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UDĀNAVARGA

Chapter IV

APRAMĀDAVARGA - Heedfulness

1. Heedfulness is the place of immortality, heedlessness is the place of death. The heedful do not die, the heedless are ever dead.
2. Knowing this to be the nature of heedfulness, the wise man should ever delight in heedfulness within the domain pertaining to the noble ones.
3. Heedful, faithful, ever firm in their resolve, such wise men reach Nirvāṇa, the perpetual good which nothing can surpass.
4. When the wise man dispels heedlessness with heedfulness, on high on the stage of wisdom, he casts his eyes on the sorrowing crowd, the foolish, he the thinker, just as from a mountain height one looks down on those on the plain.
5. Through endeavour, through heedfulness, through chastity, through self-mastery, the sensible man creates an island where the waves cannot overwhelm him.
6. Whoever practises endeavour, mindfulness, upright thought, considered action, chastity, living within the Doctrine, the heedful one such as this ever increases in glory.
7. He who is not heedless in mindfulness, who continuously practises the observances of the munis, has no sorrows; he is the protector, the peaceful one, the mindful man.
8. Do not practise inferior doctrines; do not dwell in heedlessness; do not condone false views; do not incur an increase [of wrong] in the world.
9. He who is wholly possessed of the right view of the world never enters a bad destiny, even in thousands of births.
10. It is heedlessness that is followed by the foolish, the dull-witted; but heedfulness is guarded by the wise as a merchant his treasure.
11. It is heedlessness that is followed by the foolish, the dull-witted; but the heedful, always meditative, attain the destruction of the impurities.

12. Do not be attached to heedlessness, nor to the companionship of desire or pleasure; the heedful, always meditative, attain ...happiness.
13. Never can it be the time for heedlessness, as long as the destruction of the impurities has not been attained; the heedless one is pursued by Māra, just as a fawn's mother pursues the lion.
14. There are four results the heedless one ensures for himself by courting another man's wife: he acquires demerit; he does not lie down at ease; thirdly, censure; fourthly, hell.
15. Taking into consideration the demerit acquired, the bad destiny, and the meagre enjoyment of a fearful man with fearful women, as well as the king's punishment, avoid another's wife!
16. In the event, do what you know to be good for yourself. No charioteer's ideas! Let the wise man not be slack in his striving!
17. Just as the charioteer who has left the even road, the great highway, once he has reached an uneven road, weeps mightily over his broken axle.
18. So, by leaving the Doctrine and following impiety, the foolish one falls into the jaws of death and wails like the man with the broken axle.
19. What should be done is unheeded; what should not be done is still done. Among the arrogant, the heedless, the impurities increase; for them the impurities increase; they are far from the destruction of the impurities.
20. Those who set themselves always to meditate vigorously on the body, they do not do what should not be done; they are continuously acting rightly; they are mindful and fully aware; their impurities will disappear.
21. One is not a bearer of the Doctrine just because one talks a great deal; however, if one has heard but a little and is truly in contact with the Doctrine within one's body, one is really a bearer of the Doctrine as long as one is not heedless concerning the Doctrine.
22. Well may he speak profusely, in coherent terms; if he does not apply them the heedless man, like a herdsman counting

- another's cows, has no part in the benefit derived from the monastic life.
23. Well may one speak but little, in coherent terms; if one practises the inner doctrine of the Dharma, by abandoning craving, hatred and delusion, one has a part in the benefit derived from the monastic life.
24. Heedfulness is praised; heedlessness is always censured. It is through heedfulness that Maghavan [Śakra] attained the foremost stage of the gods.
25. The wise always praise heedfulness in transactions; the wise man who is heedful grasps and surpasses the two things.
26. One of the things pertains to the present world; the other pertains to the world to come; it is because he has an intuition of things that the thinker is called a sage.
27. The monk who delights in heedfulness, who sees the perils of heedlessness, extracts himself from difficulty, as does an elephant stuck in mud.
28. The monk who delights in heedfulness, who sees the perils of heedlessness, shakes off the bad Doctrine as the wind does leaves.
29. The monk who delights in heedfulness, who sees the perils of heedlessness, moves like a fire consuming every attachment, whether subtle or gross.
30. The monk who delights in heedfulness, who sees the perils of heedlessness, gradually attains to the elimination of all attachments.
31. The monk who delights in heedfulness, who sees the perils of heedlessness, enters the tranquil place, wherein lies the stilling of the formations, happiness.
32. The monk who delights in heedfulness, who sees the perils of heedlessness, is no longer exposed to failure; he is very close to Nirvāṇa.
- 33-34. Straighten up! Exert yourself! Train yourself firmly in stillness! A lack of awareness, heedlessness, lack of endeavour, lack of chastity, sleepiness, sloth, non-application: such are the impediments to training. Recognise each of them. Do not be lacking in mindfulness!

35. Use your endeavour! No heedlessness! Practise the Doctrine of good practice! Whoever practises the Doctrine dwells happily in this world and the other.
36. Delight in heedfulness, O monks! Be of good conduct, O monks! With your thoughts well recollected, watch your minds!
37. Begin now! Come out! Harness yourself to the Doctrine of the Buddha! Rout the army of death as an elephant lays waste to a hut made of branches!
38. Whoever is free from heedlessness in this Discipline and Doctrine, by rejecting the round of rebirths will reach the end of suffering.

(Translated by Sara Boin Webb from the French of Sylvain Lévi as it appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.- Oct. 1912, and published with the kind permission of the editors.)

NIBBĀNA AND ABHIDHAMMA

L.S.Cousins

The nature of nibbāna in the teaching of the Buddha was already a subject of discussion in ancient times. More recently it has been much debated both in modern Western scholarship and also in more traditional Buddhist circles.¹ One issue which has recently been a focus for discussion is the ontological status of nibbāna. Is it some kind of metaphysical absolute? Or is it better seen as the mere cessation of suffering or even as a total ending of existence?

In the nikāyas

A definitive answer to this question cannot easily be found on the basis of the *nikāya* material. Some passages would seem to suggest that nibbāna refers initially to the destruction of defilements at the attainment of enlightenment but ultimately more particularly to the consequent extinction of the aggregates making up the mind and body complex at the time of death. Other passages can be used in support of the belief that nibbāna is some kind of absolute reality. Nevertheless it is evident that most relevant contexts in the Sutta-piṭaka are so worded as to avoid any commitment on this issue. This is clearly intentional.

Such a manner of proceeding has many parallels in early Buddhist thought. The most well-known example is probably the ten unanswered questions of Māluṅkyaputta, but some other questions are treated in the same way in the suttas.² The accompanying passages make it quite clear that the main reason for not answering these kinds of question is because they 'are not connected with the spirit, not connected with the letter, not belonging to beginning the holy life, (they) conduce neither to turning away, nor to passionlessness, nor to cessation nor to peace nor to higher knowledge nor to full awakening nor to nibbāna'. This of course is illustrated with the parable of the arrow which strongly suggests that answering such questions would only give rise to endless further questions. The attempt to answer them would take up too much time and distract from the urgent need to follow the path towards the goal.

Some scholars, notably K.N.Jayatilleke, have suggested that this was partly because no meaningful answer was possible. There

may be something in this, but the texts do not seem to go quite so far. More emphasis is laid on the need to avoid one-sided views, particularly eternalism and annihilationism. Acceptance of such ways of seeing things would become fertile soil for various kinds of craving which would themselves lead to further or more fixed views, thus creating or rather furthering the vicious circle of unhealthy mentality. Clearly this would defeat the very purpose of the Buddha's teaching. The Buddhist tradition is very emphatic that Buddhas only teach what is conducive to the goal.

This is perhaps worth spelling out in a little more detail. If body and soul (*jīva*) are one and the same thing, then physical death entails annihilation of the individual. If however they are distinct (and unrelated?), then death does not necessarily entail individual extinction and personal immortality might be inferred. These views are not necessarily wrong. They are however partial and misleading; exclusive adherence to them will lead to trouble. The Buddha's simile of the blind men and the elephant (Sn - a 529) illustrates this perfectly. Each blind man correctly recounted his experience of some part of the elephant. Unfortunately each one wrongly generalized his experience and insisted on its unique validity. In the end they came to blows! In fact the elephant was much more than partial experience led each blind man to suppose.

Similarly in the Brahmajālasutta the majority of wrong views are based upon genuine meditation experience and knowledge, but this has been incorrectly interpreted and dogmatically asserted: 'this is truth, all else is foolishness'. Only a minority of views are the products of reasoning. Without a basis in experience this too can only lead to obsession. If the existence or non-existence of the Tathāgata after death is not specified, this is surely to avoid the two alternatives of eternalism and annihilationism. If the Tathāgata were declared to exist after death, then the Buddhist goal is some kind of immortality. Such a view would lead to some form of craving for renewed existence - the very thing to be abandoned. If on the other hand the Tathāgata were stated to be non-existent after death, then either craving for non-existence - yet another obstacle - would arise or the motivation to follow the path would be eroded.

The Buddha's silence makes very good sense in this light.

Provided that is that the immense strength of these two types of viewpoint and their associated craving is recognised. For the Buddhist they are understood as pervading and distorting in one direction or the other all our normal modes of thought. Provided also that the path set forth by the Buddha is seen not so much as an alternative way of salvation comparable to others but more as a deliberate attempt to reduce the spiritual life to its bare essentials and to trim away everything redundant. The Buddha therefore teaches only what is necessary without making any attempt to satisfy intellectual curiosity where this would not be profitable. So it is emphasized that the Tathāgata does not teach things which are true but serve no useful purpose or may even create obstacles for the hearer.

The account of nibbāna given in the *nikāyas* is clear and cogent. Much can be said in praise of nibbāna to encourage the seeker, especially if it is in the form of simile or metaphor. Such we find frequently. But there must be nothing so concrete as to encourage attachment or dogmatic convictions. Beyond this the Buddha did not wish to go. The *nikāyas* never depart wholly from this position. Passages which can be used to support a 'metaphysical' interpretation do not do so unambiguously. Nor is nibbāna ever unequivocally depicted as total annihilation. What we find are hints and suggestions, but never enough to undermine the fundamental aim.

The apparent ambiguity is not carelessness or inconsistency. It is not that 'the ancient Buddhist tradition was not clear on the nature of Nirvāṇa'.³ Rather it was quite clear that it did not wish us to be too clear! Nor is it that 'Nirvāṇa had several meanings, and...was variously interpreted'.⁴ Such a view does not see the interconnectedness and internal consistency of the Buddhist dhamma. The apparent ambivalence here arises centrally by the force of the dialectic of early Buddhism. If that dialectic is understood, the ambiguities and silences appear profoundly integral to the Buddha's message of salvation.

Nibbāna in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka

Whereas the sutta material on the subject of nibbāna is often cited and has been the source of much controversy, it does not appear that abhidhamma material is so well-known. There may then be some value in drawing attention to certain aspects. The abhi-

dhamma position is already clearly formulated in the Dhammasaṅgani (Dhs), the first and no doubt oldest work in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka.⁵ The term nibbāna is not used in the main body of Dhs which prefers the expression *asaṅkhatā dhātu*. This is usually translated as 'unconditioned element', i.e. that which is not produced by any cause or condition. Presumably this would mean 'that which is independent of relatedness'.

This interpretation of the term is supported by the Nikkhepa-kaṇḍa, in which the Mātikā couplet - *saṅkhatā/asaṅkhatā* - is explained as equivalent to the previous couplet - *sappaccaya/appaccaya*, i.e. conditioned/unconditioned.⁶ The first term in each case is explained as referring to the five aggregates. So for Dhs the unconditioned element is different to the five aggregates. From this point of view something *saṅkhatā* exists in relation to other things as part of a complex of mutually dependent phenomena.

The use of the term *asaṅkhatā dhātu* probably derives from the Bahudhātukasutta⁷, where it is one of a series of explanations as to how a monk is *dhātukusala*. *Dhātu* usually translated by 'element' seems always to refer to a distinct sphere of experience: visible object is experientially distinct from auditory object, from organ of sight, from consciousness of sight, etc.; earth is distinct from water, etc.; pleasant bodily feeling from unpleasant bodily feeling, etc.; sense-desire from aversion, etc.; sense-objects from form or the formless. Likewise the unconditioned and the conditioned are quite distinct as objects of experience. Usually the analysis into *dhātu* is intended to facilitate insight into non-self. Presumably the purpose here is to distinguish conceptually the unconditioned element of enlightened experience in order to clarify retrospective understanding of the fruit attainment (*phala-samāpatti*).

Asaṅkhatā occurs occasionally on its own in the *nikāyas*. The most conspicuous occasion is in the *Asaṅkhatā-samyutta* (S IV 359-68), where it is defined as the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion. In this context it is clearly applied to the Third Noble Truth. In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (I 152) the three unconditioned characteristics of the unconditioned are that 'arising is not known, ceasing is not known, alteration of what is present is not known'. These are opposed to the equivalent characteristics of the conditioned. In the *Cūlavēdallasutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (I 300) the Noble Eightfold Path is declared to be conditioned.

In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (II 34) the Path is called the highest of conditioned dhammas, but nibbāna (plus synonyms) is declared to be the highest when conditioned and unconditioned things are taken together.

It is, however, the verbal form corresponding to the much more frequent *saṅkhāra*. *Asaṅkhāra* is an activity which enables something to come into existence or to maintain its existence - it fashions or forms things. So something which is *saṅkhata* has been fashioned or formed by such an activity, especially by volition. The reference is of course to the second link in the chain of Conditioned Co-origination. The succeeding links refer to that which is *saṅkhata*, i.e. fashioned by volitional activity (from this or a previous life). Since this amounts to the five aggregates, the whole mind-body complex, it is virtually equivalent to the meanings given above.

The Nikkhepa-kaṇḍa (Dhs 180-234) gives a surprising amount of information about nibbāna in its explanation of the Mātikā. Before setting this out, it may be helpful to point out that the twenty two triplets which commence the Mātikā embody a definite conceptual order. The first five clearly concern the process of rebirth and the law of *kamma*. Then follow two connected with *jhāna*, after which are nine triplets concerning the path (*magga*). The final six seem to relate especially to nibbāna. This is not accidental. The intention is certainly to indicate an ascending order. This is perhaps more clear if set out in full, but in the present context I will confine myself to tabulating the information given concerning the unconditioned element only in the Nikkhepa-kaṇḍa expansion of the triplets, listed in numerical order.

Asaṅkhatā dhātu and the abhidhamma triplets

1. It is indeterminate i.e. not classifiable as skilful or unskilful action. Here it is taken with purely resultant mental activity, with *kiriya* action particularly that of the arahat who does what the situation requires and with all matter.
2. is not classified as linked (*sampayutta*) with feeling i.e. not in the intimate connection with feeling which applies to mind. Here it is taken with feeling itself and with matter.

3. is neither resultant nor giving results
Here it is taken with *kiriya* action and matter.
4. has not been taken possession of and is not susceptible of being taken possession of
i.e. it is not due to *upādāna* in the past nor can it be the object of *upādāna* in the present - the reference is of course to Dependent Origination. Here it is taken with the Paths and Fruits.
5. is not tormented and not connected with torment
i.e. not associated with *saṅkilesa* nor able to lead to such association in the future. Here again it is taken with the Paths and Fruits.
6. is not with *vitakka* and *vicāra*
i.e. not in the close association with these activities which applies to mind. Here it is taken with matter, the mentality of the higher *jhānas* and pure sense consciousness.
7. is not classified as associated with joy, happiness or equipoise
i.e. not in the close connection with one or other of these which applies to the mind of the *jhānas*, paths or fruits. Here it is taken with matter, some feeling, painful tactile consciousness and aversion consciousness.
8. is not to be abandoned either by seeing or by practice
i.e. not eliminated by one of the four paths. Here it is taken with everything which is not unskillful including matter.
9. is not connected with roots to be abandoned by seeing or by practice
i.e. similar to the preceding triplet
10. leads neither to accumulation nor dispersal
i.e. does not take part in any kind of kamma activity whether skillful or unskillful not even the dispersive activity of the four paths. Here it is taken with resultant mental activity, *kiriya* action and matter.
11. is neither under training nor trained
i.e. distinct from supermundane consciousness. Here it is taken with matter and all mentality in the three

- levels.
12. is immeasurable i.e. superior both to the very limited mind and matter of the sense spheres and to the less restricted mind of the form and formless levels.
Here it is taken with supramundane consciousness.
13. is not classified as having a small object, one which has become great or one which is immeasurable
i.e. the unconditioned element does not require any object (*ārammaṇa*) in contrast to mentality which requires an object in order to come into being. Here it is taken with matter.
14. is refined i.e. superior both to the inferior mentality associated with unskillfulness and to the medium quality of the remaining aggregates in the three levels. Here it is taken with supramundane consciousness.
15. is without fixed destiny i.e. does not involve a definite kamma result. Here it is taken with everything except the four paths and certain kinds of unskillfulness.
16. is not classified as having the path as object, as connected with path roots or as having the path as overlord
i.e. does not have an object. Here it is taken especially with matter.
17. is not classified as arisen, not arisen, going to arise
i.e. classification in these terms is inappropriate for the unconditioned element which cannot be viewed in such terms - it is non-spatial. Here it is classified on its own.
18. is not classified as past, future or present
i.e. it is non-temporal. Here again it is classified on its own.
19. is not classified as having past, future or present objects
i.e. it does not have an object. Here it is taken with matter.
20. is not classified as within, without or both
i.e. it is not kamma-born. However the *Atthakathā-kanda* of the *Dhs*, which gives further comment on the *Mātikā*, traditionally attributed to *Sāriputta*, adds

here that nibbāna and inanimate matter (*anindriya-baddharūpa*) are without whereas all other dhammas may be within or without or both. Probably it is following Vibh 115 which classifies the Third Truth as without. The difference is perhaps due to an ambiguity in the terminology. Without can be taken in two ways : a) without = the within of other people; b) without = everything which is not within. Nibbāna cannot be 'within' as it is not kamma-born.

21. is not classified as having an object which is within or without or both
i.e. it does not have an object. Here it is taken with matter.
22. cannot be pointed out and does not offer resistance
i.e. it is quite different to most matter and by implication can only be known by mind. Here it is taken with mentality and some very subtle matter.

In general the Mātikā couplets do not add much to our understanding of nibbāna. One point however is worth noting. The first three couplets of the Mahantara-duka are merely a different arrangement of the four fundamentals of the later abhidhamma: *citta*, *cetasika*, *rūpa* and nibbāna. Taking this in conjunction with the explanation of the triplets summarized above, we can say that the Dhammasaṅgaṇi makes very clear that the unconditioned element is quite different to the five aggregates - at least as different from the aggregates as their constituents are from one another.

The unconditioned is not matter, although like matter it is inactive from a kammic point of view and does not depend upon an object as a reference point. It is not any kind of mental event or activity nor is it the consciousness which is aware of mind and matter, although it can be compared in certain respects with the mentality of the paths and fruits. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi often classifies paths, fruits and the unconditioned together as 'the unincorporated (*apariyāpanna*)', i.e. not included in the three levels. Later tradition refers to this as the nine supramundane dhammas. The unincorporated consciousness, unincorporated mental activities and unconditioned element are alike in that they are not able to associate with *upādāna* or with any kind of torment (*kilesa*), they are all 'immeasurable' and they are all 'refined'. The uncondition-

ed element is unique in that it is not classifiable in terms of arising or as past, present or future. Suggestively, however, it may be reckoned as *nāma* rather than *rūpa*.⁸ This does seem to suggest some element of underlying idealism of the kind which emerges later in the Vijñānavāda.

In other Abhidhamma works

The description given in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi is followed very closely in later canonical abhidhamma texts. The Vibhaṅga, for example, gives the identical account in its treatment of the truths, taking the third truth as equivalent to the unconditioned element.⁹ The Dhātukathā does likewise.¹⁰ Some of this material can also be found in the Paṭṭhāna which sometimes deals with nibbāna as an object condition. The Paṭisambhidā-magga, which contains much abhidhammic material although not formally in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, also treats the third truth as unconditioned. Equally, however, it emphasises the unity of the truths: 'In four ways the four truths require one penetration: in the sense of being thus (*tathatthena*), in the sense of being not self, in the sense of being truth, in the sense of penetration. In these four ways the four truths are grouped as one. What is grouped as one is a unity. A unity is penetrated by one knowledge - in this way the four truths require one penetration'.¹¹

The four ways are each expanded. One example may suffice: 'How do the four truths require one penetration? What is impermanent is suffering. What is impermanent and suffering is not self. What is impermanent and suffering and not self is thus. What is impermanent and suffering and not self and thus is truth. What is impermanent and suffering and not self and thus and truth is grouped as one. What is grouped as one is a unity. A unity is penetrated by one knowledge - in this way the four truths require one penetration.'

This of course is the characteristic teaching of the Theravāda school that the penetration of the truths in the path moments occurs as a single breakthrough to knowledge (*ekābhisamaya*) and not by separate intuitions of each truth in different aspects. We find this affirmed in the Kathāvatthu¹², but the fullest account occurs in the Peṭakopadesa¹³ which gives similes to illustrate simultaneous knowledge of the four truths. One of these is the simile of the rising sun: 'Or just as the sun when rising accomp-

lishes four tasks at one time without (any of them being) before or after - it dispels darkness, it makes light appear, it makes visible material objects and it overcomes cold, in exactly the same way calm and insight when occurring coupled together perform four tasks at one time in one moment in one consciousness - they break through to knowledge of suffering with a breakthrough by comprehending (the aggregates), they break through to knowledge of arising with a breakthrough by abandoning (the defilements), they break through to knowledge of cessation with a breakthrough by realizing (direct experience of nibbāna), they break through to knowledge of path with a breakthrough by developing.'

At first sight this runs counter to the characteristic Theravādin emphasis on the distinctiveness and uniqueness of nibbāna as the only *asaṅkhata* dhamma. This is most clear in the Kathāvatthu although obviously present elsewhere.¹⁴ Here a series of possible candidates for additional unconditioned dhammas are presented and rejected. What is interesting is the argument used. Essentially the point is made that this would infringe upon the unity of nibbāna. The idea of a plurality of nibbānas is then rejected because it would involve either a distinction of quality between them or some kind of boundary or dividing line between them. André Bareau finds some difficulty in understanding this as it involves conceiving nibbāna as a place and he rightly finds this surprising.¹⁵ However, the argument is more subtle than he allows. What is being put forward is a *reductio ad absurdum*. The argument may be expressed as follows: the unconditioned is by definition not in any temporal or spatial relation to anything. Qualitatively it is superior to everything. If then two unconditioneds are posited, two refutations are possible. Firstly, either only one of them is superior to everything and the other inferior to that one or both are identical in quality. Obviously if one is superior then only that one is unconditioned. Secondly, for there to be two unconditioneds, there must be some dividing line or distinguishing feature. If there is, then neither would be unconditioned since such a division or dividing line would automatically bring both into the relative realm of the conditioned. Of course if there is no distinguishing feature and they are identical in quality, it is ridiculous to talk of two unconditioneds.

One thing is clear. Both in their interpretation of the nature

of the unconditioned and in their understanding of the nature of knowledge of the four truths the Theravādin abhidhamma opts for a far more unitive view than the Sarvāstivādin. This is certainly due to what Bareau calls 'la tendance mystique des Theravādin'.¹⁶ We may say that the Theravādin abhidhamikas retained a closer relationship to their original foundation of meditative experience.

A unitary view of the truths has been interpreted in terms of 'sudden enlightenment', but it has not often been noticed that it involves a rather different view of the relationship between nibbāna and the world. This is significant. The view of nibbāna set forth in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi appears to be in other respects common to the ancient schools of abhidhamma. The Sarvāstivādin Prakaraṇapāda, for example, has much of the same material.¹⁷ It seems clear that although lists of unconditioned dharmas varied among the schools to some extent, they were all agreed that there were unconditioned dharmas and that the unconditioned dharma(s) were not the mere absence of the conditioned. Only the Sautrāntikas and allied groups disputed this last point. It seems clear that their position is a later development based upon a fresh look at the Sūtra literature among groups which did not accord the status of authentic word of the Buddha to the abhidharma literature.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi account is perhaps the earliest surviving abhidhammic description of nibbāna. It is certainly representative of the earlier stages of the abhidhamma phase of Buddhist literature. Of course some of the *nikāya* passages cited above appear to suggest a very similar position. Very likely some of these were utilized in the composition of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, but this is not certain. At all events both are the products of a single direction of development giving rise to the abhidhamma. We may suggest that this represents a slightly more monist conception of nibbāna as against the silence of most of the suttas. Nevertheless such a position was at least implicit from the beginning.

J.R.Carter has drawn attention to the frequent commentarial identification of the word dhamma as *catusaccadhamma* (dhamma of the four truths) and *navavidha lokuttara dhamma* (ninefold supramundane dhamma).¹⁸ Here again a close relationship between nibbāna and the five aggregates or between nibbāna and supramundane mentality is implicit. What emerges from this is a different kind of model

to those often given in Western accounts of Buddhism which seem to suggest that one has to somehow leave *samsāra* in order to come to nibbāna. Such language is peculiar in relation to a reality which is neither spatial nor temporal. No place or time can be nearer to or further from the unconditioned.

It can perhaps be said that the supramundane mentality is somehow more like nibbāna than anything else. Compare, for example, the simile of Sakka in the Mahā-Govinda-suttanta: 'Just as the water of the Ganges flows together and comes together with the water of the Yamuna, even so because the path has been well laid down for disciples by the Lord, it is a path which goes to nibbāna, both nibbāna and path flow together.'¹⁹ Nevertheless nibbāna is not somewhere else. It is 'to be known within by the wise'.²⁰ 'In this fathom-long sentient body is the world, its arising, its ceasing and the way leading thereto.'²¹

Bareau has shown²² that the Theravādin abhidhamma retains an earlier usage of the term *asaṅkhata* as uniquely referring to nibbāna. The other abhidhamma schools are in this respect more developed and multiply the number of unconditioned dharmas. Inevitably this tended to devalue the term. So much so that the Mahāyāna tends to reject its application to the ultimate truth. Bareau is surely right to suggest that there is a certain similarity between the original unconditioned and the emptiness of the Mādhyamika. To a certain extent the Mahāyāna reaction is a return to the original position if not completely so.

A similar situation occurs with the peculiarly Theravādin position of a single breakthrough to knowledge.²³ So far as I know, it has not been pointed out how much nearer this is to the position of the early Mahāyāna than to the Vaibhāṣika viewpoint. The Theravāda does not reify dharmas to anything like the extent found in the Sarvāstivādin abhidharma. Nor does it separate *samsāra* and nibbāna as dualistic opposites: knowledge of *dukkha* i.e. *samsāra* and knowledge of its cessation i.e. nibbāna are one knowledge at the time of the breakthrough to knowing dhamma.

To summarize the kind of evolution suggested here: we may say that the main force of the *nikāyas* is to discount speculation about nibbāna. It is the *summum bonum*. To seek to know more is to manufacture obstacles. Beyond this only a few passages go. No certain account of the ontological status of nibbāna can be derived

from the *nikāyas*. It cannot even be shown with certainty that a single view was held. By the time of the early abhidhamma the situation is much clearer. The whole Buddhist tradition is agreed that nibbāna is the unconditioned dhamma, neither temporal nor spatial, neither mind (in its usual form) nor matter, but certainly not the mere absence or cessation of other dhammas. The uniformity of this tradition is certainly a strong argument for projecting this position into the *nikāyas* and even for suggesting that it represents the true underlying position of the suttas.

In North India where the Sarvāstivādin abhidharma eventually established a commanding position, the term dharma came to be interpreted as a 'reality' and given some kind of ontological status as part of a process of reification of Buddhist terms. Nirvāna then tends to become a metaphysical 'other', one among a number of realities. In the South, at least among the Theravādins, dhamma retains its older meaning of a less reified, more experiential kind. It is a fact of experience as an aspect of the saving truth taught by the Buddha, but not a separately existing reality 'somewhere else'.

So the four truths are dhamma. Broken up into many separate pieces they are still dhamma. As separate pieces they exist only as parts of a complex net of relations apart from which they cannot occur at all. This is *samsāra*. Nibbāna alone does not exist as part of a network. Not being of temporal or spatial nature it cannot be related to that which is temporal or spatial - not even by the relation of negation! Nevertheless it is not somewhere else. *Samsāra* is much more like a house built on cards than a solid construction. Only ignorance prevents the collapse of its appearance of solidity. With knowledge nibbāna is as it were seen where before only an illusory reality could be seen.

Notes

1 I am indebted to Ven. Ananda Maitreya for a fascinating verbal account of some controversies on this topic in Ceylon. References in E. Lamotte *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, Louvain 1958, p.43, n.57. A survey of some earlier Western scholarship in G.R. Welbon *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and its Western Interpreters*, Chicago 1968 (reviewed by J.W. de Jong in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* I, Dordrecht 1972, pp.396-403).

For other views see: K.N. Jayatilleke *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*,

London 1963, pp.475-6; D.J.Kalupahana *Causality: The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, Honolulu 1975, e.g. p.179; *Buddhist Philosophy: A Historical Analysis*, Honolulu 1976, pp.87ff.; A.D.P.Kalansuriya 'Two Modern Sinhalese views of nibbāna', *Religion* IX,1, London 1979; K.Werner *Yoga and Indian Philosophy*, Delhi 1977, pp.77-81; E.Lamotte *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, London 1976, pp.LX-LXXII; D.S.Ruegg *La théorie du tathāgatagarbha et du gotra*, Paris 1969 (for the developed Mahāyāna); J.W.de Jong 'The Absolute in Buddhist Thought', *Essays in Philosophy* presented to Dr T.M.P.Mahadevan, Madras 1962 (repr. in *Buddhist Studies. Selected Essays of J.W.de Jong*, Berkeley 1979); André Bareau *L'Absolu en philosophie bouddhique* (Paris 1951) covers some of the same ground as this article in his earlier sections, but my interpretation differs somewhat.

2 The ten unanswered questions are put by Maluṅkyaputta at M I 426ff., by Uttiya at A V 193ff., by Poṭṭhapada at D I 187ff. and by Vacchagotta at S IV 395ff. Four of them are discussed by Sāriputta and by an unnamed bhikkhu at S II 222ff. and A IV 68ff. A much larger list is treated in the same way at D III 135ff., while a whole section of the Samyutta-nikāya (IV 374-403) is devoted to these questions. Of course, this kind of expansion and variation is exactly what is to be expected with the mnemonic formulae of an oral tradition. The issue is being looked at from various slightly different angles.

3 Louis de La Vallée Poussin *The Way to Nirvāna*, Cambridge 1917 (repr. Delhi 1982), p.134.

4 Edward Washburn Hopkins, cited by Welbon, *op.cit.*, p.238.

5 Not only does Dhs have a canonical commentary appended to it. It is also quite evident that it is presupposed by the other works of the Abhidhamma-pitaka (except Puggala-paññatti). Of course, the material which has been incorporated into the Vibhaṅga may be older than Dhs, but in its present form it is younger.

6 Dhs 192-3.

7 M III 63 from here it has been included in the lists of the Dasuttarasutta (D III 274).

8 Bareau is wrong to suggest that the Vibhaṅga contradicts this, since the Vibhaṅga definition of *nāma* is in the context of *paṭiccasamuppāda*, which automatically excludes the unconditioned element.

9 e.g. Vibh 112-5; 404ff.

10 Dhātuk 9 and *passim*.

11 Paṭis II 105.

12 Kv Chap.II 9, III 3-4.

13 Pat 134-5.

14 Kv Chap.VI 1-6, XIX 3-5.

15 Bareau, *op.cit.*, p.31.

16 *Ibid.*, p.253.

17 *Ibid.*, pp.47-61.

18 John Ross Carter *Dhamma. Western Academic and Sinhalese Buddhist Interpretations. A study of a religious concept.* Tokyo 1978.

19 D II 223.

20 D II 93; PTC gives twenty-four *nikāya* references sv *akālika*.

21 S I 62; A II 48,50.

22 *Op.cit.*

23 Closely related schools of the Vibhajyavādin group probably adopted the same position, but it was completely rejected by the Pudgalavādin and Sarvāstivādin groups. The Mahāsāṃghikas appear to have adopted a compromise (see Bareau *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Saigon 1955, p.62).

AN ATLAS OF ABHIDHAMMA DIAGRAMS¹Bhikkhu Nānājivako

Anatta, the teaching of no permanent 'self' entity or soul, required for its explanation a theory of 'psychology without soul'. The essential task of abhidhamma literature was to work out this basic theory. In modern Western science and philosophy the same problem arose in the 19th century with the task of establishing a basic science of physiological psychology. One of its best known American founders, William James, has done most in this field to elicit also the philosophical aspects and implications of this new science and its relevance for the general world-view of our age. Among his philosophical essays the most significant for our analogy was 'Does consciousness exist?' - challenging the classical theological tenet of the soul theory. James welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm the appearance of the basic works of the founder of a metaphysically much broader conceived vitalist philosophy, his younger French contemporary, Henri Bergson: *The Creative Evolution*, based on the function of an *élan vital*, interpreted as 'the creative surge of life', as the primeval moving force of the whole process of the universal 'flux' of existence, conceived as the 'stream of life', of 'consciousness', of 'thought'; and *Matter and Memory*, explaining the relation of mind and matter as consisting of the pulsation of an apparently continuous flow of instantaneous flashes of memory (like pictures in a movie show). 'Memory, by its active registration and connecting function of instant-events' was thus discovered as the missing link connecting the 'hard and static' atomic 'elements' of both mind and matter postulated by the earlier hypothesis of scientific materialism. Now, on the contrary, physics becomes 'simply psychics inverted' and 'cosmology, so to speak, a reversed psychology'. Thus vitalism meant the end of the 'classical' materialism in European philosophy and science.

This was underscored and elicited most extensively by the third best known vitalist philosopher, A.N.Whitehead. Speaking of 'actual occasion', of 'throbbing actualities' understood as 'pulsation of experience' whose 'drops' or 'puffs of existence' guided by an internal teleological aim in their 'conrescence' (analogous to the Buddhist *saṅkhārā* in karmic formations) join the 'stream of existence' (*bhavaṅga-soto*), - Whitehead has taken over the

terms under quotation marks from W.James and extended their interpretation in a 'theory of momentariness' corresponding to the Buddhist *khaṇika-vādo* (of course essentially, without any direct reference to the possibility of such analogies).²

As a direct offshoot from vitalism there appeared in Europe, after the First World War, an authentic philosophy of *dukkham* whose representatives considered themselves to be the philosophers of existence, or 'existentialists'.

After the Second World War, when the correctness of these trends in European philosophy and their need for orientation were most obviously felt and confirmed, European philosophy with all its classical and historical precedents was forcibly suppressed by a militant Anglo-American anti-philosophical embargo imposed by the so-called 'logical positivists' and their reduction of philosophy to the exclusiveness of semanticist analyses and 'protocols' of allowable and unallowable word-meanings, a trend criticised and rejected already by the Buddha under the designation of 'logical analysts (*taṅkī-vimamsī*) believing only in empty words'³ and 'meanings' arbitrarily attributed by 'the rules invented for a game', as their modern successors formulated it.

Upajiva Ratnatunga applies in his presentation of the abhidhamma modern criteria and terms implicitly analogous to the vitalist model. He translates, for example, *cittam* with 'tele-pulses' in physical sense-organs in explaining their 'vital factors'. He describes 'the occurring of a pulse of the vitality factor' and how it 'generates a momentary mental sub-personality', 'the experience of the life momentum' and the formation of the 'ego complex' led in its instantaneous transformations by the stream of 'cravings and desire for further physical experience'. The basic 'vitalising factor' - *jīvitindriyam* - is translated as 'the pulsation'. In a 'living being's experience...objects and phenomena exist because they are reached directly'. And that is the exclusive criterium of their 'reality'.

The most significant and useful salient point in Ratnatunga's model is, in my view, the essential restriction of the too wide extension of the range of abhidhamma conceptual numerology, confusingly unpracticable for our modern means and capacities of scientific computerizing. Remaining within the limits of the programmatic draft explicated in the Preface, it is encouraging

to see at the outset that the thematic range is restricted to 'a very small area of the Abhidhamma philosophy', of 'information gathered over the years' by the author in his specific quest 'that is connected with how a living being gathers information about the physical world around its body and then reacts to the perception'. Thus he 'realized that what was discussed in the philosophy was not the physical world, itself, but the living being's observed and inferred experience of matter and material phenomena in its body and in the physical world around it'.

No less important than this restriction of the basic subject matter is the author's critical attitude and its criterium in using Pali terms in their technical meaning and their contextual explanation. 'The subject matter of the Abhidhamma philosophy is very involved and the Pali terms used in describing the concepts were intended to be very precise. In consequence any error in the translation of Pali terms leads to confusion. Instead of translating Pali terms, the process of how the living being observes objects and phenomena in the environment of the body and reacts to the perception, has been described using a model that could stimulate much of the living being's behaviour as described in the philosophy. ...The English terms used in this book are those used for the same concepts in a more comprehensive book now under preparation in which I am covering a somewhat larger area.' U.Ratnatunga cannot conceal his 'hesitation to publish what I know', confessing that he 'tried to put the information together, in much the same way as an archeologist would do in attempting to reconstruct a shattered clay pot from the pieces found at an ancient site'. - 'The Abhidhamma texts appear to have been obscured by errors in memorising and errors in copying and also by misinterpretations largely through failure to grasp the fundamentals that have been set out in this book.'

Toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century a revival of abhidhamma studies in the traditional ambience of the Theravāda Buddhist world was noticed mainly in Burma from where it spread to neighbouring countries. The best known centres of this renewed trend in Buddhist studies were established by Ledi Sayadaw between 1887 and 1923. At that time (since 1900) also the first English translations of abhidhamma books, prepared in collaboration with Burmese scholars, were published by the Pali Text Society. At the same time European students of Buddhism

started going to Burma for special abhidhamma studies. Most of the early Western bhikkhus were ordained there and continued their missionary work as abhidhamma scholars. The best known among them was the German Nyānatiloka Mahāthera, ordained in Burma in 1903. In 1911 he founded his Island Hermitage in Ceylon (Dodanduwa) whose head he remained until his death in 1957. His main contribution to abhidhamma studies was the *Guide through the Abhidhamma-Pitaka* first published in Colombo 1938, and later in the Buddhist Publication Society's editions. His German disciple, Nyāṇaponika Mahāthera, published his *Abhidhamma Studies* first in 1949, in the Island Hermitage Publications. This book was later reprinted by the Buddhist Publication Society (Kandy). In the series of the same editions there appeared in English translation some works of Ledi Sayadaw (not to be confused with the later meditation teacher, Mahasi Sayadaw) and others on the 'Abhidhamma Philosophy', including recent editions of Nārada's *Manual of Abhidhamma*, containing the English translation of the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha. Short summary presentations of 'Abhidhamma Philosophy' in diagrams were often preferred also by authors with intentions more popular and superficial than U.Ratnatunga's work. To him we should be grateful now if he continues with less 'hesitation to publish what he knows' in turn, adequated to our 20th century capacities and habits of understanding the anthropological and historical backgrounds of such investigation.

In the meantime there arises a question of critical importance for the reader: To whom and how will the present schematic atlas be useful and helpful for the actual study of abhidhamma? Certainly not to the unprepared beginner, the *assutava puthujjhano*. Its value will be much increased by the following more comprehensive book. Yet there are already in the Buddhist world many students who have tried to study such intricate summaries as the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha, or even to learn by heart at least parts of it in parivenas. Speaking of my own experiences with a few translations of this historically latest layer of dry bones survived archeologically, or rather palaeontologically, I found out after many years and attempts to approach it that there was the need of such a pedagogical talent as the Vajirārāma Nārada Mahāthera, a disciple of the late Pelene Vajirañña (who stirred up the interest of U.Ratnatunga in the abhidhamma philosophy in 1930), to help me correct at least a few terms heaped up in single statements.

- 1 Upajivā Ratnatunga *Mind and Matter*. Lake House, Colombo 1982.
- 2 More information on these analogies is contained in my articles 'Aniccā - The Buddhist Theory of Impermanence' and 'Karma - The Ripening Fruit' (for the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Wheel Nos 186/7 and 221-224). The latter has been reprinted in the *Pali Buddhist Review* 1,1 (London 1976).
- 3 Saṅgārava-suttam (M 100).

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DEVELOPING A SELF WITHOUT BOUNDARIES¹

Peter Harvey

1. In this article I intend to show how an enlightened person is one who has both overcome the barriers imposed by the 'I am' conceit and ignorance, such that his *citta* (mind/heart) is without boundaries, and also is one who has a very self-reliant nature, being one who lives with 'self' as an 'island', with a 'great' and 'developed self' and who has perfected 'dwelling alone'.
2. We shall proceed, firstly, by outlining how the Buddha recommended his followers to develop a self-reliant, island-like *citta*-self (Paras 3-4), how the eightfold Path is 'self-like' (Para.5), and how those on it have a 'great self' (Paras 6-7), culminating with the Arahant who is 'one of developed self' (Para.8). We shall then deal with the problem of how someone can have a *citta*-self which is both self-contained and without boundaries (Paras 9ff). To do this, we shall first describe how the Arahant is 'unsoiled' by anything, 'cut off' from all, dwelling completely 'alone' (Paras 10-12), and then show how he has broken the enclosing barriers of the 'I am' conceit, how he can 'merge' his mind with that of other Arahants, and how he has his mind 'made to be without boundaries' (Paras 13-15). This then enables us to harmonize the two apparently contradictory aspects of the Arahant's *citta* and show the nature of his self-less 'self' (Paras 16-17).

Living with *citta* as an 'island'

3. Firstly, we can see that the path which leads up to Arahantship is portrayed as one which builds up self-reliance and an inner centre of calm. Thus one finds the following said at D III 58 (cf. D II 100): 'Herein, monks, a monk fares along contemplating the body in the body, ardent, clearly conscious, mindful, so as to control covetousness and dejection with respect to the world; he fares along contemplating feelings in feelings...*citta* in *citta*...mental objects in mental objects....² Thus, monks, a monk lives with himself as an island, with himself as a refuge, with no other (person) as refuge, (he lives) with Dhamma as an island, with Dhamma as refuge, with no other (Dhamma) as refuge³ (*atta-dīpa viharati attā-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo, dhamma-dīpa dhamma-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo*). Keep to your own pastures (*gocare*), monks, range in your own native

beat (*sake peṭṭiko viṣaye*). Ranging there Māra will not get a chance (*otāram*), he will not get an opportunity (*ārammaṇam*) (for attack). It is thus by reason of undertaking skilful dhammas, monks, that this merit grows'.

4. S V 148-9 explains that what is 'not one's own pasture but another's native beat (*agocaro paraviṣayo*)' is the five kinds of objects exciting sense-desire (the *kāmaguṇas*), by which the evil Māra 'gets a chance' over one, and that one's 'own pasture' is the four *satipatthānas*, the foundations of mindfulness. We thus see that monks are recommended to keep aloof, by means of the four *satipatthānas*, from those things that excite sensual desire, this being what it is to live with oneself and the (taught and practised) Dhamma as 'island' and 'refuge'. One should live quietly over-seeing one's body and mind so that one's mind is unperturbed and not excited to desire. The 'attā' which one has as an 'island' is the mind, *citta*, which is a common meaning for 'attā'.⁴ That it is the meaning in the present context can be seen from the S V 148-9 passage. This speaks of a monkey who lives where only monkeys range, but is trapped by a hunter in the area where men also range. The hunter represents Māra, who 'gets a chance' over a person by means of the five *kāmaguṇas*. As the monkey is often used as a symbol for the mind, one can see that this is what should keep to its 'own range' and should be an 'island', so as to be out of Māra's reach. Indeed, at Dh 40 one reads:

'Realizing that this body is as fragile as a jar,
Establishing this mind (*cittamidam*) as a (fortified) city,
He should attack Māra with the weapon of wisdom,
He should guard his conquest and be without attachment
(*anivesano*)'.

Developing a 'great self (*mahattā*)'

5. The *citta* of one on the Buddhist path, then, should not be at the mercy of outside stimuli, nor of its own moods etc. (the object of the third *satipatthāna*), but should be an island of calm, imbued with self-control, self-contained. It should no longer be scattered and diffused but should be more integrated and consistently directed towards one goal, Nibbāna. Indeed, at S V 5-6 it is said that a term for the ariyan eightfold Path is 'Dhamma-vehicle (*-yānam*)', with the meaning of this explained in verse:

'Who has faith and wisdom, (these) yoked states ever lead him on,
Shame (*hiri*) is the pole, mind (*mano*) the yoke,
Mindfulness (*sati*) is the watchful charioteer.
The chariot is furnished with virtue (*sīla*-),
Jhāna its axle, energy (*-virīyo*) its wheels,
Equanimity, *samādhi*, its shaft, desirelessness (*anicchā*) its drapery,
Goodwill, harmlessness and seclusion (*viveko*) are his weapons,
Endurance is his leather coat of mail:
(This chariot) rolls on to attain rest from exertion (*yoga-kkhemaja vattati*).
This is become self-like (*etaḍ attaniyam bhūtam*),
It is the supreme Brahma-vehicle (*Brahmayānam*),
(Seated in it) the self-relying (*dhīrā*) leaves the world,
Certainly they win victory'.

Thus the components of the Path, integrated into a consistent whole, in a consistent mind-set (*citta*), can be called a Dhamma-vehicle which leads to Nibbāna ('rest from exertion') and which is 'self-like'. It cannot, of course, be a genuine *attā* as it is a composite, constructed entity - the *magga* is said to be the best of constructed (*saṅkhata*) dhammas (A II 34) - but it is characterised by self-like qualities.

6. The ariyan Path is also described as the way by which 'those with great selves' travel. Thus at It.28-9 (cf. A II 26), the Buddha says of the 'holy life (*brahmacariyam*)' which goes to Nibbāna: 'This is the Path by which those with great selves, great seers have fared (*Esa maggo mahattehi anuyāto mahesino*)...'

This idea of a 'great self' is amplified at A I 240. Here the Buddha explains that the same small (evil) deed may take one sort of person to hell to experience its fruition (*vipāka*), while another sort of person will experience its fruition in the present life, and not beyond. The first sort of person is described as follows:

'A certain person is of undeveloped body, undeveloped virtue, undeveloped mind, undeveloped wisdom, he is limited, he has an insignificant self, he dwells insignificantly and miserable (*abhāvitakāyo hoti abhāvitasīlo abhāvita-citto abhāvitapaṇṇo paritto appātume appudukka-vihārī*)'.⁵

The second sort is described thus:

'A certain person is of developed body, developed virtue, developed mind, developed wisdom, he is not limited, he has a great self, he dwells immeasurable (*aparitto mahattā appamāṇa-vihāri*)'.

This situation is illustrated by saying that a grain of salt will make a cup of water undrinkable, but not the great mass of the river Ganges. As the person who has a 'great self' can still do a small evil action, which brings some kammic fruition, then he must be someone who is not yet an Arahant.⁶ As he is of developed virtue and does not experience a kammic fruition in hell, he is probably at least a Stream-enterer, however, one who has transcended bad rebirths. As for the 'self' which is 'great', this is no metaphysical self but the very 'self' which would have been 'insignificant' when the person in question had not yet developed his 'body', virtue, *citta* and wisdom: it must thus refer to these four qualities.⁷

7. What transforms a person's 'self' from being 'insignificant' to being 'great' can clearly be seen to be such practices as the development of lovingkindness (*mettā*) and mindfulness (*sati*). The relevance of the first of these can be seen from A V 299 where an ariyan disciple whose *citta*, through *mettā*, is grown great (*mahaggata*) and immeasurable (*appamāṇa*), knows that: 'Formerly this *citta* of mine was limited (*parittam*), but now my *citta* is immeasurable, well developed (*appamāṇam subhāvitam*)'. The wording of this shows its relevance to the A I 249 passage. As for the relevance of *sati*, this can be seen from M I 270, which says that one who feels no attraction or repugnance for any of the six sense-objects, and who has mindfulness of the body dwells 'with a mind that is immeasurable (*appamāṇacetaso*)', in contrast to someone with the opposite qualities who dwells 'with a mind that is limited (*parittacetaso*)' (p.266).

'One of developed self (*bhāvitatto*)'

8. As the path towards Arahantship is building up a 'great self', and a personality that has 'become self-like', then it is no wonder that the Arahant is called 'one of developed self (*bhāvitatto*)', a title which differentiates him from a 'learner (*sekho*)' (It.79-80, cf.It.57 and 69). A long explanation of this term is found at Nd II 218-9, commenting on its application to the Buddha at Sn 1049. Summing up the various strands of this explanation, one can say that for one who is 'bhāvitatto':

- (a) virtue, wisdom, the Path and the faculties (*indriyas*) are well 'developed (*bhāvita-*)',
- (b) 'body' (*kāya*) is 'developed' and 'steadfast (*ṭhito*)',
- (c) *citta* is 'developed', 'steadfast', 'well-released (*suvimuttam*)' and without ill-will,
- (d) he is 'unlimited, great, deep, immeasurable, hard to fathom, with much treasure, arisen (like the) ocean (*aparitto mahanto gambhīro appameyyo duppariyoḡāṭho bahu-ratano sagar'ūpanno*)' (cf.M I 486-7),
- (e) in the face of the six sense-objects, he has equanimity and is not confused; he sees only what is seen, hears only what is heard, etc., and has no desire-and-attachment for such sense-objects,
- (f) the six senses are 'controlled (*dantam*)' and 'guarded (*rakkhitam*)',
- (g) he is 'self-controlled (*attadanto*)' and 'with a well-controlled self (*attanā sudantena*)'.

9. The above explanation of why someone - a Buddha or Arahant - is 'one of developed self' certainly shows that such a person has developed all the good aspects of their personality, but it also makes clear that such a person has two groups of qualities that might be seen as in opposition to each other:

- (a) he is self-controlled and has a *citta* that is not shaken by the input of the senses: he is self-contained,.
- (b) he has a *citta* which has no limit or measure: he has no boundaries.

How can someone be self-contained, and yet have no boundaries? Before answering this, we will outline further aspects of (a) and (b), so as to provide a good background for an answer.

The Arahant as self-contained and 'dwelling alone'

10. The Arahant's self-contained nature is shown in many ways. For example, at A I 124 he is described as 'one with a mind like diamond (*vajirūpamacitto*)': his *citta* can 'cut' anything and is itself uncuttable - it cannot be affected by anything. Thus, at S II 274, Sāriputta says that he does not know anything from whose alteration he would be caused sorrow or *dukkha*, and at Thag 715-7 the Arahant Adhimutta shows complete equanimity when his life is threatened: the Arahant is not dismayed by anything. Again, the Arahant is 'unsoiled' by anything. At S III 140 it is said that a Tathāgata, like a lotus which 'stands unsoiled by the water (*ṭhāti anupalittam udakena*)' dwells 'unsoiled by the world

(*anupalitto lokenā ti*)'.⁸ Similarly, at Thag 1180, Mahāmogallāna says of himself, 'he is not soiled (*nopalippoati*) by conditioned things (*saṅkhāras*), as a lotus is not soiled by water'. Elsewhere, the image of the lotus or leaf being unsoiled by water is used to illustrate various qualities: 'Thus the sage (*muni*), speaking of peace, without greed, is unsoiled by sense-desire and the world (*kāme ca loke anupalitto*)' (Sn 845); 'lament and envy do not soil him (*taṃmiṃ vaidevamaccharaṃ...na lippati*)' (Sn 811); 'Thus the muni is not soiled (*nopalippati*) by what is seen, heard or sensed' (Sn 812, cf. Sn 778); 'so you are not soiled (*lippati*) by merit or evil or both' (Sn 547).

Similarly, there is reference to monks 'unsoiled by any material thing (*amisesa anupalittā*)' (M I 319), and to Arahants 'having put evils outside, unsoiled (*bāhitvā pāpāni anupalitto*)' (S I 141). Such passages show that an Arahant is 'unsoiled' by the world or *saṅkhāras* in the sense that he does not react to them with greed, lamentation etc., he has no attachment for them and is unaffected by them.

11. One can see, in fact, that the Arahant is, in a sense, cut off from the world of the six sense-objects. Thus, at M III 274-5, the Buddha outlines a simile: a butcher who cuts off the hide from a dead cow and then drapes it back over the carcass would be wrong to say that, 'This hide is conjoined with the cow as before'. Here, the carcass stands for the six internal *āyatana*s (the senses), the hide stands for the six external ones (the sense-objects) and the tendons and ligaments which are cut stand for 'delight and attachment (*nandirāgass*)'. As attachment is only fully got rid of by an Arahant, the simile surely is meant to apply to him. He is thus portrayed as being such that his senses are in no way tied or bound to their objects. He passes through the world without sticking to it. He is thus one who 'dwells alone (*ekavihārī ti*)', even if he is in the midst of a crowd, for he has destroyed 'delight' and 'attachment' with respect to the six desirable sense-objects (S IV 36-7). Similarly, at S II 283-4, the Buddha tells a monk living alone that to perfect 'dwelling alone (*eka-vihāro*)' he should abandon the past, renounce the future and give up 'desire and attachment (*chandārāgo*)' for what is 'presently (his) personality (*paccuppanesu ca attabhāvapaṭilābhesu*)'.

He then gives a verse:

'Who overcomes all, knows all (*sabbābhibhuṃ sabbaviduṃ*), very wise, Unsoiled by any dhamma (*sabbesu dhammesu anupalittam*), Who, letting go of all, is freed in the destruction of craving (*sabbamjaham taṇhakkhaye vimuttam*), That is the man of whom I say "he dwells alone (*ekavihārīti*)"'.
The Arahant thus dwells totally 'alone' as he has let go of everything, is not 'soiled' by anything. By ending attachment, he has 'abandoned' the *khandhas* (S III 27) and the 'home' which these constitute (S III 9-10).

12. This 'aloneness' seems to apply not only to the Arahant, but also to Nibbāna. 'Seclusion (*viveko*)' is a synonym for *virāga* and *nirodha* (e.g. at S IV 365-8) and as these are themselves synonyms for Nibbāna (e.g. It 88) Nibbāna can be seen as such a 'seclusion'. Thus Nd I 26-7, commenting on this word at Sn 772, says that it can be of three kinds:

- of body (*kāya-*): physical seclusion in the form of forest-dwelling,
- of mind (*citta-*): this refers to the *citta* of one in any of the eight *jhānas*, or in any of the four ariyan persons - such *cittas* are 'secluded' from various unskilled states,
- from substrate (*upadhi-*): this refers to Nibbāna, which is 'seclusion' from 'substrate' in the form of defilements, *khandhas* and *kamma* formations.⁹

There is, indeed, considerable evidence (which cannot be dealt with here¹⁰), that Nibbāna is a *viññāna* (consciousness) which has transcended all objects and thus become objectless and unconditioned. As such, it is 'secluded' from all conditioning objects, and is totally 'alone'.

The Arahant's boundaryless *citta*

13. We now move to examining further aspects under point (b), at Para.9, that of the Arahant's *citta* lacking boundaries. The Arahant is in several places described in such a way as to suggest that he has broken down all barriers between 'himself' and 'others'. At M I 139 (and A III 84) he is said to have:

- 'lifted the barrier (*ukkhittapaligho*)', i.e. got rid of *avijjā* (ignorance),
- 'filled the moat (*sankinnaparikho*)', i.e. 'again-becoming and faring on on birth (*jātisamsāro*) is got rid of',

- (c) 'pulled up the pillar (*abūlhesiko*)', i.e. got rid of craving,
 (d) 'withdrawn the bolt (*niraggalo*)', i.e. 'the five lower fetters binding him to the lower (shore) are got rid of',
 (e) become 'a pure one, the flag laid low, the burden dropped, without fetters (*ariyo pannaddhajo pannabhāro visamyutto*)', i.e. he has got rid of the 'I am conceit (*asminmāno*)'.

The Arahant can thus be seen as no longer waving the flag of 'I am' and so no longer has boundaries, as he no longer identifies with any particular group of phenomena such as his 'own' *khandhas*. There is no longer ignorance to act as a barrier. Thus the Buddha refers to himself as having broken the 'egg-shell of ignorance (*avijjāṅḍakosam*)' (A IV 176, cf. M I 357). In a similar, but more striking way, the Avadāna-sātaka says of the Arahant: 'he lost all attachment to the three worlds; gold and a clod of earth were the same to him; the sky and the palm of his hand were the same to his mind;...; he had torn the egg-shell (of ignorance) by his knowledge...; he obtained the knowledges, the *abhiññās*...'.¹¹ Again, A II 166 compares the 'break-up (*-pabhedo*)' of ignorance to the 'breach of a dyke (*ālippabhedo*)' which will occur in 'a village pond that has stood for countless years (*anekavassagaṇikā*)' when all the inlets are opened, the outlets blocked and it rains down steadily. Thus ignorance is like a 'barrier' to be lifted, an 'egg-shell' to be broken and the 'dyke' of an ancient pond, to be burst. The Arahant is one who has destroyed such an enclosing boundary.

14. The lack of boundaries to the Arahant's mind is perhaps well illustrated at M I 206-7 (cf. M III 156). Here, the Buddha approaches the monks Anuruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila, greeting them simply as 'Anuruddhas'. He then asks them:

'And how is it that you, Anuruddhas, are living all together on friendly terms and harmonious, as milk and water blend, regarding one another with the eye of affection?'

Anuruddha then replies that this is because he has developed *mottā*, with respect to acts of body, speech and mind, for his companions and thus had gone on to become such that:

'I, Lord, having surrendered my own mind (*sakam cittam nikkhipitvā*), am living only according to the mind of these venerable ones (*āyasmantānam cittassa vasena vattāmi*). Lord, we have diverse bodies (*nānā...kāyā*) but assuredly only one mind (*ekaṅ ca...cittan-ti*)'.

Anuruddha then explains that they help each other with various

chores and, at p.210, that he knows that his companions have attained all eight *jhānas* and *nirodha-samāpatti* and destroyed the cankers (*āsavas*) as he has read their minds. In this passage, one thus finds three Arahants being regarded as having one *citta* and being all called 'Anuruddha', even though this is the actual name of only one of them. This merging of *cittas* is motivated by *mettā*, a quality which when fully developed means that a person no longer has the barriers that make him prefer his own happiness over that of others¹², and, one must assume, such merging is enabled by the three monks being Arahants, whose *cittas* are no longer enclosed in an 'egg-shell' of ignorance and who no longer wave the flag of 'I am'.

15. The reason why the Arahant's *citta* has no boundaries, why he 'dwells with a *citta* made to be without boundaries (*vimariyādīkatena cetasā viharati*)' is explained in a number of places. It is because he is 'escaped from, unfettered by, released from (*nissāto visamyutto vippamutto*)' the *khandhas*, being like a lotus standing above the water, unsoiled by it (A V 152), because he feels no attraction or repugnance for the objects of the six senses and so is 'independent (*anissito*)', 'released, unfettered' (M III 30), and because he has fully understood the satisfaction of, misery of and 'leaving behind (*nissaranam*)' (i.e. Nibbāna, from Ud 80-1) of the *khandhas*, so as to be 'escaped, unfettered, released' (S III 31).

The Arahant's *anattā*, boundaryless, self-contained 'self'

16. The above, then, enables us to resolve the apparent tension outlined at Para.9. It is because an Arahant is so self-contained, having abandoned everything, being 'unsoiled' by anything, without attachment or repugnance for sense-objects, independent, 'dwelling alone', and having experienced Nibbāna, 'seclusion', that his *citta* has no boundaries. *Citta*, being completely 'alone' has no barriers or boundaries. When a person lets go of everything, such that 'his' identity shrinks to zero, then *citta* expands to infinity. Whatever one grasps at and identifies with as 'I am' limits one. As can be seen at Sn 1103 and S I 12, it allows Māra to 'follow' a person and devas and men to 'search' him out. The Arahant, however, does not invest anything with selfhood and so cannot be 'found' anywhere. Though he is completely 'alone', he 'is' no-one, he is a 'man of nothing (*akiñcano*)'. He has broken through the binding-energy of I-centred existence. Thus Sn 501 says of

the 'Brahmin', i.e. Arahant:

'Who fare in the world with self as an island (*attadīpā*),
Entirely released, men of nothing (*akiñcaṇā sabbadhi vippanuttā*)...'

17. The Arahant dwells with 'self' (*citta*) as an island, but he knows that 'himself', 'others' and the world are all, equally, *anattā*, and that there is no real 'I am' anywhere: he has nothing on the island, so to speak. Thus Adhimutta was not afraid when his life was threatened as there was no 'I' there to feel threatened and afraid, only *dukkha* dhammas (Thag 715-7). Again, the Arahant's senses are 'cut off' from their objects (Para.11) not because he invests identity in his sentient body and shuns all else, but because he sees both, the inner and the outer, as equally *anattā*. He is undisturbed by the world not because he is protected from it by a barrier, but because he realizes that no such barrier exists, separating a 'self', an 'I', from 'others'. All is equally *anattā*, so there are no grounds for I-grasping to arise and give his *citta* limiting boundaries. Paradoxically, by realizing that all he had taken as *attā* and 'I' is really *anattā* and insusceptible to control (S III 66-7), the Arahant is no longer controlled by such things - they have no hold over him - and he is more able to control them - he has mastery over his mental processes. As Edward Conze says, one aware of things as *anattā* will see that 'possessions possess you, see their coercive power and that "I am theirs" is as true as "they are mine"'.¹³ Nyanaponika expresses a similar thought when he says, 'Detachment gives, with regard to its objects, mastery as well as freedom.'¹⁴

18. Summarising the findings of this article, we can thus say the following. The ariyan eightfold Path, when properly integrated into someone's personality, is regarded as 'become self-like' (Para.5) and those on the Path are such as to live with 'self' - *citta* - as an 'island', by means of the Foundations of Mindfulness (Paras 3-4). By such factors as mindfulness and lovingkindness (Para.7) the Path can be seen as developing the good qualities and strength of a person's personality such that Stream-enterers etc. are referred to as 'those with great selves' (Para.6). At the culmination of the Path stands the Arahant, 'one of developed self', who has carried the process of personal development and self-reliance to its perfection (Para.8). He is thus very self-contained and self-controlled (Para.9), with a 'diamond-

like *citta*, unperturbed and 'unsoiled' by anything (Para.10), with his senses not tied to their objects, one who has perfected 'dwelling alone' by letting go of everything (Para.11) such as the *khandhas*, with no attachment or repugnance, independent (Para.15). He has experienced Nibbāna, the ultimate 'seclusion' (Para.12), the 'leaving behind' of the conditioned world (Para.15). It is because of these self-contained qualities that the Arahant is one who has made his *citta* to be without boundaries (Para.16) and has broken the 'egg-shell', burst the ancient 'pond', of ignorance (Para.13) and is such that his *citta* can merge with that of other Arahants (Para.14). He is an independent 'man of nothing' who does not identify with anything as 'I', but who surveys everything, internal and external, as *anattā*, such that he (a) is completely 'alone' with 'self' as an island: he does not identify with anything, does not 'lean' on anything, is not influenced by anything, as nothing can excite attachment, repugnance or fear in him and (b) he has a boundaryless *citta*, not limited by attachment or I-identification, and immeasurable with such qualities as lovingkindness (Paras 16-17). He has, then, a developed, boundless 'self', this being, paradoxically, because he is completely devoid of any tendency to the conceit of 'I am', having realized that no metaphysical self can be found - that the thought of 'I am' can only arise with respect to factors (the *khandhas*) which cannot possibly give it genuine validity. As seen at Sn 19, he is one whose 'hut', i.e. *citta*, is open and whose 'fire', i.e. attachment, hatred and delusion, which are centred on the 'I am' conceit, is out.

Notes

- 1 This article is substantially the same as Chapter 13 of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, 'The Concept of the Person in Pāli Buddhist Literature' (University of Lancaster 1981).
- 2 This is the formula for the four Foundations of Mindfulness, e.g. at M I 56.
- 3 'Dhamma' is here used in the sense of 'teaching' (and its practice), rather than in the sense of 'Nibbāna'. It is only in this former sense that there can be an 'other Dhamma': from the Buddhist point of view, the 'Dhamma' in the sense of 'Nibbāna' is unique, but there can be different 'Dhammas' in the sense of 'teachings'. Thus, at M I 168, in persuading the Buddha to teach, Brahmā says, 'There has appeared in Magadha before you an unclean Dhamma...', i.e. a perverse teaching. Again, at A I 218, a layman praises Ānanda's modesty

in teaching by saying, 'here there is no trumpeting of his own Dhamma (*sadhammu-kkamsanā*), no depreciating of another's Dhamma (*paradhammāpasādanā*) but just teaching Dhamma (*dhammadesanā*) in its proper sphere'.

4 This can be seen from various parallel passages on *attā* and on *citta*. For example, DhP 160 says, 'For with a well-controlled self (*attanā'va sudantena*), one gains a protector hard to gain', while DhP 35 says, 'a controlled (*dantam*) *citta* is conducive to happiness'. Again, A II 32 talks of 'perfect application of self' (*atta-sammā-panidhi*) as one of the four things which lead to prosperity, while DhP 43 sees 'a perfectly applied (*sammā-panihitam*)' *citta* as doing for one what no relative can do. That *citta* is not an *attā* in a metaphysical sense (i.e. it is *anattā*) can be seen from the fact that S V 184 sees it as dependent on *nāma-rūpa*, mind-and-body. A metaphysical *attā*, on the other hand, would be an independent, unconditioned entity.

5 *Atumo* is the archaic word for *attā*. Thus Nd I 69 says *ātuma vuccati attā*.

6 Although MA II 361 sees him as an Arahant, being without attachment, hatred and delusion, which are 'productive of the measurable', as seen at M I 298. M I 298, however, does not limit 'immeasurable' states to that of the Arahant's 'unshakeable *cetovimutti*' but says only that this is the 'chief' of these. Others it mentions are the four Brahmavihāras, and the Comy, MA II 354, adds the four *maggas* and the four *phalas* to the list.

7 *Kāya*, or 'body' here, may refer to the *nāma-kāya*, i.e. to the components of *nāma*, or to *nāma-rūpa* as a whole. A 'developed *kāya*' must be a person's 'body' of mental states or their 'sentient body' when developed by Buddhist practice.

8 Cf. A II 38-9.

9 Cf. Ps II 220 on five kinds of *viveka*, the last, again, being *Nibbāna*. Similarly, Nd II 251 explains the *vivekadhammā* of Sn 1065 as *Nibbāna*.

10 See Chapters 10 and 11 of author's dissertation (see Note 1).

11 As quoted and translated by Har Dayal in his *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (London 1932; repr. Delhi 1978), p.15-16. On the *abhiññās* as overcoming various barriers, see A III 27-8.

12 See Vism 307-8 and Sn 368 and 705.

13 *Buddhist Thought in India* (London 1962), p.37.

14 *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation* (London 1969), p.68.

AVANT-PROPOS (1)

PRESENTATION DU RECUEIL D'EKOTTARĀGAMA (2)

Par le Śramaṇa (3) Che Tao Ngan (釋道安),

Dynastie des Ts'in (晉)

Traduit du Chinois par THÍCH HUYỀN-VI

Il existe quatre recueils d'Āgama (4). La définition de l'appellation "Āgama" a été exposée dans le deuxième recueil, le Madhyamāgama et il nous paraît inutile de la rappeler ici.

Précisons seulement la définition du terme "Ekottara". Littéralement il signifie "[dix] augmenté de un". Que veut dire "augmenté de un"? "Dix" représente l'énumération complète des sujets traités, complète dans leur nombre et dans leur classification par catégories, et la dizaine augmentée de l'unité symbolise la progression susceptible de s'étendre vers l'infini. Ainsi chaque règle édictée par l'enseignement progresse chaque jour, tendant vers la perfection. Pour cette raison, le présent Recueil des Règles de la Doctrine et des Rites servira pour toujours comme des mesures et des modèles en or et en jade pour le salut des êtres vivants.

A l'extérieur du continent indien, les quatre Recueils d'Āgama ont été accueillis avec respect par les habitants des agglomérations citadines ainsi que par les religieux retirés dans les bois et les montagnes.

Le vénérable Śramaṇa Dharmanandin (5), originaire de Takṣaśilā (6), était entré assez tard en religion. Il a consacré le reste de sa vie à étudier les Āgama et il en possédait parfaitement la lettre et l'esprit. Partout à l'étranger ses conférences étaient suivies avec enthousiasme.

En l'an 20 de l'ère Kien Yuan (建元) des Ts'in (秦), il arriva à la capitale Tch'ang Ngan et tous les habitants, aussi bien les natifs du pays que les résidents étrangers le louèrent pour ses explications des textes des Āgama. Le gouverneur militaire Tchao Wen Ye (趙文業) le pria de rendre la connaissance des Āgama accessible au peuple.

A l'entreprise gigantesque de transcription (en langue chinoise) participaient le vénérable Buddhasmṛti comme traducteur et le Śramaṇa Dharmanandin comme correcteur. Elle commença dès la retraite d'été de l'année Kia Chen (甲申) pour se terminer à la fin du printemps de l'année suivante. Le recueil [d'Ekottarāgama] a été réparti en quarante-et-un fascicules formant deux tomes. Le premier tome comptant vingt-six fascicules est complet par rapport aux textes originaux. Le deuxième tome de quinze fascicules est incomplet : il y manque les gāthā (courts poèmes résumant le contenu de chaque sūtra) (7).

Moi, Dharmanandin, j'ai participé à la correction avec d'autres religieux. Les vénérables Seng Lio (僧碧) et Seng Meou (僧茂) ont pu reconstituer et traduire les parties

manquantes. Ce travail a pris quarante journées. Durant cette année, la capitale a été encerclée par l'armée rebelle de Ngo Tch'eng (阿城) et les tam-tam de guerre résonnaient de tous les côtés, cependant nous poursuivions notre œuvre avec ferveur. Finalement nous avons complété la traduction des deux Āgama en portant leur nombre à cent fascicules (8).

Les vénérables Vaiḍūrya, Sunirmita et Saṅghapāla ont réussi à diffuser ces recueils de l'Inde aux nations orientales.

Les quatre recueils d'Āgama ont été retranscrits par un comité d'érudits de quarante membres élus par le Saṅgha, et répartis en quatre sous-comités de dix membres, chacun s'occupant d'un recueil d'Āgama. Les sujets traités et classifiés ont été fidèlement résumés dans les *gāthā* en prévision des erreurs et des pertes commises lors des retranscriptions ultérieures. Cette précaution s'explique par l'engouement qui régnait en ce moment dans ce pays pour la diffusion des recueils de sūtra. Deux recueils d'Āgama ont connu particulièrement des aventures regrettables, dues à la méthode défectueuse adoptée pour la retranscription : chaque érudit avait la responsabilité entière d'un volume. Il se bornait à recopier les écrits anciens. Les explications étaient incomplètes et quelquefois inexistantes.

La première et la deuxième séries d'Āgama contiennent au total quatre cent soixante-douze sūtra, et les textes originaux ont été fidèlement traduits par les érudits. Il s'agit des règles essentielles de la Doctrine, d'importance capitale pour le Saṅgha. Dans certains pays bouddhiques, les novices de même que les laïques résidents (à tunique blanche) ne sont pas autorisés à étudier les règlements et les rites. Dans ce pays au contraire, la connaissance des règles de conduite par tous les adeptes de la Doctrine est une pratique encouragée. C'est là une originalité remarquable du bouddhisme chinois.

Toutefois la connaissance des règles est inutile sans leur pratique et, à ce sujet, certaines constatations me conduisent à formuler quelques regrets. Les érudits ont mis l'accent sur des chapitres importants, tel celui du Grand Amour pour la Doctrine, mais certains adeptes non avertis les ont considérés comme les sūtra "réservés" aux seuls initiés. De même, les règles de conduite pour les bhikṣuṇī sont importantes, mais certains les considèrent comme négligeables. Voilà quelques exemples regrettables à propos de l'étude des Āgama.

En résumé, ces deux tomes de recueil ne peuvent être appréciés à leur exacte valeur que par ceux qui possèdent déjà une connaissance suffisamment profonde de la Doctrine. Ceux qui les lisent d'une façon superficielle ont besoin des conseils et des explications de la part des aînés plus avertis.

Notes

- 1 Cet avant-propos a été transcrit conformément à l'original sous l'ère Yuan-ming de la dynastie des Song (宋).
- 2 Ekottarāgama (sanskrit) ou Aṅguttara-Nikāya (pāli).
- 3 Che Tao Ngan : Moine bouddhiste renommé pour son érudition. Il a traduit de nombreux sūtra et recueils de la discipline du sanscrit en chinois.
- 4 Les quatre Recueils d'Āgama sont : i. le **Recueil Long** ou Dīrghāgama (sanskrit), Dīgha-Nikāya (pāli); ii. le **Recueil du Milieu** ou Madhyamāgama (sanskrit), Majjhima-Nikāya (pāli); iii. Le **Recueil des Variétés** ou Saṃyuktāgama (sanskrit), Saṃyutta-Nikāya (pāli); iv. Le **Recueil de [Dix] plus Un** ou Ekottarāgama (sanskrit), Aṅguttara-Nikāya (pāli). Cette dernière collection est plutôt connue comme "l'Āgama dont chacune des sections s'augmente par un". Il s'agit des traités numériques, où des sujets sont traités numériquement.
- 5 En ce qui concerne Dharmanandin, cf. "Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas" par E. Waldschmidt, dans **The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition**, éd. H. Bechert, Göttingen, 1980, p. 169, n. 168 : "Hahn, i.e., speaks of Gautama Saṅghadeva as translator of the Tséng-i-a-han-ching in concord with the Taishō Tripiṭaka, whereas the translation is ascribed to Dharmanandin by Nanjio. According to Bagchi, Gautama Saṅghadeva acted merely as reviser or redactor..."
- 6 Takṣaśīlā : un petit royaume au nord-ouest du continent indien, l'actuel Taxila, à 26 milles au nord-ouest de Rawalpindi, dans le Penjab, Pakistan.
- 7 Le numéro réel des fascicules du recueil d'Ekottarāgama se trouvant dans l'édition de Taishō est 51.
- 8 Le texte ne clarifie pas quel autre Āgama hors de l'Ekottarāgama indiqué. Peut-être il s'agit du Madhyamāgama traduit par Saṅghadeva en 65 fascicules.

E K O T T A R Ā G A M A

VOLUME PREMIER

Traduit par le Śramaṇa Gautama Saṅghadeva (1) originaire du Ki P'in (蜀賓)
sous le règne des Ts'in orientaux (東晉)

CHAPITRE I

(INTRODUCTION) (2)

Nous nous prosternons devant le Grand Compatissant, le septième Bouddha, qui a prêché pour les divinités et les sages ainsi que pour tous les êtres sensibles entraînés dans le cycle infini des naissances et des morts.

C'est le Tathāgata Śākyamuni qui s'est consacré à la libération des humains.

Nous rendons hommage au grand Kāśyapa (3), le saint Patriarche, au sage Ānanda(4) qui poursuit l'œuvre sacrée.

Le Sugata (5) nous a indiqué la voie de la délivrance. Il a laissé au monde ses reliques qui sont pieusement réparties entre Kuśinagarī (6) et Magadha (7).

Le grand Kāśyapa nous a enseigné les quatre grands incommensurables (8) comme moyens de salut pour échapper aux cinq voies de renaissance (9). Il nous a permis de comprendre la signification du grand Éveil. Il nous a fait aimer et pratiquer le véritable Dharma enseigné par l'Être le plus vénéré (10) de tous les êtres vivants.

Le grand Kāśyapa, conscient de la mission que lui avait confiée le Tathāgata, jugea nécessaire de profiter de l'ère de développement de la Doctrine pour faire connaître aux humains l'ensemble des enseignements laissés par le Père et Maître vénéré, et d'assurer la conservation et la transmission de ces biens précieux (11) aux générations futures.

Il cherchait parmi les proches du Tathāgata, l'adepte le plus capable, le plus apte à répondre aux souffrances des hommes et à leurs demandes. Il le trouva en la personne d'Ānanda à la fois sage et érudit. Ses appels aux réunions (12) et ses propos sont écoutés avec respect par les quatre catégories de disciples (13).

Élu par quatre-vingt-quatre mille bhikṣu, Ānanda fut le véritable arhant (14), le parfait libéré, le plus méritant.

Ce fut ainsi que Kāśyapa s'acquitta de sa gratitude envers le Tathāgata et qu'Ānanda formula le vœu d'accomplir la mission qui lui fut dévolue : maintenir la lumière du Dharma pendant trois asaṃkhyeya de kalpa (15) dans le monde des humains et faire bénéficier aux quatre classes d'Auditeurs (16) l'enseignement merveilleux qui leur ouvrirait instantanément la Voie de l'Éveil.

Mais tout d'abord Ānanda déclina cet honneur en évoquant sa jeunesse, son ignorance et son manque d'expérience, et souligna que sur la Montagne Sacrée Kāśyapa avait été

expressément désigné par le Tathāgata pour être son successeur.

En réponse Kāśyapa fit valoir son grand âge et sa mémoire défaillante, insista sur le fait comme : "Parmi tous nos frères, vous, Primat Ānanda, êtes le seul capable de mener à bien la mission de propager la Doctrine. Grâce à mes pénétrations et à ma compréhension de la nature humaine je peux affirmer qu'aucun autre adepte ne peut vous surpasser."

En apprenant ce fait, Brahmaṛāja et Maitreya descendant du ciel Tuṣita (17) et accompagné par des milliers de Bodhisattva se rendirent au concile et proclamèrent d'une même voix que le Vénérable Ānanda, le plus érudit entre tous, était désigné pour continuer la mission de tous les êtres sensibles du Saṃsāra : "Si vous refusez, ô sage Ānanda, la Doctrine sera perdue à jamais. Pour le bien de tous les êtres vivants, acceptez cette mission. Nous nous engageons à vous aider à surmonter toutes les difficultés. Le passage du Tathāgata sur la terre des hommes a été relativement court. Mais ses reliques demeurent éternelles. Tel devra être son Enseignement !"

Au nom du Dharma, Ānanda accepta enfin cette mission. Il commença alors à prêcher et sa voix retentit dans le monde comme le rugissement du lion(18) réveillant tous les hôtes de la forêt.

Il fut très attristé en constatant qu'aucun disciple du Tathāgata n'avait pu surmonter ses propres difficultés (19) pour parvenir à l'Éveil. Il projeta alors une lumière éblouissante semblable à celle du soleil levant. Brahmaṛāja et le Bodhisattva Maitreya levèrent la tête et regardèrent cet aura, aussitôt retentirent les paroles merveilleuses du Dharma. Les quatre catégories de disciples concentrèrent leur attention pour écouter le Dharma.

Le grand Kāśyapa ainsi que la majorité des autres disciples regardèrent intensément Ānanda pour ne jamais l'oublier.

Ānanda monta sur la chaire du concile et déclara :

"Je m'adresse à vous tous, ô mes frères, vous qui avez acquis les mérites de la persévérance. Je diviserai la Doctrine en trois parties :

La première partie portera sur les recueils des enseignements du Tathāgata. Elle sera intitulée la Corbeille des Sūtra.

La deuxième partie portant sur l'ensemble des règles et disciplines sera la Corbeille du Vinaya.

La troisième partie portant sur les développements des enseignements s'appellera la Corbeille de l'Abhidharma (20).

L'ensemble des Trois Corbeilles s'intitulera la Triple Corbeille de la Doctrine.

Dans mon exposé sur le Sūtra-Piṭaka, je réserve la priorité aux Quatre Recueils d'Āgama. Le premier dans l'ordre d'importance est l'Ekottarāgama comportant 10 plus 1 enseignements. Ensuite vient le Madhyamāgama du recueil des enseignements du juste

milieu, puis le Dīrghāgama, recueil des enseignements longs, enfin le Saṃyuktāgama, recueil des enseignements variés complétant les trois précédents, et comptant pour cette raison quatre parties.

"Moi, Ānanda, je pense qu'il faut perpétuer cette doctrine. C'est une lumière qui ne s'éteindra jamais. Pour les divinités comme pour le commun des mortels, celui qui a la chance de l'étudier parviendra à l'Éveil.

"La première partie de cette doctrine ou premier enseignement (21) est très difficile à comprendre, à assimiler et à pratiquer. Ensuite viennent le deuxième (22) et le troisième (23) enseignements dont les chapitres constituent un tout, comme des perles d'un collier. Les quatrième (24) et cinquième (25) enseignements traitent des problèmes très proches les uns des autres. Les sixième (26) et septième (27) enseignements apportent plus de clarté pour notre compréhension. Avec le huitième (28) et le neuvième (29) enseignements, nous accédons aux sujets de niveau supra-mondain. Le dixième enseignement (30) complète notre connaissance, mais c'est le dernier enseignement. Le onzième (31), après cette dizaine, forme avec les dix premiers l'enseignement suprême contenant la quintessence du Dharma!"

Au moment où Ānanda allait descendre de la chaire, le futur Bouddha Maitreya le complimenta pour son excellente présentation de la Doctrine.

Apportant leurs points de vue, les Bodhisattva soulignèrent l'efficacité des six **pāramitā** enseignées par le Tathāgata, à savoir : l'observation des règles, la pratique des dons, la persévérance, la patience, la méditation et la sagesse suprême. Ce sont de merveilleux moyens pour parvenir à l'Éveil.

En premier lieu, vient la pratique des dons (32). Les Bodhisattva rappelèrent les exemples de dons effectués par le Tathāgata dans ses innombrables vies antérieures : don de sa propre vie, des parties de son corps, de ses yeux, de son épouse et de ses enfants, de son royaume, de ses bijoux les plus précieux, pour sauver la vie d'autrui ou simplement pour rendre service à son prochain. Puis vient l'observation des règles (33) qui permet de supprimer tous les péchés accumulés dans le passé et de parvenir à l'état d'un être libéré de toutes préoccupations (34). En troisième lieu vient la patience (35) ou plus exactement la capacité de supporter les contrariétés de la vie et les offenses de la part des autres, jusqu'à sacrifier son honneur et sa propre vie sans un sentiment de révolte intérieure. La persévérance (36) désigne l'effort permanent dans l'accomplissement du bien et l'élimination du mal dans l'acte, la parole et la pensée. La pratique de la méditation (37) consiste à maîtriser la respiration, à concentrer l'esprit pour parvenir à la perspicacité (38). Mais surpassant les cinq moyens précédents en efficacité est le sixième consistant en l'acquisition de la sagesse suprême (39) qui permet de s'adapter à toutes circonstances. La pratique de ces six **pāramitā** est particulièrement délicate. Elle pose comme condition essentielle l'observance rigoureuse des conduites des Bodhisattva (40).

A cela, Ānanda ajouta que l'observance des conduites des Bodhisattva est très dure à pratiquer. Seuls les **Arhant** ayant un désir ardent et une volonté tenace peuvent y parvenir.

Ces paroles renforcèrent la foi des quatre catégories de croyants et dissipèrent leur doute. Alors le futur Bouddha Maitreya exprima sa satisfaction à propos de cette ouverture vers le Mahāyāna qui est le dépôt des vérités.

Notes

- 1 Gautama Saṅghadeva (323-398) né à Kaboul, a traduit de nombreux sūtra et śāstra du sanscrit en chinois.
- 2 En chinois la plupart de cette introduction sous forme d'une interpolation mahāyāniste est en vers.
- 3 Mahā-Kāśyapa, brâhmane vivant en royaume de Magadha, il se convertit au bouddhisme et devint l'un des disciples les plus remarquables du Bouddha. Le Tathāgata lui confia la mission de continuer la diffusion de la Doctrine sur la Montagne Sacrée. Après son entrée au Parinirvāṇa, Kāśyapa présida le Saṅgha, puis réunit le premier concile bouddhique.
- 4 Ānanda fut considéré comme le disciple le plus érudit de Bouddha. A l'initiative de Kāśyapa, Ānanda fut chargé de diriger le premier concile bouddhique de rassemblement des sūtra. Il fut le deuxième patriarche du Bouddhisme après Kāśyapa.
- 5 Sugata : l'un des dix titres du Bouddha. Il signifie : parvenu sur l'autre rive après avoir accompli la mission de libérer les êtres vivants et réalisé ses vœux. Ne revenant plus sur le monde des humains, il est définitivement sorti du cycle des naissances et de mort.
- 6 Kuśīnagarī : petit pays de l'Inde où mourut le Bouddha à l'âge de 83 ans, à proximité de la rivière Hiranyavatī.
- 7 Magadha : grand pays situé sur la rive droite du Gange. C'est là où le Prince Gautama parvint à l'Éveil. Le Bouddha y faisait de fréquents séjours. Le souverain du pays, le roi Bimbisāra fut un disciple de Bouddha.
- 8 Les quatre vertus incommensurables : la bonté (**maitrī**), la compassion (**karuṇā**), la joie (**muditā**) et l'équanimité (**upekṣā**).
- 9 Les cinq voies de la renaissance : devenir des divinités méchantes et querelleuses, des humains, des animaux, des fantômes affamés et des habitants des enfers.
- 10 L'Être le plus vénéré (**lokajyeṣṭha**): l'un des titres de Bouddha.

- 11 Il s'agit des trésors laissés par le Tathāgata à tous les êtres vivants, les trois Corbeilles (**tripiṭaka**).
- 12 Signal d'appel (**ghaṇṭā**) cloche en métal ou en bois dont les sons annoncent les réunions du Saṅgha.
- 13 Les quatre catégories de religieux : les moines (**bhikṣu**), les religieuses (**bhikṣuṇī**), les fidèles de sexe masculin (**upāsaka**) et les fidèles de sexe féminin (**upāsikā**).
- 14 **Arhant** : le degré le plus élevé de l'ordre des Auditeurs. Il signifie : digne de vénération, tueur du mal et libéré de la renaissance.
- 15 **Asaṃkhyeya** de **kalpa** : c'est-à-dire trois infinités de périodes incommensurables.
- 16 Les quatre degrés de perfectionnement de l'ordre des Auditeurs : 1) **srota-āpanna** 2) **sakṛdāgāmin**; 3) **anāgāmin** et 4) **arhant**.
- 17 Maitreya, Bouddha du futur y habite actuellement en attendant sa venue sur terre pour continuer la mission du Bouddha Śākyamuni.
- 18 Rugissement du lion : qualificatif du sermon des Bouddha, des Bodhisattva, et ici du discours d'Ānanda dont la portée retentit comme la voix du lion qui fait trembler tous les autres animaux dans les airs, sur terre et dans l'eau.
- 19 Surmonter les propres difficultés : dominer ses passions et ses attachements, être libéré de la souffrance, du Saṃsāra.
- 20 Abhidharma : recueil des explications et des commentaires scolastiques de la Doctrine.
- 21 Le texte se réfère ici à l'Ekottarāgama. Le premier enseignement compte 14 divisions : les 10 invocations - les grandes références - les bhikṣu - les bhikṣuṇī - les upāsaka - les upāsikā - les asura-le fils - la protection du cœur - l'énergie persévérante - première entrée dans la voie - entretien des vertus - les cinq abstentions.
- 22 Le deuxième enseignement compte 6 divisions : être et non être - extinction du feu des passions - la paix du cœur - remords et honte - l'invité et les amis spirituels.
- 23 Le troisième enseignement compte 4 divisions : les trois joyaux - les trois offrandes - le maître du foyer et l'estrade supérieur.
- 24 le quatrième enseignement compte 7 divisions : les quatre vérités saintes - les quatre concentrations - les quatre vérités de niveau inférieur - les Auditeurs - la douleur et la joie - l'entrée du courant et la supériorité.
- 25 Le cinquième enseignement compte 5 divisions : assemblée du bien - les cinq rois - vues fractionnaires - assemblée du mal - l'écoute du Dharma.

- 26 Le sixième enseignement compte deux divisions : les six respects et le pouvoir miraculeux.
- 27 Le septième enseignement compte 3 divisions : catégories du Dharma, les sept jours et la délivrance de la crainte.
- 28 Le huitième enseignement compte 2 divisions : les huit malheurs et le Roi Aśvarudhira.
- 29 Le neuvième enseignement compte 2 divisions : les êtres vivants et le Roi Aśvarāja.
- 30 Le dixième enseignement compte 3 divisions : les interdits - le bien et le mal et les 10 catégories du mal.
- 31 L'un plus dix (onzième) enseignement compte 4 divisions : la garde de la vache - la vénération des trois joyaux - le supra-mondain et Nirvāṇa,- étage suprême.
- 32 **Dānapāramitā** : la pratique des dons ou ultime générosité comme moyen pour parvenir à l'autre rive, c'est-à-dire à l'Éveil.
- 33 **Śīlapāramitā** : l'observation des règles de conduite pour parvenir à l'autre rive - comparable à la pureté du diamant.
- 34 Libéré de toutes préoccupations, de tout désir, de toute passion, de la considération de la vie et de la mort.
- 35 **Kṣāntipāramitā** : pratique de la patience et de l'endurance de toute injustice comme moyen pour parvenir sur l'autre rive.
- 36 **Vīryapāramitā** : pratique de la persévérance.
- 37 **Dhyānapāramitā** : pratique de la méditation active et juste qui seule peut permettre l'Éveil.
- 38 Perspicacité : capacité de percevoir la nature réelle des choses.
- 39 **Prajñāpāramitā** : acquisition de la sagesse suprême.
- 40 **Bodhisattva-caryā** : la conduite des Bodhisattva entièrement animée par la bonté et la compassion envers tous les êtres vivants.

Comments on 'TWO SŪTRAS ON DEPENDENT ORIGINATION'

Peter Skilling writes:

I was disappointed by 'Two Sūtras on Dependent Origination' [tr. John M.Cooper, BSR 1, p.31] which unfortunately is not up to par. Firstly, the definition of ignorance starting with 1.1 on p.32 is mistranslated. It should read something like 'a lack of insight (*ajñānam*) into the past (*pūrvānte*), a lack of insight into the future (*aparānte*)...into karma, into the results (of karma)...', etc., throughout. Here the locative is used as the object of (*a*)*jñāna*, which is rather common in (at least) Buddhist texts. The paragraph on *nāmarūpa*, specifically *rūpa*, should read from 1.24, p.32, along the lines of, 'whatever is materiality consists of the four great elements and derivatives of the (four) great elements (*mahābhūtāny-upādāya*). *Mahābhūtānyupādāya*, an early technical term that was variously interpreted in the Abhidharmas of the different schools, certainly cannot be translated as 'and in view of the four great elements', whatever it may mean! There are several other mistakes; it seems a pity because a number of apt translations do occur, such as 'clinging to ceremonial practices' (1.1-2, p.33) for *sīlavrataparāmarśa*, or *upādāna* in the present text.

The second translation also contains some errors, but here the main problem is that Sastri's retranslation from Tibetan into Sanskrit is often very wrong and cannot be relied upon.

John Cooper replies:

I was sorry to read that Mr Skilling was disappointed with my translations but disagree with him that they are unsatisfactory. With regard to the first sūtra I have compared my translation with those of Geshe Sopa in his article, 'The Tibetan "Wheel of Life": Iconography and Doxography' (*The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7,1, University of Wisconsin, Madison 1984) and P.C.Bagchi in his article, 'A Note on the Pratītya Samutpāda Sūtra' (*Epigraphia Indica* XXI, Delhi 1931; repr.New Delhi 1984), the Chinese text (No.628 - Yüan ch'i ching in Nanjio's Catalogue) of which Bagchi says closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā. With regards to the second sūtra, I have shown my translation from the Sanskrit, and Tibetan version, to a Tibetanist and his comments are reproduced below.

I shall now deal with Mr Skilling's points one by one.

The first sūtra

With regard to his first point, which he calls the definition of ignorance, I agree that his translation is a good alternative rendering, and is supported by Sopa's translation (p.138), but my translation could be said to be supported by Bagchi's version (p.202) which can be interpreted to mean the same as my translation from 'It is nescience in the past...' down to 'It is nescience in all dharmas that are produced from causes'. However, from this point on both Sopa and Bagchi translate *kuśalākuśaleṣu...samutpanneṣu dharmeṣu* as if these separate words did not qualify *dharmeṣu*. (Note that we have produced three different translations of *sapratibhāga*.) Nevertheless, I think Bagchi's translation is in consonance with mine down to 'It is nescience in what is low and bad and what is noble and good'. Both Sopa and Bagchi translate *kṛṣṇaśukla* literally as 'black and white', whereas I think 'evil and pure' are more likely to be intended in a religious text. Also, if the author meant 'black and white', why did he not mention other colours too? With regard to *pratibhāga* I have been guided by Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (p.366), which gives it as meaning 'difference, distinction'. In translating *sapratibhāga* as 'It is nescience in different parts', Bagchi seems to be ignoring the prefix *sa*, 'with'. Sopa takes it to mean 'together with its subsets', so translating *pratibhāga* as being the same as *vibhāga* (p.138, 1.18). Here Sopa makes a logical error, because the subsets are included in dependent origination. The translation of *vibhāga* as subsets is, however, supported by Childers' *Dictionary of the Pali Language* which gives it as meaning 'division, distinction, determination, explanation'. Thus Childers supports both Sopa's translation of *vibhāga* and mine as well! The word *yathābhūtasamprativedhā* is a bit of a problem, as it seems to be an adjective to *avidyā*, meaning 'penetrating into or disclosing reality'. It would clearly be more logical if it read *ayathābhūtasamprativedhā*, i.e. 'not penetrating or disclosing reality', which is the way Sopa seems to have taken it. I have translated what the text says, whereas Sopa has emended it, perhaps guided by Bagchi's translation. Maybe the Chinese translator took this word as a locative *yathābhūtasamprativedhe'ti*, with irregular sandhi for *iti*.

Sopa (p.138) , in translating 'Not knowing the limits of

the past, and not knowing the limits of the future, and not knowing the limits of past and future' is missing the locative in *pūrvānte* and *aparānte*. Also, there are no limits of the past and future. It is better to take the word *pūrvānta* as a Bahuvrīhi compound and not as a Tatpuruṣa compound. There are two kinds of Bahuvrīhi: (i) vyadhikarāṇa and (ii) samānādhikarāṇa. An example of (i) is *vīṇā pāṇau ṃsyaḥ sā*, 'she who has a lute in her hand' (Sarasvatī); and an example of (ii) is *pītam ambaram ṃsyaḥ saḥ*, 'he who has yellow clothing' (Kṛṣṇa). *Pūrvānta* is an example of (ii), 'having the past as its limit', which means the past itself (supported by Edgerton, p.352). The Bahuvrīhi qualifies 'time', *kāla*. To sum up, my translation takes the text to mean that ignorance (*avidyā*) is all-pervading, as in Vedāntic philosophy (*māyāvāda*).

With regard to Mr Skilling's second point, I have never heard of *mahābhūtānyupādāya* as an Abhidharma technical term - the five dictionaries that I have consulted do not give it. He seems to take *upādāya* as a masculine noun in the nominative singular but he translates it as if it were in the plural. Taking it as a noun has the advantage that it explains the absence of sandhi between *upādāya* and the following *iti*, but this is not conclusive as sandhi is not obligatory.

The term *upādāya* appears as a philosophical term in the *Pali-English Dictionary* (PTS) meaning 'derived, secondary' (with *rūpa*) [lit. 'hanging on to']. Childers' quotes the *Visuddhimagga* (under his Dictionary heading *rūpaṃ*), which enumerates twenty-eight kinds of *rūpa*, the four *bhūtarūpas* - earth, water, fire and air - and twenty-four *upādāyarūpas*, i.e. the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, form (*rūpaṃ!*), sound, smell, taste, virility, femininity, vitality, the heart, gesture, speech, space or void (explained as the orifices of the mouth, nose, etc.), buoyancy, elasticity, pliability, accumulation, duration, decay, impermanence, material food. This information is repeated in the PED under *rūpa*. Also, Skilling agrees with Sopa's and Bagchi's translations. These three are all in agreement as to the meaning of *upādāya*. In my defence, however, I must say that, if they are right, the grammar and punctuation of the Sanskrit text is very irregular, because (i) there is a full stop in the middle of the sentence (after *mahābhūtāni*) and (ii) the *catvāri* is agreeing with the second *mahābhūtāni*, thus giving the impression that *mahābhūtāni* and *upādāya* are two separate words. However, Conze has said that he has even seen a full stop in the middle of a word in

some manuscripts, so that perhaps (i) is understandable. The explanation given by the other three also explains the *ca* after *catvāri*, if it means 'and'. However, *ca* can be an expletive as well as a conjunction (like *hi*, *khalu*, etc.), so this point is not conclusive.

My translation, moreover, can be explained as follows. If we have the sentence *catvāri ca mahābhūtānyupādāya*...with *upādāya* as twenty-four elements, then the previous sentence must be wrong because the unknown author of the text has omitted *upādāya* in the previous sentence, i.e. he has said that the whole *rūpa* is covered by the *mahābhūtāni*. (Childers, p.227, states: 'The Rūpakhandha, or organised body, is composed of these elements' (*mahābhūta*.) What he has said before he has emphasised in the second sentence, *catvāri ca mahābhūtānyupādāya*.... The first sentence means 'Whatever *rūpa* is there, all *rūpa* is the four *mahābhūtas*'. The beginning of the second sentence, *catvāri ca mahābhūtānyupādāya iti* means 'Taking these four great elements as constituent parts'. One might ask, 'Why does he not mention twenty-four elements, just as he mentioned the four great elements?' By *upalakṣaṇārtha* he can cover the other twenty-four (i.e. he can cover the other twenty-four by implication), as in *kākebhyo dadhi rakṣatām*, 'Protect the curds from crows', which means 'Protect the curds from crows and other obnoxious birds or animals'. If Skilling insists that *mahābhūtānyupādāya* is one word then the phrase *catvāri ca mahābhūtānyupādāya* breaks the rule of Sanskrit grammar, as we are reminded by the following quotation from the *Kāśikā*: *pratiyogipadād anyat yad anyat kārakād api / vṛttiśādaikadeśasya sambandhas tena neṣyate //* 'What is different from *pratiyogipada* or *kāraka*, the relation of one part of a compound word with it is not desired.'

Thus examples like *Caitrasya dasabhāryā*, 'The wife of the servant Caitra'; *lūnacakraṛatho mayā*, 'A chariot that has had a wheel removed by me'; and *śaraiḥ śātītatpatro'yam vṛkṣaḥ*, 'This tree has had a leaf cut off by arrows', are allowed, but examples like *rdhasya rājamātāṅgāḥ*, 'Elephants of a rich king', and *Prabīram putrakāmyati*, 'She desires a son like Prabīra', are not allowed. Hence in *catvāri ca mahābhūtānyupādāya*, even if *mahābhūtānyupādāya* is taken as a compound term, *catvāri* cannot be construed with *mahābhūtāni*, being neither a *pratiyogipada* nor a *kāraka*. Another point: if *mahābhūtānyupādāya* is variously interpreted in the different schools, then how can Skilling be certain that it cannot be translated as I have translated it? Also, if Sopa and Bagchi are right, then you would expect a *ca*, 'and', either after *upādāya* or after *iti* (taking *mahābhūtāni* and *upādāya* as two

separate words).

[A note: on p.201 of Bagchi's translation the editor of *Epigraphia Indica*, footnote 3, states that the Sanskrit text of the sūtra says that the Buddha was residing with 650 monks (in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta forest = $\frac{1}{2} \times 1300$), whereas the text says *ardhatrayodaśabhir bhikṣuśataih*, which means $1200 + (\frac{1}{2} \times 100) = 1250$ monks. This usage is normal for ordinals in Sanskrit (see under 2. *ardha*, p.91 of Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) but here it is used with cardinals. For the equivalent Pali expression see p.272 in A.K.Warder's *Introduction to Pali*, which the PTS has just reprinted in paperback format.]

The second sūtra

The Tibetanist I consulted makes the following seven points about my translation. I have added my own comments in square brackets after each point.

P.33, 1.3. In the Tibetan text all the gods and bodhisattvas are seated on white stones. [In the Sanskrit version the word 'seated' does not appear, so it is not expressly stated whether anyone is seated or not. I assumed it to mean that the Buddha was seated alone because in the Sanskrit the expression 'on a stone slab like a white woollen blanket' is in the singular and it did not seem likely that all the disciples, bodhisattvas and gods were all sitting with him on the same stone! I think Sastri should have put the word for stone slabs in the plural or compounded with a word for 'seated' inflected in the instrumental plural.]

P.33, 1.6-7. 'Adorned with the jewels of immeasurable qualities' refers to the three bodhisattvas and not to Mahābrahmā etc. [In the Sanskrit this adjective could refer to the bodhisattvas or the gods, and even to the disciples. Sastri could have avoided the ambiguity by compounding the adjective with the bodhisattvas, i.e. *aprameyagunarataṅgālahkratabodhisattvamahāsattvaih*.]

P.34, 1.5. 'Having fallen from' - the verb in Tibetan is *mchis.pa* which can mean 'have come to', i.e. they have come to this assembly due to their practice of chastity etc. [The word *patita* normally means 'fallen', but it can mean 'alighted' as the verb *pat* means 'to fly' as well as 'to fall'. It does make better sense in the context to say that the gods had arrived in the circle of this assembly than that they had fallen from it. Sastri could

have made it a bit easier for me if he had used the commoner past participle *gata* instead of *patita*.]

P.34, 1.11. 'Those states' = dharmas? entities? perhaps for *chos*. *gañ*, 'whatever' would be better. [The word *dharma* is notoriously difficult to translate, 'Entities' or 'whatever' are quite acceptable. 'States' has the sanction of Edgerton, p. 276, where he gives 'state of existence, condition of being' as a meaning of *dharma*, as in Pali. Another reason why I used this word is that 'states' was used to translate *dharmā* when I first started learning Pali around 1972.]

1.13-14. 'The body of the doctrine' = Dharmakāya - the absolute nature of Buddha (as in the three Kāyas of the Buddha).

[In a Mahāyāna text I should have guessed this was the meaning. I think I have been influenced by the Pali meaning, given by Edgerton as 'having a body that is, or is characterised by the Doctrine'. I have the support of L.de La Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa* vii.81, n.1: 'souvent dharmakāya = le corps des écritures = le deuxième ratna', but Edgerton, which quotes this on p.177, says 'I have not found this usage'.]

1.18-19. 'Recites a verse...sphere of religion'. The Tibetan reads more like 'establishes themselves within the verses composed about the sphere of reality, dependent origination'. (He subsequently said that it means to be in tune with dependent origination, *dharmadhātu*.) [Here Sastri's Sanskrit *gāthām paṭhati*, 'recites a verse', does not convey the spiritual meaning of the Tibetan, even if we take *paṭhati* to mean 'peruses, studies'. Certainly *dharmadhātu* can be translated as 'sphere of reality', but 'sphere of religion' has the support of Edgerton and also of Conze in his *Buddhist Thought in India*, p.95, where he says 'Among the Mahā-sāṅghikas' and in the Mahāyāna *dharmadhātu* quite regularly denotes the absolute Dharma (i.e. Nirvāṇa - JC), which is a factor additional to all the contingent constituents of our experience. 'Dharma-element' becomes one of the synonyms of the Absolute, and its meaning epistemological but frankly religious, to such an extent that the term may be rendered as 'sphere of religion'.]

1.19-20. 'Having been made to fall' - in Tibetan the meaning is more 'when going from here' (i.e. when dying at the end of a karmically determined life span). [This is simply my literal translation of the Sanskrit *itah pracāvya*. Of course it means

'having one's existence in that world brought to an end by the exhaustion of one's karma'. Cf. *kṣīṇe puṇye martyalokam viśanti.*]

To conclude, I would say that I have answered Mr Skilling's assertions of mistranslation of the first sūtra, and with regard to the second sūtra Sastri's retranslation from Tibetan into Sanskrit is basically reliable, although there is room for improvement.

Errata

I would like to take this opportunity to correct some typographical errors in my article as published:

1. Throughout, Brāhma and Mahābrāhma should read Brahmā and Mahābrahmā.
2. On p.32, 1.6 from bottom, add 'what is feeling?' after 'conditioned by contact is feeling'.
3. On p.33, 1.5 from bottom, add 'white' before 'woollen blanket'.

CSOMA DE KOROS: Instigator of Tibetology

Russell Webb

[On the occasion of the bicentenary of the birth of Csoma de Kőrös, whose pioneer work eventually led to, amongst other studies, an investigation and appreciation of Buddhism and the Buddhist literature of Tibet, we present the opening section of the author's 'Hungary' - a chapter in his proposed full-length study of Buddhism in the West.]

I

Alexander Csoma was born 1784 in Kőrös (now Csomakőrös), Transylvania (a province that was ceded to Romania in 1919). The son of a Calvinist border guard, between 1799-1815 he boarded at the denominational Bethlen College, Nagyenyed, where he was taught theology, classical philosophy, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. During this period he also learnt French, German and Romanian. He inclined towards philology and history; in the latter subject national traditions were emphasised and these awoke in him a desire to search for the racial 'homeland' of the Magyars, especially since at least European scholars (including J.H.Klaproth) had (mistakenly) identified his countrymen with the Uighurs of Central Asia. (Amongst the reference works in the College library was Joseph de Guignes' pioneer *Histoire générale des Huns, Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux*, 5 vols, Paris 1756-8.) The young Csoma accordingly acquired the available knowledge of the geography of the area he intended to visit, read all the relevant travelogues and perfected his ascetic disposition to inure himself against the anticipated hardships.

With a grant from an English Protestant mission, Csoma studied Arabic, Turkish, English and ethnology at Göttingen University in Hanover between 1816-8. For the first two subjects the renowned Orientalist, Johann Eichhorn, was his tutor, whilst Arnold Heeren, who had researched the history and culture of Asian peoples, encouraged his protégé in his chosen interests. On his own admission, Csoma 'mastered thirteen living and dead languages' which included (apart from those mentioned above) Italian, Spanish, Serbo-Croat and Church Slavonic.

Having completed the necessary arrangements and obtained the equivalent of an exit visa, Csoma set out on foot in the autumn

of 1819 with 200 florins in his pocket. Passing through Persia, he met the British Resident in Teheran (Major Willock) who gave him Rs 300 which enabled him, after a perilous journey, to reach Leh, the capital of Ladakh. Returning to Kashmir, he met William Moorcroft, an English traveller and veterinary surgeon to the East India Company, who recognised the latent potential in Csoma. Moorcroft recommended him to the British Indian authorities who, in view of the strategic importance of Tibet, delegated to him the task of studying its language. Accordingly, Csoma returned to Kashmir and spent sixteen months during 1823-4 in Zangla gönpa, Zanskar province, a slightly longer period during 1825-6 at Phugtal (in the same area) and finally at Kanum in Upper Besarh for three years from 1827. For collecting 40,000 Tibetan words, and thereby revealing the treasures of both language and literature to the West, he was paid a paltry Rs 50. Living frugally and enduring the extremes of cold and heat, he finally prepared his Tibetan grammar and dictionary which were published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. Their appearance brought him immediate recognition by the academic world.

In 1837 he became Librarian of the Asiatic Society but in 1842 he set out again in an attempt to discover the ancient source of the Magyar race. However, he contracted malaria and died in Darjeeling in April. The Asiatic Society erected a memorial over his grave on which the following lines were (in translation) composed by another explorer, Count István Széchenyi, and engraved in 1910 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: 'Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, Hungarian scientist, a founder of Oriental philology for the world, for us, for his compatriots, an eternal example of patriotism and scientific heroism, too. He searched for the cradle of his nation and has found his own grave, but also his immortality'.¹

About 1930 the Budapest sculptor, Béla Ohmann (1890-1968), designed a mausoleum for Csoma in Hungary. Displaying Indian motifs, it can still be seen in Szeged's National Hall in Dom Street.

In February 1933, at a meeting of Buddhists, the Minister of Education and representatives of the Foreign Office, the Honganji branch of Jōdo Shinshū in Kyoto declared de Kőrös a bodhisattva by reason of 'opening the heart of the West for the teachings of Buddhism'. Géza Csorba sculptured a statue of him (donated

by the 'Asiatic Society of Hungary') in an idealised *samādhi* posture for the shrine room of the Taishō University in Tokyo.

And in the bicentennial year (1984), a Ft 2 stamp was issued by the Government of Hungary. This depicts Csoma holding a quill pen and paper; in the background is an outline of India and Tibet with Darjeeling marked under a drawing of his grave.

The literary contributions of de Kőrös include an *Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English* (Calcutta 1834; repr. Manjushri, New Delhi 1973 and Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1984, and, as *A Dictionary of Tibetan and English*, by Cosmo, New Delhi 1978), *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language* (Calcutta 1834; repr. London 1970, Delhi 1983 and Budapest 1984), *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary* (= the Mahāvvyutpatti ed. E. Denison Ross and S.C. Vidyabhusan, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* IV, Parts 1 and 2, Calcutta 1910/16, Part 3, ed. D.C. Chatterjee, 1944; enlarged and corrected by Anil K. Gupta, Delhi 1980; Parts 2 and 3 repr. Delhi 1982; repr. in one vol., Budapest 1984); numerous papers to *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta), the most important comprising an 'Analysis of the Dulva' (= Vinaya, 1836 II, repr. 1979) were reprinted in *The Life and Teachings of Buddha* (Calcutta 1957) whilst his analyses of the Kanjur and Tanjur were included in L. Austine Waddell *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism* (Cambridge 1894, repr. 1967; New York 1972 and New Delhi 1979; *Analysis of the Kanjur*, off-printed, Delhi 1982); his contributions to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* - the most substantial comprising the translation of half of the 13th century gnomic poem by Saskya-pañḍita (Subhāṣitaratnanidhi) - were edited by Denison Ross and published as 'Tibetan Studies' (JASB 1912) - the collected works from both Calcutta journals have been reprinted in one volume by Akadémiai Kiadó (Budapest 1984); *Azsiái Levelek: és más inások and Buddha élete és tanításai* (Budapest 1949 and 1972). The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi has now appeared in complete translation by L. Ligeti (but versified by Dezső Tandori) under the title *A bölcsesség kincsestára* (Európa Könyvkiadó, Budapest 1984).²

II

To perpetuate his memory and promote the interests to which he had dedicated his all-too-short life, the Kőrösi Csoma Társaság (Society) was founded 1920 in Budapest by Gyula Németh, Zoltán Felvinczi Takács and Count Pál Teleki (1879-1941; Prime Minister 1920-1 and 1939-41). Németh (1890-1976) was Professor of Turkology

at Budapest University and edited the Kőrösi Csoma Archivum in three volumes (1921, 1932, supplement to I - 1936, and 1941). Takács (1880-1964) was Professor of the History of Art at Szeged University and recounted his travels through India, China and Japan in *Buddha útján a Távol-Keleten* ('On the Path of the Buddha in the Far East', 2 vols, Budapest 1937).

Although the objects of the Society were to study the languages, literatures, history and culture of Asia, it remained in a generally moribund state doubtless due to the tense political situation in central Europe. It was not until 1968 that the Society was revived with Németh as Honorary President. The necessary impetus came from Lajos Ligeti who was elected President. Born 1902, he undertook fieldwork in Inner Mongolia between the World Wars and effectively initiated Mongolian studies at Budapest University where he occupied the Chair of Inner Asian Studies between 1942-75. Thereafter, he served as Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences for nearly two decades and is still chief editor of its prestigious multi-lingual bi-annual *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*. Amongst his numerous publications it would be appropriate to mention Vols III and VI of *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* (sponsored by the Society): *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé I* (1942) and the edited facsimiles of *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol I* (1948).

III

In September 1976, under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, the Society held a symposium dedicated to the memory of de Kőrös at Mátrafüred. Notable representatives of Tibetan and Central Asian studies from sixteen countries participated in the conference which covered the fields of Tibetan culture, history, linguistics, religion and sociology and related aspects of Tangut studies. The *Proceedings* were subsequently edited by Ligeti (Budapest 1978) who contributed a long essay on 'Le mérite d'ériger un stūpa et l'histoire de l'éléphant d'or'.

The success of this conference led to a similar meeting held in September 1979 by Lake Balaton. To perpetuate the Memorial Symposium, a Permanent International Committee was elected to maintain contact between the participants, implement resolutions between meetings and prepare for the next session. The Committee now comprises András Róna-Tas (President), György Kara and Géza Uray from Hungary, E.Steinkellner (Austria), W.Heissig (W.Germany),

M.Taube (E.Germany), L.Petech (Italy), J.Takasaki (Japan), Sh. Bira (Mongolia), E.I.Kychanov (USSR) and T.V.Wylie (USA).

The *Bulletin of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium* has appeared in three double issues between 1977-9 and, through the medium of English, 'offers regular information and bibliography in the fields of ...Tibetan Studies, Central Asiatic Studies and Lamaism'. Under the editorship of József Terjék [George Somlai from the next issue], reports on the work of university departments, institutes, libraries and individual scholars were made known to the public.

A third Symposium was held in Velm (Vienna), September 1981, which was sponsored by the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde at the University. Fifty-eight scholars from Europe, North America and the Far East participated out of which forty-six had their papers published in the *Proceedings*, edited by E.Steinkellner and H.Tauscher under the titles *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture* and *Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Religion and Philosophy*. Both volumes appeared in the series *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde* (10 and 11) published by Vienna University in 1983.

In India a Memorial Seminar was held on de Kőrös' birth anniversary in 1977 by the Department of Buddhist Studies at the University of Delhi. Amongst the participants, Géza Bethlenfalvy [now General Secretary of the Kőrösi Csoma Társaság] submitted a paper on the origins of Saskya's Subhāṣitaratnanidhi and its translations, whilst Margit Köves (who obtained her doctorate from the Department) analysed a *Prajñāpāramitā stotra* by Nāgārjuna on the basis of its Uighuric and Tibetan translations.

IV

In the bicentenary year of Csoma de Kőrös' birth (1984), appropriate events have been held in Hungary, England and India. In Budapest 195 artefacts illustrating the 'Art of Lamaism' were exhibited at the Museum of Applied Arts. Outside the capital, at Visegrád, the Kőrösi Csoma Társaság and Budapest University's Department of Inner Asia [now headed by G.Kara] organised a symposium in September under the State Committee presidency of the Deputy Prime Minister, István Sarlócs. No less than eighty-nine scholars from all over the world (as in the case for all previous conferences) presented papers on the life of de Kőrös, the religion, philosophy, logic, canonical literature, language, medicine and music of Tibet,

and the history, literature, anthropology and arts of Central Asia.

To coincide with the actual birthday (in April), a symposium was arranged at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, by lecturers Philip Denwood and Dr Géza Fehérvári. Other speakers on the life of de Kőrös and Tibetan culture in general included Prof. Kara. A small exhibition of relevant artefacts was held in the School's library.

Yet another seminar was held in April, in Delhi, jointly organised by the University's Department of Buddhist Studies and the Kőrösi Csoma Cultural Circle, and guided by Prof. Lokesh Chandra (Chairman, Indian Council of Historical Research). A book in Hindi on the life and achievements of de Kőrös by Tirlok Deep was released on this occasion. (At the end of March an International Seminar on Buddhist Iconography was organised by the Tibet House Cultural Centre, New Delhi.)

Finally, Akadémiai Kiadó (Budapest) reprinted the collected works of de Kőrös as intimated in the bibliography above. Also, forty-seven essays on *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies* in two volumes edited by Prof. Emeritus Lajos Ligeti.

Notes

- 1 Biographical materials (all those in Hungarian published in Budapest unless otherwise indicated) include:
 A letter from de Kőrös dated 1825 (JRAS I, London 1834).
 His death reported, with a tribute, by A. Campbell (JRAS 1842).
 Obituary (JRAS 1843, Proceedings).
 Further obituary notes by G.W.A. Lloyd and A. Campbell (JRAS 1846).
 Life sketch included in A. Schiefner *Tibetan Tales* (tr. W.R.S. Ralston, London 1882).

Theodore (or Tivadar) Duka (1825-1908) was ADC to Arthur György, the C-in-C of the ill-fated Hungarian revolutionary army during 1848-9, and subsequently became a political refugee in London and a surgeon in India. He learned all he could about his illustrious countryman and wrote two essays for the periodical *Budapesti Szemle*: 'Adalék Kőrösi Csoma Sándor életiratahoz' (1864) and 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor' (1884, off-printed 1898); *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor dolgozatai* (= collected essays, 1885; repr. Arya Maitreya Mandala, 1984) translated as *The Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös* (London 1885; repr. New Delhi 1972); and an appreciation of de Kőrös in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*:

'Some remarks on the life and labours of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös delivered on the occasion when his Tibetan books and MSS were exhibited before the Royal Asiatic Society on the 16th June 1884'.

- Zelma Forray Baán *A vándorló székelly csillag* (1942)
 Ervin Baktay *A világ tetején. Kőrösi Csoma Sándor nyomdokain nyugati Tibetbe* (1930)
A messzeségek vándora. Kőrösi Csoma Sándor regényes életrajza (1934, repr. 1960)
Háromszéktől a Himálajáig. Kőrösi Csoma Sándor életutja (1942)
Kőrösi Csoma Sándor (1962)
 Elek Benedek 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor' (*Nagy magyarok élete*, 1907, repr. 1979, and *Hires erdélyi magyarok*, Satu Mare 1922)
 Géza Bethlenfalvy 'Alexander Csoma de Kőrös in Ladakh' (*Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium*, ed. L. Ligeti, 1978)
 Lajos Blaskovich *Oshaza és Kőrösi Csoma Sándor célja. Kőrösi Csoma Sándor halálának 100. évfordulóján* (1942)
 Jenő Cholnoky *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor* (1940)
 Elek Csetri *Korosi Csoma Sandor indulasa* (Bucharest 1979)
 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor születéséről és származásáról' (*Korunk* XXXVIII, 1979)
 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor's training for oriental studies in Transylvania' (*Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture*, ed. E. Steinkellner and H. Tauscher, Vienna 1983)
 'Csoma de Kőrös' Life before his Oriental Journey' (*Tibetan and Buddhist Studies* 1, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1984)
 Sándor Debreczy *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor csodálatos élete* (Sf. Gheorghe 1937; repr. Sepsiszentgyörgy 1942)
 E. Denison Ross 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor és a tibeti buddhizmus' (*Akadémiai Ertesítő* 1910)
 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor' (*Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* II, 1932)
 Léon Feer 'Csoma de Kőrös, fondateur des études tibétaines' (*Bulletin de la Société académique indo-chinoise*, Paris 1885-6)
 Gyula Halász *Ot világrész magyar vándorai. Kőrösi Csoma Sándor* (1937)
Világjáró magyarok (1945)
 Ernest Hetényi 'Alexander Csoma de Kőrös' (*Tibetan Review* I, 12, Darjeeling 1968, *Bulletin of Tibetology* IX, 1, Gangtok 1972, and *A Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Intézet Közleményei - Communications of the Alexander Csoma de Kőrös Institute for Buddhism* I, Budapest 1972)
 'Pioneering Works by Hungarian' (*World Buddhism* XXI, 3, Nugegoda 1972)

- W.W.Hunter 'A Pilgrim Scholar (*The Pioneer*, Allahabad 1885; repr. in *The India of the Queen and other Essays*, ed. Lady Hunter, London 1903, and *The Life and Teachings of Buddha*, Calcutta 1957); plagiarised by Edmond Bordeaux Szekely as *Pilgrim of the Himalayas* (San Diego 1974); tr. by A.Bodor as 'A zarándok tudós' (*Buddha élete és tanításai*, Bucharest 1972, repr. 1982)
- László Kádár 'Adalékok Kőrösi Csoma Sándor származási rejtélyének megoldásához' (*Keltekutatás* 2, 1974)
- György Kara *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor* (1970)
- István Korda *A nagy út. Kőrösi Csoma Sándor életregénye* (Bucharest 1956, repr. 1978; Budapest 1958) tr. as *Dramul cel mare* (Bucharest 1958)
- Géza Laczkó *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor* (Szeged 1942)
- Lajos Ligeti 'Les pèlerinages de Csoma de Kőrös et les pays des Yugar' (*Revue des études hongroises* XII, Paris 1934)
- 'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös' (*Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, 1935)
- 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor emlékezete' (*Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* III, 1941)
- 'Alexander Kőrösi Csoma' (*Ungarn*, 1942)
- Kőrösi Csoma Sándor* (1942)
- Lajos Magyarai *Alexander Csoma de Kőrös' Legacy* (1976)
- László Musrai *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor* (Nagyenyed 1946)
- 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor és Nagyenyed' (*Magyar Pedagógia* LXIII, 1963)
- Hirendranath Mukerjee *Csoma de Kőrös - a dedicated life* (New Delhi 1977). Repr. as *Great Tibetologist. Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, Hermit Hero from Hungary* (New Delhi 1984)
- Gyula Németh 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor célja' (*Előadások Kőrösi Csoma emlékére* 10, 1935)
- Kőrösi Csoma Sándor lelki alkata és fejlődése* (Kolozsvár 1943)
- István Sárándy *A mesék országában. Kőrösi Csoma Sándor utazása* (1911)
- Ferenc Szilágyi 'Adalók Kőrösi Csoma Sándor életrajzához' (*MTA Nyelv. és Irodalmi Osztályának közleményei* XXI, 1964)
- Kőrösi Csoma Sándor hazai útja* (1966)
- Igy élt Kőrösi Csoma Sándor* (1977)
- Oliver Técsői Techy 'Kőrösi Csoma Sándor és a tibeti buddhizmus' (*A Magyar Keleti Társaság Kiadványai* 1-3, 1944)
- G.Tucci 'Alessandro Csoma de Kőrös' (*Acta Philosophica* I, Kolozsvár University, 1942)
- Márton ungi 'Egy pár töredékvonás Kőrösi Csoma Sándor képéből' (*Vasárnapi Ujság* VII, 1860)

European to explore this autonomous state in 1976.)

József Esteli of Esztergom compiled an exhaustive survey of all the references to de Kőrös contained in Western publications in the form of a doctoral dissertation for the Arya Maitreya Mandala in 1981 which was published in the following year under the title *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor dokumentáció*.

2 Exegetical materials and collections of de Kőrös' manuscripts have been edited as follows:

- Rev. S.C.Malan 'Tibetan Books and Manuscripts of the Late Alexander Csoma de Kőrös presented to the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences at Budapest' (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1884)
- L.Ligeti 'Ouvrages tibétains rédigés à l'usage de Csoma' (*T'oung Pao*, Leiden 1933)
- L.Ligeti et al. *Analecta orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata* (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* V, 1942-7) including L.J.Nagy *Tibetan Books and Manuscripts of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*.
- József Terjék *Tudósítások Kőrösi Csoma Sándorról* (Kőrösi Csoma Társaság, 1971)
- Tibetan Compendia written for Csoma de Kőrös by the Lamas of Zañs-dkar* (= MSS in the above Library, Śata-Piṭaka Series 231, New Delhi 1976)
- Kőrösi Csoma dokumentumok az Akadémiai Könyvtár gyűjteményeiben and Collection of Tibetan Manuscripts and Xylographs of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös* (Academy of Sciences, Budapest 1976)

See also *Bibliography of Tibetan Studies* (Calcutta 1971) by Sibadas Chaudhuri (Librarian of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) who dedicated it to de Kőrös and Sarat Chandra Das.

Michel Peissel in *Zanskar. The Hidden Kingdom* (London 1979) includes numerous references to de Kőrös' visits to Zanskar. (The French author was the first

The Buddhist Research Library ✓

Situated at 36 Sri Sorata Mawatha, Gangodawila, Nugegoda (Sri Lanka), this research centre was opened in April 1984 by the Commissioner of Buddhist Affairs, Mr Eardley Ratwatte. Under the auspices of the Public Trustee, the main initial object is to collect books on Buddhist and Indian philosophy in general in Pali, Prakrit, Sanskrit and English, both for reference purposes and to further original research. Apparently, no existing university or public library in Sri Lanka possesses adequate holdings in these languages, other than Sinhala ola leaf manuscripts and printed books. There will also be residential facilities for scholar bhikkhus.

The Director is Ven. Dr H. Saddhātissa (joint Vice-President of the Pali Text Society and, from 1st March 1985, Spiritual Adviser of the London Buddhist Vihāra - Ven. M. Vajirañña will succeed him as its Head), whilst Ven. Dr Gatara Dhammapāla is Hon. Secretary and Ven. Helawa Janananda is Librarian.

Publications and Representatives of the PTS ✓

The headquarters of the agents for the Pali Text Society, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, have moved to 14 Leicester Square, London WC2H 7PH (tel. 01-437 9011). Their bookshop has been sold to new owners who will, however, continue to stock all PTS publications. Under the name Knightsbridge Books, it is now situated at 32 Store Street, London WC1E 7BS (tel. 01-636 1252). Orders by post should continue to be sent to the PTS section (c/o Arthur Messer) at Routledge & Kegan Paul, Broadway House, Newtown Road, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon RG9 1EN (tel. 01-753 9435).

(The President) K.R. Norman's long-awaited translation of the Sutta-Nipāta (with variant readings by I.B. Horner and Ven. Dr W. Rāhula) was published under the title, *The Group of Discourses*, and this will undoubtedly supersede all earlier versions which were largely defective, either philologically or stylistically. A.K. Warder's *Introduction to Pali*, virtually the only accessible grammar on the subject, has been reprinted in paperback format at the bargain price of £4.95. Also appearing during 1984 were the following reprints in the Translation Series: *The Book of the Discipline III*, *Dialogues of the Buddha I-III* and *Minor Anthologies II* (Udāna and Iti-vuttaka).

The PTS is represented overseas by the following:

Australia: Phra Khantipālo, Wat Buddha-Dhamma, 10 Mile Hollow, Wisemans Ferry, NSW 2255.

He has produced an incomparable 'guide to the Discourses in the Numerical Collection (Aṅguttara-nikāya) listing subjects, similes, persons and places'. *Where's that Sutta?* will be reprinted to form the JPTS for 1985.

Burma: U Nyi Nyi, 84D Goodliffe Road, Yankin P.O., Rangoon.

Japan: Prof. Fumimaro Watanabe, 1-1-79 Nanryo-cho, Uji City, Kyoto 611.

His Toronto University dissertation was published in 1983 by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, under the title *Philosophy and its Development in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma*.

Malaysia: Choy Meng Hooi, 1 Road SS 3/2, Petaling Jaya, Selangor.

Sri Lanka: Prof. N.A. Jayawickrama, 1 Park Gardens, Colombo 5.

He intends to translate the Papañcasūdanī for the PTS.

Thailand: The Buddhist Association of Thailand, 41 Phra Aditya Street, Bangkok.

USA: Prof. George W. Bond, Northwestern University, Dept of the History and Literature of Religions, 1940 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60201.

He has produced a study of *"The Word of the Buddha"*. *The Tipitaka and its Interpretation in Theravāda Buddhism* (M.D. Gunasena, Colombo 1982) which includes a detailed thesis on the Nettippakaraṇa.

Other Publications and Reprints in 1984 ✓

H. Bechert and R. Gombrich (ed.) *The World of Buddhism* (London), *Le monde de bouddhisme* (Paris) and *Die Welt des Buddhismus* (Munich). Léon Feer (tr. G.M. Foulkes) *A Study of Jātakas* (Varanasi). E. Frauwallner *History of Indian Philosophy* (Delhi). Ananda W.P. Gurugé *From the Living Fountains of Buddhism*. Sri Lankan Support to Pioneering Western Orientalists [notably Sir Edwin Arnold, Paul Carus, R. Chalmers, R.C. Childers, V. Fausbøll, W. Geiger, C.R. Lanman, E. Müller, Max Müller, I. Minaev, R. Morris, K.E. Neumann, H.S. Olcott, H. Oldenberg, R. Pischel, C.A.F. and T.W. Rhys Davids, R. Rost, V. Trenckner, H.C. Warren and F.L. Woodward] (Colombo). Rune E.A. Johansson *La Psicología del Nirvāna* (Rome). Francis Mason *Kaccāyana's Pali Grammar with Chrestomathy and Vocabulary* (Delhi). Max Müller *A Dictionary of Buddhist Technical Terms* (= Dharma-

Samgraha, New Delhi). Nyanaponika (tr.) *Die Lehrreden des Buddha aus der angereichten Sammlung* (5 vols, Freiburg). Nyanatiloka (tr.A.Solé-Leris) *La Paraula del Buda* (in Catalan - Abadia de Montserrat). H.Oldenbergh *Buddha* (Stuttgart). Amalia Pezzali *L'idealismo buddhista di Asanga* (Bologna). Alexander Piatigorsky *The Buddhist Philosophy of Thought*. Essays in Interpretation (London and Totowa, New Jersey). Walpola Rahula (tr. M.A.Falà) *L'Insegnamento del Buddha* (Rome) and *Was der Buddha lehrt* (Berne). V.Stache-Rosen (tr.) *Das Upālipariprocchāsūtra*. Ein Text zur buddhistischen Ordendisziplin (ed.H.Beichert, Göttingen). Th.Stcherbatsky *Buddhist Logic* (New Delhi). L.Ananda Wickremeratne *The Genesis of an Orientalist: Thomas William Rhys Davids [and Buddhism] in Sri Lanka* (Delhi).

The Mahāyāna Study Group and its work ✓

The Mahāyāna Study Group (MSG) is a small body of (London) Buddhist Society members who, thanks to the help of the Council, now meet regularly at the Society to study and to inform each other on the Mahāyāna and its origins. A primary activity is the group study of Mahāyāna sūtras from translations of the original texts with the aim of accurate interpretation and assimilation.

The group is small enough to decide its own programmes of activity by consensus yet has sufficient individual skills and contacts to engage in substantial works of research and translations of texts and studies from the French. Although not primarily academic in either background or inclination, MSG members make use of the works of professional scholars in their researches into Mahāyāna and its later developments.

As well as group study of texts by and for its own members, the MSG aims at bringing the results of academic studies and translations within reach of a wider public of Buddhists and students of Buddhism. This is done by holding classes and lectures (some of these on tapes) for systematic exposition based on the literature or information on specifics by means of researched articles. Individual research is encouraged and guided when connected with agreed programmes and the group as a whole provides a forum for the presentation and assessment of results.

The group recognises and affirms the religious framework of the study/practice of the Buddhadharmā and its aspirations focus on the ancient tradition of Buddhist scholar-devotees. As Buddhists by conviction, group members can determine and sustain

personal practice from the teachings in the texts themselves. This religious framework is emphasised by holding a regular *pūjā* which includes the formal reading of sūtra texts and meditation.

This pattern of *pūjā* and study has continued in various localities and with a core of founder members since 1954. Now, the range and scale of needful work exceeds the group's capacities and it, therefore, welcome enquiries from those interested in helping in any way to meet the ever growing need for reliable knowledge of the works of the ancient masters and the texts of the Illustrious Dharma.

For further information please write to Eric Cheetham, c/o The Buddhist Society, 58 Eccleston Square, London SW1V 1PH.

Research Centre in Japan ✓

A School of Far Eastern Studies, forming part of the Italian Cultural Institute in Kyoto, was opened in May 1984 in the presence of the Italian Minister of Education, Franco Falcucci, and Ambassador, Marcello Guidi, Dr Hubert Durt (Director of the Institut du Hōbōgirin), one of his assistants, Antonino Forte, and a number of Japanese Orientalists.

Located near the University, the School offers the customary facilities whilst its library of 3,000 volumes has been generously supplemented by the Western-language books from the collection of the late Mgr E.Lamotte. The School intends to enter into agreements with similar institutions in the world and exchange bibliographic information and documentary materials, also to hold seminars and facilitate the work of visiting scholars.

The School is situated on the 4th floor of the Italian-Japanese Cultural Center, 4 Yoshida Ushinomiya-cho, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto.

First International Conference on Buddhism and National Cultures ✓

Sponsored by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, Indian Council of Historical Research, Indian Council of Philosophical Research and the Advisory Committee on Buddhist Studies, India, this conference was held in New Delhi between 10th-15th October 1984. It was formally opened by the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, who 'called upon the whole of mankind to try to benefit from the rich spiritual treasure left behind by the Buddha and other religious leaders instead of looking for new guides'.

The large number of entries were categorised under seven main headings: Buddhist Ecumenism in National Cultures, Buddhist Non-Violence and Peace, Philosophy and Religion, Architecture and Arts, Socio-Economic Ideas and Institutions, Literature, and Forms of Worship and Meditation.

Between 4-500 scholars from all over the world participated, some of the most notable and relevant papers being 'Buddhism and World Peace' (Ven.Kushok Bakula), 'Some Unique Features of Buddhist Logic' (Sibajiban Bhattacharya), 'The Uniqueness of the Buddhist Way of Thinking and its Encounter with the West Today' (Guy Bugault), 'Buddhist Oikoumenē' (Lokesh Chandra), 'Contribution of Buddhism in the Field of Rasa (Aesthetic Sentiments)' (Angraj Chaudhary), 'Buddhist Art in Thailand' (Subhadradis Diskul), 'An Indian Philosophy of Universal Contingency, Nāgārjuna's School' (Carmen Dragonettti), 'Observations on the Rituals of Mahāyāna' (Luis O.Gómez), 'Buddhist Philosophy of the Ineffability of Ultimate Reals and the Concept of Apoha' (Rita Gupta), 'Buddhism and Chinese Culture' (Ren Jiyu), 'Buddhism and National Culture in Korea' (Rhi Ki-Yong), 'Buddhism and the Vietnamese Culture' (Thich Minh Chau), 'The Indian Origins of the Lam-rim Literature of Central Asia' (including new material from the commentaries on the Sūtrasamuccaya - Bhikkhu Pāsādika), 'The Importance of Candrakīrti and his Prasannapadā in Madhyamaka Thought' (Amalia Pezzali), 'Preliminary Observations on the History of Ancient Śrī Nālandā Mahāvihāra - Early Nālandā and Śrāvastī' (Gustav Roth), 'The Literature of the Puḡalavādins' - already published in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7,1, 1984 - Thich Thien Chau), 'Socio-Economic Ideas in Early Buddhist Scriptures' (Mahesh Tiwary), 'Buddhism in Udyana-Nagarahara, Eastern Afghanistan' (C.S.Upasak) and 'Buddhist Meditation (from root-Buddhism to Tantra)' (Alex Wayman).

In addition, keynote addresses includes those delivered by Ven.Dr Walpola Rāhula (on the authenticity of the Sinhalese Buddhist tradition), Prof.Emeritus Hajime Nakamura, and Prof.G.C.Pande (on Buddhist ecumenism vis-à-vis ecumenical ideas of the Vatican). All these contributions will be published in a special volume.

For presentation at the conference, Mahesh Tiwary edited a collection of twenty-nine short essays - many by the same participants. Under the title *Bodhi-Rasmi*, they are divided into four broad sections: History and Culture, Thoughts and Beliefs, Literature and Aesthetics, Art and Iconography.

OBITUARIES

Giuseppe Tucci (5.6.1894 - 4.4.1984) ✓

Pre-eminent in the fields of both Buddhist scholarship and archaeology, Tucci had deservedly dominated Italian Oriental studies in this century. He was born in Macerata (the birthplace of the 18th century Capuchin chronicler of Tibet, Cassiano Beligatti), in the Adriatic province of Marche. After serving in the First World War he completed his studies at the University of Rome obtaining a doctorate in 1919. He became a lecturer and finally the Professor of the Religions and Philosophies of India, only retiring in 1969. Between 1925-30 he taught Italian, Chinese and Tibetan at the universities of Calcutta and Shantiniketan and was elected to the Italian Academy in 1929. Thereafter, he accumulated numerous honours and decorations from all over the world for his services to scholarship and archaeology. The Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO), with which he was indissolubly connected, was established in the imposing Palazzo Brancaccio, Rome, in 1933, although he only became its official President from its legal incorporation in 1948. In recognition of his outstanding achievements in the Oriental field and on the occasion of his 80th birthday, two volumes of 'Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci' were presented to him - collectively (and appropriately) entitled *Gururājamañjarikā* (Naples 1974).

Apart from conducting archaeological expeditions to Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, he visited Tibet and the neighbouring provinces on eight occasions between 1927-48, always travelling on foot and in the company of a lama. Perhaps it was mere *upāya* that made him claim to be a Tibetan in a previous life, nonetheless he was able to transport from Tibet to Rome enormous quantities of manuscripts, objets d'art and artefacts for subsequent study and reproduction in, notably, *Indo-Tibetica*.

The first major documented expedition was to Western Tibet - the ancient kingdom of Guge - in 1933. 'Through the enlightened intervention of the Head of the Government' (Benito Mussolini) and the financial backing of Italian industry and commerce, Tucci's six-month programme of travel in company with marine captain, Dr Eugenio Ghersi, was accepted. In reading the 'Chronicle' (misleadingly translated under the sensational title of *Secrets of Tibet*)

one realises that Tucci was undoubtedly the most sympathetic Western visitor to the Land of Snows. Elsewhere, he referred to 'my Buddhist leanings'. In the Preface he admits: 'I presented myself in the guise of a disciple, even if the conversation on abstruse themes of theology and metaphysics - when I found monks capable of understanding me - showed that I was a novice; I bowed before statues, I recited formulas of prayer in the austere silence of sacristies, I devoutly kindled votive lamps on altars, greatly to my advantage, and I raised above my head with the utmost respect every book or statue which was offered to me' (pp.xi-xii). Little wonder that he was referred to as 'lama rinpoché' by his admiring hosts. 'Even if occasional travellers...have preceded me into Western Tibet, there is no doubt that no one of them has pursued the same ends as I have set for myself or has taken the trouble to study the country from the historical, archaeological and epigraphical point of view' (p.xiii).

Following the route of Rinchen zang-po (the 10th century Dharmadūta of Guge), the party 'visited without exception all the monasteries and all the temples; we have photographed their interiors, their frescos, their statues and their inscriptions, collecting precious scientific material' (p.81) before complete physical decay and political inaccessibility removed from sight a distinguished and unique religious civilisation. 'One can understand why this people lives so intensely in its religion, almost entranced and lost in visions unknown to us. The landscape is the natural background for Lamaism, for its rites, for its demons; all is gigantic and mysterious, infinite and sad' (p.104). Tucci further observed: 'This people, apparently so rude and primitive, who have been able to rise to the supreme heights of philosophic speculation and the highest mystic exaltation, also possess an innately profound and spontaneous sense of art. The Tibetan loves beautiful things; we are not speaking only of his temples and his sacred or cult objects, but also of the small things required for everyday life...' (p.123).

Tucci's sincere rapport with the indigenous interpretation and expression of Buddhism also reveals itself in the same chronicle, viz., 'the grand doctrinal conceptions and the profound mystical experiences of the *mahāyāna*' and 'one of the mystical creeds most worthy of study and one of the most profoundly felt of uplifting beliefs' (p.72); 'It is therefore desirable...that one begins

the study of this mystic and magic literature of Tibet from which psychologists and psychoanalysts will have much to learn' (p.97); 'Then there is a series of treatises on the *Dohakoṣa*, a vast mystic literature, written originally in certain medieval dialects of India, in which the *Mahāyānic* schools have reached their loftiest expression...They are of the utmost importance for the full understanding of the mysticism and asceticism of Buddhism...' (p.197). Thereafter, he devoted his life to revealing the treasures of Tibetan culture and edited or translated those texts in the mainstream of Buddhist thought.

On his final visit, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, in 1948, he 'had the invaluable companionship of [Sherpa] Tenzin, who was soon to climb Everest'. When they actually reached the capital, the prized goal of all travellers to Tibet, Tucci was granted an audience with the young Dalai Lama and was able to explore the many monasteries there. A decade later Tucci organised excavations at Swat (Pakistan) which, under its classical name of *Uddyāna*, was the birthplace of Padmasambhava, the legendary Dharmadūta to Tibet.

Tucci's ambition was to place Italy firmly on the map as far as Oriental studies were concerned. In this he succeeded brilliantly; the proliferation of 'research centres' within IsMEO and, no doubt, the post-War expansion in exploration and translation of Oriental materials, owe almost everything to his boundless energy and determination. His most tangible legacy is the *Serie Orientale Roma* which for many years incorporated all the indigenous works of Buddhist scholarship. His own contributions to this series comprised:

I *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (1950). IX *Minor Buddhist Texts I* (1956; repr. Kyoto 1978) = Asaṅga's commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā - Triśatikāyāḥ Prajñāpāramitāyāḥ Kārikāsaptatiḥ* - English introduction, romanised Sanskrit text with Chinese, Tibetan and English translations; analysis of the *Vajracchedikā* by Vasubandhu (compared with Kamalaśīla's commentary) - with Gilgit text of *Vajracchedikā* ed. by N.P.Chakravarti; Nāgārjuna's *Mahāyāna-Vimśikā* - Sanskrit text and English translation; Kambalapāda's *Navaśloki* - a treatise on the *Prajñāpāramitā* - Sanskrit text with Tibetan, Chinese and English translations; Amṛtākara's *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* - Sanskrit texts of *Nirauḥastava*, *Acintyastava* and *Paramārthastava* - hymns attributed to Nāgārjuna; Jitāri's *Hetutattvopadeśa* and *Vidyākaraṅśānti's Tarkasopāna* - Sanskrit texts of two treatises on logic. II (1958; repr. Kyoto 1978) = 'The debate of bSam yas according to Tibetan sources' (between Ind-

ian pandits and Chinese Ch'an masters in Tibet at the end of the 8th century) together with Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanākrama (romanised Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the first book with an English summary).^{*} XXI Ed. and tr. (with G.Pugliese Carratelli, G.Levi della Vida and U.Serrato) *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka* (1958). XXIV Ed. and tr. *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma*. Tibetan Chronicles by bSod nams grags pa (1971). XLIII *Minor Buddhist Texts III* (1971) = the Sanskrit text of the third book of Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanākrama.

^{*} *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (1956).

In chronological order, Tucci's other works related to Buddhism, Central or Far East Asian culture are as follows:

'A proposito dei rapporti tra cristianesimo e buddhismo' (*Bilychnis* XV, Rome 1920). 'Un altro poema di Aśvaghōsa: il *Saundarānanda*' (*Alle Fonti delle Religioni I*, 1921). 'L'influsso del buddhismo sulla civiltà dell'Estremo Oriente' (*Bilychnis* XVII, 1921). 'Note ed appunti sul *Divyāvadāna*' (*Atti del R.Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* LXXXI, 1922). 'Lhasa e il lamaismo' (*La terra e la vita I*, 1922). 'Lo *Śataśāstra*, tradotto dal sanscrito e commentato' (two parts, *Alle Fonti delle Religioni I-II*, 1922-3). 'Di una leggendaria biografia cinese di Nāgārjuna' (*Bilychnis* XXII, 1923). *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā* - Sanskrit text ed. for *Memorie della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei V* (Rome 1923). *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* - comparative study of Chapters 1 and 2 from the Sanskrit text and three Chinese recensions (*ibid.*). *Kāraṇavyūha* or *Avalokiteśvara-guṇakaraṇavyūha* - a study for *Atti della R.Accademia della Scienze* (Turin 1923). *Catuhśataka* - comparative study of the Chinese text with the Sanskrit original and Tibetan recension (*Rivisti degli Studi Orientali X*, Rome 1923) - translated from the Chinese, with the Sanskrit text, Tibetan translation and Candrakīrti's commentary from the Chinese included in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* (Rome 1925). *Śataśāstra* - tr. from Chinese under title *Le Cento Strofe* included in *Studi e materiali...* (*ibid.*). *Bodhicaryāvatāra* - Chapters 1-8 tr. *In cammino verso la luce* (Turin 1925). 'Un *Traité d'Āryadeva* sur le "Nirvāna" des hérétiques' - tr. of Bodhiruci's Chinese commentary on a section of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (*T'oung Pao* XXIV, Leiden 1925). *Il Buddhismo* (Foligno 1926). 'The Idealistic School in Buddhism' (*Dacca University Bulletin II*, 1926). 'Un epicedio per la morte del Buddha' (*Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana N.S.I.*, Florence 1928). 'Is the *Nyāyapraveśa* by Dīnāga?' (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London 1928). 'Notes on the *Laṅkāvatāra*' (*Indian Historical Quarterly IV*, Calcutta 1928). A study on 'The *Vādaśāstrī*' (*ibid.*). 'On the fragments from Dīnāga' (JRAS 1928). 'I conventi del Tibet' (*Bollettino della R.Società Geografica Italiana LXIV*, 1928). *Pre-Dīnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda 1929; repr. Chinese Materials Center, San Francisco 1976 and Madras 1981) = the restored Devanāgarī Sanskrit texts of the *Tarkaśāstra* and *Upāyahrdaya*, translations of the *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (with

romanised Tibetan text) and the *Śataśāstra* and an index of Chinese *nyāya* terms with their Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents. 'Buddhist Logic before Dīnāga (Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Tarkaśāstras)' (JRAS 1929). 'Bhamaha and Dīnāga' (*The Indian Antiquary LIX*, Bombay 1930). *On Some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha) and Asaṅga* (University of Calcutta 1930; repr. Chinese Materials Center, San Francisco 1975). *The Nyāyamukha of Dignāga*, the oldest Buddhist text on logic after Chinese and Tibetan materials. *Materialen zur Kunde des Buddhismus 15* (Heidelberg 1930; repr. Chinese Materials Center, San Francisco 1976). 'A Fragment from the *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā* of Vasubandhu' (ed., JRAS 1930). 'A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and some questions connected with Nāgārjuna' (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta 1930). 'Notes on the *Nyāyapraveśa* by Śaṅkarasvāmin' (JRAS 1931). *Teorie ed esperienze dei mistici tibetani* (Città di Castello 1931). 'Note ed appunti di viaggio nel Nepal' (*Bollettino della R.Società Geografica Italiana LXVIII*, Rome 1931). 'The sea and land travels of a Buddhist Sādhu [= Buddhagupta, the teacher of Tāranātha] in the sixteenth century' (*Indian Historical Quarterly VII*, Calcutta 1931). 'Two Hymns of the *Catuhstava* of Nāgārjuna' - Sanskrit and Tibetan texts ed. and tr. (JRAS 1932). *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣyatīkā of Sthiramati*. Being a sub-commentary on Vasubandhu's *bhāṣya* on the *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtra* of Maitreyanātha (ed. with V. Bhattacharya, Calcutta 1932). *The Commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitās. I. The Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka of Haribhadra* (ed., Baroda 1932). *Indo-Tibetica* - including the text and tr. of the *Mahāsamaya-kalpa-rāja* (or *Tattva-samgraha-tantra* (4 vols, Rome 1932-41). 'The *Ratnāvalī* of Nāgārjuna' - ed. and tr. of Chapters 1,2 and 4 (JRAS 1934). 'Some glosses upon the *Guhyasamāja*' (*Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques III*, Brussels 1934-5). *Cronaca della missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale, 1933* (with E. Ghersi, Rome 1934) - tr. as *Secrets of Tibet* (London-Glasgow 1935) and *Shrines of a Thousand Buddhas* (New York 1936). *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto* - a diary of an expedition to Western Tibet in 1935 (Milan 1937; repr. as *Tibet ignoto*, 1978). 'Splendori di un mondo che scompare: nel Tibet occidentale' (*Le Vie del Mondo*,^{III} 1935). 'On some bronze objects discovered in Western Tibet' (*Artibus Asiae V*, Ascona 1935). 'A propos the legend of Naropa' - review article on A. Grünwedel *Die Legenden des Nāropā* (JRAS 1935). 'Il Manasarovar, lago sacro del Tibet' (*Le Vie del Mondo*,^{IV} 1936). 'Indian paintings in Western Tibetan temples' (*Artibus Asiae VII*, Ascona 1937). 'L'Italia e l'esplorazione del Tibet' (*Asiatica IV*, 1938). 'La capitale del Tibet centrale: Ghianzé e il suo tempio terrificante' (*Le Vie del Mondo VI*, 1938). 'Lo Zen e il carattere del popolo giapponese' (*Asiatica V*, 1939). 'Ajanta ed Ellora' (*ibid.*). 'Nuove scoperte archeologiche nell'Afghanistan e l'arte del Gandhara' (*ibid.*). 'Recent Italian explorations in Tibet' (*The Young East*, Tokyo 1939; repr. in *New Asia I*, 1939). *Forme dello spirito asiatico* (Milan-Messina 1940). 'La mia spedizione nel Tibet'

(Asiatica VI, 1940). 'Nel Tibet centrale: relazione preliminare della spedizione 1939' (*Bollettino della R. Società Geografica Italiana* LXXVII, 1940). *The Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* (Calcutta 1940). 'Una scuola di pittura tibetana a Nagasaki nel XVII secolo' (*Asiatica* VII, 1941). *Il Giappone, tradizione storica e tradizione artistica* (Milan 1943). *Asia religiosa* (Rome 1946). 'Tibetan book-covers' in *Art and Thought: Studies in honour of A.K. Coomaraswamy* (London 1947). 'The validity of Tibetan historical tradition' in *India Antiqua, in honour of J.Ph. Vogel* (Leiden 1947). 'The Prajñāpāramitā-Piṇḍārtha of Dīnāga' (ed. and tr., *JRAS* 1947). *Italia e Oriente* (Milan 1949). *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. 'An artistic and symbolic illustration of 172 Tibetan paintings preceded by a survey of the historical, artistic, literary and religious development of Tibetan culture' (3 vols, Rome 1949; repr. Kyoto 1980). *Teoria e pratica del Mandala* (Milan 1949; repr. Rome 1969) - tr. as *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala* (London 1961; repr. New York 1978). (tr.) *Il libro tibetano dei morti (Bardo tō-dōl)* (Milan 1949; repr. Turin 1977). 'Tibetan Notes. I: The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, II: The diffusion of the Yellow Church in Western Tibet and the kings of Guge' (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XII, 1949). 'Esplorazione del Tibet' (*I giorni della creazione*, Turin 1950). *A Lhasa e oltre - the diary of Tucci's last expedition to Tibet in 1948* (Rome 1950, repr. 1980) - tr. as *To Lhasa and Beyond* (London 1956). 'Buddhist Notes. I: Apropos Avalokiteśvara, II: On the Tibetan cycle of Arhats' (*Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* IX, Brussels 1951). *Tra giungle e pagode* (Rome 1953) - tr. as *Journey to Mustang 1952* (Kathmandu 1977, repr. 1982). 'China-Religionsgeschichte' and 'Tibet-Religionsgeschichte' for A. Randa (ed.) *Handbuch der Weltgeschichte* (Olten 1954). 'Fifty years of study of Oriental art' (*East and West* V, Rome 1954-5). *Le Civiltà dell'Oriente: Storia, Letteratura, Religioni-Filosofia-Scienze, Arte* (ed., 4 vols, Rome 1955-62). 'The Symbolism of the Temples of bSam yas' (*East and West* VI, 1955-6) - tr. as 'Il tempio di bSam yas' for *Le symbolisme cosmique des monuments religieux* (Serie Orientale Roma XIV, 1956). *Storia della Filosofia indiana* (Bari 1957). 'Buddha Jayanti' (*East and West* VII, 1956-7). 'The Fifth Dalai-Lama as a Sanskrit Scholar' (*Sino-Indian Studies* V, Shantiniketan 1957). 'On the path of Alexander the Great: Italian excavations in Swat' (*Illustrated London News*, 1958). 'Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat' (*East and West* IX, 1958). 'Nello Swat sulle orme di Alessandro Magno e Buddha' (*Le Vie del Mondo* XXI, 1959). 'A Tibetan classification of Buddhist images, according to their style' (*Artibus Asiae* XXII, Ascona 1959). (with L. Petech) *The Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicle of Tibet* (Rome 1959). *Nepal. Alla scoperta dei Malla* (Bari 1960) - tr. as *The Discovery of the Mallas* (London 1962). 'A Tibetan history of Buddhism in China' (*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* IX, Leipzig University, 1960). 'Remarkable discoveries in Swat' (*Tourist World* II). Preface to D. Faccenna and G. Gullini *Reports on the*

Campaigns 1956-1958 in Swat (Pakistan) (Rome 1962). *La via dello Swat* (Bari 1963). 'Buddhismo' and 'Demoniche, figurazioni: Giappone' in *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte* III/IV (Rome 1962). 'Tibetane, Scuole' (*ibid.*, XIII, 1965). 'Explorations récentes dans le Swat' (*Le Muséon* LXXIX, Louvain 1966). *Il trono di diamante* (Bari 1967). *Tibet. Paese delle Nevi* (Novara 1967) - tr. as *Tibet. Land of Snows* (London 1967) and *Tibet. Pays des Neiges* (Paris 1967).

(with W. Heissig) *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei* (Stuttgart 1970) - tr. as *Les Religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie* (Paris 1972), *Le religioni del Tibet* (Rome 1976) and *The Religions of Tibet* (London, Berkeley and New Delhi 1980). *Geheimnis des Mandala. Theorie und Praxis* (Munich 1972). (with A. Bausani, C. Pensa, L. Lanciotti and A. Tamburello) *Uomo e società nelle religioni asiatiche* (Rome 1973). *Théorie et pratique du Mandala* (Paris 1974). *Transhimalaya* (Geneva and New Delhi 1974). *Tibet* (Archaeologia Mundi - English, French and German eds, Geneva 1973).

For a complete bibliography of his writings between 1911-70 see *Opera minora I* (Scuola Orientale, Rome 1971).

Almost a whole page in the daily *Il Tempo*, in its edition for 6.4.84, was devoted to a tribute to 'il Gran Lama d'Occidente' by his colleague, Mario Bussagli. Another specialist at ISMEO, Luciano Petech, immortalised him in his paper, 'Ippolito Desideri, A. Csoma de Kőrös, Giuseppe Tucci', presented at the opening session of the Bicentenary Csoma de Kőrös Symposium on 14th September at Visegrád-Budapest. The wheel had thus come full circle because Tucci had dedicated his 'Chronicle of the Scientific Expedition to Western Tibet' (1934) to de Kőrös.

Dying with an unidentified Sanskrit śloka on his lips, Tucci will rightly join the pantheon of those Western savants whose exemplary research and achievements will consolidate the theory and practice of the Buddhadharmā.

John Brough (31.8.1917 - 9.1.84) ✓

Prof. Brough, a Fellow of the British Academy, occupied the Chair of Sanskrit at Cambridge but, despite his primary inclination towards the philology and poetry of classical India, was no mean scholar of Buddhism.

Born and educated in Dundee, he graduated in Classics from Edinburgh and commenced Oriental studies at Cambridge at the beginning of the Second World War. In 1944 he was appointed Assistant Keeper in the British Museum's Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, awarded a D.Litt from his alma mater the

following year and in 1946 became Lecturer in Sanskrit at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. Two years later he acceded to the Chair and the Headship of the Department of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. His final position was that at Cambridge which he held from 1967.

To quote from *The Times* obituary of 13.1.84: 'The ancient literatures of India, which became known in the West just as they were being threatened with oblivion in the East, have yielded up the more recondite of their secrets only since the middle of the present century. Brough was one of the small handful of scholars endowed with the requisite intellectual and imaginative capacity for the kind of literary archaeology that this entailed'.

Of major, indeed, overriding importance was his critical edition (with facsimiles) of *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (OUP, London 1962). This fragmentary birch-bark manuscript dating from the 1st century A.C. is not only the oldest extant Buddhist canonical text but the earliest surviving document from the Indian sub-continent. His other contributions to Buddhist knowledge were, in chronological order, all from the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* unless otherwise mentioned:

'Legends of Khotan and Nepal' and 'Nepalese Buddhist Rituals' (1948). 'Thus Have I Heard' (1949-50). 'The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts' (1954). 'Some Notes on Maṭrakanyaka: Divyāvadāna xxxviii' (1957). 'A Kharoṣṭhī inscription from China' (1961). 'The Chinese Pseudo-Translation of Ārya-Śūra's *Jātaka-mālā*' (*Asia Major*, London 1964). 'Comments on third-century Shan-shan and the history of Buddhism' (1965). 'Supplementary notes on third-century Shan-shan' (1970). 'I-ching on the Sanskrit grammarians' (1973). 'I-ching' in *Dictionary of Oriental Literatures* (I, London 1974; repr. Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo 1978); 'Ārya Śūra', 'Aśvaghosa', 'Dharmapada', 'Harṣa', 'Kālidāsa', 'kāvya' and 'Nāgārjuna' (II, London 1974). 'Buddhist Chinese etymological notes' (1975). 'The Arapacana syllabary in the old *Lalita-vistara*' (1977). 'Sakāya Niruttīyā: Cauld kale het' in H. Bechert (ed.) *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition* (Göttingen 1980).

David L. Friedman (25.2.1903 - 11.4.84)

Born in Amsterdam, following undergraduate studies at Utrecht he obtained a D.Litt et Phil. from Leiden in 1937 for a translation of the first chapter of 'Sthiramati: Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā. Analysis of the Middle Path and the Extremes' (published in Utrecht the same year). He was an instructor in Sanskrit and Indian philosophy

at the University when the Germans invaded The Netherlands in mid-1940 but was able to emigrate to the USA after one and a half years. From 1947-50 he was Professor of Sanskrit and the Cultural History of India at the University of Indonesia and thereafter Lecturer (later Reader) of Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. After his retirement in 1970 he gave courses and lectures in Indian philosophy at King's College, London, but his health deteriorated and he lived in a nursing home in London until his death at 81.

Although he wrote many articles on his chosen field of research, only two items related to Buddhism: 'Aspects of Indian Epistemology, Logic and Ontology I' (*Philosophia Reformata* 20, ? Amsterdam 1955) and 'The Creative Force of Buddhism' (*The Buddhist* 28,2, YMBA, Colombo 1954).

Lal Mani Joshi (27.7.35 - 16.7.84)

This distinguished Indian Buddhist scholar, formerly Professor and Head of the Guru Gobind Singh Department of Religious Studies at the Punjabi University, Patiala, died suddenly from gastric ulcers in New Delhi before taking up his new appointment as Professor of Buddhist Studies at the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath.

Born in Kumaon Hills, U.P., he read History, Philosophy and English Literature at Allahabad University (1956-8). However, as with many of his contemporaries, the coincidence of Buddha Jayanti (officially celebrated in India) induced him to turn to Buddhist studies. For the next two years, therefore, he read Ancient History of Culture for an M.A. at Gorakhpur and included a special paper on the history and philosophy of Buddhism. He was privileged to study under the foremost specialist in these fields, Govind Chandra Pande, whose *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (1957, repr. 1974) remains unexcelled of its genre. Under his supervision Joshi obtained his doctorate in 1964 for a dissertation entitled 'Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India during the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D.' - and in the same year another M.A., in Pali, from Banaras Hindu University. Thereafter, until 1967, he served as a lecturer at Gorakhpur's Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology where he completed his studies in classical and Buddhist Sanskrit together with a diploma course in classical Tibetan.

In 1968 Joshi was offered a senior research fellowship in the Department of Comparative Religion, Punjabi University, and from 1969-70 he was a post-doctoral Visiting Fellow in Comparative Religion at the Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. At Harvard he shared his profound knowledge of Triyāna Buddhism with theologians and simultaneously read the Philosophy of Religion in general and Christian theology in particular. He was quite impressed by Wilfred Cantwell Smith whom he often quoted later on, e.g. the latter's postulate for 'a fundamental principle of guidance for those who study and express an opinion about the religious doctrines and practices of other men' (L.M.Joshi *Discerning the Buddha*, p.127 - cf. below): 'No statement about a religion is valid unless it can be acknowledged by that religion's believers' (quoted from W.C. Smith 'Comparative Religion: Whither and Why?' in *The History of Religions: Essays in Methodology*, ed. Mircea Eliade and J.M. Kitagawa, Chicago 1959, p.42). Such guidelines on academic scrupulousness, honesty and enlightened tolerance, prerequisite for genuine scholarship in Comparative Religion, have always stood Joshi in good stead when he, himself a professing Buddhist, in his later writings dealt with other religions, especially with Jainism, Hinduism and Sikhism.

After returning to the Department of Comparative Religion, Punjabi University, in 1971 Joshi was appointed Reader, and in 1976 the same university offered him a professorship. In addition to his appointment he had to accept responsibility as Editor of his Department's bi-annual publication, *The Journal of Religious Studies*. In 1980 his university requested him to assume the headship of the Department of Religious Studies. The last years of his life Joshi spent in the USA (from 1981 to spring 1984), first as Henry R. Luce Visiting Professor of Comparative Religious Ethics at Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, and subsequently as Margaret Gest Visiting Professor of Comparative Religion at Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

In addition to the foregoing responsibilities, Joshi also served on the Editorial Boards of *The Tibet Journal* (Dharamsala) and *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* (Madison, Wisconsin) and as the Representative of the Pali Text Society in India.

All friends and acquaintances will certainly agree that Joshi was a most amiable and generous man, both privately and a scholar.

When necessary, however, for the sake of historical objectivity and scientific probity he could, tactfully though, speak out and even 'slaughter sacred cows' of outdated opinions and cherished convictions needing detached rectification or demythologization.

Besides the many courses taught by him (such as History and Philosophy of Buddhism, Methodology of Comparative Religion, Buddhist and Christian Ethics, etc.), he supervised three Ph.D. dissertations relating to Buddhism, Jainism and Comparative Religion and more than a dozen M.Phil. or M.Litt. theses in the field of Religious Studies. He never eschewed the troubles of travelling to far-away places in India or to Sri Lanka as academic consultant, expert member, external examiner or honorary lecturer and also participated in many learned conferences in Rome, Honolulu, Oxford, Göttingen and Siberia.

L.M. Joshi was a prolific author. A large portion of his writings, though, appeared as articles or book reviews in journals and it is to be hoped that all these items will be republished together in book form. Joshi has also left behind many articles and papers, even the MS of a book in Hindi on ancient Indian history of art, that have never been published. All this material no doubt merits a timely, posthumous publication. His first book to appear was a revised version of his Ph.D. thesis mentioned above (Delhi 1967; 2nd rev.ed. 1977). This book has been well received by most critics as a 'monumental work of an almost encyclopaedic order' on the history of Buddhism during the 7th and 8th centuries A.C. His work entitled *Brahmanism, Buddhism and Hinduism* (BPS, Kandy 1970) made his name in Buddhist countries known far and wide. This book bespeaks its author's being well at home in śrāmanic as well as brahminical lore and is substantially a perspicuous critique of the views of S. Radhakrishnan and P.V. Kane on the origins of Buddhism. Similarly, Joshi had made two contributions to *Buddhism* (Guru Nanak Quincentenary Celebration Series, Patiala 1969): 'Historical Introduction (Origin of Buddhism, etc.)' and 'Buddhist Meditation and Mysticism'. As a textbook for college students he wrote, in collaboration with Harbans Singh, *An Introduction to Indian Religions* (Patiala 1973; Hindi version, 1977), and in 1969 the Punjabi University also brought out his *Dhammapada* (Pali text in Gurumukhi script, Punjabi translation and introduction completed in collaboration with Sharada Gandhi). Two historical writings were edited by, and with the largest contributions of, L.M. Joshi: (i) *History of the Punjab I*

(Patiala 1976), (ii) *History and Culture of the Punjab I* (Patiala 1978). Two further publications indicate that Joshi was by no means indifferent to linguistic and textcritical work in Buddhist studies; cf. his *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* with the commentary of Asaṅga, Sanskrit texts edited and translated into Hindi with introduction and notes (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica 3, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath 1978). See also his large contribution to *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtram*, Tibetan text, Sanskrit restoration and Hindi translation with introduction and copious notes, in collaboration with Bhikṣu Prāsādika (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica 5 - Sarnath 1981). Joshi has also to be given the credit for an important contribution to Jaina studies: *Facets of Jaina Religiousness in Comparative Light* L.D.Series 85, L.D.Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad 1981). As the title indicates, he treats his subject matter from the angle of Comparative Religion. A valuable article by Joshi is well worth being mentioned here which corroborates the impression the impression that he was one of the pioneers, perhaps the leading scholar of the Philosophy of Religion of present-day India: 'Views and Reviews on Religion' (*The Journal of Religious Studies* IX,1-2, 1981). His masterly survey of the opinions of prominent Western philosophers, historians and theologians on the matter of religion evinces his wide reading in the enormous literary output of Western theology and sociology of religion. So far the discipline of Religious Studies has been focused on 'religion' as its subject, but not on 'dharma' as understood by Indians or in the Buddhist world. Joshi modestly announced one of his future projects: 'The purpose of this kind of superficial survey is to furnish some sort of background to an elucidation of the conception of Dharma which I hope to attempt fairly soon' (*ibid.*, p.2). By this he must have meant a disquisition on the lines of sociology of religion on 'dharma' as explained by the various Indian religious traditions. His last major work, though already completed in the mid-1970s, appeared in 1983: *Discerning the Buddha, a Study of Buddhism and of the Brahmanical Hindu Attitude to It* (New Delhi). This book testifies to the author's mature scholarship in like manner with respect to Buddhist and Religious Studies. A number of scholars have expressed their perplexity as to how 'Buddhism could have been wiped out in its native country'. In my humble opinion, here the author gives a satisfactory answer and provides much needed clarification as to what has happened to the Buddhasāsana on the Sub-continent

during the Middle Ages up to the present.

In conclusion, I can do no better than apply, literally, to Joshi what J.W.de Jong has appositely written (in the *Indo-Iranian Journal* 22, Leiden 1980, pp.143-6) in his obituary for Edward Conze, the great European Buddhologist, although L.M.Joshi was not so fortunate as Conze to live and work up to the ripe age of 75: 'Everything Joshi wrote was inspired by a deep personal involvement in the doctrine of the Buddha. Through his work and teaching he has brought many to a better understanding of the doctrines and beliefs of Buddhism. His example and his work will continue to inspire future generations to study and explore the Buddhist scriptures'.

His numerous articles and brochures include the following: *Śikṣāsamuccayakārikā*, Sanskrit Text and English Translation (The Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath 1964), 'Buddhist Gleanings from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī' (*Journal of the Oriental Institute* XIV, Baroda 1964), 'Original Homes of Tantrika Buddhism' (*ibid.*, XVII, 1967), 'Reviews on some Alleged Causes of the Decline of Buddhism' (*The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* XXII, Allahabad 1966-7), 'Mind and the Mere Mind in Buddhism' (*Viśveśvarānanda Indological Journal* VI, Hoshiarpur 1969), 'Social Perspective of Buddhist Soteriology' (*Religion and Society* VIII, 3, Bangalore 1971), *Aspects of Buddhism in Indian History* (BPS, Kandy 1973), 'Minds of One Accord' (Claude Alan Stark *God of All*, Cape Cod 1974), 'The Siddha Tradition before Guru Nānak' (Harbans Singh and Gerald Barrier, ed., *Essays in Honour of Dr Ganda Singh*, Patiala 1974), 'The Institution of Four Stages (Āśramas)' (*History of the Punjab I*, Patiala 1976), 'Religious Beliefs and Practices in the Punjab' (*ibid.*, III, 1971), 'Truth: A Buddhist Perspective' (*The Journal of Religious Studies* IV, Patiala 1972), 'A Survey of the Conception of Bodhicitta' (*ibid.*, VI, 1978), 'Nirvāṇa According to Buddhist Scriptures' (*ibid.*, VII, 1979; repr. in *Pali Buddhist Review* 5,1-2, London 1980), 'Religion and Society in Indian Civilization' (*The Journal of Religious Studies* VIII, 1980), 'Buddhist Ideals of World Peace' (*Buddhists for Peace* 2,4, Ulan Bator 1980), 'Towards Basic Unity of World Buddhism' (*ibid.*, 3,2, 1981), 'Thoughts on Universal Buddhism' (*ibid.*, 3,3, 1981) and 'Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India' (H.Beichert and R.Gombrich, ed., *The World of Buddhism*, London 1984).

In addition to a large number of book reviews, Joshi also prepared entries on *ahiṃsā*, asceticism, Buddhism, *indriya*, *kāma*, *lobha*, *moha*, *pāpa*, *puṇya*, renunciation, *śraddhā*, *śūnya*, *sūtra* literature, etc. for the proposed Encyclopaedia of Sikhism by the Punjabi University.

Right up to the end he was full of enthusiasm for various

plans - as an embodiment of *vīrya pāramitā* his loss will be severely felt in the spheres of Buddhology and Comparative Religion.

Bhikkhu Pāsādika

Nyānasatta Mahāthera

The only known Czech bhikkhu, Ven.C.Nyānasatta, died in September aged 76 and was cremated at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, Sri Lanka.

Born as M.Novosad on 25th January 1908 in Moravia, he trained as a teacher and taught languages in a secondary school. He first encountered Buddhism through the medium of essays, transcriptions of lectures, duplicated summaries of Dhamma talks, etc. (by Paul Dahlke and Martin Steinke) which his German wife had sent him as a Christmas present in 1935. (Three months earlier she had attended a series of lectures on Buddhism in Berlin and three years later became a nun, presumably with Steinke - Tao Chün's Buddhistische Gemeinde in Potsdam where a *vihāra* existed between 1936-41.) She also drew his attention to Nyānatiloka's anthology from the Pali Canon, *Das Wort des Buddha*, and hinted that an acquaintanceship with the compiler would prove beneficial. Accordingly, he wrote to Nyānatiloka expressing the wish to study Buddhism and Pali and, upon acceptance as his pupil, emigrated to Ceylon in 1938. In May of that year he became a *sāmaṇera* and in August 1939 a bhikkhu, both ordinations being conducted at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa, under the late Nyānatiloka. In 1940 he moved to Kolatenna, near Bandarawela, and established the Verdant Hermitage where he resided almost until his death.

He was proficient in Pali and Sinhalese and also promoted Buddhism through the medium of Esperanto in which language he contributed a number of essays, notably *La Koro de Budhismo* ('The Heart of Buddhism', Bandarawela 1956; repr.Flensburg 1977) and 'Twenty-Five Centuries of Buddhism' (*Esperanto*, Universala Esperanto - Asocio, Rotterdam 1956). His best known publication is *Basic Tenets of Buddhism* (Colombo 1965), which includes the translation of the Dhammacakkappavattana and Anattalakkhana Suttas, M 9 and 10 (the last-named had first appeared under the title *The Foundations of Mindfulness*, BPS, Kandy 1960, repr.1974), A VIII 54 and Sn I 8 and II 4 together with a chapter on 'The Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Studies in the West' - see also *Buddhism in the West* (Royal College, Colombo 1957; repr.in *The Maha Bodhi*, Calcutta 1967). He also contri-

buted the following articles to *The Maha Bodhi*: 'The Life of the Buddha', 'Buddhist Thoughts for the Day', 'Twenty-Five Centuries of Buddhism', 'Buddhism in its Relations to other Indian and Western Philosophies', 'The Problems of Buddhism' and 'The Heart of Buddhism' (1956), 'Exposition of the Buddha's Discourse on Accomplishments' (Vyagghapajja Sutta, 1959), 'The Conception of Happiness and Bliss in the Buddha's Dhamma' (1969) and 'The Concept of True Friendship in the Buddha's Dhamma' (1978). In addition, 'The Gist of the Buddhist Metaphysics as explained in two parables' (S IV xxxv 197 and 200) appeared in *The Buddhist* (YMBA, Colombo) and was reprinted in *Jayanti* (Colombo 1957) and off-printed as *Two Buddhist Parables* (BPS, Kandy 1958); whilst three essays were printed under the title *The Appeal of the Buddha-Dhamma* by The Friends of Buddhism for The Verdant Hermitage, and a semi-autobiographical essay appeared as a tribute to his teacher in the *Nyanatiloka Centenary Volume* (BPS, 1978) - 'Nyanatiloka and His Methods of Teaching Dhamma'.

Pāli Literature, including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna Schools. K.R.Norman. Vol.VII, fasc.2, of *A History of Indian Literature* ed. Jan Gonda. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1983. X + 210pp. DM 98 ✓

The field of literature in Pali is vast and by no means fully explored, and the author of this substantial 'fascicule' is well aware, as he makes clear in the Foreword, of the inevitable gaps in his presentation, especially, as he says, in the field of South-East Asian Pali literature. In the comparatively meagre space at his disposal, Norman was also bound at the publisher's request and with, perhaps, some reluctance, to include 'Hīnayāna Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Prakrit'. It therefore took some skill to avoid presenting all this material in the form of anything much more than a bare and boring catalogue - however useful that might have been. As it is, the reader is referred to other books going back as far as Geiger and Winternitz for further information - which is fair enough.

A brief first chapter discusses 'The Pali language and the Theravadin tradition', providing an efficient and up-to-date introduction to the subject (to be supplemented, perhaps, by reference to Warder's *Indian Buddhism*), and naturally drawing on the author's own not unimportant linguistic researches. The second and longest chapter reviews the Pali Canon at as much length as can be managed, with bibliographical references for the various problems involved, such as to G.C.Pande's *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, a book of which Norman, no doubt rightly, expresses qualified approval in the Foreword.

The rest of the material is covered in two chapters dealing with the 'early' and 'late' post-canonical texts. Of the early commentators, Buddhaghosa naturally gets the most extensive treatment (pp.120-130), and the knotty question of the relation of his Visuddhimagga to the Vimuttimagga is also discussed earlier (pp.113f.), where too the even more curious question of the alleged original text of the latter work published in 1963 is touched upon. The final chapter deals as best may be with the accessible portions of the vast mass of miscellaneous later literature. Obviously, much work still remains to be done here, and presumably some of it will be done by Burmese, Thai and other native scholars

familiar with their own traditions. Meanwhile, we are indebted to Ven.Dr Saddhātissa for shedding some light into these (for us) obscure corners.

The book is well indexed and there is an excellent glossary which avoids offering the sort of wrongheaded renderings to which that fine scholar A.K.Warder is so mysteriously addicted. No completeness is claimed for the bibliographies, but I would have expected to find some mention of, for example, M.Mayrhofer's *Handbuch des Pali* and Nyanaponika's fine *Abhidhamma Studies*.

Maurice Walshe

Ed. At the end of the penultimate paragraph the reviewer is alluding to the pioneer articles by H.Saddhātissa: 'Pāli Literature of Thailand' in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B.Horner* (Dordrecht 1974), 'Pali Literature from Laos' in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism* (Delhi 1979), 'Pali Studies in Cambodia' in *Buddhist Studies in honour of Walpola Rahula* (London 1980) and 'Pali Literature in Cambodia' in *Journal of the Pali Text Society IX* (London 1981). In addition, mention must be made of G.Coedès *Catalogue des manuscrits en pāli, laotien et siamois provenant de la Thaïlande* (Copenhagen 1966) and companion volumes published by The Royal [Danish] Library: C.E.Godakumbura *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (1980) and *Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pāli Manuscripts* (1983). Although several Pali texts indigenous to Sri Lanka and mainland South-East Asia have been translated into English or French and a large number of descriptive essays contributed to academic periodicals, the latter, especially, are not easily accessible, whereas two authoritative volumes remain unsurpassed: M.H. Bode *Pali Literature of Burma* (London 1909, repr.1966) and G.P.Malalasekera *Pali Literature of Ceylon* (London 1928; repr. Colombo 1958). The definitive study of Thai texts, if it is ever published, will be Part II of L.Likhitananta's Ph.D. dissertation, 'History of Buddhism in Thailand' (Magadh University, Patna 1970).

The Tibetan Dhammapada. Tr. Gareth Sparham. Mahayana Publications, New Delhi 1983. xxxiii + 198pp. £4.95, \$7.50, Rs 70 ✓

Rather surprisingly the translator, who we are told is a monk in the Tibetan tradition, uses the Pali form of the word 'Dhamma' in his title, whereas presumably the present text was translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan where the latter indicates its real name to be Udanavarga (Udv). Originally, it is said that Ācārya Dharmātrata, reputedly an arahant and living between 200-75 B.C., compiled the verses in their present order. It is impossible to know whether he extended a shorter text (as the Pali Dhammapada -

P Dhp) or whether he made his own selection. However, the former seems more likely as all the P Dhp verses are included in this work (according to W.W.Rockhill who first translated this Udv - London 1883; repr. Taipei 1972 and New Delhi 1982).

The Udānavarga has 33 chapters as against the 26 of the P Dhp, and while the verses of the latter are 423 in number and usually numbered serially, the translator here has only numbered the verses in each chapter. The total number of verses in the Udv is, however, considerably more than we find in the Pali. Some of the chapter headings are the same, as for instance, Caution (not a very good word for Appamāda - vigilance, diligence, heedfulness) but their order is quite often different, this one being the second in the P Dhp but fourth in the Udv. Many of the verses can be recognized in their Udv form by one familiar with the P Dhp chapters, as well as many more from elsewhere.

On the whole, the P Dhp has a conciseness and lack of repetition which is pleasing and this has helped to make it a religious classic. Occasionally one does find even in the P Dhp some verses which suggest either that the Buddha was feeling that he needed to stress a point and so repeated the same verse only changing one line, or that later compilers have 'stretched' such a verse during their memorizing and chanting into a number of them. For example:

Though one should live a hundred years
immoral and uncontrolled,
yet better is life for a single day
moral, meditative (Dhp 110)

This verse, with changes, is repeated another five times. (It is interesting that the P Dhp Commentary gives six different stories as the occasions for speaking these verses, though this seems unlikely.)

In the Udv there are no less than fourteen variations in the Comparisons chapter, an obvious case of expanding an original verse or verses as the Buddha-time receded. Similar tendencies to prolixity can be observed by comparing the six P Dhp verses (296-301) beginning *Suppabuddham pabujjhanti* ('Well awake and watchful ...') with the twenty verses 'Whoever has recollection' in the Udv chapter on Mindfulness. An even more blatant case of this is found comparing P Dhp's two verses on 'Even as rain penetrates a house that's badly thatched' and its opposite (Dhp 13-14), with

the twelve stanzas in the Udv chapter on The Mind. Such signs as this usually indicate that the less complicated text is the earlier one, while a more prolix version is the later.

The translator notes in his Introduction that the Tibetan rendering of the Udv is in beautiful and lively poetic language, and that he was asked by Kyabje Ling Rinpoche whether he had translated it into English verse. Though it is set out in verse form it cannot aspire to be called poetry, perhaps because the translator has been too literal in many places. Let us compare three well-known verses from his Udv rendering (Ethics 14-16) with my version:

14. The fragrances of flowers, joss-sticks, herbs
And sandalwood don't move without a breeze.
Holy fragrance is not diffused by breeze,
For the fragrance of the holy spreads everywhere.
15. The sweet fragrance of ethics transcends
That of every kind of incense,
Of joss-sticks and of sandalwood,
Of myrrh and blue water-lilies.
16. The sweet fragrance of sandalwood
And joss-sticks lasts but briefly here,
That imbued with the sweet fragrance
Of ethics, spreads here and into heaven.

My version from Pali has:

54. The fragrance of flowers drifts with the wind
as sandalwood, jasmine or incense.
The fragrance of virtue o'ersweeps the wind,
all-pervasive is the virtue of the good.
55. Sandalwood or incense,
lotus or the jasmine great -
of these many fragrances
virtue's fragrance is supreme.
56. Faint is this fragrance
of incense and sandalwood,
but fragrance of the virtuous
soars sublime amongst the gods.

In the first case there is little or no metre or alliteration (so important in Pali) and the 'verses' are in fact just prose cut up into convenient chunks. Still, as this is only the second

translation of the Tibetan Udv into English, the translator may be forgiven, especially if one remembers that though the P Dhp has been rendered so far over thirty times, yet we are still without a poetic verse translation which preserves both meaning and beauty.

Some of the translator's words are not apt as in the simile of Antitheses 4: Like butterflies flying into the flames.

This loses the whole picture of the simile which is of a lamp or fire at night when moths are lured to their own destruction. Butterflies, which fly during the day, do not fly into flames. Similarly, the meaning has been lost in The Mind (= Dhp 2):

Like (the man) followed by the shade.

Surely it should be 'followed by his shadow' or in my rendering: 'as one's shadow ne'er departing'. In the 12th verse of the same Udv chapter the translator has:

Desires completely overcome

The unhabituated mind.

But in a note on this verse he gives the meaning 'cultivated' which is surely better as it makes more sense.

Last among the unfortunate renderings I shall mention all those verses where he has used 'infants' and 'infantile ones' as translations for *bāla*. This is too literal for while the word has such a meaning, in these verses the stronger sense of 'fools' is plainly needed. There is a rash of 'infants' all through the book - but see pp.97-98 particularly. Mothers might get very upset with verse 23 on the latter page as it says, 'Devotion to infants brings misery since they are like one's foes...'. But what the Buddha means is devotion to fools!

The book has been nicely produced and printed though one hopes that future editions will number the chapters and have verses numbered serially throughout. The long section of Notes (from Tibetan commentaries) is interesting and one may remark how the stories attached to the same verse (as the occasion for its speaking) are usually different in Pali and Tibetan commentarial tradition. A useful addition to the number of Dhammapada versions now available.

Khantipālo Thera

Prajñāpāramitā-Hṛdaya-Sūtra / Das Sūtra vom Herzen der Vollkommen Weisheit - The Heart Sūtra. Ed. Ācārya Jèn Wén. Zero Verlag, Rheinberg (W.Germany) 1982. 80pp. DM 19.80

The Hṛdaya Sūtra is perhaps the most recited Mahāyāna sūtra even today. The abundance of translations and commentaries, both Eastern and Western, ancient and modern, is, no doubt, due to the immense popularity of this sūtra which, as E.Conze says, is 'one of the sublimest spiritual documents of mankind' (*The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, repr. Tokyo 1978, p.11). Among the shorter *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*, remarks Conze, 'the finest are the two earliest, both before A.D.400, the "Heart Sūtra" in 25, or 14, and the "Diamond Sūtra" in 300 Lines' (*ibid.*). Conze has provided us with exhaustive bibliographic information (avowedly excepting a number of more recent Japanese contributions) concerning editions, translations and commentaries of the Heart Sūtra (abbreviated below HS) (*op.cit.*, p. 67ff). Even nowadays there seems to be considerable interest in the HS; in 1980, for instance, a French translation and long commentary on it by the Zen master Deshimaru was published by the Sōtō Zen community in Paris, and in the same year Ven.Huyén-Vi started publishing another HS commentary in *Linh-Son - publication d' études bouddhologiques* (Joinville-le-Pont 1980-2). The latest publication from Germany, though conceived and produced in Thailand, is the work being reviewed here.

The present contribution to the HS literature is non-academic, but authoritative, because it is the outcome of a happy collaboration of five Buddhist monks of standing in respect of erudition and, above all, practice. A special feature of this book is the Chinese text of the HS; the Chinese ideograms in the book are a reproduction of Ācārya Jèn Wén's calligraphy which adds to the distinction of this publication as the Ācārya is one of the most outstanding Chinese Ch'an masters still alive. Another attraction for artists and bibliophiles are fifty-six stone seals based on ancient Chinese prototypes, carved with precision and great skill. Each seal is an original creation of the German-born Bhikkhu Dhammavīro. The calligraphy and seals represent the Chinese translation of the HS by Hsüan-tsang. The German, English and Japanese translations accompanying the *mūla* - i.e. under each piece of calligraphy and seal are printed the German, English and romanised Japanese translations of the Chinese - are based on Hsüan-tsang's text.

At the end of the book the three translations are printed again separately; Bhikkhu Dhammavīro has rendered the HS into German and Bhikkhu Akimcana into English. It was thoughtful to add also the Hannya Shingyō which will be appreciated by the increasing number of Zen students and followers in the West. Both bhikkhus have taken pains to ensure really excellent and stylistically beautiful translations.

As the subject matter of the HS deals with the acme of all the Tathāgatas' insight-knowledge and since nearly all the statements in this sūtra pertain to the level of absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*), the Preface and Introduction of this book are of vital significance to both the interested general reader and the scholar specialising in religious studies. The Introduction is by Bhikkhu Vimalo who aptly quotes Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakārikā 24.9: 'Those who do not know how to distinguish between the two (conventional and absolute) truths have no access to the real depth of the Buddha's teaching'. Strictly speaking, a full understanding of the HS would presuppose the opening of one's 'wisdom-eye' (*prajñā-cakṣus*) for which, again, thorough meditative training and a *vita contemplativa* would be prerequisites. After the vision of the Unconditioned and the experience of non-dual gnosis, many great mystics of all times, religions and cultures have given expression to their ineffable insights by means of paradoxes, as in the HS, which unenlightened people consider illogical. In order to facilitate the understanding of the HS, Bhikkhu [now Anagārika at the Haus der Stille near Hamburg] Vimalo points out some parallels to HS passages: he quotes Meister Eckhart and refers to the Pali Canon and Zen authorities. A striking parallel to the HS is found at Udāna 8.1: *otthi bhikkhave tad āgatanam gattha neva pathavi na āpo...nāyam loko na paraloko...neva āgatiṃ vadāmi na gatiṃ na thitiṃ na upapattiṃ...* Unfortunately the Introduction is only in German; it should also be translated into English in the hope that a second edition of this book will materialise.

A lengthy and equally important Preface follows by Ven. Chi Kung in German and English. He explains the title of the sūtra and dilates upon the traditional etymology of the word *prajñāpāramitā*. On p.16, 'Truths of the Noble' for *ārya-satyāni* is a novel but no less appropriate translation for what is usually rendered as 'noble truths'. As in the Introduction, here a brief selection of quotations from the Pali Canon and from Sêng Ts'an's Hsin Hsin Ming

is presented which, it is hoped, 'will amplify the teaching of the Heart Sūtra for the reader, and emphasize the importance given to its basic theme - the living vision of the Non-dual Truth that "turns the old world upside down"' (p.18). Of particular relevance is a longer quotation from the Suvikrāntavikrāmapariṣcchā (Darbhanga ed., p.16) in which is treated the relationship between the 'world of phenomena, of everyday experience', the 'Beyond, Nirvāṇa', and Emptiness (p.17).

Although the book is attractively produced, it is very regrettable that it teems with misprints and inexactitudes, too many to be all listed here. This is surely due to the fact that computers are 'revolutionizing' the printing process while proof-reading is becoming so costly (so it is maintained) that it is being altogether dispensed with. Nevertheless, embarrassing typographical errors remain, displaying disregard of orthography, of the rules of punctuation, syllabication, or even grammar. A few examples may suffice. Pp.13.26, 18.16: For Suvikrāntavikrāmapariṣcchā read Suvikrāntavikrāmapariṣcchā. P.9.8: For 'Unerleuchteteten' read 'Unerleuchtete'. P.13.32: For 'der religiösen' read 'den religiösen'. P.14.18: For 'Shêng Ts'an' read 'Sêng Ts'an'. P.15.25: For 'ot truth' read 'of truth'. P.16.34: For 'rotted in' read 'rooted in'. Most of the imprecision is found on p.80 in the romanised Japanese version of the HS. For correct spelling cf. *The Wooden Fish*, prepared by G.Kanetsuki and G.Snyder, Kyoto 1961, pp.7-8. The only inexactitude on the part of the author of the Preface is on pp.12 and 17 where the Dhammapada, v.385, is quoted: 'He for whom neither this shore nor the further shore exists, nor even (the concept of) their duality, having transcended all Dharmas: him I call a Brahmāṇa'. The words underlined, however, are not from the Dhammapada but are found at Udānavarga XXXIII 24 (*Sanskrit-texte aus den Turfanfunden X, Udānavarga I*, ed. F.Bernhard, Göttingen 1965).

It is to be hoped that, for a second edition of this book, all the above-mentioned shortcomings will be removed so as not to blemish this otherwise enlightening and welcome contribution to the HS literature.

Bhikkhu Pāsādika

Kacchapa-Jātaka. Eine Erzählung von der Schildkröte und dem Kranz-winder. Akira Yuyama. *Studia Philologica Buddhica Occasional Paper Series V.* The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo 1983. XXII + 43pp.

In his Preface the author states that for many years he has been entertaining serious doubts in respect of textual criticism about the Kacchapa-Jātaka (KJ) version published by H.Kern in 1891 as an appendix to his edition of the Jātakamālā. During his stay in Europe in the mid-1970s Dr Yuyama had occasion to consult the so-called 'manuscript P' of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This is the MS on which Kern based his edition of the KP without, however, giving any variant readings. One of the tasks Yuyama has set himself in the present publication is to evaluate many important readings that had escaped Kern's attention.

About the end of the last century S.Oldenburger had identified Kern's KJ text with a KJ version in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna, and a third KJ text (only preserved in Chinese) found in the Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching (Taishō No.190) translated into Chinese by Jñānagupta in 587-591/592 A.C. Since the KJ versions are replete with philological problems, it is the declared purpose of this publication to present a new Sanskrit edition of the KJ texts compared with the Chinese translation of the third KJ recension.

Of great value are Yuyama's prefatory remarks on the tortoise narratives found in the Buddhist literature of ancient India (pp. XI-XXII), viz. 'The Tortoise and the Five Hundred Merchants', 'The Tortoise and the Potter', 'The Tortoise and the Two Geese', 'The Tortoise, the Monkey and the Hermit', 'The Tortoise, the Jackal and Māra', 'The Tortoise and the Infant', 'The Tortoise, the Otter and the Monk', 'The King of Tortoises and the Gecko'. In the editor's Preface to *A Systematic Survey of Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. I. Vinaya-Texte* by A.Yuyama (Wiesbaden 1979), H.Bechert calls A.Y. the leading specialist in the bibliographic stock-taking of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, well-known to Buddhologists through numerous publications (cf. e.g. his 'A Bibliography of the Mahāvastu-Avadāna', IJ, XI, 1, 1968). In his prefatory remarks of the present work, too, A.Y. provides an exhaustive bibliography of the above-mentioned narratives although he does not claim to have given a complete inventory of the KJ literature. His bibliographic survey, however, includes references to non-Buddhist works as well, and even to Buddhist art depicting Jātaka scenes.

The Introduction (pp.1-12) to the Sanskrit texts of the KJ, i.e. of the narrative of the 'Tortoise and the Wreathwinder',

again includes copious bibliographic information in the footnotes. A.Y. first discusses the KJ version of the Mahāvastu-Avadāna written in typical Buddhist Sanskrit; this version he calls 'Text B' which he has closely examined with the help of four well-preserved MSS. Next follows a discussion of the KJ version called 'Text A', i.e. the text edited by Kern and based on MS 'P' mentioned above. A.Y. has also consulted two editions of text A published by Ananda Maitreya (Colombo 1950) and Vaidya (Darbhanga 1959) respectively which, more or less, follow Kern's text. Hitherto there has been general agreement that text A represents an authentic work written in typical Buddhist Sanskrit 'outside of the Mahāvastu' (p.3). A.Y. is of the opinion that this is the case only to some extent. He corroborates his view by comparing with each other the texts A and B and concludes that probably the copyist, while copying the original of the Paris MS (the Jātakamālā), composed text A by partly drawing upon text B and on the Jātakamālā. A.Y. shows which portions of texts A have been plagiarized. The verses of para (g) of text A (pp.14,16) must have been adopted from a source so far unknown (p.7). Text C referred to by A.Y. is the Chinese translation of the third KJ version as mentioned already. While text B is a work of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, most probably text C has to be ascribed to the Dharmaguptakas (p.5). In spite of this fact text C has proved very helpful to the understanding of texts B and A. The latter is called a 'Pseudo-Jātakamālā-Version des Kacchapa-Jātaka' (p.8). Pp.8 (11.)-12 contain a discussion of the metres employed in the texts.

Pp.14-33 carry A.Y.'s Sanskrit edition of the texts A, B and altogether 205 notes to both texts in which the numerous philological problems are meticulously dealt with. A glimpse at A.Y.'s texts suffices to reveal a greatly improved edition made possible through collating text A with text B and the plagiarized passages from the Jātakamālā (cf. pp.6,7).

On pp.34-41 we have the Chinese text of the KJ found in the Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching and its German translation. Notes to text C are given on p.42 and the author's/translator's curriculum vitae on the following page. The Chinese text has been edited with every due care, whereas the German translation still needs vetting. It is a pity that - certainly owing to haste - grammatical mistakes, idiomatic and stylistic deficiencies mar the German text. Inaccuracies (with regard to the German language only) are also found in the

introductory part of the books. In the following only a few points are raised because grammatical lapses such as wrong adjectival endings or prepositions are obvious:

P.35.7: 'Nachdem dieses Wort fertig geworden war' is a literalism; read 'Nachdem dieses Wort gesprochen war'.

Ibid. 8 (see also pp.38.6 and 39.16): Instead of 'hört grundehrlich!' preferably 'hört bitte genau zu!' For *zhī xīn dī tīng* (p.34.5) dictionaries provide 'implore most earnestly - listen attentively'.

P.35.9: For 'Ich will dann das für euch erklären' read 'Ich will euch dafür eine Erklärung geben'.

Ibid. 11: For 'verwirrt werden' read 'verwirrt worden' (cf.p.34.6: *zōng* = particle of completed action, *bēi* denotes the passive voice).

Ibid. 19: 'For '...eine Person. Er war Kranzwinder' read '...es . war ein Kranzwinder'.

P.37.3: Instead of 'Festnahme' read for stylistic reasons 'Nachdem er sie gefangen hatte'.

Ibid. 14: 'Lege du eine Weile die Blumen' in German requires a complement, sc. 'beiseite' or 'nieder' (which is implied by *zhī* - p.36.5).

P.39.1: For 'Nachdem dieser Gedanke fertig geworden war' read 'Nach solchen Erwägungen'.

Ibid. 5: For 'ist ausgegangen' read 'ist fortgegangen' (cf.p.38.1 - *chū*).

Ibid. 14: For 'aus dem Wasser lassen' preferably 'aus dem Wasser locken'. Cf.p.38.4: *shī yīng chū shuǐ*, literally 'cause/order to come out of the water'.

Ibid. 21: For 'und den an deine Kehle hängen' read 'und ihn dir um den Hals (*yān*) hängen'.

The above list of corrigenda is by no means meant to detract from the great merit of Akira Yuyama's painstaking piece of research thanks to which 'the crude version of the *Kacchapajātaka*' (see Vaidya ed. of the *Jātakamālā*, VII) has been admirably refined upon and which, therefore, is a really welcome publication of the International Institute for Buddhist Studies in Tokyo.

Bhikkhu Pāsādika

Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pāli Manuscripts. C.E. Godakumbura, assisted by U Tin Lwin, with contributions by Heinz Bechert and Heinz Braun. Catalogue of oriental manuscripts, xylographs, etc., in Danish collections, Vol.II part 1. The Royal Library, Copenhagen 1983. xxi + 153 pp. 12 plates. D.kr.350. ✓

The volume under review complements the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Pāli, Laotian and Siamese coming from Thailand* in Danish collections (Vol.II Part 2) by George Coedès published* in 1966, and the *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* in Danish collections (Vol. I) by C.E. Godakumbura published in 1980. The former was reviewed by the present writer in JRAS 1975, p.89, and the latter in *The Middle Way* 57.1 (1982), pp.108-9. Between them these three volumes cover the whole of the very important Pāli holdings of the Royal Library in Copenhagen and other collections in Denmark.

The collection of Burmese and Cambodian manuscripts which is described in this catalogue differs somewhat from that described in Godakumbura's catalogue of Ceylonese manuscripts in that the latter was based upon a systematic collection made by Rasmus Rask during his ten months' stay in Ceylon (November 1821-August 1822). The collection described in the present volume, on the other hand, was built up in a more haphazard way. It consists largely of manuscripts donated by private individuals, although there are some which were purchased by Rask, and others which have been purchased by the Royal Library itself in more recent years. Despite its unsystematic development, the collection nevertheless includes some very important texts. Among the Cambodian manuscripts, for example, is the very rare Sivi Jātaka, which is hardly known in Cambodia itself. It well deserves the very lengthy summary of its contents which is given.

The catalogue was compiled by Godakumbura with the aid of U Tin Lwin. Godakumbura's untimely death in Burma in February 1977, and the destruction of the original copy of the manuscript of the catalogue by white ants in Sri Lanka, have led to a situation where the published catalogue has necessarily been based upon a set of (uncorrected) first proofs. Mr Møller-Kristensen's task as editor has, however, been greatly eased by the valuable contributions made by Professor Bechert and Dr Braun, which have made possible the production of a volume which provides an excellent example of the way in which such catalogues should be pro-

duced.

This catalogue emphasises the extraordinarily rich holdings of the Royal Library in the field of Pāli Studies, and makes it even clearer why Copenhagen has for many years been the centre of Pali studies in Europe and the home of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*. The unedited Pāli manuscripts listed in it in such numbers will surely provide a rich field in which young scholars can busy themselves for years to come.

K. R. Norman

* in French (Ed.)

Catalogue des manuscrits singhalais. Jinadasa Liyanaratne. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris 1983, 149pp, IV planches en couleurs. PFR 210.

Cet ouvrage remplace la partie du *Catalogue des manuscrits indiens, indo-chinois et malayo-polynésiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, d'Antoine Cabaton (1912) contenant les manuscrits singhalais. Il est l'oeuvre de M. Liyanaratne, érudit venu de Sri Lanka, vivant en France depuis longtemps et dont les compétences ont permis d'apporter de nombreuses améliorations et additions au travail de Cabaton.

L'introduction (pp.9-14) donne d'intéressantes informations sur cet ensemble de documents, au nombre de 66, alors que Cabaton n'en avait recensé que 47. M.L. s'est efforcé de définir avec précision l'origine des différentes collections dont ils proviennent et il souligne la grande valeur de certaines de ces pièces. Il explique clairement les raisons pour lesquelles on rédigeait un manuscrit dans l'ancienne Ceylan: écrire ou faire copier un texte religieux (et tout texte littéraire l'était plus ou moins) était un acte méritoire, grâce auquel on espérait renaître dans d'agréables conditions, dieu ou homme fortuné. Cela explique donc la valeur esthétique de ces documents, de leur écriture et de leur ornementation. Tous utilisent l'alphabet singhalais

moderne, avec des très rares formes archaïques, car les plus anciens ne remontent pas au-delà du XVIIIe siècle, époque où Ceylan connut un remarquable essor littéraire sous le patronage des rois de Kandy. Malgré l'introduction de l'imprimerie par les Hollandais un siècle plus tôt, la production des manuscrits sur ôles de palmier continua jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle. M.L. ajoute quelques détails intéressants sur l'huile de résine utilisée pour l'encre des manuscrits singhalais et aussi indiens, avant de donner les indications nécessaires sur la rédaction des notices de son catalogue.

La table analytique des titres (pp.15-17) distingue vingt ouvrages proprement religieux, c'est-à-dire bouddhiques, dix littéraires, onze linguistiques (grammaires, lexiques, alphabets), six historiques, sept d'astrologie et le reste de nature variée. La table chronologique des textes (et non des manuscrits), du moins de ceux dont la date peut être indiquée avec certitude, mentionne un ouvrage du XIIe siècle et trois du XIIIe, la plupart des autres se répartissant assez régulièrement entre le XVe et le XVIIIe siècles (pp.19-20). La table des manuscrits datés, au nombre de neuf seulement, donne avec précision les indications chronologiques qui les concernent. La table de concordance (p.23) permet de passer des cotes fournies par le *Catalogue* de Cabaton à celles du présent ouvrage.

La description détaillée de chacun des manuscrits occupe naturellement la plus grande partie de ce livre (pp.27-144). On y trouve les indications habituelles, y compris les citations du début, de la fin et du colophon de chaque pièce, les références aux publications modernes, éditions, traductions et autres, concernant le texte en question, et parfois de longues citations de celui-ci. Lorsque le manuscrit comprend plusieurs textes indépendants réunis (le n° 6 en contient 78!), chacun d'eux fait l'objet d'une description plus ou moins longue.

L'ouvrage se termine par un index fort complet sur deux colonnes (pp.145-8) et par quatre belles planches photographiques en couleurs donnant une bonne idée de la beauté de ces manuscrits.

M. Liyanaratne a fait là un excellent travail qui permettra aux chercheurs spécialisés d'utiliser avec profit ce riche ensemble de documents singhalais.

André Bareau

Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang, fonds Pelliot de la Bibliothèque nationale, volume III, n° 3001-3500, Editions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, Paris 1983, XX + 482pp.

Ce beau travail est l'oeuvre d'une équipe de chercheurs français et chinois dirigée par M. Michel Soymié, directeur d'études d'Histoire et Philologie de la Chine médiévale et moderne à l'Ecole pratique des hautes Etudes de Paris. Il fait suite au volume I, qui fut publié en 1970, et paraît avant le volume II, dont la rédaction fut retardée pour diverses raisons mais qui est maintenant en bonne voie d'achèvement et qui devrait donc sortir assez prochainement.

Les cinq cents notices du présent volume suivent l'ordre des cotes données jadis aux manuscrits par Pelliot sans souci de classement analytique, ce qui fut adopté pour l'ensemble de ce catalogue. L'index alphabétique très complet (pp.403-47) et celui, extrêmement détaillé, des textes classés par matière (pp.449-77) avec la plus grande précision permettent de triompher aisément de l'inconvénient présenté par le désordre des notices. Non seulement on peut ainsi retrouver facilement les plus diverses sortes de documents bouddhistes, taoïstes, classiques ou autres (lettres, textes administratifs, économiques ou judiciaires, calendriers, éloges funèbres, exercices d'écriture, etc.), mais on peut connaître ceux qui contiennent des dates, des dessins, des sceaux, des signatures, et savoir quels sont leurs types d'écriture ou leurs particularités matérielles.

Chacune des notices est rédigée avec le plus grand soin. Non seulement le manuscrit en question est décrit avec le maximum de précision, mais on y ajoute les références bibliographiques relatives aux éditions de textes semblables, en signalant éventuellement la présence de variantes et leur importance, ainsi que les articles ou les ouvrages qui concernent ces textes. Lorsqu'il s'agit de manuscrits n'ayant pas de parallèle, ce qui est notamment le cas des multiples lettres, comptes, contrats, documents judiciaires ou fiscaux, la notice donne aussi une brève analyse du contenu, en indiquant les noms des personnages et des lieux, ainsi que les dates et d'autres éléments importants. Quand la notice se rapporte à un groupe de petits textes réunis plus ou moins logiquement, chacun de ceux-ci est décrit séparément, même lorsqu'il est très court.

En lisant cet ouvrage, on est frappé par l'extrême diversité et la richesse des documents ainsi recensés et décrits, diversité et richesse qui se montrent dans toute leur étendue dans l'index des textes classés par matières. La grande majorité de ces manuscrits est de nature bouddhique et fournit ainsi des renseignements très nombreux, intéressants et parfois précieux sur la vie des moines et des laïcs de Touen-houang entre le Ve et le XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Leur vie spirituelle transparaît dans les textes canoniques, souvent hélas fragmentaires, recopiés par dévotion ou à des fins d'enseignement, et aussi dans des commentaires, des poèmes, des prières, des vœux, des éloges, des prédications, des certificats de réception des défenses, des confessions, des listes d'ouvrages, etc. Divers aspects de leur vie matérielle se révèlent dans de nombreux documents de nature économique ou administrative, qui nous éclairent, avec une précision toute chinoise, sur ce côté qui fut trop souvent négligé ou même ignoré de la réalité bouddhique, mais dont l'importance est maintenant reconnue et qui fait l'objet de travaux sérieux et multiples.

L'excellent travail d'érudition accompli par M. Soymié et son équipe mérite, par ses hautes qualités et par son utilité, l'admiration et la reconnaissance de tous les chercheurs qui s'intéressent à l'histoire du bouddhisme chinois et même du bouddhisme en général. Nous attendrons avec une patience toute bouddhique la publication des volumes suivants de ce catalogue, dont la préparation et la rédaction exigent tant de science et d'efforts de la part des savants qui ont entrepris cette lourde et difficile tâche avec tant de résolution.

André Bareau

Discipline - the Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapitaka. ✓ J.C. Holt. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1981. viii + 157pp. Rs 50.

The author's intention in this book is to elucidate the soteriological significance of the disciplined lifestyle enjoined upon bhikkhus by the Vinayapitaka. The little work already done in the field of Vinaya studies by scholars such as Pachow, Prebish and Frauwallner, has focused upon textual, chronological and compositional problems and the comparative study of the surviving Vinayas of the schools of the Hīnayāna. Holt's aim is a broader one, namely to explain the function of the Vinaya corpus, or rather

the disciplined lifestyle it envisages, in terms of the overall spiritual objectives of Buddhism. He concludes that its function is twofold: first, it furthers the individual monk in his quest for Nibbāna, and second, it promotes the collective social purity of the Sangha. While both conclusions are unexceptionable the arguments by which they are reached are sometimes unsound.

The project is flawed from the outset by the twin erroneous assumptions made in the Introduction (Chapter 1) that (i) Nibbāna is obtained by the eradication of kamma (cf. p.79 'We must assume that cessation of rebirth is the consequence of controlling kamma'); and (ii) that there is a radical distinction between the lay and monastic forms of Buddhism which is founded in their different attitudes towards kamma and merit (*puñña*). This fallacy, popularised by Spiro and derived from King, leads Holt into confusion at several points. Thus on p.4 the Vinaya is an absolute standard of right conduct integral to the enlightened consciousness: 'Disciplined behaviour [i.e. in accordance with the Vinaya] is none other than a characterisation of the behavioural expressions of a perfected being (*arahāna*). It is the hallmark of one in whom all grasping has ceased.' Yet on p.16 the discipline of the Vinaya is only of instrumental value and is to be abandoned by the enlightened: 'Thus, discipline itself is not to be retained ultimately. It is only a means to an undisclosed end, *nibbāna*.'

Chapter 2 provides an outline summary of pre-Buddhist Brāhmaṇical ritual observances and contemporary śrāmaṇic beliefs concerning karma, while chapter 3 returns to the central theme to examine the history and structure of the Vinayapitaka. This merely summarises the theories of other scholars such as Prebish, Dutt and Frauwallner on the origin and composition of the Vinaya and, while useful in this respect as a resumé, makes no original contribution of its own.

The following chapters, 4 and 5, are the core of the work. Here the attempt is made 'to discern the conceptual basis of discipline and determine the manner in which it relates to the soteriological path of early monastic Buddhism' (p.47). The immediate problem is how to make sense of a body of rules varying greatly in content and scope, from 'highly ethical concerns' to 'seemingly minor rules of comportment.' The author considers and discounts two hypotheses: first, that Buddhist monastic law is a form

of positive law (as opposed to natural law) in Austin's sense, and second, as argued by Pachow, that the 227 rules of the Pātimokkha are an outgrowth of the Pañcaśīla. Why only two hypotheses are considered, and why these two in particular, is not explained. The positive law theory is a straw man which is easily disposed of - one wonders why the author puts it forward when the alternative, that Buddhist discipline is derived from a natural law theory, is clearly a far more promising hypothesis. Pachow's theory is rejected on the grounds that not all 227 rules can be related directly to moral concerns, but without considering why they should have to be. This suggestion seems eminently sensible if we allow that some of the rules will inevitably relate to non-moral matters such as the practical provisions required for communal life, day-to-day dealings with the laity, and so forth. Nevertheless, Holt rejects this possibility and concludes Chapter 5 rather abruptly, choosing to emphasise instead the importance of mindfulness in a disciplined lifestyle. While this is no doubt important, it seems irrelevant here; what was being sought was an explanation of the nature of the Vinaya rules and what links them together into a unity. Holt's conclusion relates to the internal disposition with which the rules should be practised, quite a different matter. If the emphasis is to be placed on attitude, does this mean that the form of the rules is irrelevant? Can a soldier mindfully obeying army regulations expect to gain enlightenment? Clearly there is something more essential to the nature of the Vinaya rules themselves (and independent of attitudes towards them) which calls for explanation. Holt summarises at the end of Chapter 6: 'Thus, rather than being merely a legal code enforced by sovereign authority or rather than being only an elaboration of *sīla*, the disciplinary code represents the effective behavioral expression which became normative for the path leading to the final spiritual goal of the religion'. What he has failed to do is provide an explanation of why it 'became normative', why it took the form it did and not another, how far its content is indispensable soteriologically, and why there are lay Arahants.

Chapters 7 and 8 are devoted to the second of the two concerns evinced in the Vinaya, namely collective purity. Here a short account is given of ceremonies which express in ritual fashion the collective purity of the Sangha, such as ordination (*upasampadā*), the recitation of the Pātimokkha and the distribution

of robes (*kathina*), etc.

It is unfortunate that the book does not subject its initial assumptions to critical examination. As a result the argument is sometimes confused and does not readily support the author's conclusions which are, nevertheless, basically sound. We may agree wholeheartedly with him that 'The basis of discipline is therefore to be found in the fact that it represents an ideal realisation of the teachings of *Dhamma*' (p.86). What he fails to explain is why this is so, and precisely how the relationship between *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* operates: *sīla* is an essential part of the *Vinaya*. Conversely, what is the relation of the 100 or so non-moral *Vinaya* rules to the *Dhamma*? A factor which adds confusion is the loose use of the word 'discipline' without specifying whether it refers to *Vinaya* discipline, moral discipline or intellectual discipline on different occasions. The notion of discipline is central to the author's thesis and should be carefully defined at the outset. Another term used without proper definition is 'the will' (ch.5). No Pali equivalent is given and it is unclear how this concept with its Western theological, psychological and philosophical associations is to be understood in a Buddhist context. The merit of the book is that it attempts to deal with the *Vinaya* as the embodiment of a way of life rather than just a text; apart from this, there is little that is original in the book and too much that is confused.

Damien Keown

The Ethics of Buddhism. / S. Tachibana. Curzon Press, London 1981. xv + 288pp. £6.00

This book is based on a doctoral dissertation submitted in February 1922 and published virtually without alteration for the first time by Oxford University Press in 1926. Though the original thesis has languished unconsulted for over half a century, there have been reprints of the book in Colombo in 1961 and by Curzon Press in 1975. The justification for reprinting lies not in the fact that the book is a classic in its field but in an acute shortage of alternative sources on the subject. The author wrote in the Preface in 1926, 'So far as I know, no work is specially devoted to the study of this single subject' and, indeed, this was the first major work to appear on the topic in English.

Although we read in the foreword to the present (1981) edition that 'Much has been written about Buddhism in the intervening years since this book was first published' (p.v.), it is sobering to reflect that the number of books on Buddhist Ethics published in this period can be counted on the fingers of one hand.* While there has been an explosion of interest in all aspects of Buddhist studies this fundamental dimension of the Buddhist ethos has become an academic backwater. In part this neglect mirrors a reluctance within the tradition itself to offer a lead in exploring the subject in terms of theoretical models, remaining instead content with the scholastic elaboration of moral categories. This is, unfortunately, not too far removed from the methodology adopted in the present volume.

The Ethics of Buddhism is divided into two parts. Book One (Chapters I-V) provides background material such as an account of the Buddha's life (Ch.I) and an outline of pre-Buddhist religious beliefs (Ch.III). Chapters IV and V deal with the classification of lay and monastic precepts and some general characteristics of Buddhist morality, such as the emphasis on autonomy (personal responsibility), kammic retribution, and the underscoring of practice rather than theory in the religious life. Book Two (Chapters VI-XX) attempts a classification of Buddhist morality 'according to modern method' (p.95) by subsuming it under the heading of fourteen virtues with a chapter devoted to each one. The virtues chosen (we are not told what criteria have been used in their selection) are: Self-restraint, Temperance, Contentment, Celibacy, Patience, Purity, Humility, Benevolence, Liberality, Reverence, Gratitude, Toleration, Veracity and Righteousness. This list does not correspond to any Buddhist formulation and no explanation is given of why it is thought helpful to superimpose Christian-inspired Western values onto the Buddhist tradition as a method of exegesis. Nevertheless, having selected these fourteen virtues, the author proceeds by the 'vacuum cleaner' method to scour the Pali texts for material relevant to his chapter-headings. The result makes for tedious reading sadly reminiscent of the 'wearisome enumerations' of virtues and vices in the original sources of which the author himself complains (p.85). Unfortunately, Tachibana commits himself to this procedure at the outset: his intention is 'to explain the practical morality of Buddhism' rather than 'merely to abstract its moral idea and philosophize

it'. This approach could be justified by the fact that no such catalogue of Buddhist practical morality had been produced before, but the book would be far more readable had these priorities been reversed and the practical data enlivened by some theoretical interpretation.

The Ethics of Buddhism deals only with the ethics of Pali Buddhism, and indeed the title of the original dissertation was 'Ethics of Pali Buddhism'. The author feels, however, that the ethical attitudes and values of Pali Buddhism apply to all schools of Buddhism of both the Large and Small Vehicles. He writes (p.x f.): 'I venture to say, therefore, that an interpretation of the ethics of Pali Buddhism is an interpretation of Buddhism in general.' This is an unwarranted assertion for which no evidence is produced. In fact the Mahāyāna devoted considerable energy to a critique of the ethical values of the 'Vehicle of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas' rather than adopting them wholesale. This fact is noted in the book (pp.95-100) where the author attempts to deflect the charges of self-interest upon which the Hinayāna is commonly arraigned. He does not pause to consider, however, to what extent the Mahāyāna modified its own ethical standpoint as a result of its disapproval of its predecessor, and seems to assume that no ethical recalibration was ever made.

In sum the book reveals an absence of serious critical reflection upon its theme. Data are accumulated and filed under rather arbitrary headings but little use is made of them in drawing worthwhile conclusions as to the nature of the Buddhist ethical enterprise. All that can be squeezed out in the short concluding chapter is that Buddhism is a religion of self-perfection involving responsibilities to oneself and others. The value of the book lies therefore in the spadework undertaken by the author in turning up references and sources on the subject and providing leads for other to follow up. It makes dull reading but is a useful source of reference, and at the bargain-basement price of £6.00 in hardback is worth adding to your collection as a pioneering work in the field.

Damien Keown

Ed. The following studies on *sīla* have appeared over the years:

K.Anuruddha 'Studies in Buddhist social thought as documented in the Pali tradition'. Ph.D. diss., Lancaster 1972.

- Harvey B.Aronson 'Love, Compassion, Sympathetic Joy and Equanimity in Theravāda Buddhism' (Ph.D. diss., Wisconsin 1975) publ. as *Love and Sympathy in Theravāda Buddhism*, Delhi 1980.
- Bhikkhu Bodhi *Going for Refuge. Taking the Precepts*. BPS, Kandy 1981.
Nourishing the Roots and other essays on Buddhist Ethics.
Ibid. 1978.
- R.Bogoda et al. *The Buddhist Layman*. Ibid. 1982.
- Richard Bush 'Foundations for Ethics in the Sacred Scriptures of Ancient Hinduism and Early Buddhism'. Ph.D. diss., Chicago 1960.
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- C.Gudmunsen 'Buddhist meta-ethics'. M.Phil. diss., London 1973.
- Mirisse Gunasiri *The Buddha and His Ethics*. Publ. privately, Colombo 1962.
- Hellmuth Hecker *Die Ethik des Buddha*. Hamburg 1961, repr.1976.
- J.B.Horner *The Basic Position of Sīla*. Baudha Sāhitya Sabhā, Colombo 1950.
Early Buddhism and the Taking of Life. BPS, Kandy 1967.
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- Lily Quintos 'The Moral System of Buddhism according to the Milinda Pañha with a Christian Theological Reflection' (Ph.D. diss., Louvain 1973) publ. under the main title, *Buddhism in Dialogue*, by the Cardinal Bea Institute, Ateneo de Manila University, 1977.
- R.Rajapaksa 'A Philosophical Investigation of the Ethical Hedonism and the Theory of Self implicit in the Pali Nikāyas'. Ph.D. diss., London 1975.
- Andrea Razzino 'Paññā and Karuṇā in Theravāda Buddhist Ethics compared to Love in Protestant Christian Ethics'. Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, Evanston 1981.
- W.Saddhātissa *Buddhist Ethics*. London and New York 1970.
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- Klan L.Stephenson 'Prolegomenon to Buddhist Social Ethics'. Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1971.

M. Vajirañāna *Life of a Lay Buddhist*. Buddhist Missionary Society, Kuala Lumpur 1981.

C.H.S. Ward *The Ethics of Gotama Buddha*. London-Colombo 1923.

W.C. Weeraratne 'The rôle of the individual in Buddhism according to Buddhist teachings' (Ph.D. diss., Lancaster 1975) publ. privately as *Individual and Society in Buddhism*. Colombo 1977.

G.S.P. Misra *Development of Buddhist Ethics*. New Delhi 1984.

Meditation on Emptiness. ✓ Jeffrey Hopkins. Wisdom Publications, London 1983. 1017pp. £17.95

This is a *magnum opus* in every sense of the word, amounting to no less than an encyclopaedic statement of the dGe-lugs-pa world-view centred on an extensive presentation of their interpretation of the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika doctrine of emptiness. The basic textual resource is the 'Great Exposition of Tenets' of 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa (1648-1721) which summarises the teachings of Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) and refutes the criticisms of opponents. Difficult points in the text were elucidated with the aid of other textual sources and oral commentaries by distinguished contemporary Tibetan teachers, notably Geshe Wangyal, Kensur Lekden, Geshe Gedun Lodro and the Dalai Lama. The author's central concern is to transmit these teachings on the dGe-lugs-pa view of emptiness as faithfully as possible and to locate them in the context of a living tradition which displays their practical relevance. 'This book', he writes in the Introduction (p.15f.), 'primarily presents a particular interpretation within the Geluk-ba order with an aim of imparting a sense of a living system that affects the outlook, meditation, and goals of its scholar-yogi adherents.'

With this aim in mind, the first of the six parts into which the book is divided explores the role of meditation in the realisation of the emptiness of persons and phenomena. This traces the stages of meditative realisation from initial motivation through the practical exercises of meditative investigation, the alternation of calming and insight techniques to tantric practices and Buddhahood. In the course of this a general statement of the Prāsaṅgika view of emptiness is given which is developed further in Part Two, 'Reasoning into Reality'. Here an inherent self of phenomena is refuted on the basis of Nāgārjuna's critique of production from an inherently existent self or other, and a self

of persons by the fivefold and sevenfold arguments of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti.

Part Three, 'The Buddhist World', sets out the Abhidharmic classification of phenomena and gives an account of Dependent Arising and the Four Noble Truths. Part Four summarises the views of the important Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools, and Part Five is devoted to the debate between the Mādhyamika schools of Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika. A blow-by-blow account is given of Bhāvaviveka's criticism of Buddhapālita, Candrakīrti's defence of him and Candrakīrti's own refutation of Bhāvaviveka. Part Six contains the translation of the twelfth of the thirteen chapters of the 'Great Exposition of Tenets' which sets out the Prāsaṅgika view of emptiness and is appealed to as authoritative throughout the book.

The organisation of the volume in the above way gives rise to a fair amount of repetition with central themes such as emptiness, causation and Dependent Arising receiving broadly similar treatment under different headings. However, this is no disadvantage in view of the subtlety of the gGe-lugs interpretation of Mādhyamika and the widespread misinterpretation of the Prāsaṅgika position in general. In the Introduction Hopkins lists thirty-two positions commonly attributed to them which are all refuted by the interpretation provided by his sources. He does not, however, question the dGe-lugs-pa interpretation itself or raise the issue of how far it is faithful to the teachings of Nāgārjuna which preceded it by some thirteen centuries.

Overall, the author's role in the book is to act as a mouthpiece for the tradition and to allow it to speak through him with its own voice. Personal views hardly ever intrude and his function is one of transmitter rather than critic. This is not to detract from the author's achievement which is a monumental work of great scholarship and dedication making available for the first time material which is invaluable for understanding the Mādhyamika system. Technical philosophical issues are lucidly and cogently presented with meticulous annotation and attention to detail. One minor complaint concerns the use of two systems of transliteration for both Tibetan and Sanskrit: one is the standard form and the other is the author's own scheme of 'essay phonetics' designed for ease of pronunciation and not reconstructable into the original. In balance the benefit of the ease of pronunciation is outweighed

by the complication of operating with two systems and it would have been less distracting to follow the Turrell Wylie system for the transliteration of Tibetan throughout.

Meditation on Emptiness is an essential book for anyone interested in Tibetan Buddhism or Mādhyamika philosophy. It is a veritable compendium of information to be returned to again and again. Some parts of it will interest only the specialist but its scope is so extensive and its subject-matter so central to all schools of Buddhism that it is certain to have a wide appeal. With over 1000 pages, 21 line drawings, 51 charts and 300 pages of appendices it is an inexhaustible resource for the study of the Dharma and a major contribution to Buddhist studies.

Damien Keown

Process Metaphysics and Hua-Yen Buddhism: A Critical Study of Cumulative Penetration vs Interpenetration. Steve Odin. State University of New York Press, Albany 1982. Cloth \$33.50, paper \$10.95. xxi + 242pp. ✓

To read this book for its purely metaphysical content would be to miss the main part of its purpose. It also poses an interesting historical question: it contrasts two utterly different styles of writing and it contains a 7th century text which is far more than a philosophical argument, complete with the original author's own commentary, with a translation of both.

This last is the 'Ocean Seal', written in Korean with Chinese characters by Uisang (625-702), the first patriarch of Korean Hua-Yen Buddhism. Reproduced on the cover, and on pp. xxi and 192 and translated on pp. xix-xx, its geometrical shape, its symmetrical wording, its poetical expression and metaphysical meaning, all reflect each other in a marvellously 'interpenetrative' manner, and the Appendix comprises a translation of Uisang's own commentary on it, reading for all the world like a reply to all the objections raised in a critical press.

The metaphysical stand it takes is that so closely is the universe knotted together that any part of it includes and is included by every other part and the whole. To this intense interpenetration Dr Odin opposes a typical Western view of a sandglass or double cone universe, where any event can constitute the waist, its causes spreading back to include a whole world in the past

and its results spreading forwards to include a whole world in the future, allowing only a cousinly relationship between contemporary or far separated events and assuming a time or vector element of direction with a continual original creation in the present out of past 'sedimented' material.

If one adopts the extreme pragmatist-idealist position that the content of knowledge is only the 'feel' or sensation of a neural, cerebral programming that enables, or if you like compels, the body to pursue certain ends by the choice of appropriate actions, then the universe is to be found in each mind, and each mind 'knows' or contains every other mind and its universe, reflectively ad infinitum, and the Buddhist 'thought-instant' seems the nearest we can get to a unit of existence. There does always seem to be a mental element in every dharma. All the same, I doubt if Buddhist philosophy can be so justified, directed as it is, as indeed Odin reminds us on p.53, not like Western philosophy towards the satisfaction of an idle, however interesting, curiosity, indulged in as a sport, yielding its author honour and the thrill of achievement, but towards a state of mind transcending pain and pleasure, ambition and defeat, desire and despair, knowledge and ignorance; a natural native state of man unspoilt, unblinded by their passions, a purpose for which all the logical persuasions of philosophy are less efficacious than perhaps a bit of nonsense, even a deliberate falsehood, a contradictory dilemma, possibly a sudden blow or the absence of all thought in a waking mind.

The historical background is the nearly contemporary beginnings of Western and Buddhist philosophy, the basic doctrine of rebirth appearing in both, to remain the central tenet of Buddhism but surviving in Europe only as a romantic literary conceit and totally opposed to Christian thought. The two traditions then developed so independently, in spite of repeated political, commercial and intellectual contacts, that histories of Western philosophy and Buddhism have been written without cross references. This book is an example of a reaction to this mutual antipathy, of a rapidly growing body of literature that brings both sides to search for some common ground. The distance between the two traditions could hardly be better illustrated than by where the author claims to find such common ground. For he is comparing, not what the latest opponents of the two sides seem to be saying, but what Hua-Yen Buddhists were saying in the 7th century and what Whitehead, not

the most representative of Western philosophy, was saying twelve hundred years later. We are asked to consider whether 'In one particle of dust is contained the ten directions' - that the Ocean Seal can be related to Einstein's gravitational field - whether, that is, Buddhist intuition forestalled by a thousand years the laborious results of Western scientific enquiry.

This difference is again highlighted by the contrasted styles of writing which the author uses in the two contexts. The last four lines on p.140 read: 'The phenomenological praxis of imaginative variation...functions to deconstruct sedimented focal-settings through a multiperspective open possibility search for value-rich core/horizon gestalt environments'. While a summing up of a passage from a Chinese source (Li T'ung-hsüan, *Process Metaphysics*... p.44, ll. 11-18): 'Each Buddha or bodhisattva is described as abiding in its own heavenly paradise and each one emanates a luminous halo with its characteristic quality of light and tone of colour, conveyed in terms of inexhaustible lamp-clouds of light, waves, beams and rays of light, suns, moons and stars of light, oceans, seas and rivers of light, jewels, crystals and treasures of light or palaces, skies and fields of light, all spreading out into infinity so as to pervade the ten realms of the dharmadhātu without obstruction'. On the following page (45) Odin suggests that these two passages are saying the same thing. For anyone more familiar with translations of Buddhist texts than the language of modern philosophy he has been careful to introduce his technical terms either in a context that makes them clear or with an explanation. The delicate structure of modern philosophy, using special words that often connote whole books and even schools of thought, becomes a study for a closed professional circle, coldly logical and minutely analytical, while Buddhist thought is presented in a form designed to stir up aesthetic imagination.

This is marvellously apparent in the Ocean Seal. Number and line symmetry, balanced and measured expression emblazon the structure of the thought. Fourteen rows of fifteen characters each are divided by horizontal and vertical lines that form one convoluted path that exhausts each quadrant in turn before entering the next. 210 characters, the multiple of the first four prime numbers, are made up of thirty verses of seven characters each. The maze-like path divides the near but not quite square into four nearly but not quite equal quarters with a similar but not quite identical

pattern for each. The text starts in the middle, traverses the whole pattern back to the middle, and there is no way out. The argument leads only to its starting point. The first character to be read in the middle is dharma and the last one next to it is Buddha. Such an all-embracing construction was no product of an idle weekend. In spite of the difference in size, the only Western literary monument to compare with it in meticulous and balanced construction and as a complete guide to universal thought that occurs to me is Dante's Divine Comedy.

Alban Cooke

The Way of Siddhartha: a life of the Buddha. David J. and Indrani Kalupahana. Shambhala, Boulder [now Boston] 1982. Distributed by Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. xiii + 238pp. \$9.00/£5.95

The sub-title of this book suggests a biography but what, in fact, we are offered is a reconstruction in the form of a novel. Such an approach has both dangers and attractions. The danger lies in allowing too much freedom to the creative imagination, given that the declared aim is to produce as authentic a story as possible out of the source material provided by the suttas themselves. The attraction lies in the enhanced vividness of the result and the interesting challenge to produce a plausible scenario for those parts of the account which are most meagrely documented.

In the event the authors have sensibly and commendably supplied notes at the back of the book which clearly indicate how far it has been possible to base each chapter on the Discourses and further supplement this with a glossary of names. Hence the serious student can do all the cross-checking he needs without difficulty.

They describe their main tasks as 'to eliminate the mythology that came to be associated with Siddhartha's early life as a result of his being elevated to the rank of a transcendent being and to present him as a historical person' and 'to provide a connected account of his later life'. The latter required both the imposition of a conjectural order on the main events of Gotama's ministry and a highly selective treatment of the great volume of material. Inevitably the result will not please everyone.

Nonetheless the book is a considerable contribution to Buddhist literature in English. The expedients adopted usually make good sense in literary terms without affecting the substance of the material. For instance, the switching of characters in some well-known episodes usefully reduces the number of individuals who have to be introduced into the narrative. And the projection back-

wards of some presumably later material from the Therīgāthā allows wider discussion of the role of women in early Buddhism. Yasodharā (Gotama's wife) and Devadatta (his cousin and supposedly malevolent rival) are 'enhanced' from the shadowy figures that they are in the Pali literature, but in thought-provoking ways which can be detached from one's evaluation of the main narrative.

What the book conveys most powerfully, however, is the way in which the Buddha's philosophy grows organically out of his experience and circumstances and how impossible it is to see it in narrowly religious terms. Its initial success is depicted as making the brahmins feel that the order of things which they represent is fundamentally threatened. The lure of the nascent Sangha for young men is seen as putting considerable strain on family relationships. And the ruthless king Ajātasattu is made to view the princely ascetic as an alien influence that needs to be neutralised. All-in-all a very interesting work, though one which would have benefited from a map showing us the ancient geography of the region.

David Evans

German Indologists. Biographies of Scholars in Indian Studies writing in German. Valentina Stache-Rosen. Max Mueller Bhavan, New Delhi 1981. x + 277pp.

A revised version of Ernst Windisch's unique and comprehensive survey - *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde* (I. Strassburg 1917, II. Berlin and Leipzig 1920) - has been long overdue. Whereas he covered all British and European Indologists from the inception of scientific studies at the end of the 18th century until the turn of the 20th century, the late Dr Stache-Rosen has confined her attention to deceased ethnic German scholars, wherever they lived or worked. It is a great pity that the no less important achievements of living contemporaries have been omitted but, in toto, this indispensable reference work underlines the urgent need for similar studies on other countries where accessible material is almost impossible to locate - notable exceptions being D.Zbavitel *Oriental Studies in Czechoslovakia* (Prague 1959), M.Opllt (ed.) *Asian and African Studies in Czechoslovakia* (Moscow 1967), P.Aalto *Oriental Studies in Finland 1828-1918* (Helsinki 1971), G.Bethlenfalvy *India in Hungarian Learning and Literature* (New Delhi 1980), R.M.Cimino and F. Scialpi *India and Italy* (IsMEO, Rome 1974), J.Gonda *Indology in The Neth-*

erlands (Leiden 1964), N.Yermoshkin *Buddhism and Buddhists in the USSR* (Moscow 1966), together with the now outdated essays covering *Indian Studies Abroad* (Bombay 1964) and *Sanskrit Studies Abroad* (Cultural Forum XV,1, New Delhi 1972).

In a Buddhological context, however, the pioneer work of J.W.de Jong - *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America* (Varanasi 1976; off-printed from *The Eastern Buddhist* VII, Kyoto 1974) - must be mentioned and recommended as an introductory overview.

Based on Windisch's survey and twenty papers by students of Wilhelm Rau (Marburg) who provided the portraits, reproduced from his *Bilder hundert deutscher Indologen* (Wiesbaden 1967), the author has compiled bio-bibliographies of 126 fellow Indologists, with those of F.Weller (Leipzig) and herself (both died 1980) being contributed by the latter's husband, Dr Wilfried Stache (Director of the Max Mueller Bhavan, Bangalore, 1971-80). The definition of the field in which they worked is obviously used in the widest context to include the sum total of Indian cultural influence - Ceylon, Central Asia and Transhimalaya, but excluding 'Further India' (i.e. mainland South-East Asia). Thus, Adolf Bastian (1826-1905), for example, has been omitted whereas those who today would be categorised as Tibetologists - H.A.Jäschke, A. von Schiefner, E.Schlagintweit, H.Francke, H.Beckh and R.M.von Nebesky-Wojkowitz - are included.

Again, obvious candidates for inclusion in this volume have been inexplicably omitted: Friedrich Spiegel (1820-1905), Edmund Hardy (1852-1904), Edward Müller (1853-1923) and Richard Schmidt (1866-1939). Attention should be drawn to the omission of A.Weber's pioneer translation of the Dhammapada (in ZDMG 1860) - the only fact by which he is remembered by Buddhists today. However, the rare treatment given to Max Walleser should be noted; despite being one of the greatest Buddhologists of this century, he was not honoured with a single official obituary (as discovered by the reviewer who, in answer to his request for information, received negative replies from four sections of Heidelberg University).

Despite the foregoing, the entries are well balanced, informing us of the salient features of the subjects' lives, careers, research tendencies and outstanding publications. (For the Buddhist specialist, detailed bibliographies are lacking but this reviewer can more than remedy this deficiency provided a publisher will accept

his MS on 'Buddhism in the West'!) Germany has dominated the field of Indology by the sheer number of qualified individuals - too many, initially, to be absorbed by indigenous facilities with the result that many either sought service or were invited to occupy Chairs elsewhere, notably in Britain or India (e.g. H.A. Jäschke, Th. Aufrecht, Th. Goldstücker, R. Rost, F. Max Müller, G. Bühler, F. Kielhorn, A. F. R. Hoernle, J. Eggeling, J. Jolly, H. Wenzel, E. Hultzsch, J. Dahlmann, H. Francke and F. Otto Schrader). The human qualities of striving and loss are graphically recorded which enlivens the overall account and enables us to feel for those pursuing and propagating knowledge: F. W. K. Müller's deciphering texts from Central Asia in half a dozen unknown languages; J. Nobel's thirty year devotion to the *Suvarṇaprabhasottamasūtra*; H. Oertel's lifetime's project, a card index to Sanskrit syntax, destroyed when his Munich home was bombed during the War; Else Lüders' dying on the streets of besieged Berlin in 1945 clutching a bust of her late, better-known, Orientalist husband; O. Stein preparing to leave Prague before the outbreak of war doomed him to an ignominious end in a concentration camp; P. Horsch drowning in India whilst attempting to save his wife.

The summary of 'German Indological Studies, Past and Present', covers all aspects of the work being conducted in this field and, in effect, complements Dieter Schlingloff's register of university personnel, *German Indology* (Munich 1981). One now wonders whether Heinz Bechert's projected survey - *Indologie an der deutschen Universitäten* - scheduled for publication by Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, will ever appear.

Despite the lack of diacritical marks, somewhat surprising in an Indian printer, this well presented paperback manual deserves a wide circulation.

RBW

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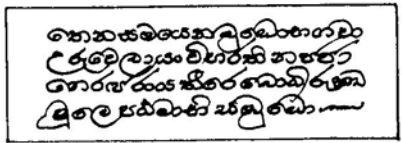
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