamutpāda*, *dhātuprabheda* [sometimes *buddhānusmṛti*] and *ānāpānasamṛti*. This fivefold contemplation is not mentioned in the Pali Nikāyas or Chinese Āgamas as such, although the component parts are frequently described separately or in different sequences and are used to oppose different kinds of *kleśas* (passions). Prof. Sakurabe compares the different versions of the five contemplations in the light of the *Wu-t'ing-hsin-kuan* and looks at how they developed in this Chinese text "as a set of connected forms of contemplation... to serve to heal or overcome a particular *kleśa* (or *kleśas*)...".

Admitting to a personal bias, we now come to what this reviewer finds the most interesting of all the contributions, "La Préface du Ta Tche Che Louen par Seng-Jouei", by the late Robert Shih. This is concerned with the preface to the Serindian Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of Nāgārjuna's Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra (or Upadeśa = Mppś (T 1509) translated into French by Mgr Lamotte as *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna* of which this reviewer is at present working on an English translation). This large work is an exegetical treatise on the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra, mainly the version in 25,000 lines (Pañcaviṃśatisahāsrikā PP = T 223). Seng-jui, who was a highly literate monk and disciple of Kumārajīva, gives us many fascinating insights into the way the translations were compiled at Ch'ang-an where Kumārajīva was forced to flee in 402 and where he was welcomed by the emperor Yao Hsing. The latter asked him to translate both the PP sūtra and the Mppś and supplied him with more than 800 Chinese assistants, including Seng-jui, to do so, overseeing the work himself. Work was started first on the Sūtra in May 403 and completed by January 404. However, work on the translation of the Mppś had started by then and, since it was hoped that the terminology would be consistent in both works, some changes were made to the Sūtra translation which was finally completed by May 404, although the Mppś translation was not finished until February 406. Seng-jui wrote prefaces to both works, and his was the task to "brush" the Chinese translation. He tells us much about the problems the team-work involved. The Sanskrit original of the Mppś was probably divided into chapters, each consisting of 100,000 syllables which would correspond to the same number of Chinese characters, taking up 1,000 scrolls. Kumārajīva only translated a tenth, in 100 scrolls: the whole of the first chapter (scrolls 1-34) and a résumé of two-thirds of the other chapters (scrolls 35-100). The discussions as to the correct terms to use to convey both the letter and the meaning of the original were prolonged and Seng-jui admits that he was tempted to brush a simplified translation, but on further reflection, better sense prevailed and he transcribed exactly what was decided at Ch'ang-an. His preface gives us other detailed insights regarding

the Sūtra and the Mppś, as well as Nāgārjuna himself, but space lacks to go into them.

In his "Analysis of the Laṅkāvatāra", J. Takasaki examines the various editions of this work, basing himself on the Sanskrit text which he compares with the versions extant among the Nepalese Buddhists and in the Chinese and Tibetan Tripiṭakas. He submits the thesis that the verse section known as Sagāthakam was probably the original core from which what we know as the Laṅkāvatārasūtra prose section was gradually developed, first as separate texts and then built into a cohesive whole.

Ch. Tripathi, in "Die Einleitung des Daśottarasūtra - Revidierter Text", discusses and analyses fragments of the introduction or preface to the text in question collated since Kusum Mittal published his study on the Daśottarasūtra in 1957, and then gives a revised text in view of these finds.

In his paper, "The Raṣṭrapālasūtra in Sanskrit remnants from Central Asia", Ernst Waldschmidt presents us with a hitherto unknown Sanskrit parallel to the Raṣṭhapāla Sutta in the Pali Majjhima Nikāya, the best known text in which this personality appears. The present sūtra clearly belongs to the Madhyamāgama collection of the Sarvāstivādins (and has no connection with the Raṣṭrapālapari-pricchā). Prof. Waldschmidt gives a brief summary of the sūtra and then presents a Sanskrit reconstruction based on the fragments written in northern Turkestan Brāhmī and rediscovered in Šorčuq, Central Asia, at the beginning of this century, together with text-critical notes and an English translation.

So, as can be seen, this splendid volume covers a wide range of topics, many complementing and complimenting the works of the now much regretted Mgr Lamotte, which is what this reviewer believes to be the correct method of compiling such a volume (having in the past seen collections in honour of someone or other containing papers quite unrelated to the honorand's interests). Considering the size of this volume and the variety of languages in which the papers are presented, there are very few misprints and the Drukkerij Orientaliste is to be complimented on its usual excellent clarity and quality of printing. No editors are named but, whoever they may be, they deserve our gratitude and congratulations.

Sara Boin-Webb

The Discourse on The Root of Existence. The Mūlapariyāya Sutta and its Commentaries translated from the Pali by Bhikkhu Bodhi. Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy 1980. xiii + 90pp. £2.50 or US\$5.00

One of the most profound **suttas** in the Pali Canon - the first of the Majjhima Nikāya - is here given a **new** translation with, for the first (?) time, its **att-**

hakathā and *ṭīkā* - the former deemed "essential for understanding the many difficult passages occurring in the primary text", whilst the latter "has the double purpose of elucidating key terms occurring in the commentary and of explicating knotty points left over from the sutta" (Translator's Preface, p.vi).

From the outset the translator admirably stresses the psychological importance of a receptive mental state in the reader or hearer of the sutta: "Before the new and radical ideas of the Dhamma can sink into the mind and execute their function - to enlighten and to liberate - the subjective propensities obstructing their proper apprehension must first be put away" (p.v).

The Sutta "sets itself the aim of exposing the whole mass of subjective misconceptions, from their branches down to their roots. It deals not only with wrong notions born of speculation, but with those sprung from conceit, craving, and other defilements as well.... As both its title and position imply, the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* is the most fundamental of the Buddha's discourses found in the Pali Canon. It is the concentrated essence of the teaching, packing into its enigmatic statements profound truths of ontological, epistemological, and psychological significance" (p.vi).

"The sutta unfolds in four major sections explaining the cognitive pattern of four types of individuals, each in relation to twenty-four possible objects of cognition. The four types of individuals are the 'uninstructed worldling' who lacks understanding of the Dhamma and so repeatedly yields to the play of the ego-consciousness; the 'learner' who has seen through the falsity of the ego-notion and is working for its full elimination; the arahat or perfected saint who has achieved emancipation from the bonds of egoistic clinging; and the 'Tathāgata', the Buddha, the propounder of the teaching he has discovered through his own unaided realization" (p.3). Thus, the first type of individual: whose "perverted perceptions that result from the latent defilements can in turn spark the defilements to rise up to the surface in an activated form. The perception of objects as beautiful and pleasurable will stimulate lust and the effort to acquire and enjoy them; the perception of things as repulsive will stimulate hate and the effort to destroy them; and the perception of things as permanent and self will harden into dogma and thence bring more delusion. Thus in the working of the worldly consciousness a reciprocal operation comes into view: on the one hand the latent defilements issue in distorted perceptions; on the other, these distorted perceptions awaken the defilements and reinforce their underlying roots. But this whole process takes place with such swiftness and subtlety that the worldling is not aware of it. He does not realize that it is his own mind that has been all along re-modelling the raw materials of cognition to accord with its own propensities, but takes his perceptions to be faithful replicas of things as they really are. Thereby he is deceived, and not recognizing

the deception, he goes on to erect upon his distorted perceptions the tower of judgments, values, and convictions that constitutes his mental habitation" (p.6).

Moreover, "Experience is always through and through relational in structure. Things exist not as isolated units, but as participants in a vast network of relationships which can be broken down only in thought and never in fact. The relations things bear to one another are of diverse kinds. They exhibit the relation of identity when two things are considered as distinct instances of a general type, or when the same thing is considered from different points of view; the relation of inherence, when one thing is contained within another; the relation of cause and effect, when one thing emerges from another as its source; and the relation of contrast, when two things are distinguished by different properties or by spatial separation. At the empirical level all these relationships pertain only to observed phenomena, and to these their legitimate application is restricted. However, on account of basic ignorance, the worldling proceeds to construct (either tacitly or explicitly) on the principle of analogy with these empirical relationships, a relationship between what is actually present in his perceptual experience and what can never be present but only presupposed - namely, his 'I' or self. Thence, following the relational pattern of observed phenomena, he will tend either to identify with a particular phenomenon 'X', when he conceives 'X'; or to consider himself as inhering in the phenomenon, when he conceives 'in X'; or to consider himself as distinct from the phenomenon, either by way of simple contrast or by way of generation, when he conceives 'from X'. Or he may seek to appropriate the phenomenon as an accessory of himself in any of these modes. The fourth instance of conceiving, the thought 'X is mine', gives separate recognition to this appropriate character of the ego-consciousness; here the worldling reaches out and claims possession over the object, bringing the acquisitive function of craving to a climax" (p.12).

The Introduction (from which the foregoing extracts have been taken) is extremely hard going, but the "learner" 's perseverance is rewarded by a sutta translation that is both readable and lucid. This is a discourse, incidentally, where all repetitions *should be* retained since they serve the psychological purpose of hammering home some of the most significant points of the Dhamma.

Following "The Exposition of the Root of all Dhammas", two examples of clarification of the text are reproduced here to illustrate the quality and utility of commentarial exegeses:

CY. The word "dhamma" is found used in the following senses: the scriptures (*pariyatti*), the (Four Noble) Truths (*sacca*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*paññā*), nature (*pakati*), things endowed with a specific nature (*sabhāva*), emptiness (*suññatā*), merit (*puñña*), a disciplinary offense (*āpatti*), the knowable

(*ñeyya*), etc. In the passage: "Herein, a bhikkhu masters the Dhamma - the sut-tas, songs," etc. (M 22), it occurs in the sense of the scriptures. "He saw the Dhamma, understood the Dhamma" (D 13) - in the sense of the (Four Noble) Truths. "Those Exalted Ones were of such dhammas" (D 28) - concentration. "Truth, dhamma, fortitude, generosity" (Ja. v.57) - wisdom. "Of a nature to be born, of a nature to grow old, of a nature to die" (D 22) - nature. "Wholesome dhammas" (Dhs Mātikā 1) - things endowed with a specific nature. "On that occasion there are dhammas" (Dhs, para.121, etc.) - emptiness. "Dhamma well-practised issues in bliss" (Sn v.184) - merit. "Two dhammas are unfixed" (Vin 1. Aniyata 2) - a disciplinary offense. And in the passage: "All dhammas in all their modes enter the threshold of the Exalted One's portal of knowledge", it is the knowable. Here the word occurs in the sense of things endowed with a specific nature. This is the word-meaning: "They bear their own characteristics, thus they are dham-mas" (*attano lakkaṇaṃ dhārentī ti dhammā*).

SUB. CY. "They bear their own characteristics": although there are no dhammas devoid of their own characteristics, this is still said for the purpose of showing that these are mere dhammas endowed with their specific natures devoid of such attributions as that of a "being", etc. Whereas such entities as self, beauty, pleasurable, and permanence, etc., or nature (*pakati*), substance (*dabba*), soul (*jīva*), body, etc., which are mere misconstructions (*parikappitākāramatta*) due to craving and views, or such entities as "sky-flowers", etc. which are mere expressions of conventional discourse (*lokavohāramatta*), cannot be discovered as ultimately real actualities (*saccikaṭṭhoparamatthato*), these dhammas (i.e. those endowed with a specific nature or *sabhāva*) can. These dhammas are discovered as ultimately real actualities. And though there is no real distinction (between these dhammas and their characteristics), still, in order to facilitate understanding, the exposition makes a distinction as a mere metaphorical device (*upacaramatta*). Also: they are borne, or they are discerned, known, according to their specific nature, thus they are dhammas (*dhāriyanti vā yathāsabhāvato avadhāriyanti ñāyantī ti dhammā*) (pp.38-9).

[The Commentary quoted - *Papañcasūdanī* - is in the course of being translated in Sri Lanka for eventual publication by the Pali Text Society.]

In all, this slim paperback is a model of an expository work and will, hopefully, set the tone for similar studies of component parts of the Sutta Piṭaka.

RBW

El Dhammapada. La Sendera de la Perfecció. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1982. Translated into Catalan by Joaquim Torres i Godori from the English of Juan Mascaró (Penguin Books, 1973).

A deep love of learning allied to a lively interest in both spiritual and practical human issues has long been, within the Christian world, the hallmark of the Benedictine tradition. In the present century this has often manifested itself in the pursuit of mutual understanding with other major religions, both by way of direct contact (individually, and through events such as interreligious conferences and seminars) and through the thoughtful study of their basic texts. Perhaps the most striking example of this - and one of particular relevance to Buddhism - is the lifelong, sympathetic involvement with Zen of such an outstanding personality as Father Thomas Merton, right up to his sudden death in Bangkok some years ago while attending the Interreligious Conference on Monasticism which had, significantly, been convened by the Benedictines.

It is, therefore, highly appropriate that this first translation ever (as far as I am aware) of a Buddhist canonical text into Catalan should come from the press of a major Benedictine centre of learning which has also been for centuries a focal point of Catalan culture - the Abbey of Montserrat, near Barcelona.

The translation, as the Preface informs us, is not a direct one from the Pali original, but has been done from the English version produced by Prof. Juan Mascaró for the Penguin Classics series. We shall have to comment on this in a moment, but let us first consider the Catalan on its own merits, which are many.

This Catalan Dhammapada is a highly competent piece of work, scrupulously faithful to the English text it follows, yet achieving at the same time an elegant fluency which matches, and from time to time even improves on, Mascaró's own easy flow. A striking characteristic is the thoroughly idiomatic use of language which, without any sacrifice of accuracy, surmounts with admirable skill the constraints inherent in the translation process. This is a text which does emphatically not read like a translation, and which manages to avoid both the use of deliberate archaisms and of transiently fashionable turns of phrase - the two permanent temptations for the translator of ancient religious texts. The age-old verses speak here to the Catalan reader in a language which is entirely his own, eloquent yet direct, and in no danger of becoming dated.

On linguistic and literary grounds, therefore, this first translation of the Dhammapada into Catalan could easily have been the definitive one. That it cannot be hailed as such is due to no demerits of its own, but to the translator's selection of the particular English source text. One supposes that the choice of Mascaró's translation, rather than one of the many others in existence, was prompted by the degree of popularity it appears to have enjoyed, having been kept in print by Penguins for ten years, since it first came out in 1973. Another factor may well have been Mascaró's own Catalan origins (he is a native of Majorca) and continuing connections with his original homeland.

In any event, the undoubted qualities of the Mascaró Dhammapada in terms of attractiveness and readability, its clarity of expression, flowing style and absence of critical apparatus must have counted for much in the decision, since the Catalan text is also aimed at the general public and not at a learned readership. Nevertheless, this was not the best of possible choices. Mascaró's version, for all the broad learning and evident, painstaking labour that went into it, is fundamentally misleading. The more so since the misapprehension of essentials (in particular as regards the *anatta* doctrine, and the interpretation of demerit in terms of "sin" with its implication of a divine law) is embedded in a text of considerable subtlety and persuasive power.

This is not the occasion for a full-scale review of Mascaró's Dhammapada ten years after its publication, but some examples are needed to make my point. The point being that his translation of the Buddhist classic is vitiated (apart from a number of less central misunderstandings) by a basic misconception of the meaning of *anatta* and, consequently, of the nature of liberation. The misapprehension seems to be due mainly to two things: a mental attitude so thoroughly steeped in the Western religious tradition that it cannot shake off the powerfully instinctive belief in an individual soul, and - allied to this - the conviction (so assiduously promoted by many Hindus that Mascaró, who is not a specialist in Buddhism, can perhaps hardly be blamed for accepting it) that the Buddhadhamma is simply a form of the Upaniṣadic teaching, in which the essentially unreal everyday self is transcended in the realization of one's "true" Self (*Ātman*), which is identical with the Universal Spirit (*Brahman*). In which case, of course, salvation, in Rudhakrishnan's succinct formulation, is "knowledge of this supreme truth, realization of the identity of the self of man and the spirit of the universe".¹

It is a far cry from this to the Buddha's unqualified statement that "all things are without self" (*sabbe dhammā anatta*), which is repeated in v.279 of this very Dhammapada, and which is precisely intended to emphasize that "the (false view of an abiding self or substance is neither applicable to any 'formation' or conditioned phenomenon, nor to Nibbāna, the Unconditioned Element."² But one can, of course, readily understand the appeal which this most subtle form of eternity belief (*sassata diṭṭhi*) has for the Western religious mind: giving up "self" to realize the "Universal Self" sounds comfortingly like the ecstatic union of the individual soul with God so often described by Christian mystics. That this is, in fact, precisely what Mascaró has in mind is made very clear by his translation of the closing stanza of the Dhammapada (423), where the arahant who has, in the sober Buddhist wording "accomplished all that has to be accomplished" (*sabbavositavosānam*) becomes "a seer... who in perfection is *one with the Supreme Perfection*".

That the instance just quoted is not an isolated one, but the culminating statement of a view which pervades the whole translation can be seen from the following specific references culled from different portions of the work:

The *soul*, as a discrete entity, appears time and again, even when the introduction of the term requires a deliberate expansion of the original wording, as in v.78, where *pāpake mitte* (evil-doing friends) and *purisādhame* (vile persons) become respectively "those whose soul is ugly" and "men who have an evil soul". In v.166, the famous injunction not to neglect one's own good (*attadattham*) becomes "let no man endanger... the good of his soul". Further instances: v.174, "few souls can fly into the freedom of heaven" (for "a few go to heaven", appo *saggāya gacchati*); v.310, "the degradation of the soul" (for "acquisition of demerit", *appuññalabho*); v.383, "go beyond the stream, Brahmin, go with all your soul" (for "cut off the stream, exert yourself", *chinda sotam parakkama*); while in v.399, *balānikam* ("powerful array") is rendered as "soul-force".

It is also in keeping with Western habits of religious mind that the concept of "sin" goes hand in hand with that of "soul". "Sin", accordingly, is frequently mentioned in the Mascaró Dhammapada. Sometimes it translates an actual or implied term, e.g. *pāpa* (evil) in 117, 121 and 205; *mala* (stain, or taint) in 242, 243, 261, 388; *āsava* (canker) in 253, 292, 293; *anīgha* (not agitated) which becomes "pure from past sins" in 294 and 295; *katāni akatāni* (what you have done or not done) turns into "your own sins" in 50. On at least one occasion, in the famous v.154 ("Housebuilder, you have been seen, etc."), the reference to "sin" is entirely an addition, presumably intended for "clarification": "The rafters of sins are broken" (*sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā*).

As for the conception of a "real" Self transcending the ordinary one, there are two striking examples. In 165: "... by oneself the evil is not done, and by one's Self one becomes pure". And in 379, where the Buddha's so oft repeated, sobering reminder that only *we* ourselves can work for our own improvement, as no one else can do it for us ("Rouse yourself by yourself, etc."), becomes: "Rouse thyself by thy Self; train thyself by thy Self...".

Inevitably, the Catalan translation, by its very accuracy, faithfully reflects the attitude of its source text, and thus shares its inadequacy as a reliable exposition of what the Dhammapada is ultimately about. It has, however, one not inconsiderable advantage, in that the Catalan translator wisely refrained from taking over Mascaró's Introduction as well. The Penguin edition, in fact, is supplied with a substantial Introduction in which Mascaró, relying mainly on the Bhagavadgītā and several Upaniṣads, but ranging also from the Old and New Testaments, by way of the Sufi mystics, Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross, to Shelley and Rabindranath Tagore, attempts to place the Dhammapada within the

context of his own version of "the progress of man on this earth" as a gradual awakening "into the law of Dharma, the eternal Nirvana, the Kingdom of Heaven", a process which he finds most aptly summarized in "the great prayer of the Upanishads... 'From death lead me to Immortality'".³ An analysis of this Introduction is equally outside our present scope, but there is one point that cannot be left unmentioned. The explanation given therein of the Noble Eightfold Path goes sadly (and significantly) astray on reaching the eighth Path factor, which is defined in terms that are simply not acceptable: "The last of the eight waves of spiritual life that carry us to the other shore is called *Samadhi*, communion. It is the final communion of the finite with the Infinite, the end of the journey...".⁴ This is, of course, the meaning of *samādhi* as defined in Sāṅkhya Yoga, one of the six orthodox systems of Indian philosophy, but definitely not the *sammā samādhi* (right concentration) of the Buddha's Path.

Torres i Godorí, having kept prudently away from the English Introduction, has produced his own for the Catalan Dhammapada. It is extremely brief, barely six pages long, but it manages to convey the absolute minimum of information that the general reader needs, and does so in a refreshingly straightforward manner. It is with a quotation from this, which highlights the contemporary social relevance of Buddhism, that I should like to conclude this review:

"The splendid aphorisms of the *Dhammapada* dwell on the Buddhist ideals of self-knowledge, mind control, renunciation, purity, constant striving and vigilance, wisdom and charity. Charity, non-violence, tolerance, simplicity and harmony are dramatically necessary in our time if we want to avoid the degradation, or even the total annihilation of life on earth. Buddhism, as Borges⁵ pointed out in *Seven Nights*, has always been tolerant, and never launched a war. And Schumacher, in *Small is Beautiful*, considered that it is in Buddhist economics, based on right occupation, or right livelihood - one of the factors of the Eight-fold Path - and in non-violence, simplicity and harmony, that the way lies away from job alienation on the part of the workers, away from unemployment, stultifying consumerism, the depletion of non-renewable resources and the violence which such depletion inevitably generates. Buddhism sees the essence of civilization not in a multiplication of wants, but in the purification of human character. At the same time, one must not forget that Buddhism is the Middle Way and that, in consequence, it is not opposed to the enjoyment of pleasant things as such, but only to our becoming slaves to them."

1 Quoted from the essay on "Gautama the Buddha" read by Dr S. Radhakrishnan before the British Academy in 1938 and reprinted as the Introduction to his translation of *The Dhammapada* (OUP, London 1950; repr. Delhi 1980).

2 Nyānatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, 3rd rev. and enlarged ed. by Nyāṇaponika

(Colombo 1972), entry "Anattā".

3 *The Dhammapada*, J.Mascaro (Penguin Classics, 1973), p.10.

4 *Ibid.*, p.32.

5 Jorge Luis Borges (b.1900), Argentine poet and prose writer, Nobel prize-winner, a leading figure in the Hispanic world.

Amadeo Solé-Leris

La Palabra del Buda. Nyānatiloka Mahāthera. Translated, with a preface and supplementary notes, by Amadeo Solé-Leris. Altalena Editores S.A., Madrid 1982. 143pp.

It is a great pleasure to welcome this Spanish translation of Nyānatiloka's renowned anthology of Pali texts, *The Word of the Buddha*, which succinctly encompasses all the basic teachings of the Buddha. It is too well known to the English reader for any need to describe it in detail here, having first appeared in English in 1907 and been reprinted some fifteen times since.

Mr Solé-Leris, a practising Buddhist for many years, is a highly qualified translator and interpreter, so it is not surprising that this combination has ensured a superlative job on this work. He has followed Nyānatiloka's book exactly with regard to content, but is all the more to be admired for translating the selections from the texts directly from Pali, sometimes at greater length than in my edition of *The Word of the Buddha*, and giving the source of each passage. This is no mere translation of a translation. Mr Solé-Leris' style is elegant and clear, his terminology carefully used. I was a little taken aback at finding *opini6n* (which means much the same in Spanish as in English) being used to render 'understanding', as in Right Understanding (*sammā ditṭhi*), but this is a mere quibble. The book, a very attractively presented paperback, is to be highly recommended to the Spanish reader, beginner or more advanced student alike.

Sara Webb

Editors: Mr Solé-Leris' translation of the above anthology into Catalan has been published by l'Abadia de Montserrat. Under the title, *La Paraula del Buda* (1984), the translator has included a twenty-page introduction to Buddhism in his native language.

Milindapañha. Le domande del re Milinda. Translated, with an introduction and notes, by Maria Angela Falà. Astrolabio-Ubaldini Editori, Rome 1982.

The current interest in Theravāda and Pali Buddhist literature in Italy is not an entirely new phenomenon. Toward the end of the last century, and in the early part of the present one, there had already been writers who produced some stud-

ies and popular expositions ¹, as well as translations of portions of the Pali Canon ². After the hiatus of the Second World War and its aftermath there was again a quickening of interest during the 1960s, with a substantial number of translations, including those of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, *Udāna* and sections of the *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā* - all these for the first time - and new translations of the *Dhammapada*, *Itivuttaka* and *Sutta-Nipāta* ³. Since then, the growth of active interest both in the theory and the practice of the Buddha's teachings, though still modest in scope, has been distinctly encouraging.

On the practical side, the Mahāyāna tradition has proved rather more dynamic. There are now, mainly in northern Italy, several quite active centres, both Zen and Tibetan. Theravāda has, so far, no established centre, but visits are paid from time to time by teachers from abroad. Especially noteworthy are the *vipassanā* courses which, for the last few years, have been held every six months or so by Mr John Coleman (formerly of IMC-UK, the International Meditation Centre in Wiltshire), teaching in the lay Burmese tradition of U Ba Khin.

As regards textual study, it is worth noting that a number of the Pali texts translated decades ago are now being reissued. Thus, Talamo's *Itivuttaka* came out as a paperback in 1978, and De Lorenzo's *Majjhima Nikāya* and *Parabole Buddhiste* have been republished in anastatic reprints within the last three years.

The work in hand represents a positive further step in this development, and is a welcome original contribution to Pali scholarship in Italy, being the first direct translation from Pali into Italian of that classic of early non-canonical Buddhist literature, the *Milindapañha*, in which some of the basic tenets are elucidated in the form of a dialogue between King Milinda and the Buddhist sage Nāgasena.

The *Milindapañha* had appeared in Italian translation (by G.Cagnola) once before, in 1923, but that version suffered from a double disadvantage: it was a secondary translation, made not from the original, but from T.W.Rhys Davids' English translation ⁴ (a highly reputable one, and something of a classic in its own right, but already involving an inevitable degree of cultural and linguistic "filtering"), and it was carried out by someone with, as far as I know, no specialized knowledge of the subject.

The translation which we now have before us, on the other hand, offers solid scholarly guarantees, having been made direct from the Pali text (using Trenckner's edition, as reprinted by the PTS in 1962), and provided with an introduction, notes and a useful selected bibliography by Dr Falà, a young philosophy graduate from the University of Urbino, where she specialized in Oriental Philosophies and Pali Studies under Prof.I.Vecchiotti, having subsequently

spent some time on advanced research in Sri Lanka.

The first thing to be noted about the present translation is that it is limited to the first three books of the seven which comprise the text that has come down to us as the full Milindapañha. This choice has been made on the generally accepted grounds that these constitute the original core of the work, although even they are not entirely free from later accretions (mainly in the introductory part dealing with Milinda's and Nāgasena's previous lives). The textual situation was fairly summed up by E.Lamotte in his history of Indian Buddhism: "Of the seven books that make up [the Milindapañha] only the second, the third and a small part of the first appear to be authentic".⁵ Hence the decision to translate only the first three books in which, as Dr Falā explains in the Preface, "important general questions relating to Buddhism are debated, which are of interest to any lay person wishing to learn more about this teaching, while with the fourth book there begins an exercise in Buddhist apologetics which can only interest someone who already possesses a thorough knowledge of the canonical texts" (pp.7-8). The result of this choice is a compact and persuasive presentation of some salient aspects of the Buddha's Teaching, elucidated in an attractive, easily assimilated form in the polished, often witty dialogue between king and sage.

Dr Falā's Preface is both concise and informative. Without going into the substance of the questions and answers, which speak for themselves, she endeavours rather to set the work in its historical and cultural context. For this purpose she relies strongly on Lamotte's *Histoire*, and rightly so, since that monumental work - even though certain matters may have been further elucidated in the quarter of a century since it was written - continues to rank as a major authority in the field.

One or two points of detail could have been updated (e.g., the historical King Menander - the model of King Milinda - is now, according to the latest authority, believed to have reigned 155-130 B.C., instead of 163-150 B.C.)⁶, and there is a puzzling reference to the writing down of the Pali Canon having begun at the Third Council at Pāṭaliputta, but on the whole Dr Falā's rapid survey succeeds in being remarkably lucid and accurate. A far from easy achievement when it comes to giving brief accounts, in terms readily comprehensible to a general reader, of matters such as the challenge of devotional Vaiṣṇavism to established Buddhist beliefs in India in the second century B.C., or the points of similarity between Sarvāstivādins and Sthaviravādins (or Theravādins) with regard to the *anatta* doctrine. With reference to the social and political context, she makes the interesting suggestions that, in turning to Buddhism, King Menander/Milinda may have been motivated by reasons which were as much political as religious, i.e., by the need to court the support of the wealthy urban bour-

geoisie - basically, the *vaiśya* caste - to counterbalance the mistrust of the *brāhmanas* and *ksatriyas* against a foreign ruler.

As regards the quality of the translation, Dr Falà, in an introductory note, modestly explains that, since her paramount concern was to follow the original as closely as possible, the resulting Italian prose may not always be perfect, and some passages may be hard on the reader. A careful comparison with the Pali text confirms that Dr Falà did take considerable pains to ensure faithfulness both to the letter and the spirit of the original, and she can certainly be congratulated on this score. (A few points which can, or need to be, improved are noted below). As for the "Italian form" - and although here I must speak with all the caution incumbent upon one to whom Italian is an acquired language - I must say that it seems to me to read very easily and fluently. The occasional archaic-sounding or unusual turns of phrase, far from being disturbing, have rather the effect of enhancing the feeling that one is witnessing an age-old debate.

The matters that would need to be set straight in any future reprintings (which one hopes this worthwhile piece of work will achieve) are not many. Let us take first those directly attributable to printers' errors. Two are straightforward misprints: "Vipatana" (p.37) should of course read "Isipatana", and footnote 50 (p.75) should read M III 206 (not "204"). A more important matter is the omission, in the enumeration of the 37 Factors of Enlightenment (p.53), of the Four Right Efforts (*sammā padhānā*). On p.59, on the other hand, there is a word too many which, being a negative, unfortunately reverses the sense: the eighth line should read: "...colui che avverte [and NOT, "che non avverte"] una sensazione...".

The following, on the other hand, concern the substance of the translation:

p.27 (para.12, line 15): the aorist *ahosi* has been translated as a present tense, "io sono senza attenzione", which misses the point of Rohana saying that it was through *earlier* inadvertence that he had not put in an appearance at the assembly of monks.

p.59 (end of para.4): *sampajāno patissato* (clearly comprehending and mindful) has been translated as "in the full possession of my own existential determinations" ("nel pieno possesso delle mie proprie determinazioni esistenziali"), which confuses the reader and does not bring out the quite specific "technical" meaning of the original terms.

pp.63, 65 and 78: The standard enumeration of the elements of *dukkha* (*jāti*, *jarā*, *maranam*, etc.) recurs on these three pages. On the first two occasions, the term *upāvāsa* is rendered, unaccountably, as "disappearance" ("sparizione"), and only on p.78 rightly as "tribulations" ("tribolazione").

pp.44 and 69: *vedanā* is translated the first time as "sentimenti" and the second time as "sensazione". It would be correct, and more consistent, to use the latter term on both occasions.

pp.48 and 49: the phrase *yoniso manasikāra* has been translated simply as "attenzione", thus losing the qualification of "wise" or "proper" attention or consideration.

pp.49 and 53: *sati* is translated first as "coscienza" (consciousness), then as "presenza mentale". The translation of this key term poses a problem not only in Italian, but also in other Romance languages, in that there is no equivalent in them of the convenient English "mindfulness". "Coscienza" will not do, as this has to be reserved for *viññāṇa*. "Presenza mentale" is an attempt to coin an ad hoc new term, first used, I believe, by the Italian translator of Ven.Nyāṇaponika's *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation*. Perhaps this is the best that can be done, although personally I fear it may mislead readers into thinking that what is being referred to is some kind of special or "mystical" state instead of simply the deliberate, consistent exercise of close attention which is mindfulness. In any event, if "presenza mentale" is chosen, it should be used consistently.

p.81: *anupādisesa nibbānahātu* is rendered as "nibbāna elements which have no material [my emphasis] substratum remaining" ("elementi del nibbāna che non hanno substrato materiale rimanente"). Firstly, it is not right to translate *dhātu* by a plural; secondly, *anupādisesa* refers, of course, to the absence of all substrata of existence, i.e., mental as well as material ones. The whole sentence in question (from A IV 118), can be found translated in the article "Upādi" of Nyāṇatiloka's *Buddhist Dictionary* as follows: "Here the Perfect One has passed into the Nibbāna-element in which no more groups [i.e., *khandhas*] are remaining".

One last point, on footnotes. In keeping with the avowed aim of simplicity and easy readability, these have been kept to a strict minimum. Too strict, in my view, and one could wish for a few more from time to time, since not all the essential terms which have been deliberately left in Pali "because they are comprehensible within the context" (as the author explains) are always necessarily so. For instance, *attha* (p.36) as the "meaning" of the sacred teachings (in contrast to *vacanam*, the word); or *nāmarūpa* (p.60), where a footnote would have been helpful in giving not only the precise meaning of "name-and-form", but also in briefly explaining its position as the third link in the cause-and-effect chain of Dependent Origination.

The volume, like all those in the excellent *Civiltà dell'Oriente* series of the Roman publishers Astrolabio-Ubaldini, is carefully and attractively

produced. In this same series, the Italian translation of *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation* was published six years ago and Rune Johansson's *The Psychology of Nirvāṇa* has just (1984) come out. It is to be hoped that further titles on early Buddhism, including good, reliable translations of original texts, like the one reviewed here, will continue to come from this press, which is making a valuable contribution to a better knowledge and understanding of Buddhism in Italy.

- 1 Such as P.E.Pavolini *Buddismo* (Milan 1898, repr.1977), G.de Lorenzo *India e Buddismo antico* (Bari 1896) and *Morale buddhista* (Bologna 1920) and - closer to our own days - G.C.A.Evola with his *Dottrina del Risveglio* (Bari 1943; repr. Milan 1965), the reading of which converted to Buddhism a British Army officer who was later to become the eminent bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli.
- 2 E.g., Pavolini (who worked from Pali) translated the Dhammapada, Itivuttaka and Sutta-Nipāta (1912); De Lorenzo translated (from English) Burlingame's *Buddhist Parables* (1926) and (from German) Neumann's monumental translation of the Majjhima Nikāya (3 vols, 1916-27).
- 3 Frola, Dīgha Nikāya (1960-1) and Dhammapada (1962); Talamo, Sutta-Nipāta (1961) and Itivuttaka (1962); Filippini-Ronconi, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Sutta-Nipāta and selections from the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā (1966). For details see Russell Webb "Pali Buddhist Studies in the West. 6.Italy" in *Pali Buddhist Review* 3, 2 (1978), pp.84-7.
- 4 T.W.Rhys Davids *The Questions of King Milinda* (2 vols, Oxford 1890-4; repr. Delhi 1975).
- 5 E.Lamotte *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Saka* (Louvain 1958, repr.1967), p.465 (my translation).
- 6 See A.K.Warder *Indian Buddhism* (2nd rev. ed., Delhi 1980), p.330.

Amadeo Solé-Leris

Three Worlds according to King Ruang. A Thai Buddhist Cosmology. Translation with introduction and notes by Frank E.Reynolds and Mani B.Reynolds. Berkeley Buddhist Studies, University of California 1982. 383pp.+ 15 colour plates. \$30.00

There are not perhaps so many countries where people could name the first book written in their own language and fewer still where that book has remained an enduring influence. But this can be said of the book under review and it was the first work to be composed in the Thai language. Usually referred to briefly in Thai as the 'Traibhoom'¹ it was one of the standard works for study from the days when it was written by Phya Lithai² around 1345 of our era all

through the Sukhothai and Ayutthaya kingdoms until the times of Phra Chom Klao (King Rama IV Mongkut) in the middle of the last century.

This book takes the form of an account of the various possibilities of being from the lowest to the highest. And the hells being the lowest are conceived literally as 'down under' while the formless heavens being highest are very remote indeed 'up there'. The Buddha, for whom cosmology as such was not important, has only given hints about where the different states of rebirth are but his followers later on elaborated a system which can be seen fairly well developed in some passages in the Visuddhimagga. This account was steadily embroidered until it reached the complexity described in this book.

A very full account is given of the hell realm (pp.61-84) and anyone wishing to stimulate Dhamma-practice could read this section with great profit. Besides the gory and fearsome descriptions, this section illustrates a fact true of the rest of the work: that the royal author goes into the mental factors (*cetasika*) leading to hell, the types of mind (*citta*) that do so, and the senses and sense stimulation experienced by beings there. Rather unexpectedly then, the book is a combination of the descriptive, very colourful and sometimes fantastic accounts of realms with the very dry Abhidhamma lists. This is not so surprising when seen in the light of causality for it is because of those lists of factors that rebirth comes about here and there. Thus Phya Lithai makes it quite clear that rebirth comes about causally and that the causal agent is one's own mind-heart and its various wholesome and unwholesome factors. Chapter two is the Realm of the Animals and while the sufferings there are described the author introduces some rather legendary beasts and their doings, such as the different kinds of lions, the various kinds of gem elephants, the immense fish *timi*, *timingala*, *timitimingala* with such euphonious names, and the conflict of the roc-sized *garuda* birds with the serpent-spirit *nāgas*.

The Realm of the Suffering Ghosts follows and both their terrible sufferings and the various sorts of them are brought vividly to mind by the descriptions. Besides those who suffer hunger, thirst and nakedness or do themselves injuries continually for a long time, there are also the strange cases of half-ghosts-half-gods where suffering alternates with happiness. Such cases are common in the late Pali work called the *Petavatthu* - Stories of the Ghosts.

The next chapter takes us to the realm of the Asuras who are also very different from each other. Some of them almost equal the devas in happiness and the splendours of their land are briefly described. *Rāhu*, the strongest of their kings, is pictured in the act of eating the sun and moon, a fact that accounts for eclipses - and to this day Thai villagers fire off guns and crackers to scare *Rāhu* away during an eclipse.

The next hundred pages describe the state we find ourselves in. It is surprising that the author does not acknowledge the man's part in the production of a child and only mentions the ovum and menstruation. The Buddha mentioned three conditions however: the man's seed, the woman's time and the being to be reborn. The sufferings of the child in the womb are very vividly presented together with the *dukkha* of birth.

All the range of human beings are dealt with by the author, right up to those rare beings who in their last births will attain Buddhahood. The four kinds of humans, hellish, ghostlike, animal and truly human, with their attributes (on. p.123) are an interesting summary of the human race but omit to mention deva-like people. Afterwards follow a detailed picture of the human inhabitants of the four great continents - somewhat mythical apart from Jambudīpa, and then comes an item important to Phya Lithai, a long dissertation on the Great Cakkavatti King with his seven precious possessions of classical sutta fame. Embedded in this is the Sermon of Victory which he delivers after having peacefully conquered the whole world, to all the rulers from whom he takes nothing but exhorts them to practise Dhamma. He points out to them that they are rulers because of the merits they have accumulated so they should know about dark and bright *kamma* and its results. The Five Precepts are dealt with in some detail ³ and then the Great King goes on to speak about how to rule according to Dhamma. It is interesting, in this drought-stricken land of Australia [where the reviewer is domiciled], to note that one thing that is affected for the worse by the evil conduct of rulers and those who follow them is the pattern of rainfall. We can take it that the devas around here are not pleased with the beer-swilling and all the evils that result from it!

From this rather idealized account of the Cakkavatti-rāja we come next to an elaborate 'history' of King Asoka, his Queen Asandhimittā, and the king Mandhātā. King Asoka here represents the nearest possible approach to the Wheel-turning Dhamma-emperor though the account here is highly legendary. This interesting story is followed by another based on and elaborated from the Dhammapada Commentary, on Jotika, Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu.

Ten ways of making merit are next listed though the last one is "steadfast faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha..." instead of the usual "Setting upright one's views"; still, the difference is not so great.

The chapter on the Devas is also quite a long one as it covers all the six sensuality-sphere heavens. More description is given to the Four Great Kings and the Thirty-three and less and less to the other heavenly planes. But Phya Lithai makes the causality for entry to these heavens quite clear. Tusita heaven has only a paragraph and it is surprising that the author has not ela-

borated on this as the abode of the future Buddha, who is only mentioned briefly. And it is a nice touch of course that Māra, the Evil One, is one of the two kings ruling the highest sensuality-sphere heaven. What does that not tell us about the bondage of sensuality (*kāma*)?

The World with only a Remnant of Material Factors is the subtle form world or the Brahma world. It is noticeable that though the brahma-gods are supposed to be asexual, that is, they have transcended sexual differentiation through meditation, yet Phya Lithai makes them all male! But he does note that the femininity and masculinity factors are both absent, which actually means that these beings have no sex organs and so, cannot be male. The description of the very useless Perceptionless heaven full of mindless, motionless Brahma gods who know nothing of the beauties surrounding them is striking and perhaps ironical. The translators do not mention that the three kinds of abiding, celestial, divine and noble, are the subject of a sutta (Aṅguttara i 181-4). And another small slip is to describe bhikkhus (p.252) as having a 'shoulder scarf'; this should be 'outer cloak' for the *sanghāṭi*, a double-thick robe.

The World without Material Factors or formless realm is dealt with briefly though extended by the fantastic account of the Miracle of the Buddha's Rays.

Having described the 31 planes of birth the author then deals with the geography of the Cakkavāla and the Jambu continent. For some of this one needs to be a mathematician as it is quite complicated and very far from our picture of the world now. But in the end Phya Lithai has this striking passage: "Look, you worthy people, hasten to consider and understand the impermanent condition of things. Think about it, keep it in mind and be attentive to it and hasten to act in making merit, giving alms, observing the moral precepts, practising the meditation concerning loving-kindness- and taking oneself to that great immortal city of Nibbāna, which is without suffering, sadness, and danger from disease, and does not have illness, pain, ageing, senility, and death. Comfort and safety from all this is attained when one arrives at the place of Nibbāna, which is enjoyable, happy, peaceful, permanent, and endures without fluctuation; this place of Nibbāna provides a certainty that is constant" (p.304).

Chapter ten deals with the Destruction of the Mahākappa (great aeon), and the next one with Nibbāna and the Path.

The translators must be commended for tackling this very difficult old Thai text and making, as far the reviewer can see, very few errors. The hard work that they have done now reads very well in English⁴ and they have been well-served by their printers who have done a good job free from mistakes. The selection of ancient manuscript illustrations in colour serves to bring this

work to life for readers of our time.⁵ The introduction, footnotes, diagrams and index are clear and thorough.

For those who want to know how countless generations of Buddhists viewed the world, the universe actually, and not only Thais (for this was the generally accepted view even in Tibet up to the middle of this century), this work will be invaluable. And of course though Buddhists now do not mix geography with cosmology in the same way, yet the heavenly abodes are still superior in happiness while the states of deprivation remain inferior because of their intense sufferings.

Phra Khantipālo

Editors' footnotes

- 1 *Trai Phum Phra Ruang*. 8 editions between 1912-72.
- 2 See Sukumar Sen Gupta "The Pious Buddhist Kings Loe Thai and Lu Thai of Thailand" in *Prajñā* III,1, Buddha-Gaya 1975.
- 3 Cp. Phra Mahāwilat Yanawaro *Lokathipani* (Bangkok 1964). A similar handbook on *sīla*, also based on the 'Traibhoom', was composed by Phrakru Sangwon Somathwat (Abbot of Wat Pleng) and published after 1969.
- 4 See also G.Coedès "The Traibhūmikathā. Buddhist Cosmology and Treaty [sic] on Ethics" in *East and West*, Rome 1957; and, with Ch. Archambault, his complete translation, *Les Trois mondes. Cosmogonie siamoise*, EFEO, Paris 1973.
- 5 See also *Buddhist Cosmology Thonburi Version*. "A collection of the pictures of the Traibhūmi are shown and explained. Thai text with description of the pictures in English" (1982). Distributed by White Lotus Co.Ltd, 47 Sukhumvit Road, Soi 16, Bangkok.

A Guide to the Threefold Lotus Sutra. Nikkyo Niwano. Translated and adapted by Eugene Langston. Kosei Publishing Co., Tokyo 1981. Distributed by Prentice/Hall International, Hemel Hempstead. 168pp. £2.10

This work is, as the Preface states, only an outline of the Threefold Lotus Sūtra, a simple guide to it. The Sūtra itself was, in 1973, translated by Bunno Kato and others and published by Weatherhill/Kosei. The first part of the original text is the Sūtra of Innumerable Meanings, whilst the main text is the Sūtra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, and the concluding part is the Sūtra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue. The introductory Sūtra and the concluding one are not always added to the Lotus Sūtra, but this work, usually known by its Sanskrit name - Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or simply the Lotus - is central to all Mahāyāna thinking and is devoted to the proposition

that all living creatures have the Buddha nature and can become Buddhas by practising the Way.

The Indian origins of the Lotus go back to about the third century after Christ. It was taken by Kumārajīva in the fourth century to China where it became the main text of the T'ien-t'ai sect (Japanese Tendai sect) and was regarded by many as the apex of the many series of sermons attributed to Śākyamuni Buddha. Prince Shotoku based his legal code on it in the seventh century whilst Ven.Saicho established Enryakuji on its tenets at the famous Mount Hiei.

The Tendai mountain centre of Mount Hiei was the home of the three largest and most influential Japanese sects, the Pure Land of Hōnen Shōnin and Shinran Shōnin, the Sōtō Zen of Dōgen (both in the thirteenth century) and Nichiren who founded the sect which bears his name (in the same period). So we can say that the Lotus Sūtra is the fount of the overwhelming part of Far Eastern Buddhism. This highly important book is publicised and here explained by one of the most remarkable modern exponents of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Mr Niwano, the inspiration of the fastest-growing Buddhist sect, the Risshō Koseikai. He came to London to receive the Templeton Award for Progress in Religion, and gave a truly inspiring address in the City Guildhall before a distinguished audience. He has also worked with the International Association for Religious Freedom, the World Conference on Religion and Peace and other bodies working for peace through religion. As he says, "only in practice does the teaching become alive".

The contradiction inherent in the idea of self-salvation and the Buddhist doctrine of *anatta* is faced here. "Self-cultivation through personal practice of one's own will is the way salvation is achieved. But the final goal of such practice is to do away with the little self, or ego, and obedient to the universal truth, to become one with the great life-force of the universe. And so we must realise that this power within is not our own in the sense that lets us say 'WE did this'....the self to which one has clung is in fact something that has no real substance". And again, "What the Buddha is saying is that there is no deliverance without casting away the self and merging with the Buddha". Clearly, the dichotomy between so-called self-power and other-power is a false distinction. It is the Power of Enlightenment which is all-important.

"Salvation appears to take various forms, but at root the teaching is only one, and it falls, like the rain, upon all alike." The universal validity and essential unity of all Buddhism is proclaimed plainly.

Jack Austin

Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung / The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition. Edited by Heinz Bechert. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse No. 117. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1980. 193pp.

This collection of papers arose from the second Symposium zur Buddhismusforschung held under the auspices of the Kommission für buddhistische Studien at the Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen, in July 1976 (although not all the contributions have been published).

The basis for discussion was the comprehensive and, in many ways, unsurpassed survey by Mgr E.Lamotte, "The Formation of the Buddhist Languages", contained in his *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain 1958, pp.606-34). Earlier pioneer studies comprised S.Lévi "Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme" (*Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1912, pp.495-512) and H.Lüders *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons* (Berlin 1954). Not mentioned, but of vital importance in understanding the Pali tradition, is G.C. Pande *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (Allahabad 1957; repr. Delhi 1983).

Today, the overwhelming tendency is to acknowledge that no extant text, and certainly no one corpus of sacred writ, accurately reflects the "language of the Buddha". The (unconvincing) concept of an *Urkanon* has now been displaced by the more plausible hypothesis of regional diversity of the Middle Indo-Aryan *dialects* (as opposed to distinct languages) that were in vogue up to the era of Asoka (d.232 B.C.). Their subsequent "normalisation" into separate vehicles of expression may well explain the rise and diffusion of sectarianism.

In "Sakāya Niruttīyā: Cauld kale het", John Brough upholds the usual interpretation of the initial Pali expression, "in own language", by comparing the Buddha's permission for his teachings to be transmitted in the current vernacular with equivalent passages in five Chinese recensions of the Vinaya. He concludes by stating that "it seems inevitable that the normal process of oral transmission must have produced numerous 'canonical' dialects in different regions, long before the texts were reduced to writing" (p.40).

K.R.Norman ("The dialects in which the Buddha preached") continues the discussion of *chandaso* which has normally been interpreted as preserving the Buddhavacana in classical Sanskrit. However, Norman ingeniously argues that by *sakāya niruttīyā* the Buddha was referring to his "own glosses upon the sermons" (p.63 - ital. mine); that although "people were spoiling the Buddha's words by reciting them with explanatory glosses replacing some of the original words. The Buddha did not think this was important enough to merit translating *chandaso*. Even though his words were being spoiled, he gave permission for the practice to continue. What the people recited and remembered, therefore, and

what doubtless became the basis of the various traditions, were the Buddha's own words, not translated, but sometimes changed a little, by the Buddha himself, to meet local requirements" (p.63).

When Māgadhī became the prevalent language throughout the Mauryan Empire, it was only natural to equate this with "the language of the Buddha", especially upon the conversion of Asoka. Norman then discusses the (close) relationship that existed between Ardha-Māgadhī, Pāli and the language of the Asokan inscriptions and confirms the view that, as a result of political ascendancy, Māgadhī was regarded as a linguistically superior mode of expressing ideas (in comparison with other Prakrits) and was thereby utilised by the Dhammādūtas despatched to Ceylon c.246 B.C. The author then attempts to deduce the nature of the supposed "languages" of the Buddha (who probably conversed in "Old Māgadhī" and "Old Ardha-Māgadhī") - by comparing etymological features of the Pali Commentaries with non-Pali canonical texts (e.g., the Sabhiya Sutta v. Sabhikasūtra on p.74) - though in the Buddha's day the Prakrits would have assumed the character of dialects until the gulf between them widened with the development of regional variations. [The foregoing would appear finally to refute the view of P.V.Bapat who, in "The Relation between Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī" - *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta 1928 - strenuously argued against the former's derivation from the latter.]

In discussing "Particular Features of the Language of the Arya-Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins and their Importance for Early Buddhist Tradition", Gustav Roth opens by emphasising the Buddha's use of the above two languages: "... he would have naturally addressed people in Old Māgadhī (Mg) or Old Ardhamāgadhī (AMg) which itself is already a composite language as the name indicates. It is true that Buddha's original home in Kapilavastu, places of his later residence like Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī, Vārāṇasī, and Kuśinagarī, the place of his death, were all not situated in Magadha. Yet we may assume that Old Mg and Old AMg in particular, a language of literature and administration, extended beyond the region of Magadha on account of its growing and expanding power under mighty rulers and due to its importance as a center of religious reform movements during the sixth and third centuries B.C. I do not exclude the possibility that also other dialects existed in these regions, as for instance in Kapilavastu, which we do not know. They may have been spoken by fellow-monks of the Buddha, or by himself, when conveying his message to the people in their respective mother-tongue" (p.78). However, these were displaced by a western Prakrit after Asoka's reign, accentuated by a linguistic renaissance which produced Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, a supra-regional lingua franca which was increasingly used amongst the Buddhist communities. Roth then undertakes a philological analysis of the extant Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin texts in that language - notably the Mahāvastu

(tr. J.J. Jones, 3 vols, SBB, London 1952) and *Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya* (ed. Roth with an English introduction, Patna 1970, and tr. from Chinese into English by Akira Hirakawa, Patna 1982) - which culminates in a discussion of the so-called Patna Dharmapada (that school's own recension?). The romanised text of this compilation (discovered in Tibet fifty years ago) is then offered for comparison with other versions; in fact, comprising 22 *vargas* and totalling 415 verses, it predates the Pali recension to which, however, it most closely resembles. [N.S. Shukla has also produced a romanised ed. under the title, *The Sanskrit Dharmapada*, Patna 1979. It is to be hoped that an English translation will appear, although Brough, Roth and Franz Bernhard have cross-referred their editions of the Gandhārī Dharmapada, Patna Dharmapada and Udānavarga respectively with the corresponding verses in each of these recensions. The latest discussion on this subject - "A Comparative Study of Dharmapadas" by Kōgen Mizuno - has been included in the forthcoming *Saddhātissa Felicitation Volume* from Sri Lanka.]

Probably the most rewarding entry (the longest, in fact, if one excludes the text of the Patna Dharmapada) is that of the veteran scholar of the Turfanfunde, Ernst Waldschmidt, who discusses "Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas". After an introduction to the latter, Hīnayāna, canonical collections, the author describes their interrelationship and the availability of editions, either in fragmentary form or in Chinese translation. Thus, from his edition of *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras* (Leipzig 1932; repr. Wiesbaden 1979), a résumé in English is now given of those Sanskrit texts discovered in varying states of completeness in the sands of the Maklan desert:

1. Dhvajāgra (= Dhajagga Sutta, S I xi)
2. Dharmacakrapravartana (= Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, S V xii)
3. Mahānidāna (= D 15)
4. Śakrapraśna (= Sakkapañha Sutta, D 21)
5. Bimbasāra (cp. Mahāvagga, Vin I)
6. Mahāsamāja (= Mahāsamaya Sutta, D 20)
7. Daśabala (= A V 10 iii; cp. M 12)

[The second and fifth texts are available in translation by Ria Kloppenborg, *The Sūtra on the Foundation of the Buddhist Order*, Leiden 1973, pp. 23 and 84ff, which was based on Waldschmidt's edition of the *Catuspariṣatsūtra*, 3 vols, Berlin 1952-62.]

A subsequent comparison is made by identifying specific sūtras in the Chinese Āgama with reference to the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* in the Gilgit manuscript of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*:

1. Oṭalāyana (= Uṇṇābhabrahmaṇa Sutta, S V xlviij)
2. Vairambhya (= Verañja Sutta, A IV 8 ii)

3. Mahāsudarśana (= Mahāsudassana Sutta, D 17)
4. Velāma (= A IV 9 ii)
5. Māndhātṛ (cp. Mandhātu Jātaka 258)
6. Nandipāla (= Ghaṭikara Sutta, M 81)
7. Mahādeva (= M 83)
8. Nimi (included with M 83)

A similar exercise is performed in connection with ten sūtras from the *Bhikṣuṇī-saṃyukta* which are compared with their equivalents in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.

From his edition of "Fragments of Buddhist Sūtras" (above, 1932), the author next presents a revised romanised Sanskrit text of the *Mahāsamājasūtra*, adding an English translation. Originally he had merely published the reconstructed text together with a Tibetan and two Chinese recensions. The text, incidentally, appears in both the *Dīrgha-* and *Saṃyuktāgamas* - the former closer to the Pali version, the latter (as with the *Madhyamāgama* as a whole) related to the Sanskrit original. However, upon reading it one may well wonder whether the text in question was interpolated at the time of redaction of the Canon. It is surely straining the reader's credulity to believe that the Buddha would have undertaken a tedious roll call of asuras, devas, nāgas, yakṣas etc. to an assembly of *arhats!* [Not surprisingly, the Rhys Davids expressed a rationalistic scepticism of the entire episode in their introduction to the Pali version. See *Dialogues of the Buddha II*, SBB, 1910, repr. 1977, pp.282-3.] It is doubtful whether even his hard-headed mercantile supporters would have swallowed that list let alone those who had relinquished all attachments (including archaic folklore beliefs and practices). This brings us to the author's analysis of an extract from the *Saptamaithunasamyuktasūtra* ("The Discourse on the seven subtle forms of sexual intercourse") which was translated into German by Michael Hahn for the author's felicitation volume, *Beiträge zur Indieforschung* (Berlin 1977). Admittedly not the most edifying of texts (!), this extract from the Sanskrit *Ekottarikāgama* corresponds to the *Nīvaraṇapahāna Sutta* (A I); a parallel translation from the Chinese recension complements the latter.

Waldschmidt also discusses the language of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* and fragmentary *Dharmaguptaka* texts belonging to the *Prātimokṣa* and *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* (which^{he} has edited and translated in full - 3 vols, Berlin 1950-1). All in all, a most instructive and stimulating chapter.

The final section constitutes a brief discussion of "Bu-ston on the languages used by Indian Buddhists at the Schismatic Period" by Akira Yuyama. He quotes from a rare original text by this 14th century Tibetan historian, but apart from generalisations much information on this subject is very much open to conjecture.

The Threefold Refuge in the Theravāda Buddhist Tradition. Edited by John Ross Carter with George D. Bond, Edmund F. Perry and Shanta Ratnayake. Anima Books, Chambersburg 1982. 89pp. \$3.95

This slim book contains four articles, one upon each of the Three Refuges and the first on "The Notion of Refuge in Theravāda Buddhist Tradition". Pp.57-88 contain a Metaphor, Notes and References, two Appendices (A Guide to English translations of Pali sources consulted in this volume, and Commentaries on the Pali Canon), Abbreviations, Bibliography, List of Authors and an Index, so that readers will understand that the substance of the book is rather compressed into a few pages.

It is not quite clear who will read them, except that they should be well-educated and tolerant of a text liberally sprinkled with Pali words. For this reason it is not really a beginner's book but one which explores mostly Pali canonical and commentarial literature on the Refuges. It will be useful as a reference though one could not say that it inspires one to practise.

The reviewer found the first essay about Refuges generally rather tough going and there are some passages in it in need of editing and clarification. The author's comment after introducing the word 'dukkha' - "We are on to something weighty here" - is a reflection, perhaps, of the fact that he is a Christian (in which religion there seems to be some enjoyment of gloom). In other places too he is just a little off-centre with his remarks which can be attributed to looking at Buddhism from the outside.

The second essay, on the Buddha as Refuge, is interesting though its author has not discerned that the reason why the arahants refused to let anyone go to them is their reverence for the Buddha. His reference to the anonymity of the Theravāda tradition with its lack of personality cults among monk-teachers is very true and what he has said about this is a good explanation. But the 'Buddha in the heart' as the ultimate Buddha-refuge is not made clear in so many words though this is always the way that the Forest Teachers explain it in Thailand.

Dhamma as Refuge is very brief. It makes one smile when one reads such stuff as: "Precisely what the Dhamma meant when the Buddha first spoke it is now, it appears, beyond our grasp through historical enquiry on the basis of materials at hand". Surely this is quite the wrong way to go about finding out what Dhamma means! You have to undertake the Refuges and Precepts, make plenty of good *kamma* by generosity, helpfulness and loving-kindness, practise mindfulness in everyday life, and meditate regularly - *then* you will know what the Dhamma has always meant. However, the author's statement is a good illustration of the power of *vicikicchā* - or sceptical doubt/uncertainty which keeps *him* from practising.

The Sangha as Refuge is more extensive and at pains to point out the well-known difference between the Sanghas (Orders) of monks and nuns, and the Noble Sangha (Community) of those who have seen the Dhamma for themselves. The reviewer detects a strong 'householders-can-do-it-just-as-well-as-monks' view in the background. This may have been the result of seeing, in Sri Lanka, some particularly uninspiring examples of those in robes (who are best not called 'bhikkhus'), but this view needs looking at further. It is quite true that devoted householders can go much further than sloppy monks - the latter only go far in the direction of hell! - but it is the majority of good monks who have the time and energy to keep the Buddha's Teaching alive through their learning and practice, while a few are able to illumine it by their insight-wisdom, their enlightenment. In *The Middle Way* about two years ago, the reviewer read in an article by an American ordained in the Tibetan tradition that the monks' and nuns' Sanghas will not be so important in future now that the laity are educated and have the time to practise Dhamma. Alas, this assumes that laypeople as a whole will now apply more time to Dhamma-practice rather than getting caught up, not only with the duties of family life but also with the greatly increased distractions of the enormous range of sense-pleasures. This reviewer's understanding is that the monastic Sanghas will always have a large part to play in the practice and propagation of Dhamma, and while *Sanghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* does not mean only going for refuge to those who have left the home life, yet the latter inspire those in the household life to make greater efforts and are the living example of Dhamma well-practised.

As was stated earlier, however, this is an interesting book and a useful one for reference purposes.

Phra Khantipālo

Buddhist and Western Philosophy. Edited by Nathan Katz. Sterling Publishers, New Delhi-Bangalore-Jullundur 1981. xxviii + 491pp. Rs 200

Comparative philosophy is a young discipline and, unlike comparative religion, not yet fully recognised by all as worthwhile or even feasible either in or outside academic circles, although it was as early as 1925 that P. Masson-Oursel published his programmatic book *La philosophie comparée* (English tr. 1926). The idea seemed attractive after the Second World War and one or two international conferences of academic philosophers held some promise for the future. Somehow the interest petered out, however, and the most notable survival of these hopes is a specialized magazine, *Philosophy East and West*, published by the University of Hawaii.

This situation makes it, perhaps, understandable that the editor of the present collection of papers feels the necessity of justifying his undertaking

and answering possible objections to such a venture. Western academic philosophers tend to specialise too much in logic and linguistic analysis to appreciate the wider issues of the Buddhist quest. Indologists specialise in detailed studies of a section of their subject and believe comparative studies done by non-specialists to be superficial and not really useful. The Eastern side, including Buddhists, regards Western thinking as too materialistic and, besides, liable to read into Buddhism its own inappropriate presuppositions.

There is some truth in these objections, but the editor feels, rightly, that after a period of pioneering research the Western mind has a chance to acquire a new understanding of the East from now widely available sources and that the other side can also benefit.

The book has a brief Foreword by the Dalai Lama who sees in it a chance for Buddhism to be better understood in the present world and an Introduction by the popular writer on Chinese and Tantric Buddhism and Taoism, John Blofeld, who stresses the point that Buddhism is first and foremost a religion and not a philosophy, having liberation for its aim, though he does concede a degree of importance to philosophical works within Buddhism, since they have a "supportive role". He sees Buddhism as more amenable to comparative studies than other doctrines because of the absence of dogma in it, but regards its mystical intuition (whose highest form is Enlightenment) as limiting its comparability with "secular philosophical systems". Intellectual formulations needed for comparisons are, to him, secondary to the intuitive perception in which Buddhist writings are rooted. That is why Buddhism arrives at logically contradictory statements which nevertheless express truth, e.g., the co-existence of unity and diversity.

Here, I think, Blofeld thinks of philosophy in too narrow a sense. Basically, philosophy is also a search for truth and many system building philosophers have been guided by intuitive perception. Even science has arrived at a position from which it has to recognise logically contradictory statements which are true, e.g., light and subatomic particles behaving both as corpuscles and mere waves of energy. (There is a whole stream of scientists who have been led to philosophy in order to clarify for themselves the observed facts and their philosophy is usually close to intuitive and even mystical trends, cf. J. Jeans, A. Eddington, M. Planck, W. Heisenberg; the ultimate boundaries of scientific, philosophic and religious knowledge merge, cf. F. Capra *The Tao of Physics*.)

The collection opens with a paper by Prof. Masao Abe (Nara University, Japan) on "Zen and Nietzsche". He finds common ground between them in that both regard our world and its values as constructs of the mind. But while Nietzsche sees in it an opportunity for the assertion of the will to power which even-

tually will produce the "overman", Zen understands it as the product of the state of "non-awakening" which, of course, carries within it the chance of awakening which will produce the True Man. Next, Prof. Thomas J.J. Altizer (New York State Univ.) views "Nirvana as a negative Image of God" in an article full of neo-theological phraseology. I think one may view it as a classical example of arguing on two different levels of truth without a link between them, yet drawing conclusions on the one from premises valid on the other. His final conclusion is: God is. Or rather only: God.

Gustavo Benavides presents the gist of a dissertation on which he is working in "Tautology as Philosophy in Nicolaus Cusanus and Nāgārjuna". With skill and knowledge of comparative methodology he manages to show the platitudes of some trendy writings on Zen and traces some supposedly original features of Zen to their Indian roots. He also points out the confluence of Buddhism and Western Gnosis (previously written about by Conze) as well as the richness of Western religious literature from Gregory of Nyssa to Angelus Silesius in its descriptions of the ultimate (God) often thought to have existed only in the East (cf. also my article "Mysticism as Doctrine and Experience", *Religious Traditions* 4, 1, pp.1-18). The congenial meeting of the ideas of Cusanus and Nāgārjuna is presented convincingly. After the article of Prof. Douglas Daye (Ohio Univ.) on "Aspects of the Indian and Western Traditions of Formal Logic and their Comparisons" in which he successfully demolishes the still widespread prejudices in the West about the achievements of the Indian mind in Logic, Richard J. Demartino (Temple Univ., Philadelphia) interprets "The Zen Understanding of the Initial Nature of Man" with some help from psychoanalysis and D.T. Suzuki as, basically, the "Self-actualisation" of our "non-dualistic, reconciled, unproblematic or True I" (whatever that may be), while M.W. Padmasiri de Silva (Peradeniya Univ., Sri Lanka) sees "The Conflict between Analytic Philosophy and Existentialism in Buddhist Perspective" as resolved in the "intuitive" grasp of the doctrine of egolessness. Dr. Gunapala Dharmasiri (Peradeniya) makes an attempt to find a common ground for "Buddhism and Marxism in the Socio-Cultural Context of Sri Lanka" in an involved article which suffers from a superficial understanding of both these systems.

A quite different note is struck by Prof. Maurice Friedman (San Diego State Univ.) in an erudite article on "Martin Buber and Oriental Religions", introducing us to the field of comparative mysticism through which he finds that Taoism, Zen and Hassidism point in the same direction, viz. to mastery of the present moment. In contrast, Prof. Charles Wei-hsun Fu (Temple) in "Heidegger and Zen on Being and Nothingness: A Critical Essay in Transmetaphysical Dialectics" regards Zen as the final culmination of Buddhist thought. In the West only Heidegger came near it, and then imperfectly. Ashok K. Gangadean (Haver-

ford College) contrasts the classic logical framework based on Aristotle with Nāgārjuna's "therapeutic" dialectic using Frege as a bridge in his highly technical paper "Nāgārjuna, Aristotle and Frege on the Nature of Thought". Nietzsche returns in "Dionysus against the Buddha: Nietzsche's 'Yes' and the Buddhist 'No'" by Steven Heine (La Salle College). Having shown the superiority of Buddhism over Christianity, Nietzsche rejected the "holy lie" of Nibbāna in favour of life-asserting eternal recurrence. The author points out Nietzsche's error in ascribing nihilism to Buddhism, but on the positive side he accepts Nietzsche's overman as reflecting the bodhisattva's all-embracing ideal.

"Problematics of the Buddhist Nature of Self" is the theme of Prof. Kenneth K. Inada (New York) who argues for an ontological yet dynamic understanding of the anatman doctrine with some help from Whiteheadian philosophy. It is followed by a paper "On the Notion of Verification in Buddhism and in Logical Positivism: A brief philosophical study" by Dr A.D.P. Kalansuriya (Peradeniya) who sees the positivistic verification (based on observation = sense perception) as logically inappropriate with reference to the Buddha and the Arahants, since they are "without measure". The editor (Williams College, Mass.) contributes with an article on "Nāgārjuna and Wittgenstein on Error". He calls both authors "tricky fellows" bent on rendering philosophy (viz. the activity of developing philosophical systems) an impossibility, but while Wittgenstein's criticism of the errors of philosophic statements is in the interest of saving the truth value of everyday language, Nāgārjuna's concern is religious: analytic philosophy, to him, is analogous to sweeping the floor before one sits down to meditate.

The only monk among the contributors is the Yugoslav born Bhikkhu Nāṇa-jīvako who had taught philosophy in Zagreb. In "Buddhism and Modern Philosophies of Existence" he scans modern thought from Nietzsche to Max Scheler and from Berdyaev to Jaspers. Prof. Keiji Nishitani (retired from Kyoto Univ.) deals with "Nihilism and Śūnyatā" in a long piece of personal philosophising, while Prof. D.S. Ruegg's (Seattle) condensed contribution "On the Supramundane and the Divine in Buddhism" has barely four pages, but explains the problem of usage of religious terms in different civilisations whose "semantic fields" cannot completely coincide. Braj M. Sinha (Wooster College, Ohio) turns to Vasubandhu in "Temporality and Consciousness in Abhidharmika Buddhism: A Phenomenological Approach". He shows the functional nature of the two phenomena which lack ultimateness. Prof. Ninian Smart's article "Problems of the Applications of Western Terminology to Theravāda Buddhism, with special reference to the Relationship between the Buddha and Gods" is a methodological one. He finds old terms, such as animism, polytheism etc., still partly useful and, recognising Pali Buddhism as comprising both the contemplative path with its analysis of reality and the

"mythology" of supernatural beings and world with the Buddha himself at the top as the centre of the cultic approach, he classifies it eventually as "a trans-polytheistic, non-theistic religion of contemplation". The collection closes with a paper by Prof. Alex Wayman (Columbia), "Who understands the Four Alternatives of the Buddhist Texts?", discussing the topic in a highly technical way in the context of a little known work by Tson-kha-pa, *Calming the Mind and Discerning the Real* whose translation he prepared for publication [New York 1978; repr. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1979, and awaiting review]. In the end, of course, the question is not answered unequivocally, although it seems easier to say who does not understand.

It is difficult to form a straightforward judgment about the value of this particular collection of papers. Its main disadvantage is that it has no programmatic line and presents a rather wide range of themes from a wide range of Buddhist and Western philosophical quarters on different levels and with a variety of approaches. It is not a book which most readers will read from cover to cover. However, when read selectively and with due time lapse between individual articles, it will provide the reader with a wealth of ideas, classifications, analyses and conclusions normally absent from global works on Buddhism and Western philosophy. Most of the articles are well argued and use clear language even when they are highly technical so that even the general reader will be able to follow them. For readers with some experience of the academic approach many articles in this book will be an intellectual pleasure to read, while a specialist would be ill-advised to omit consulting those articles which overlap with his research interests. Both the protagonists of Western philosophising and Buddhists will benefit from studying the book, because there is still too much ignorance about each other's field. Some Buddhists may feel that so much verbosity obscures the real task of getting on with the practical approach. But even Buddhist practice is possible and effective only if it is sufficiently motivated and motivation, at least in the Western context, can hardly be complete without intellectual articulation. Far from being a hindrance, conceptual clarification of Buddhist issues won by earnest study and in comparison with or contrast to Western ideas may prove to be an invaluable aid even for the committed Buddhist.

Karel Werner

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