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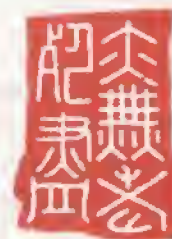
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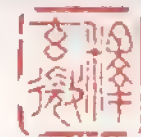
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Frontispiece: the calligraphy in Sino-Vietnamese characters (Nôm) by Ven Thích Huyền-Vi reads:

*"No old age and death,
and no cessation of old age and death."*

The seals engraved by Ven. Bhikkhu Dhamma-viro, Thailand, convey the same meaning as the calligraphy.

THREE SŪTRAS FROM THE SAMYUKTĀGAMA CONCERNING EMPTINESS*

Étienne Lamotte

Three sūtras in the Saṃyuktāgama (Taishō Issaikyō (T) 99) which deal, under various titles, with emptiness especially attracted the attention of the author of the Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa (abbrev. Upadeśa, T 1509), an authoritative interpreter of the Madhyamaka or Philosophy of the Middle. These are the Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra 'Sūtra on Emptiness in the True Sense of the Word', the Mahāśūnyatāsūtra 'Sūtra on Great Emptiness' and the Saṃṛddhisūtra 'Sūtra of Saṃṛddhi', named after one of the Buddha's disciples. Here are some quotations, accompanied by the explanations devoted to them by the Upadeśa.

I

Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra
(T 99, ch.13, p.92c 12-26)

In the Chinese translation of the Saṃyuktāgama made between 436 and 443 by Guṇabhadra, this Sūtra is entitled *Ti yi yi k'ung ching* 第一義空經, which presupposes the Sanskrit Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra. The early authors referred to it frequently

* This article originally appeared under the title 'Trois Sūtra du Saṃyukta sur la Vacuité' in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XXXVI, Part 2, 1973, pp.313-23. Translated by Sara Boin-Webb with grateful acknowledgement to the above.

while leaving aside the final section of the work¹.

As far as I know, this Sūtra has no parallel in the Pāli Saṃyutta Nikāya; conversely, it is reproduced, with some variants, at the beginning of a sūtra which appears in the Chinese version of the Ekottarāgama (T 125, ch.30, pp.713c 12-714a 3), and the Abhidharma masters quoted several extracts from it in their original Indian text².

1. *Evaṃ mayā śrutam / ekasmin samaye bhagavān kuruṣu viharati kalmāśadamye nigame³ /*

2. *tatra bhagavān bhikṣūn āmantrayati /*

3. *dharmam vo deśayiṣye adau kalyāṇam madhye kalyāṇam paryavasāne kalyāṇam svartam suvyañjanam kevalam paripūrṇam parisuddham pariyavadātam brahmacaryam prakāśayiṣye⁴ / yad uta paramār-*

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Blessed One was residing with the Kurus, in the village of Kalmāśadama.

2. Then the Blessed One addressed the monks.

3. I will teach you the Dharma which is good at the beginning, good in the middle, good at the end, of which the meaning is good, of which the letter is good, unique of its kind, quite

1 Their quotations are introduced by this formula: *Paramārthaśūnyatāyām uktaṃ bhagavatā*, or merely *Paramārthaśūnyatāyām*.

2 Several of these have been noted by L. de La Vallée Poussin in his translation of the Abhidharmakośa (Kośa) (Paris, 1923-31, repr. Brussels 1971), III p.57; V, p.59; IX, p.260.

3 The same *nidāna* appears in *Dīvyā*, p.516; D II, pp.55, 290; M I p.55; S II, pp.92, 107 (cf. Ch. Tripāṭhi, ed., *Nidānasamyukta*, *Sanskrittexte aus dem Turfanfunden* 8, Berlin 1962, p.152, n.7). Conversely, the Ekottara (T 125, p.713c 12) locates the Sūtra in Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada's park.

4 A canonical formula. For the Sanskrit wording, cf. *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Berlin 1950-1), p.296; *Nidānasamyukta*, p.153; *Mahāvīyut* (ed.

thaśūnyatāsūtram / tac chr̥ṇuta sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasikuruta bhāṣiṣye⁵ /

4. *paramārthaśūnyatāsūtram katamam / cakṣur bhikṣava utpadyamānaṃ na kutaś cid āgacchati / nirudhyamānaṃ ca na kva cit samnicayaṃ gacchati⁶ /*

5. *iti hi cakṣur abhūtvā bhavati bhūtvā ca pratigacchati⁷ /*

complete; I will explain to you the most pure and correct brahmanic conduct, namely the Sūtra on Emptiness in the True Sense of the Word. So listen; reflect well and as is fitting. I shall speak.

4. What is this Sūtra on Emptiness in the True Sense of the Word? The eye, O monks, when it arises does not come from anywhere, and when it perishes does not go anywhere.

5. Hence the eye is not real but arises nonetheless;

Sakaki, Kyoto 1916-25), No.1280-9. The Pāli phrasing is simpler: *So dhammaṃ deseti ādikalyāṇam majjhe kalyāṇam pariyosānakalyāṇam sāttham savyañjanam kevalaparipūrṇam parisuddham brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti* (cf. Vin. I, p.21; D I, p.62; M I, p.179; S V, p.352; A I, p.18).

5 Cf. *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, pp.120, 122, 126, 170; *Nidānasamyukta*, pp.147, 153, 157. The Pāli has: *taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi* (cf. D II, p.77).

6 A reading attested in the *Kośabhāṣya*, ed. P. Pradhan (Patna 1967), p.209, 11.12-13, and the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin (Calcutta 1902), p.582, 11.1-2.

7 Reading attested in the *Kośabhāṣya*, p.299, 11.13-14, and, with the variant *prativigacchati*, in the *Pañjikā*, p.582, 11.2-3. My translation is based on that of Guṇabhadra in his Chinese version (T 99, p.92c 17-18): 如是眼不實而生·生已盡滅, but we can understand: 'Hence the eye exists after having been non-existent and, after having existed, it disappears', and make use of this interpretation to affirm the existence of the past (cf. Kośa, V, p.59).

6. *asti karmāsti vipākaḥ kāra-
kas tu nopalabhyate ya imāṃś
ca skandhān nikṣipaty anyāṃś
ca skandhān pratisaṃdadhāty
anyatra dharmasaṃketāt*⁸ /

having arisen, it perishes.

6. There is action, there is
fruition, but no agent exists
which rejects these aggre-
gates and assumes other ag-
gregates, unless a metaphor

8 Reading attested in the *Kośabhāṣya*, p.129, 11.9-11; p.468, 11.20-2, and the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, ed. S. Lévi (Paris 1907), p.158, 11.21-2. The *Pañjikā*, p.474, 11.15-17, presents variants: *iti hi bhikṣavo 'sti karma / asti phalaṃ / kāra-
kas tu nopalabhyate ya imān skandhān vijahāti / anyāṃś ca skandhān
upādāte / anyatra dharmasaṃketāt /*. This text should be compared to
another canonical passage which appears in several sources.

Bimbasārasūtra. in E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke buddh. Sūtras* (Leipzig 1932),
p.131, and *Catuṣpariṣat*, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Berlin 1952-62), p.358: *ayaṃ sa
ātmā vā satvo (vā) pūrvavad yāvat pratisaṃvedako . . . na bhaviṣyati / yas
tatra tatra kṛtākṛtānāṃ kalyāṇapāpakānāṃ vipākaṃ pratisaṃvedayisyati / iti
ya imāṃś ca skandhān nikṣipaty anyāṃś ca skandhān pratisaṃdadhāty
anyatra dharmasaṃketāt /*.

Mahāvastu, ed. E. Senart (Paris 1882-7), III, p.448, 11.4-6: *ahaṃ so atra
kāraḥ vā kārapako vā utthāpako vā samutthāpako vā ādīyako vā nikṣepako vā
yo imāṃś ca saṃskārā nikṣipati anyāṃś ca upādīyati anyatra*.

All these texts deny the existence of the *Ātman* and its synonyms
jīva, *jantu*, *poṣa*, *pudgala*, *manuja*, *māṇava*, *kartā*, *kāraka*, *janaka*,
saṃjanaka, *utthāpaka*, *samutthāpaka*, *vadaka*, *vedaka*, *pratisaṃvedaka*. The
being (*sattva*) has no substantial existence; it is only a name, a metaphor
(*saṃketa*), to designate dharmas which have arisen from causes and conditions
(*pratītyasamutpanna*, *saṃskṛta*). The *paramārthaśūnyatā* of which the *Sūtra*
speaks here is none other than the *sattvaśūnyatā*.

The *Kośavyākhyā*, ed. U. Wogihara (Tokyo 1932-6), p.707, 11.13-16, has a
good commentary on the present passage: *kāraḥ tu nopalabhyate iti vistarāḥ
/ karmaṇaḥ kāraḥ nopalabhyate / kīdrśo 'sāv iti / āha / ya imāṃś c' aihikān
skandhān nikṣipati tyajaty anyāṃś ca pāratirikān skandhān pratisaṃdadhāty
upasaṃgrhṇāti dravyasann avasthita iti / anyatra dharmasaṃketāt iti
pratītyasamutpādalakṣaṇānt(ar)ena / 'No agent exists: there is no author of*

7. *evaṃ śrotraṃ ghrāṇaṃ jihvā
kāyo mano vācyam*⁹ /

of the Dharma is involved
there.

7. With regard to the ear,
nose, tongue, body and
mind, the same should be
said.

8. *anyatra dharmasaṃketāt iti
/ atrāyaṃ dharmasaṃketo yad
utaśmin satīdaṃ bhavati / as-
yotpādād idam utpadyate /
yad idam avidyāpratya-
yaṃ saṃskārāḥ / saṃskārāpraty-
yaṃ vijñānam / yāvad evam*

8. I said: 'Unless a metaphor
of the Dharma is involved
there'. Here, the metaphor
of the Dharma means (only)
this: This being, that is; from
the arising of this, that ari-
ses, that is to say the forma-

action. Of what kind would he be? Answer: an agent *who rejects*, who
abandons, *these aggregates*, the aggregates of present existence, *and assumes*,
takes on, *other aggregates*, the aggregates of future existence: an agent who
would be presented as existing substantially. *Unless a metaphor is concerned
there: unless as a (simple) designation of dependent origination*'.

In the present passage *saṃketa* means metaphor, metaphorical designation,
symbol. The early translators made no mistake over this and all of them
rendered it in a manner equivalent to the expression *anyatra
dharmasaṃketāt* 'unless in the case of a metaphor of the Dharma (in this
instance the *Pratītyasamutpāda*)'.

Tibetan version in *Catuṣpariṣat*, p.539: *chos su* (or *chos kyi*) *brdar btags pa
ma gtogs pa*.

Guṇabhadra (T 99, p.92c 19): *ch'u su shu fa* 除俗數法

Samghadeva (T 125, p.713c 17-18): *ch'u chia hao fa* 除假號法

Hsüan-tsang (T 1558, p.155b 27): *wei ch'u fa chia* 唯除法假

Paramārtha (T 1559, p.306c 28-29): 唯除於法世流布語所立人

'except when, according to worldly usage to designate dharmas, it is said that
they are a person (*pudgala*)'.

9 *Evaṃ . . . vācyam* is an abbreviating method frequently used in Buddhist
Sanskrit; cf. *Nidānasamyukta*, pp.108, 171, 187.

*asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasyotpādo bhavati*¹⁰ /

9. *tatrāsminn asatīdam na bhavati / asya nirodhād idam nirudhyate / yad utāvidyānirodhāt saṃskāranirodhaḥ / saṃskāranirodhād vijñānanirodhaḥ / yāvad evam asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya*

tions are conditioned by ignorance, consciousness is conditioned by the formations', etc., up to: 'Such is the origin of this whole great mass of suffering'.

9. Moreover, 'This not being, that is not; through the cessation of this, that ceases, that is to say the cessation of ignorance results in the cessation of the formations; the cessation of the forma-

10 The unabridged formula of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* in terms of 'arising' or 'origination' (*samudaya*) is well-known.

The Sanskrit wording is found in the *Catuṣpariṣat*, pp.102, 358-60; Śālistamba, ed. N. A. Sastri (Adyar Library, 1950), p.2; *Avadānaśataka*, ed. J. S. Speyer (St. Petersburg 1902-9), II, pp.105-6; *Arthavinīscaya*, ed. N. H. Samtani (Patna 1971), p.5, *Mahāvastu* II, p.285, and III, p.448: *asmin satīdam bhavaty asyotpādād idam utpadyante / yad utāvidyāpratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ / saṃskārapratyayaṃ vijñānam / vijñānapratyayaṃ nāmarūpaṃ / nāmarūpa-pratyayaṃ ṣaḍāyatanaṃ / ṣaḍāyatana-pratyayaḥ sparśaḥ / sparśa-pratyayā vedanā / vedanā-pratyayā tṛṣṇā / tṛṣṇā-pratyayaṃ upādānam / upādāna-pratyayo bhavaḥ / bhava-pratyayā jātiḥ / jāti-pratyayaṃ jarāmaraṇaṃ śoka-paridevaduḥkhadaurmanasyo pāyāsā saṃbhavanti / evam asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya samudayo bhavati /*

For the Pāli wording see, among other sources, *Vin.* I, p.1; *M* III, p.63; *S* II pp.1, 25, etc.

*nirodho bhavati*¹¹ /

10. *ayaṃ bhikṣava ucyate paramārthaśūnyatā nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ /*

11. *idaṃ avocad bhagavān ātmanasas te bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitaṃ abhyanandan*¹² /

tions results in the cessation of consciousness', etc., up to: 'Such is the cessation of this whole great mass of suffering'.

10. Such is, O monks, the religious discourse called 'Emptiness in the True Sense of the Word'.

11. Thus spoke the Blessed One; the monks, delighted in mind, rejoiced greatly at the discourse of the Blessed One.

In this Sūtra, *paramārthaśūnyatā* is none other than the emptiness of beings (*sattvaśūnyatā*), the fundamental teaching of the Buddhism of the Śrāvakas. Taking this text as a basis, it

11 The unabridged formula of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* in terms of 'cessation' (*nirodha*) generally follows the preceding one (see the references above): *asminn asatīdam na bhavaty asya nirodhād idam nirudhyate / yad utāvidhyānirodhāt saṃskāranirodhaḥ / saṃskāranirodhād vijñānanirodhaḥ / vijñānanirodhād nāmarūpanirodhaḥ / nāmarūpanirodhāt ṣaḍāyatana-nirodhaḥ / ṣaḍāyatana-nirodhāt sparśanirodhaḥ / sparśanirodhād vedanānirodhaḥ / vedanānirodhāt tṛṣṇānirodhaḥ / tṛṣṇānirodhād upādānanirodhaḥ / upādānanirodhād bhavanirodhaḥ / bhavanirodhāj jātinirodhaḥ / jātinirodhāj jarāmaraṇanirodhaḥ śoka-paridevaduḥkhadaurmanasyo pāyāsā nirudhyante / evam asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya nirodho bhavati /*

It should be noted that, in the phrase *evam asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya samudayo . . . nirodho bhavati*, the *Kośabhāṣya*, p.140, 11.21-2, glosses *kevala* 'only, whole' with *ātmīyarahita* 'devoid of a self', and *mahat*, 'great' with *anādyanta* "without beginning or end". The underlying teaching of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* is essentially a teaching on Non-self.

12 Customary conclusion at the end of Sanskrit sūtras.

might be wondered if the Buddha ever taught anything but the emptiness of beings in the Tripiṭaka or, if he spoke of the emptiness of phenomena (*dharmasūnyatā*), why he spoke of it so little. It is this question that the Upadeśa will attempt to answer.

Commentary in the Upadeśa*

(T 1509, ch.31, pp.294c 29 - 295a 17)

Question: If the emptiness of all dharmas (*sarvadharmasūnyatā*) is truly true, why, in the Tripiṭaka, did the Buddha especially speak of impermanent (*anitya*), suffering (*duḥkha*), empty (*sūnya*) and impersonal (*anātman*) dharmas? See the [Paramārthaśūnyatā]sūtra in which the Buddha says to the bhikṣus: 'I will propound to you the Dharma teaching (*dharmaparyāya*) entitled Paramārthaśūnyatā. What is that Paramārthaśūnyatā? The eye (*cakṣus*), when it arises, does not come from anywhere, and when it perishes, does not go anywhere. There is only action (*karman*) and fruition of action (*karmavipāka*); the agent (*kāraka*) does not exist. For the ear, nose, tongue, body and mind, it is also the same'. Here, to affirm that on arising (dharmas) do not come from anywhere and on perishing do not go anywhere, is to say that there are no eternal (*nitya*) dharmas and that they are all impermanent (*anitya*); there is only action and fruition of action, but the agent does not exist. Such is, in the Śrāvaka system, *paramārthaśūnyatā*. Why do you still speak to us of a *sarvadharmasūnyatā* 'emptiness of all dharmas'?

Answer: The self (*ātman*) is the root of all the passions (*kleśa*). At first one becomes attached to the five aggregates (*skan-*

* [Tr.'s note] - See É. Lamotte, *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* IV, Louvain 1978, pp.2135-8.

dha) as if they were a self (*ātman*); then one becomes attached to external objects (*bāhyavastu*) as if they pertained to the self (*ātmiyā*). Bound by the self, one arouses craving (*rāga*) and hatred (*dveṣa*), and because of that craving and hatred, one performs actions (*karman*). When the Buddha says (in the Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra) that 'the agent does not exist', he is destroying the Ātman in every dharma. When he says: 'The eye, when it arises, does not come from anywhere, and when it perishes, does not go anywhere', he is affirming the impermanence (*anityatā*) of the eye, etc. Indeed, 'that which is impermanent is suffering, and that which is suffering is devoid of self and anything pertaining to a self'¹³. Self and anything pertaining to a self not existing, the mind is no longer attached to any dharmas, and the mind having no more attachment (*abhiniveśa*)¹⁴ no longer incurs fetters (*saṃyojana*). Since it no longer incurs fetters, what point is there in propounding emptiness? That is why, in the Tripiṭaka, the Buddha especially speaks of the impermanent (*anitya*), suffering (*duḥkha*), empty (*sūnya*) and impersonal (*anātman*), but speaks much less of the emptiness of all dharmas.

II

Mahāsūnyatā nāma dharmaparyāya

(T 99, ch.12, pp.84c 11 - 85a 10)

Prof. E. Waldschmidt, who rendered such eminent service to Buddhist studies, identified the original text of this Sūtra in a

13 Cf. S III, pp.22, 82, 84; IV, p.1: *yad aniccaṃ taṃ dukkhaṃ, yaṃ dukkhaṃ tad anattā, yad anattā taṃ netaṃ mama neso haṃ asmī na meso attā ti.*

14 *Abhiniveśa*, *mōn par zen*, 執著, or *chih chu* 執著, is a mental attachment to non-existent things.

manuscript from Turfan.

'Sūtra 15 (Tsa-a-han ching 297). Schauplatz: Dorf im Lande der Kurus. Das Stichwort *sūnyatā* kommt zu Eingang vor, wo der Buddha erklärt, er wolle eine Lehrverkündigung (*dharmaparyāya*) names Mahāsūnyatā zu Gehör bringen. Pāli-Entsprechung zu einzelnen Teilen: Nidānasamyutta, Sutta 35 (*avijjāpaccayā*, Geiger: "Aus dem Nichtwissen als Ursache entstanden"); Schauplatz: Sāvattihī¹⁵.

This Sūtra was subsequently published, translated and profusely annotated by Chandrabhāl Tripāthī, *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta*, Berlin 1962, pp.152-7. I venture to refer the reader to this excellent edition and will limit myself to translating a few extracts from this Nidānasamyukta (*loc. cit.*) and the Avijjāpaccayā (S II, pp.60-3).

Nidānasamyukta

4. *mahāsūnyatādharmaparyāyah katamāḥ / yad utāsmīn satīdam bhavaty asyotpādād idam utpadyate / yad utāvidyāpratyayāḥ saṃskārā yāvat samudayo bhavati /*

4. What are these Dharma teachings called Great Emptiness? They are expressed thus: 'This being, that is, from the arising of this, that arises, that is to say the formations are conditioned by ignorance; up to: 'Such is

15 [Eng. summary: 'Sūtra 15 (Tsa-a-han ching 297). Setting: Village in Kuru country. The keyword *sūnyatā* appears at the beginning, where the Buddha explains that he wishes to make known a teaching (*dharmaparyāya*) called Mahāsūnyatā. Corresponding Pāli to certain portions: Nidānasamyutta, Sutta 35 (*avijjāpaccayā*); setting: Sāvattihī.] E. Waldschmidt, 'Identifizierung einer Handschrift des Nidānasamyukta', ZDMG CVII, 2, 1957, p.379.

5. *jātipratyayaṃ jarāmaraṇam iti / tatra ko jarāmaraṇam kasya vā jarāmaraṇam iti hi syuḥ praṣṭāra iti ya evam vaded ayaṃ jarāmaraṇam asya vā jarāmaraṇam / yaś caivam vadet taj jīvaṃ tac cārīram anyaj jīvaṃ anyac cārīram / ubhayam etad ekam / vyañjanam atra nānā /*

taj jīvaṃ tac cārīram iti drṣṭau satyāṃ brahmacarya-vāso na bhavati /

anyaj jīvaṃ anyac cārīram iti bhikṣavo drṣṭau sat-

the origin . . . ?

5. It is said that old-age-death is conditioned by birth, and concerning this certain people might wonder what is old-age-death and to whom does old-age-death pertain. Someone might answer, 'This is old-age-death', or 'It is to this one that old-age-death pertains'. Another person might answer, 'The life-principle¹⁶ is identical to the body', or 'The life principle is different from the body'. These two answers would be identical (in error) and different (only) in the letter.

As long as the false view which consists in saying that the life principle is identical to the body persists, the spiritual life is impossible.

O monks, as long as the false view which consists in

16 *jīva* should not be rendered by 'Leben', but by 'life principle' or 'living being'. *ātman, sativa, jīva, poṣa, puruṣa, pudgala, manuja, māṇava, kāraka, vedaka, jānaka, paśyaka*, etc., are so many synonyms designating the self. Cf. Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, ed. N. Dutt (London 1934), p.39, ll.2-3; p.99, ll.17; p.115, ll.18, etc.

yāṃ brahmacariyavāso na bhavati /

ity etāv ubhāv antāv anupagamyāsti madhayamā prati-pad āryā lokottarā yathābhūtā aviparītā samyagdr̥ṣṭih / yad uta jātipratyayaṃ jarāmaranam /

Avijjāpaccayā

2. *avijjāpaccayā bhikkhave / saṅkhārā / saṅkhārapaccayā viññānaṃ / pe / evaṃ etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti ti /*

3. *katamaṃ nu kho bhante jarāmaranaṃ / kassa ca panidaṃ jarāmaranaṃ ti / no kallo pañhoti bhagavā avoca /*

katamaṃ jarāmaranaṃ kassa ca panidaṃ jarāmaranaṃ ti itī vā bhikkhu yo vadeyya / aññaṃ jarāmaranaṃ aññassa ca panidaṃ jarāmaranaṃ ti itī

saying that the life principle is different from the body persists, the spiritual life is impossible.

There is a middle path which avoids these two extremes: it is the noble, transcendental, correct and right unperverted view, which affirms (simply) that old-age-death is conditioned by birth.

2. O monks, the formations are conditioned by ignorance, consciousness is conditioned by the formations, etc., up to: 'Such is the origin of this whole mass of suffering'.

3. O Blessed One, what then is old-age-death and, furthermore, to whom does that old-age-death pertain? That question is not correctly put, answered the Blessed One.

O monk, if one were to ask: 'What is old-age-death and, furthermore, to whom does old-age-death pertain', or if one were to say: 'Other

vā bhikkhu yo vadeyya / ubhayaṃ etam ekatthaṃ vyañjanam eva nānaṃ /

tam jīvam taṃ sarīran ti vā bhikkhu diṭṭhiyā sati brahmacariyavāso na hoti / aññaṃ jīvam aññaṃ sarīran ti vā bhikkhu diṭṭhiyā sati brahmacariyavāso na hoti /

ete te bhikkhu ubho ante anupagamma majjhena tathāgato dhammaṃ deseti / jātipaccayā jarāmaranaṃ ti /

is old-age-death, and other is he to whom old-age-death pertains', the two propositions would be the same in meaning (in error) and different only in the letter.

O monk, as long as the false view which consists in saying that the life principle is identical to the body persists, the spiritual life is impossible. O monk, as long as the false view which consists in saying that the life principle is different from the body persists, the spiritual life is impossible.

O monk, the Tathāgata, having avoided those two extremes, teaches the Dharma by means of the middle in saying that old-age-death is conditioned by birth.

In short, to claim that old-age-death pertains to someone is a false view because there is an emptiness of beings (*sattva-sūnyatā*) in the sense that all the formations are devoid of self (*ātman*) and anything pertaining to a self (*ātmiya*). To claim that old-age-death is something is a false view because there is an emptiness of things (*dharmasūnyatā*) in the sense that all dharmas are devoid of a self-nature (*svabhāva*) and marks (*lak-*

ṣaṇa), whether general (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) or specific (*sva-lakṣaṇa*). The Upadeśa is categoric in this respect.

Commentary in the Upadeśa¹⁷
(T 1509, ch.18, pp.192c 26 - 193 a 6)

The Buddha says in the *Ta ch'ung ching* (Mahāsūnyatāsūtra): 'The twelve causes (*dvādaśanidāna*) go from ignorance (*avidyā*) to old-age-death (*jarāmaraṇa*). To say: "This is old-age-death" (*ayaṃ jarāmaraṇam*), to ask "To whom does old-age-death pertain?" (*kasya jarāmaraṇam*): all that consists of a false view (*drṣṭi*). With regard to birth (*jāti*), the action of existence (*bhava*), clinging (*upādāna*), thirst (*trṣṇā*), feeling (*vedanā*), contact (*sparśa*), the six bases of consciousness (*saḍāyatana*), name-and-form (*nāmarūpa*), consciousness (*viññāna*), the formations (*saṃskāra*) and ignorance (*avidyā*), it is the same. To say that the life principle is identical to the body (*taj jīvaṃ tac charīram*), to say that the life principle is different from the body (*anyaj jīvaṃ anyac charīram*), both propositions, although different (in the letter), are false views'. The Buddha continued: 'That the life principle is identical to the body constitutes a false view which is not that of my disciples. That the life principle is different from the body also constitutes a false view which is not that of my disciples'.

In this Sūtra, the Buddha proclaims the emptiness of things (*dharmasūnyatā*). If one asks to whom old-age-death pertains, it should be known that that question is erroneous (*mithyā*) and that there is an emptiness of beings (*sattvasūnyatā*). If one asks

17 This passage is translated in the *Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* II, Louvain 1949, pp.1079-81, in which the close relationship between the Mahāsūnyatāsūtra and the Avijjāpaccayā has already been noted.

what is old-age-death, it should be known that that question is erroneous and that there is an emptiness of things (*dharmasūnyatā*). It is the same for the other (links of the causal chain), up to and including ignorance (*avidyā*).

Elsewhere, the Upadeśa (ch.31, p.295b 27-8) classes the Mahāsūnyatāsūtra of the Saṃyuktāgama among certain sūtras in the Tripiṭaka which categorically teach the *dharmasūnyatā*.

III

Suññasutta and Saṃvādasutta
(S IV, p.54; T 99, p.56b 21-c 1)

This point is not made by the Suññasutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya (IV, p.54) which, when asserting that the world of beings (*loka*)¹⁸ is empty, merely means that it is empty of self (*ātman*) and anything pertaining to a self (*ātmīya*). This text narrates a short dialogue between the Buddha and Ānanda, which takes place in Sāvattī. It is often evoked as proof of the non-existence of the Ātman¹⁹.

1. *sāvattī nidānaṃ* /

2-3. *atha kho āyasmā Ānando /
la / bhagavantam etad avoca /
suñño loko suñño loko ti
bhante vuccati / kittāvatā
nu kho bhante suñño loko ti
vuccati /*

1. The event took place in Sāvattī.

2-3. Then the venerable Ānanda said this to the Blessed One: 'Empty is the world, empty is the world', it is said, O Lord. Of what significance then, O Lord, is

18 *loka*, understood as *sattaloka* 'world of beings'.

19 Cf. Mahānidāna II, p.439; Cullānidāna, p.279; Kathāvatthu, p.67; Visuddhimagga, ed. H.C. Warren (and Dh. Kosambi, Cambridge, Mass, 1950), p.561.

4. *yasmā ca kho Ānanda suñ-
ñam na vā attaniyena vā²⁰ /
tasmā suñño loko ti vuccati /
kiñca Ānanda suññam attena
vā attaniyena vā /*

5-10. *cakkhuṃ kho Ānanda
suññam attena vā attaniyena
vā / rūpā suññā attena vā
attaniyena vā / cakkhuvīññā-
ṇam suññam attena vā attani-
yena vā / cakkhusamphasso
suñño attena vā attaniyena vā /
/ pe / yampidaṃ manosam-
phassapaccayā uppajjati ve-
dayitaṃ sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ
vā adukkhaṃ asukhaṃ vā /
tam pi suññam attena vā
attaniyena vā /*

11. *yasmā ca kho Ānanda
suññam attena vā attaniyena*

the affirmation that the world is empty?

4. O Ānanda, because there is an emptiness of self or of anything pertaining to self, it is said that the world is empty. What is, O Ānanda, the emptiness of self or anything pertaining to self?

5-10. The eye, O Ānanda, is empty of self or anything pertaining to self, visibles are empty of self or anything pertaining to self, eye-consciousness is empty of self or anything pertaining to self, eye contact is empty of self or anything pertaining to self, and so on. And to end, pleasant, unpleasant or neither unpleasant nor pleasant feeling which arises from mental contact is also empty of self or anything pertaining to self.

11. Therefore since, O Ānanda, there is emptiness of

20 Compare the formula *suññam idaṃ attena vā attaniyena vā*; cf. M I, p.297; II, p.263; S IV, p.296; Paṭisambhidā II, p.36; Kathāvatthu, p.579. In this last passage: *suññam saṃkhārā attena vā attaniyena vā*.

vā / tasmā suñño loko ti self or of anything pertain-
vuccati / ing to self, it is said that the
world is empty.

In his *Comparative Catalogue of the Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas*, p.223, Ch. Akanuma has compared the Suññasutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya with the Saṃṛddhisūtra of the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (T 99, No.22, ch.9, p.56b 21-c 1). However, despite an obvious relationship, the Saṃṛddhisūtra differs notably from the former. It makes Saṃṛddhi (the Saṃiddhi of the Pāli sources) the questioner of the Buddha; it multiplies the aspects (*ākāra*) of emptiness; finally and above all, it introduces a stock phrase on the essential nature (*prakṛti*) of things which never appears in the Nikāyas, but which is common in the Prajñā-pāramitā texts. Here again, we can attempt a reconstruction of the original Indian text.

1. *evaṃ mayā śrutam / ekasmin
samaye bhagavāñ chrāvastyāṃ
viharati sma jetavane 'natha-
piṇḍadasyārāme /*

2. *atha saṃṛddhir nāma bhik-
ṣur yena bhagavāṃs tenopaja-
gāma / upetya bhagavatpāda-
śirasā vanditvaikānte nyaṣī-
dat / ekāntaniṣaṇṇo bhagavan-
tam idam avocat /*

3. *sūnyo loka iti bhadanta uc-*

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Blessed One was residing in Śrāvastī, at the Jeta grove, in Anāthapiṇḍa-da's park.

2. Then a monk named Saṃṛddhi went to where the Blessed One was to be found, saluted with his head the feet of the Blessed One then sat to one side. Seated to one side he said this to the Blessed One.

3. It is said, O Lord: 'Empty

yate / kiyatā²¹ śūnyo loka iti
bhadanta ucyate /

4. *evam ukto bhagavān sam-
rddhiṃ bhikṣum idam avocat /*

5. *cakṣuḥ śūnyam / śāśvatenā-
vipariṇāmadharmeṇa śūnyam /
ātmīyena śūnyam²² /*

6. *tat kasya hetoḥ / prakṛtir
asyaiśā²³ /*

is the world'. To what extent
is it said, O Lord, that the
world is empty?

4. Thus questioned, the Bles-
sed One said this to the
monk Samrddhi:

5. The eye is empty; it is
empty of perpetuity and
changelessness; it is empty
of self.

6. Why? Because such is its
essential nature.

21 *kiyatā*, corresponding to the Pāli *kittāvatā*, is found in the *Nidānasamyukta*, pp.127, 168, 188.

22 The Pāli *Suññasutta* reproduced above merely says: *cakkuṃ suññam attena vā attaniyena vā*. Here the formula is more developed and the Chinese version (T 99, p.56b 24-5) renders it by 眼空常恒不變易法空我所空, representing in Sanskrit *cakṣuḥ śūnyam, śāśvatenāvipariṇāmadharmeṇa śūnyam, ātmīyena śūnyam*. This is a shortened formula of which the Pāli sources (*Paṭisambhidā* I, p.109; II, p.178; *Mahāniddeśa* I, p.222; *Cullāniddeśa*, p.279, *Visuddhimagga*, ed. Warren, p.561) give the full wording: *cakkuṃ suññam attena vā attaniyena vā niccena vā dhuvena vā sassatena vā avipariṇāmadhammena vā*, 'the eye is empty of self, anything pertaining to self, eternity, solidity, perpetuity or changelessness'. According to the *Cullāniddeśa*, pp.278-80, and the *Visuddhimagga*, pp.561-2, emptiness can be understood under two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve or forty-two aspects. The *Paṭisambhidā* II, p.178, adds that the *suññasuññam*, 'emptiness of emptiness', is precisely the emptiness in six aspects which has just been mentioned. According to the *Paṭisambhidā* Commentary III, p.632, emptiness formed by emptiness and which is not specified by another accessory word is *suññasuññam (suññasasaṅkhātāṃ suññam, na aññena upapadena visesitā 'ti suññam suññam)*.

23 In Chinese 所以者何此性自爾. The term *prakṛti* (in Tibetan *rā bñin*, in Chinese *hsing* 性) which plays such an important role in Brahmanic and

7. *rūpaṃ cakṣurvijñānaṃ yad
apīdaṃ cakṣuḥsaṃsparśa
pratyayam udpadyate vedayi-
taṃ duḥkhaṃ vā sukhaṃ vā-
duḥkhāsukhaṃ vā / tad api
śūnyam / śāśvatenāvipariṇā-
madharmeṇa śūnyam / ātmī-
yena śūnyam /*

8. *tat kasya hetoḥ / prakṛtir
asyaiśā /*

9. *evam eva śrotraṃ ghrāṇaṃ
jihvā kāyo manaḥ /*

10. *tasmāt śūnyo loka ity uc-
yate /*

11. *idam avocad bhagavān /
samrddhir bhikṣur bhagavato
bhāṣitam abhinandyānumo-*

7. The visible, eye-conscious-
ness and also that unpleasant,
pleasant, or neither unpleas-
ant nor pleasant feeling
which arises with eye con-
tact as its condition, is also
empty, empty of perpetuity
and of changelessness,
empty of self.

8. Why? Because such is its
essential nature.

9. It is the same for the ear,
nose, tongue, body and mind.

10. That is why it is said that
the world is empty.

11. Thus spoke the Blessed
One; the monk Samrddhi,
having expressed his satisfac-

Hindu philosophical systems is, in the meaning of essential or original nature (or matter), practically unknown to the early canonical writings, but frequently appears in the Mahāyāna sūtras, particularly in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature.

The phrase *tat kasya hetoḥ, prakṛtir asyaiśā* which appears here in §§ 6 and 8 of the *Samrddhisūtra*, plays the part of a refrain in the definitions of the sixteen, eighteen or twenty *śūnyatās* proposed by the large *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras; Cf. *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā* (Tib. Trip. XIX, No.732, p.260, fol.135a 8-137b 5; T 220, ch.488, pp.480b 6-481a 1); *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, ed. N. Dutt, pp.195, 112-197, 120; *Śatasāhasrikā*, ed. P. Ghosa (Calcutta 1914), pp.1407, 110-1411, 114.

The presence of this phrase in the *Samrddhisūtra* of the *Saṃyuktāgama* and its absence in the *Suññasutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* raises a text-critical problem, and I would willingly believe that this phrase was introduced into the *Samrddhisūtra* by a Mahāyānist interpolator. We know the degree to which the Chinese *Ekottarāgama* was also subjected to similar intervention.

*dhya prakrāntaḥ*²⁴ /

tion and rejoiced at the discourse of the Blessed One, went away.

The Pāli Suññasutta and the Sanskrit Samṛddhisūtra have exactly the same significance. Both teach the *sattvaśūnyatā* by presenting the six internal bases of consciousness (*adhyāt-māyatana*) as being empty of self and anything pertaining to self. The latter also stresses the impermanence (*anityatā*) of those same bases by giving them as 'empty of permanence and changelessness'. Nevertheless, the author of the Upadeśa, allowing himself to be impressed by the phrase, *tat kasya hetoḥ, prakṛtir asyaiṣā*, sees in the second of these sūtras an affirmation of that emptiness of essential natures (*prakṛtiśūnyatā*) referred to by the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras.

Commentary in the Upadeśa*
(T 1509, ch.31, p.282a 28 - b 11)

Prakṛtiśūnyatā, 'The Emptiness of Essential Natures'. The Prakṛti of dharmas is eternally empty, but by assuming the karmic series (*karmaprabandha*), it appears not to be empty. Thus the Prakṛti of water (*udaka*) is cold (*śīta*) in itself, but if it is taken near fire (*agni*) it becomes hot (*uṣṇa*), and if the fire is put out it becomes cold again. It is the same with the Prakṛti of dharmas: as long as the [karmic conditions] are not present, it is empty (*śūnya*) and imperceptible (*anupalabdha*), like the Prakṛti of permanently cold water; but when the conditions (*pratyaya*) are assembled, the dharmas exist like water which becomes hot

24 With regard to this ending, compare Mahāparinirvāṇa, pp.118, 152, 186; Nidānasamyukta, pp.114, 176, 197.

* [Tr.'s note] - Translated by the author in *Le Traité IV* (op. cit), pp.2110-15.

near fire. If the conditions lessen or disappear, there is no more dharma, like boiling water which becomes cold when the fire is extinguished. See what is said in the Sūtra²⁵: 'The eye (*cakṣus*) is empty (*śūnya*), devoid of self (*anātman*) and of anything pertaining to a self (*anātmīya*). Why? Because that is its essential nature (*prakṛtir asyaiṣā*). The ear (*śrotra*), nose (*ghrāṇa*), tongue (*jihvā*), body (*kāya*) and mind (*manas*), colour (*rūpa*), [sound (*śabda*), odour (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*), tangibility (*spra-ṣṭavya*)] and dharmas are also like that'.

Objection: That Sūtra says that [the twelve *āyatanas*] are empty of self and anything pertaining to a self (*śūnyāny ātmanā vātmīyena vā*), in other words it is referring to the emptiness of beings (*sattvaśūnyatā*), and not to the emptiness of things (*dharmāśūnyatā*). How do you see evidence in this in favour of the emptiness of essential natures (*prakṛtiśūnyatā*)?

Answer: In that Sūtra, it is only a matter of *Prakṛtiśūnyatā*; it does not speak of the emptiness of beings (*sattvaśūnyatā*) or of the emptiness of things (*dharmāśūnyatā*).

The *Prakṛtiśūnyatā* is of two kinds:

1. In the twelve bases of consciousness (*āyatana*), there is no self (*ātman*) or anything pertaining to a self (*ātmīya*). The emptiness proper to the twelve *āyatanas* consists of the absence of self and the absence of anything pertaining to a self. That is what is said in the Śrāvaka system.

2. As for the Mahāyāna system, it says this: The twelve *āyatanas*, having no self or anything pertaining to a self, are empty, and the Prakṛti of the twelve *āyatanas* not existing, is

25 The Samṛddhisūtra quoted immediately above.

(itself) empty [of Prakṛti].

In short, in the opinion of the Upadeśa, the Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra teaches only the emptiness of beings; the Mahāśūnyatāsūtra proclaims both the emptiness of beings and the emptiness of things; as for the Samvṛddhisūtra, it affirms the emptiness of essential natures (*prakṛti*).

The shifts in meaning undergone in the course of time by the technical vocabulary of Buddhism did not escape the author of the Upadeśa. In the canonical works, *paramārthaśūnyatā* is emptiness in the proper sense of the word, namely Anātman or the emptiness of beings (*sattvaśūnyatā*) devoid of self and anything pertaining to a self, while *mahāśūnyatā* is the great emptiness relating to both things and beings. In the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras of the Mahāyāna, *paramārthaśūnyatā* is the emptiness of the Absolute, i.e. of Nirvāṇa; *mahāśūnyatā* is quite simply the emptiness of the spatial regions. This is what results from the definitions supplied by the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā and the Śatasāhasrikā:

'What is the emptiness of the Absolute? Here the Absolute means Nirvāṇa, and that Nirvāṇa is empty of Nirvāṇa because it is neither eternal nor transitory. Why? Because such is its essential nature. That is called the emptiness of the Absolute'²⁶.

'What is great emptiness? The eastern region is empty of eastern region; the southern region is empty of southern region .

26 Emended text of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, p.196, 11.9-10, and of the Śatasāhasrikā, pp.1408, 120 - 1409, 121: *tatra katamā paramārthaśūnyatā / tatra paramārtha ucyate nirvāṇam / yac ca nirvāṇam nirvāṇena śūnyam akūṭasthāvināśītām upādāya / tat kasya hetoḥ prakṛtir asyaiṣā iyaṃ ucyate paramārthaśūnyatā /*

. . . , etc., up to: the intermediate regions are empty of intermediate regions, because they are neither eternal nor transitory. Why? Because such is their essential nature. That is called Great Emptiness'²⁷.

27 Emended text of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, p.196, 11.7-8; Śatasāhasrikā, p.1408, 11.15-20: *tatra katamā mahāśūnyatā / pūrvā dik pūrvayā diśā śūnyā / dakṣiṇā dig dakṣiṇayā diśā śūnyā / yāvad vidiṣo vidigbhiḥ śūnyā akūṭasthāvināśītām upādāya / tat kasya hetoḥ / prakṛtir asyaiṣā / iyaṃ ucyate mahāśūnyatā /*

[Ed.] – A more detailed bibliography can be found in the author's five volumes of *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste, Louvain and Louvain-la-Neuve 1949-80), the English version of which is virtually completed by the present translator and awaits publication in the same series.

Note: The above article originally appeared prior to the publication of *Traité IV*, the longest section of which is devoted to the 'Eighteen kinds of śūnyatā'.

NOTICE

Just as we were going to press, we learnt with deep regret of the death of the French scholar André BAREAU, aged 71, on 2 March 1993. An appreciation of this Professor at the Collège de France and world renowned writer on Buddhism will follow in the next issue.

SŪKARAMADDAVA, THE BUDDHA'S LAST MEAL

John D. Ireland

From the earliest times the nature of this dish, *sūkaramaddava*, which was the Buddha's last meal and associated with the sickness the Buddha suffered at the time, has been the subject of continuing controversy. *Sūkara* in Pāli means a pig or young hog, and *maddava* means soft, tender, succulent, etc. The Commentaries give various speculations: the tender parts of a pig carefully prepared; or a soft-boiled rice dish; or a plant or mushroom loved by pigs (hence it was translated by Rhys Davids as 'truffles'¹); or again bamboo shoots trampled by pigs, etc. It has also been suggested that the dish was an infusion of an alchemical elixir prepared by Cunda, the (gold-)smith. Thus the meaning of *sūkaramaddava* has never been settled.

It is possible that it was purely a local dish or perhaps, more likely, the name was a dialect word unknown to the compilers of the Canon and retained for want of an equivalent in Pāli. So, for some reason, such as its symbolic or traditional importance, because signifying an important event during the last days of the Buddha's life, this word, approximating to *sūkara-maddava* in Pāli was retained.

Another possible explanation of the word which has, so far as I am aware, never been suggested, is to read *sukara* instead

1 *Dialogues of the Buddha* II, the translation of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. A modern variation of this theory is that it was a dish of psychedelic mushrooms! Nānamoli, in his anthology *The Life of the Buddha* (BPS), chooses the perhaps literal 'hogs' mincemeat'.

of *sūkara*. By the simple expedient of shortening a vowel this compound word would have a slightly different meaning. *Sūkara* means 'well-made', 'well-prepared', and the idea of 'pig' or 'hog's flesh' would disappear². Combined with *maddava* it could be interpreted as a dish that was 'made well softened', that is to say, 'easily digestible' and thus suitable for an invalid and saying nothing about its actual ingredients. However, even if *sūkara* was an ingredient the commentators still state its preparation involved a certain care, which suggests the idea it was intended as something special. That the devas too are said to have infused it with heavenly essences is significant and together with the care taken in its preparation also suggests it was, perhaps, a special sacrificial offering³.

If Cunda the smith was aware the Lord was suffering from a stomach or bowel upset, from dysentery⁴, it would be considerate of him to prepare a meal suitable for someone in that condition. There is no need to jump to the conclusion, because

2 Thomas has pointed out that if 'pork' was originally intended it is curious that the word for flesh or meat (*mamsa*) does not occur and Pāli is usually very precise in these matters. See E.J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha in Legend and History*, p.149.

3 It was for this reason that it was made unsuitable for another to eat and that the Buddha advised Cunda to bury the remainder in a hole. Not, as John Stevens naively suggested, because there was actually something wrong with the food (see John Stevens, 'What did the Buddha Eat?', BSR 4, 1, 1987). The procedure for the disposal of food consecrated by being offered to the Buddha was either to bury it or put it into water with no living creatures. See the Kasibhāradvaja Sutta (Sn p.15) where the offering of milk-rice smoked and steamed with sacrificial heat when put into water after first being offered to the Buddha and rejected by him.

4 The *Ūdāna* Commentary suggests the illness was *visūcikā*, which the dictionaries say is cholera.

of subsequent events, that the meal was the actual cause of the Buddha's sickness, as has been thought⁵. He could well have been suffering from the illness prior to the meal⁶. All that is said is that shortly after eating the food the Buddha had an attack of violent pains, passed some blood and then recovered somewhat, deliberately suppressing the pains by an act of will and mindful endurance. Then, after accepting a drink of water, he continued the journey to Kusinārā.

Thus this special dish, prepared for the Buddha because he was unable to eat ordinary food, may have helped by acting as a purge. That the Buddha subsequently says that Cunda the smith should feel no remorse because the last meal was received from him, again need not imply that it was the cause of the sickness. Possibly the remorse of Cunda was that his food did not result in a complete recovery, but we know it was already settled the Buddha would pass away even before his arrival at Cunda's dwelling. The Udāna Commentary actually suggests that Cunda prepared the food with the purpose of prolonging the Buddha's life.

These ideas are also supported by the Milindapañha (p.175), where Nāgasena says the food was good for the digestion (*jaṭṭher 'aggitejassa hitaṃ*) and the Buddha did not pass away because of it, but because his life-force was spent.

5 Mrs Rhys Davids' 'fatally indigestible truffles', referred to in her introduction to Woodward's translation of the Udāna, 'Verses of Uplift', and her *Manual of Buddhism*.

6 The Buddha is indeed recorded as having fallen ill during the last rains-retreat in an earlier part of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (D II, p.99). This was some time before the Cunda episode which must have taken place shortly after the retreat ended.

ON A DEPARTURE FORMULA AND ITS TRANSLATION¹

Joy Manné

The Pāli Buddhist texts are characterised by their use of formulas. Not only can these formulas help us to distinguish the different types of suttas², but also, because many of these texts are narratives, correct understanding of the formulas can prevent misunderstandings of the redactor/storyteller's intentions. It can help us to understand characters and events; it can contribute to our appreciation of sociological details, and it can enable us to make accurate translations.

The narrative literature of the Pāli Canon contains many instances of the formula:

- (1) *Handa ca dāni mayaṃ (bhante) gacchāma, bahu kiccā mayaṃ bahu-karanīyā ti.*
- (2) *Yassa dāni tvaṃ (mahārāja) kālam maññasī ti.*

The sentences of this formula are numbered for ease of reference: they will be referred to as (1) and (2) throughout. The words that I have placed within brackets change according to the identity of the speaker of (1) and the convention according to which he is addressed³.

1 These investigations were supported by the Foundation for Research in the field of Theology and the Science of Religions in the Netherlands, which is subsidised by the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), and constitutes Chapter III of my doctoral dissertation, 'Debates and Case Histories in the Pāli Canon' (Utrecht 1991).

2 See Manné, 1990.

3 See Wāgle, 1966, Chapter III for an analysis of these conventions.

When the whole formula occurs in a text, (1) is used at the end of a meeting or conversation when a person announces that he is about to leave; (2) is an acknowledgement of this announcement. Hence, this is a departure formula.

English translations⁴ of this formula vary not only from translator to translator and hence from Nikāya to Nikāya but also within each Nikāya. So, for instance in the D translation (DB) there is found both:

- A. [1] "Now, Lord, we would fain go. We are busy and there is much to do".
[2] "Do, O king, whatever seemeth to thee fit"⁵.

and

- B. [1] "Well, dear sir, now we take our leave; we have many duties, much to do".
[2] "That, sires, is whenever you think fit"⁶.

and in the M translation (MLS),

- C. [1] 'And if you please, we, good Gotama, are going now, for there is much to do, much to be done by us'.
[2] "Do now whatever you think it is the right time for, . . ."⁷.

and

- D. [1] "Well I am going now, revered sir, I am very busy, there is much to be done".

4 I have omitted the German translation by Franke from this consideration because I am not competent to judge its terms and its tone. It is: "Herr, wohlan, nun wollen wir gehen, wir haben noch viele Geschäfte und Aufgaben zu erledigen". "Wie es dir an der Zeit scheint, . . ." Franke, 1913, 84.

5 D I 85. Tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, DB I 95.

6 D III 205. Tr T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, DB III 196.

7 M I 251. Tr. Horner, MLS I 305.

- [2] "You do now, sire, that for which you deem it the right time"⁸.

The question is do the various translations of this formula reflect the different situations in which it occurs, and are they therefore sensitively responding to the sense and atmosphere of the texts when they vary their terminology? Or is there one consistent translation that would fit all cases? This is not simply a matter of words. The suttas are not only religious documents: they are also narrative literature. The choice of words in a sutta is intended to influence us, and the words we choose (or accept) in translation both reflect and influence our understanding and interpretation of the sutta. Formulas play an important part in this (as in other) oral literature. They function, whatever their length, not only to indicate the type of literature⁹ but also as a short-hand for setting an atmosphere, for indicating a particular state of affairs, for summarising a character, for showing social status¹⁰ and for creating expectations on the part of the listener, as well as to render the communication of the Teaching consistent and easily memorable¹¹. If we correctly and fully grasp what its formulas imply, we are aided in our appreciation of this literature¹². If we misunderstand them we may also miss important points, make false interpretations and generally be led astray.

8 M II 102. Tr. Horner, MLS II 288.

9 See Manné, 1990.

10 On this point see Wagle, 1966, Chapter III.

11 On this point see Cousins, 1983.

12 See e.g. Bronkhorst, 1986, where, among other methods, the study of particular formulas has been used to show the character of and early influence upon Buddhist meditation.

Let me start with Rhys Davids' translation of this formula, (A) above. King Ajātasattu has been to see the Buddha. He has had his questions answered by the Buddha so much to his satisfaction that he has become a lay disciple. He has confessed his offence to the Buddha and has had this confession acknowledged. He then takes his leave, using the formula.

Interpretations of nuances in language can be subjective and even native speakers may disagree. With that in mind I offer the following. In context, the translation of (1), 'Now, Lord, we would fain go. We are busy and there is much to do', suggests that the leave-taking is abrupt. It further suggests a certain degree of, if not a marked, self-importance in its speaker. Furthermore, with regard to the acknowledgement (2) above, 'Do, O king, whatever seemeth to thee fit', the translation may be said to render that sentence so that its tone is ironic: precisely because the translator has understood the tone of (1) to be self-important, he has expected the Buddha's response to be a 'put-down'. The interpretation that (1) is uttered by someone self-important and foolish can be justified in terms of our contemporary character judgments. We are inclined to think that anyone, of whatever class or occupation, is behaving with self-importance when he tells us how very much he has to do. We may also think that this way of speaking is an indication of foolishness.

The interpretation offered above can be justified to at least some extent, however, because this is how Graeme MacQueen has taken it in his study of the various versions of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, an interpretation upon which (in part) he bases his appreciation, or depreciation, of Ajātasattu's character, '(Ajātasattu remarks) that he must leave because he has much to do. This ending fits with the rather shallow

spiritual attainment ascribed to him in this version¹³. He has just received a discourse on the vanity of worldly things and the stages through which a man may renounce them and strive after higher goals: yet he tells the Buddha he is in a hurry, for he must get back to his secular affairs!¹⁴

Basing his interpretation of the structure of the sutta upon this understanding of the formula, MacQueen has further interpreted the text:

Through its use of [the details: Ajātasattu says he must leave because he has much to do¹⁵] [the] P[āli] has the sutra end quickly and rather abruptly¹⁶.

This essay will analyse the various occasions when this formula is used. It will show that the above are misleading translations, as are most of the translations of this formula in the texts, and that MacQueen's interpretation is ill-founded. It is possible to do this because, as will be shown, this formula is used completely consistently in this literature. This paper then (bravely) goes on to suggest a consistent and generally appropriate translation for this formula.

There are indeed suttas that might be taken to support the view that the speaker of (1) is self-important and/or foolish. One of these is the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (D 2). Here King

13 MacQueen is referring to the Pāli version of this sutta.

14 MacQueen, 1988, 222.

15 MacQueen has categorised the sutta into elements and the expression (1) of our formula is his fifth element: (5) Ajātasattu says he must leave because he has much to do (P[āli]!). MacQueen, 1988, 184.

16 MacQueen, 1988, 184, 187.

Ajātasattu uses (1) to announce his departure. The depiction of Ajātasattu in this sutta is as an earnest but not very (morally) wise man: he has killed his father¹⁷. Ajātasattu is not, however, depicted as a self-important man. Although he is wise enough after his dialogue with the Buddha to become a lay disciple (*upāsaka*), his previous foolishness stands in the way of his further attainment. Moreover, the sutta is explicit in its representation of this situation. It has the Buddha himself explain that it is because Ajātasattu killed his father that he has not attained 'religious insight' — *dharmacakkhu*¹⁸.

The Kandaraka Sutta (M 51) is another example. Pessa, the son of the elephant trainer (*hatthārohaputta*), after a conversation with the Buddha takes his leave of him using (1). The Buddha responds with (2). After Pessa's departure the Buddha comments that if he had stayed to hear the Buddha's further analysis he would have attained a yet greater profit than he did attain¹⁹. The text depicts Pessa's self-importance in many details. It shows him intruding into someone else's conversation with the Buddha, taking over the conversation, appointing himself as spokesman for all householders and even instructing the Buddha himself with regard to householders' conduct. It shows him to be someone who does not wait for instruction from the Buddha,

17 This was not his only unwise action. See DPPN, s.v. Ajātasattu.

18 BHSD, s.v. *dharmacakṣus*. Lit. 'the eye of the dhamma'. *Sacāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā pitaraṃ dhammikaṃ dhamma-rājānaṃ jīvitaṃ na voropessatha, imasmiṃ yeva āsane virajaṃ vīta-malaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ uppajjissathāti*. D I 86.

19 *sace bhikkhave Pessa hatthārohaputto muhuttaṃ nisīdeyya yāv' assāhaṃ ime cattāro puggale vitthārena vibhajāmi, mahatā atthena saṃyutto agamissa. Api ca bhikkhave ettāvataṃ pi Pessa hatthārohaputto mahatā atthena saṃyutto ti*. M I 342.

but who has the last word in his dialogue with him. Just as the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* was explicit in its criticism of Ajātasattu, placing it in the mouth of the Buddha, so does this sutta also express its criticism of Pessa in words which are uttered by the Buddha.

Other cases, however, are not quite so clear. In these cases, we may be tempted to infer from the situation portrayed in a sutta that the use of this formula implies self-importance and foolishness in the speaker of (1), but are we correct? The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (D 3), for example, might be taken to provide a similar case to those cited above, but this view would be mistaken. In this sutta the brahman youth (*māṇava*) Ambaṭṭha is sent by his teacher to find out if the Buddha has the thirty-two marks of the wise man. His self-importance and pretentiousness are portrayed in the text in many details. His means of transport to the Buddha is 'a chariot drawn by mares'²⁰, where it is part of the debate tradition that one 'drives to a *yajña* or discussion by chariot as a challenge . . .'²¹. This detail shows that Ambaṭṭha is so presumptuous as to intend to challenge the Buddha, rather than simply to make the inquiry about him that he has been sent by his teacher to make. A further detail that points to Ambaṭṭha's self-importance and pretentiousness is the extensive retinue that he takes with him. Then there is also his rudeness to the Buddha in their conversation, and his lack of responsiveness to the Buddha's exposition of the path he teaches

20 *vaḷavā-ratha*.

21 Witzel, 1987, 366, fn.10.

with its results²² where the more usual response to this exposition is to convert at least to lay discipleship (*upāsaka*) if not to full going forth (*pabbajjā*)²³. Ambaṭṭha is thoroughly humiliated and put in his place by the Buddha who publicly exposes his ill-based self-importance and his foolishness. He takes his leave of the Buddha using (1) of the formula. This sutta, however, has the Buddha utter no explanatory or critical remarks concerning Ambaṭṭha after his departure, contrary to what occurred in the previous examples. Are we right, then, to consider that the use of this formula by the text in this instance is intended to indicate an abrupt and impolite departure of a self-important and foolish man?

This question arises similarly with regard to the Mahā-Saccaka Sutta (M 26) and the Gopaka-Moggallāna Sutta (M 108). Without going into details of the situations in these suttas the essential point is that, where some argument can be made that the speaker of the formula in each of them was offensive (Saccaka) or self-important (Vassakāra), no point in these suttas is made explicitly against them²⁴.

An important feature of all these suttas is what occurs in the text after the formula. The Sāmaññaphala, Mahā-Saccaka, Kandaraka and Gopaka-Moggallāna Suttas contain an identical formulaic description of the departure of the person who

22 This standard exposition comprises §§ 40–98 of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta.

23 Cd. D 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

24 The Commentary, however, takes up this issue and explains Saccaka's lack of attainment (MA II 293; see also MLS I 305, fn.2). The Commentary is accounting for a state of affairs: it is not criticising Saccaka in the way the texts D 2 and M 51 incorporate criticism (of Ajātasattu and Pessa respectively) by attributing it to the Buddha himself.

commended his leave-taking by the utterance of (1).

'Then (the speaker), having rejoiced in what the Lord had said, having given thanks, rising from his seat, having greeted the Lord, departed keeping his right side towards him'²⁵.

These endings demonstrate a situation so formally correct²⁶ as to contradict the interpretation of the formula implied by the translators in their choice of words and given by MacQueen. Although the Ambaṭṭha Sutta contains no similar formula, Ambaṭṭha simply gets into his chariot and drives off²⁶, its absence can be explained by the sutta's structure: Ambaṭṭha's departure takes place in the middle of the narrative: the other departures take place at the end. These instances therefore contradict any understanding of this formula which implies abruptness or any other form of unsuitable or impolite behaviour on behalf of the speaker of (1).

Could there be a constraint on the use of this formula, so that it is polite usage between the king and the Buddha but arrogance when other castes use it? The answer is no. The use of this formula is not limited to kings or *kṣatriyas*. Brahmans use it in polite leave-taking²⁷ as do householders²⁸ and disciples²⁹. If this formula is conventional polite usage between highly-placed brahmans and the Buddha it seems reasonable to think

25 MLS II 6. (The speaker) *Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā utthāy' āsanā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi*. M 36 and 108 omit the *padakkhiṇa*.

26 *Atha kho Ambaṭṭho mānava vaḷavā-rathaṃ āruhya pakkāmi*. D II 106.

27 Cf. Vassakāra, Ajātasattu's minister, D II 76; A II 181, IV 21.

28 M 56, etc.

29 M 99, etc.

that the formula is equally polite in the mouth of Ambaṭṭha, whatever his other character defects.

Other instances of the formula in the texts provide parallel cases to all the instances cited above, both those that might be interpreted to support and generalise the interpretation that (1) is uttered by a self-important and foolish man and those where the case is doubtful. They use (1) and (2) with no implication of self-importance or foolishness on the part of the speaker of (1) or irony on the part of the speaker of (2). They strongly support this alternative position³⁰. Thus they cast doubt on this interpretation of the redactors' intentions in using the formula. There are two further points which support this argument. One is that it is extremely unlikely that a formula is used in two completely different and mutually incompatible ways in oral literature, where formulas are such an important way of making effects. The second is that there are no grounds to impute to the redactors the literary device of placing a formula of courtesy in the mouth of a discourteous person to show his pretentiousness. Besides, we have seen that where the sutta chooses to criticise the speaker of (1) it does so explicitly. These instances show that the formula is quite simply a standard means of polite leave-taking. It is a conventional means to end a conversation and to enable a polite departure.

30 E.g. M I 117; A V 69; M II 102, where King Pasenadi offers gifts prior to making a departure announced by this formula. M II 124, where the same king utters a detailed appreciation of the Buddha before taking leave using the formula and where, after his departure, the Buddha pays tribute to the king and instructs the monks to learn the testimonies to Dhamma that the king has spoken. See also M 90.

Translations are important. They are, after all, one justification for the work of philologists. They are in their own right the result of research. Their intention must be to make works available not only to co-philologists but to researchers in other disciplines. Thus their task is to make texts as widely available as possible. The translator therefore bears many responsibilities. Colleagues who can read the language of his text have the necessary knowledge to be critical. Others must trust him to make available much more than a literal, 'pidgin-language' rendering which especially makes nonsense out of idiomatic expressions. He is required to render accurately both the meaning of his text and its literary intentions. Every word and sentence in a text requires honouring this way. Even a mis-rendering of a conventional utterance can have a significant effect on the interpretation of the text.

How then shall I dare to translate the formula?

The first phrase (1) of this formula appears in variation in the texts, and the second phrase (2) independently. These instances will point the way.

The problem regarding the first phrase (1) is to find the proper translation equivalents for the synonymous³¹ terms *bahukicca* and *bahukaraṇīya*, which can be construed either as gerunds, the choice of English translations, or as neuter nouns. The PTS renders these quite satisfactorily as 'duty' and 'obligation' for both *bahukicca* and *bahukaraṇīya*. In the Cūla-taṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta, Sakka, the king of the gods, uses these ex-

31 *vevacana* DA I 237.

pressions about himself³², the translation renders them generally, 'I am very busy, there is much to be done by me'³³. The text, however, shows that Sakka has two specific types of obligations, 'both on my own account there are things to be done, and there are also (still more) things to be done for the *devas* of the Thirty-Three'³⁴. This refutes any argument that a loose translation of these terms more accurately reflects their intention. The same case can be made out in the Anuruddha Sutta (M 127) where Pañcakaṅgo, a master carpenter or builder, invites Anuruddha and three other bhikkhus for a meal, stipulating that he has much to do for the king³⁵. The carpenter does not have an amorphous mass of general tasks (much to be done); he has specific duties and obligations as a professional in the king's employ³⁶.

Using these more precise renderings of *bahukicca* and *bahukaraṇīya* (1), *Handa ca dāni mayam bhante gacchāma, bahūkiccā mayam bahu-karaṇīyā ti*, can be translated: 'Well, Lord, we are going. We have many tasks, many obligations'. This translation is true to the texts and carries no innuendos or implications about the character of the speaker beyond what may be imputed to one who takes leave in a conventionally polite way. It is an excuse for going, but without self-

32 *Mayam kho mārisa Moggallāna, mayam bauhkarāṇīya.* M I 252.

33 Horner, MLS I 308.

34 *app-eva sakena karaṇīyena api ca devānaṃ yeva Tāvatiṃsānaṃ karaṇīyena.* Horner, MLS I 308.

35 *bahukicco bahukaraṇīyo rājakaraṇīyenāti.* M III 144.

36 However, with reference to the king, a vast mass of tasks of all sorts, 'the (entire) royal service' (*rāka-karaṇīya*), requires doing, not only those of a carpenter. Cf. Skt. *rājakārya* 'state affairs', 'royal command'. (Monier Williams).

importance. The words 'task' and 'obligation' may be taken to show that the speaker is going somewhat against his will, and that his choice in the matter is limited. He is obliged to go. It is all very polite and conventional.

The instances where part (2) of the formula occurs quite independently in the texts are so frequent that this sentence must be respected as a formula in its own right, and may not be regarded as invariably dependent on (1). The different instances of its usage fall into discrete categories.

i. The most frequent use of this formula occurs as a courteous acknowledgement to indicate that a command has been carried out. Thus this formula is standard when, having been instructed by the Buddha to assemble the bhikkhus, Ānanda reports back with this expression that the task has been performed³⁷. It is standard usage also in an announcement that some form of transport that has been ordered such as chariots³⁸, elephants³⁹ or an army⁴⁰, has now been prepared. The person who has issued these orders is not invariably the Buddha. The formula (2) is similarly the standard means in the situation where the Buddha has agreed to preach by informing him that the hall has been prepared⁴¹. The use of this formula in this way occurs in other similar situations⁴². These cases can only be instances of courteous usage. If we respect the terms that refer to time:

37 *Sannipatito bhante bhikkhu-saṅgham . .* D 16, II, 76, 119; S V 321; A III 70.

38 D II 21; M I 118; S I 234, 236; Vin I 348.

39 D I 49.

40 D II 189.

41 D II 84; III 208f; M I 354; S IV 183; Vin I 227f.

42 Cf. A I 277; Ud 68.

*dāni, kālam maññasi*⁴³, however, and the literal translation: 'For which you know⁴⁴ ['bethink' 'choose'] the (right) time', this expression can perhaps be better rendered by the equally euphemistic English phrase, 'When you are ready. . .', with 'when' capturing the meaning of *dāni* and the idea of readiness capturing the meaning of *kālam maññasi*.

ii. The formula is used to indicate that an interview or a social call is over. It is used both by the Buddha towards others⁴⁵ and by others towards himself⁴⁶.

If this formula were used only by the Buddha we might be justified in regarding it as a 'royal dismissal'. In that case we could render it by the dismissive phrase, 'You can go now', or 'That will be all now', although this phrase does the 'time words' less than justice. The fact that Poṭṭhapāda the wandering ascetic⁴⁶ also uses this phrase to the Buddha, however, makes this translation equivalent unsuitable. Poṭṭhapāda is unequivocally polite and respectful towards the Buddha and does not express himself to him in a high-handed way.

I think I am right in saying that in all Western cultures, informing a guest directly in a face-to-face situation that it is time for him to depart can be construed as demonstrating a lack of politeness. Formal invitations avoid this by providing in

43 According to the PTC this expression occurs only in this formula.

44 Commentary, . . . *kālam maññasi jānāsi, tassa kālam tvam eva jānāhīti vuttam hoti*. DA II 237.

45 M III 269 (cf. S II 62) to bhikkhus, including Ānanda; D II 104 = S V 260 = Ud 63 to the latter specifically; D II 86 to householders.

46 D 9 [189].

writing the time of arrival together with the time of departure. This sort of eventuality is conveyed more by body language — shuffling a chair, partially rising, tidying up a table — than through the use of words. We have to be influenced by our own cultural norms when choosing words for a translation as well as by our text: it is the people of our culture who will read our translations. As the formula cannot be rendered by inventing stage directions I would use, 'When you are ready . . .' here too. It is the best I can think of and it keeps identical the translation of identical words without doing any injustice to the context.

iii. A further frequent use of this formula is to accede to a request⁴⁷. In these cases the translation again could be, 'When he is/you are ready . . .', the 'yes' of agreement being implied.

iv. A further particular usage is the situation where one person has been instructed to inform another when a particular event is taking place: for example that the Buddha is approaching a certain area⁴⁸, or that a particular event has taken place: for example the death of the Buddha⁴⁹. The formula follows the delivery of the requested report. The proposed translation above would be appropriate here too, as the next step in the

47 A request to do something, M II 61; to go somewhere, A IV 373; Ud 34, 35; to be received as a visitor by the Buddha, M II 142; to undertake some further development: King Renu is asked by his high steward for permission to leave him in order to meditate for four months (D II 237), and later for permission to go forth (D II 243); Dabba asks the Buddha for permission to enter *parinibbāna* (Ud 92).

48 M II 210.

49 D II 158.

story is that the characters undertake an action together. What is implied is the acknowledgement of the information, and the courteous invitation, 'when (the other) is ready', to undertake appropriate action together.

The above usages are invariably courteous.

I offered above, as a translation for (1), 'Well then, Lord, we are going now. We have many tasks, many obligations'. Because it can be used in all the above cases, I have chosen for (2), *Yassa dāni (tvam mahārāja) kālam maññasī ti*, 'When you are ready . . .', but I am open to any better suggestion⁵⁰.

A correct analysis of an important formula can lead to an understanding of the development of the Buddha's teaching⁵¹. A correct understanding of a simple formula, something that is simply a storyteller's device — the utilisation by his characters of the correct, conventional phrases upon taking leave — does not lead to anything quite so grand. It does, however, prevent us from misunderstanding our texts and from projecting our own fantasies about them into our translations and analyses.

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50 This phrase has been translated 'If you consider it to be the right time' by Sara Boin in *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti* (SBB 32, PTS 1976), which is a completely valid literal rendering.

51 See, e.g., Bronkhorst, 1986.

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THE CHINESE ĀGAMAS VIS-À-VIS THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA TRADITION

Chandra Shekhar Prasad
(Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra)

It is commonly held that the Chinese Āgamas belong to the Sarvāstivāda tradition. Do they really do so? My modest attempt here is to present my findings and leave the decision to speak for itself.

Not unlike the Nikāyas, the Āgamas are collections of doctrinal discourses (i.e. suttas/sūtras), traditionally attributed to the Buddha. During his life-time, no attempt was ever made to put on record all that he preached to various people on various occasions and at various places for nearly four decades. However, soon after his demise his arahat disciples, under the leadership of Mahākassapa, collected and recited, for the first time, his teachings at the First Council of Rājagaha/Rājagṛha. Of the disciples, Ānanda in particular had the credit of conveying the discourses to the Council. As such, each and every discourse begins with the expression, *evaṃ me sutaṃ / Ru shih êrh wên / Thus I heard*. The teachings, as collected by Mahākassapa and the other theras, were naturally the common inheritance of all schools which started to develop when the Sangha fragmented into manifold groups and sub-groups some hundred years after the Master's passing away and the holding of the First Council. Literary accounts, however, tell us that some of these schools such as the Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṃghika, Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsaka, Sammitiya, Kāśyapīya and, of course,

Theravāda, had their own collections of discourses¹.

The Theravāda school, whose tradition has come down to us uninterrupted, is believed to have preserved the Buddha's teachings collected by Mahākassapa and others faithfully and intact. The traditions of other schools could not survive the ravages of time and their collections were lost beyond recovery except for some fragmentary sūtras in Sanskrit². However, parallel to the collections of the Theravāda, known as Nikāyas, there have come down to us other collections in Chinese. For these collections and others, the term *A-han*, a transliteration of Āgama, has invariably been used in place of Nikāya in Chinese. The earliest use of the term *A-han* is found in the name of a sūtra, *A-han-chêng-hsing-ching*, translated by An-shih-kao in the later part of the second century C.E.³

1 Lū Cheng and Shozen Kumoi, 'Āgama', *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism (Ency. Bud.)* I, 2, Colombo 1963, pp.241 and 248. Quoting the Ta ts'u-ên-shih-pan-tsa-fa-shih (the bibliography of the Tripiṭaka master of the great Ts'u-ên temple), fasc.6, Lū Cheng informs us that as late as the seventh century C.E. there still existed the above seven divergent texts. Shozen Kumoi replaces Sammatiya by Vatsiputriya. See also M. Anesaki, 'The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 35, pt.3, Yokohama 1908, pp.7-8.

2 No complete Āgama text in Sanskrit is extant now. The fragments in Central Asia constitute little more than a dozen. Of them, seven were edited by A.F. Rudolf Hoernle in *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford 1916, repr. Amsterdam 1970 and Delhi 1988; R. Pischel, S. Lévi, L. de La Vallée Poussin, E. Waldschmidt et al. are also credited with the editing of fragments (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* II, Calcutta 1933; repr. New Delhi 1972, pp.232 and 234, n.3). See also R. Yamada, 'Agon Rui', *Bongobuten no Shobunken*, Tokyo 1959, pp.33ff.

3 *Ency. Bud., op. cit.*, p.245.

Āgamas in Chinese — In the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, the first two volumes, entitled *A-han-ching*, contain a set of four Āgamas which are recorded with their translators and dates of translation as follows:

Ch'ang-a-han-ching / Dīrghāgama, Buddhayasas and Cho-fo-nien, 412-13 C.E.;

Chung-a-han-ching / Madhyamāgama, Gautama Sanghadeva, 397-8 C.E.;

Tsa-a-han-ching / Saṃyuktāgama, Guṇabhadra, 435-43 C.E.;

Tsêng-i-a-han-ching / Ekottarāgama, Dharmanandī, 384-5 C.E.

In addition to these Āgamas, the volumes include two incomplete translations of the Saṃyuktāgama — the Pieh-i-tsa-a-han-ching (No.100, 16 fasc., 364 sūtras) translated by an unknown hand during the reign of the Three Ch'in (351-431 C.E.) and the Tsa-a-han-ching (No.101, 1 fasc., 27 sūtras) also by an unknown translator during the time of the Three Kingdoms (220-80 C.E.). An-shih-kao's 'Mixed Sūtras in Forty-four Chapters' (No.150, 1 fasc., 44 sūtras) contains some sūtras of the Ekottarāgama. A large number of detached sūtras, whose translation spread over the later Han down to the Northern Sung (148-1058 C.E.), form almost half of the *A-han-ching* collections⁴. There is no fifth Āgama, Kṣudraka, in these volumes, though there are a few sūtras included in another

4 B. Nanjio, 'Agama Class', *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford 1883 (repr. Delhi 1980), pp.127ff; Lewis R. Lancaster, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Berkeley 1979; The Āgamas are wanting in this Canon which is based on the Northern Sung version of the Chinese Buddhist Canon; C. Akanuma, *The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas*, Nagoya 1929, repr. Tokyo 1958; *Ency. Bud., op. cit.*, p.242; Anesaki, *op. cit.*, pp.28-34.

volume which correspond to some of the texts of the Khuddaka Nikāya, such as the Dhammapada, Udāna, Aṭṭhavagga of the Suttanipāta, and also to the Udānavarga of the Sarvastivāda tradition⁵.

The four Chinese Āgamas do not contain any information about their originals. It was a general practice among translators of Buddhist texts to name the school to which a particular text belonged. The absence of such information in this case could not just have been an oversight on the part of the translators. How could all of them commit the same mistake? In case they did so, it would not have escaped the eagle eyes of later scholars who thoroughly scrutinised the translations before they accepted them as genuine. The whole process gives the appearance of a conspiracy, a wilful suppression of information in order to present the materials as the original doctrinal discourses of the Buddha. Commenting on this, N. Dutt says that 'the various schools were at one in their acceptance of the texts of the Āgamas'⁶.

The four Chinese Āgamas form a set, but the same cannot

5 Anesaki, *op. cit.*, pp.9-13; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p.236; Yamada, *op. cit.*, pp.48-55. Space precludes an exhaustive bibliography of individual text studies but the following surveys can be usefully referred to: G.M. Bongard-Levin and M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Indian Texts from Central Asia*, Tokyo 1986; P. Poucha, 'Indian Literature in Central Asia', *Archiv Orientalni* II, Prague 1930, pp.27-38; L. Sander, 'Buddhist Literature in Central Asia', *Ency. Bud.* IV, 1, 1979, pp.52-75; E. Waldschmidt, 'Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas', *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen 1980, pp.136-74.

6 *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, 1st Indian ed., New Delhi 1980, p.153.

be said about their originals. As their comparison with the Nikāyas has shown, they are similar but not identical, and they are certainly not mere translations of the Nikāyas⁷. The Sarvastivāda tradition adopted Sanskrit as its medium and some fragmentary Sanskrit Āgama sūtras have come down to us. The close affinity of these texts with their counterparts in the Chinese Āgamas led some scholars (earlier) to believe that the latter belonged to the Sarvastivāda tradition⁸. On the contrary, the differences between them led P.V. Bapat to suggest a set of Prakrit Āgamas as the original⁹. However, as the accounts/records say, the complete set of the Āgamas of a particular school or tradition was not taken up for translation. Each Āgama was carried to China separately by different individuals from different places and at different times. Each translation was made by a different individual and his collaborators. Apart from the Dīrghāgama, the other three Āgamas were also translated more than once, by different translators and not from the same originals. The fragmentary portions of the Samyuktāgama and the Ekottarāgama, as well as some quotations from the Āgamas in other Chinese and Tibetan texts, convincingly lead us to this conclusion¹⁰.

7 Anesaki, 'The Four Buddhist Āgamas . . .', *op. cit.*, p.1.

8 Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* III, London 1921, repr. 1971 (and Delhi 1988), p.297; A.C. Banerjee, *Sarvastivāda Literature*, Calcutta 1957, repr. 1979, pp.23 and 28.

9 *Arthapada Sūtra*, *op. cit.*, p.19; *2500 Years of Buddhism*, Delhi 1956, repr. New Delhi 1987, p.125; also Thich Minh Chau, *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya: A Comparative Study*, Saigon 1964 (repr. Delhi 1991), p.20.

10 H. Sakurabe, 'On the Madhyamāgama as Quoted by Samathadeva in his Abhidharmakośa Commentary', *Studies in Indology and Buddhology*, ed. G.M. Nagao and J. Nozawa, Kyoto 1955; Minh Chau, *op. cit.*, pp.22-5; *Ency. Bud.*, *op.*

However, on the basis of materials found in the Āgamas themselves and also from external evidence, scholars have identified the different schools which inspired the Āgamas. Regarding the school of the Dīrghāgama, H. Ui thinks that it belongs to the Dharmagupta school. In support he argues that the translator, Buddhayasas, was a propagator and also a translator of the Dharmagupta's Vinaya¹¹. K. Watanabe brings in the same argument and further notes that the absence of the Ātānā-tiyasūtra negates the possibility of its relationship with the Sarvāstivāda school, which includes the same in its Vinaya¹². H. Ui has also pointed out the great significance attributed to the offerings to the Buddha's stūpa, which is in conformity with the teachings of the school¹³. K. Ishikawa, however, cautions us in attributing it to the Dharmagupta alone because it had assimilated the influence of other schools as well, particularly the Sarvāstivāda of Gandhāra¹⁴.

Although the fragmentary Sanskrit sūtras do not agree word for word with the corresponding portions of the Madhyamāgama, scholars accept (with a fair degree of certainty) that the latter has come from the Sarvāstivāda tradition¹⁵. Minh Chau, in his comparative study, has also reached the same conclusion and produced some convincing evidence in support¹⁶. He has

cit., p.242; Anesaki, 'The Four Buddhist Āgamas . . .', *op. cit.*, p.3.

11 H. Ui (*Studies in Indian Philosophy* II, pp.134-5), as quoted in *Ency. Bud.*, *op. cit.*, p.242; E. Mayeda, 'A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts' (in Japanese), Tokyo 1964, p.619.

12 See Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains . . .*, p.18.

13 Same as n.11.

14 Introduction, *Kokuyaku Issai Kyō*, Vol. VII, 1933; repr. 1969, p.6.

15 *Ency. Bud.*, *op. cit.*, pp.242 and 248; Mayeda, *op. cit.*, p.638.

16 *Op. cit.*, pp.18-27.

quoted H. Sakurabe's finding that the portions quoted from the Sarvāstivāda's Madhyamāgama are strikingly similar to their parallels in the Chinese Madhyamāgama¹⁷. It will not be out of place to caution the reader that what applies to one may also apply to others. For instance, the total omission of any mention of meat and fish in the Madhyamāgama has brought Minh Chau to support his view that the text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school¹⁸. However, the omission extends to all the Āgamas which are acknowledged as belonging to other traditions¹⁹. Moreover, the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda school and also of other schools contains the Buddha's admonition to monks to eat meat and fish blamelessly in three ways — not seen, not heard, and not suspected²⁰.

The Saṃyuktāgama is considered to be a work of the Sarvāstivāda tradition or of a school related to it. According to Lü Cheng, it is evidently of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, because its system agrees well with that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudrakavastu, and the order of the text of the basic portion is in perfect accord with that described in the Saṃyuktāgamamātrikā, quoted in the Yogācārabhūmi (fasc. 85-98)²¹. To this it may be added that the omission of the Niruttīyāpatha Sutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya III 71-2), which denounces the existence of a part of the

17 *Ibid.*, pp.24-5.

18 *Ibid.*, p.31.

19 C.S. Prasad, 'Some Reflections on the Relation between the Āgamas and the Nikāyas', *Proceedings and Papers of the Second Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies [Nalanda 1980]*, ed. C.S. Prasad, Nalanda 1985, p.136.

20 C.S. Prasad, 'Meat-eating and the Rule of the Tikoṭipariśuddha', *Studies in Pali and Buddhism*, ed. A.K. Narain, Delhi 1979, pp.290ff.

21 *Ency. Bud.*, *op. cit.*, pp.242 and 248; Mayeda, *op. cit.*, p.649.

past and future, negatively makes it more akin to the Sarvāstivāda with the doctrine of *sarvamasti* — everything exists in all three divisions of time: past, present and future.

Regarding the Ekottarāgama, H. Ui and also others are of the opinion that it probably belongs to the Mahāsāṃghika tradition. It shows some Mahāyāna influence and some of the theories are akin to those of the Mahāsāṃghika²².

The Chinese Āgamas are translations of the Indian originals. Should we come across the originals, the former may not tally exactly with the latter as is the case with the fragmentary Sanskrit sūtras and their corresponding portions in the Āgamas in Chinese. The Chinese translations do not appear to be identical with the originals because most of the translators, as Sir Charles Bell observed, fell short of our standards of accuracy²³. The contents have been amplified and transposed in the originals; the translations also underwent scrutiny and severe editing before being included in the Canon. The translators of the Āgamas were no exception and their versions were subject to omissions, commissions and editorial retouching²⁴.

Common Source of the Āgamas and Nikāyas — On the relation between the Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas, M. Anesaki has observed that they show 'both agreement to a considerable ex-

22 *Ibid.*, pp.242 and 248; *ibid.*, p.665.

23 *Op. cit.*, p.294; see also L. Lahiri, 'Interpretation of Buddhist Terminology at the Background of Chinese Traditional Thought', *Buddhist Studies*, Univ. of Delhi 1974, pp.57ff.

24 C.S. Prasad, *Proceedings*, *op. cit.*, pp.137ff.

tent, and notable divergences²⁵. There is agreement between the materials which are pretty much the same in both, whereas the divergences are limited to the arrangement of the materials²⁶. Anesaki further added, 'the deviations in matter, though usually inconsiderable, are sometimes interesting²⁷'. Bapat is of the opinion that the Chinese version is nearer to the Pāli texts than the Sanskrit ones²⁸. Hoernle, who edited fragments of the Sanskrit sūtras, reached the conclusion that 'the Sanskrit text of our fragments differs not inconsiderably from the Pāli²⁹'. Taking the case of a particular sūtra, he further adds that 'the Sanskrit version agrees neither with the Pāli, nor with the Chinese, though there is more agreement with the former than the latter³⁰'. In a comparative study of the Madhyamāgama and the Majjhima Nikāya, Minh Chau has further verified the correctness of earlier observations by scholars and has added that 'the high percentage of similarities . . . show that there existed a basic stock, not only of doctrines, but also of texts, agreeing in all essentials with both the Chinese and the Pāli versions³¹'.

Not only similarities but also divergences point to the fact that they are based on a common stock of materials³². In the

25 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp.234-5.

26 JRAS 1901, pp.895ff.

27 *Ibid.*, p.897.

28 Minh Chau, *op. cit.*, p.20.

29 *Op. cit.*, p.16.

30 *Ibid.*, p.18.

31 *Op. cit.*, p.14.

32 Anesaki, 'The Four Buddhist Āgamas . . .', *op. cit.*, p.2; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p.235; Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p.25; G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origin of Buddhism*, Allahabad 1957, repr. Delhi 1983, p.6; E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London 1933, repr. 1971, pp.38-9; see also H. Kern's observations in the

diverging portions of the Āgamas and the Nikāyas, there are comparatively older materials. Where did they come from? Certainly from the common stock of the Buddha's teachings to which the Āgamas and Nikāyas both owe their origin. Listening to the recitation of the Dhamma and Vinaya by Mahākassapa and other arahats, an elderly monk, Purāṇa by name, expressed his satisfaction with their work but he himself chose to go his own way. Like him, there might have been a number of persons who had gained something personal from the Buddha, but had no chance to have them included in the deliberations of the First Council. Their discourses which remained unrecorded, in a floating state as it were, found their way into the Āgamas and Nikāyas of different schools. With the splitting of the Sangha into small groups, called schools, the opportunity for monks to have their own way in their own affairs increased. This facilitated the tapping and exploitation of the aforesaid floating materials.

Both the similarities and differences help us to form an idea of the common stock of the Buddha's teachings. The differences are due to independent handling of orally transmitted teachings. Sectarian developments certainly took place, but their scope was confined to certain omissions and insertions, and not much to the fabrication of materials³³. The nature of the similarities points to the fact that the teachings at some stage were given a well-organised form. Their divisions into Dīrgha, Madhyama, Samyukta and Ekottara were fixed once and for all; the sections and subsections of each were worked out and the

Introduction to his translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Oxford 1884, repr. New York 1963, pp.xiv ff.

33 Prasad, *Proceedings*, *op. cit.*, pp.137ff.

sūtras meant to be preserved were sorted out, though not rigidly. All these might have been the work of the theras of the First Council³⁴. Later, among the schools, the framework was retained, but the sūtras, particularly the short ones because of their flexible character and great number, were interchanged, replaced, or dropped at will.

Āgamas as Authentic as Nikāyas — Some of the schools adopted different languages for their scriptures³⁵. The Āgamas, too, did not remain unaffected. As these languages were of the same family, with a common vocabulary, this dubbing does not imply more than a change in grammatical forms; and this does not reduce their authenticity. The teachings had mnemonic value for the Buddha's disciples and the latter preserved them as faithfully as they could. Again, the Āgamas were rendered into Chinese and the translations were checked and rechecked in all seriousness. Even in their present form, they present the teachings of the Buddha as authentically as the Nikāyas do. 'What's in a name, a rose by any other name smells just as sweet'.

34 Thomas, *op. cit.*, p.157: the arrangements of the four Nikāyas and Āgamas must have originated before sectarian differences became acute.

35 The Buddha allowed his disciples to learn his teachings in their own tongue (*Sakkāya niruttīyā buddhavacanāṃ pariyāpuṇitam* — Cullavagga, Nālandā ed., p.229). True to his instructions, some of the prominent schools adopted different languages as their medium in order to cater for the aspirations of their followers and to give a distinctive feature to their schools. Vinītadeva (eighth century C.E.) informs us that the Sarvāstivādins used Sanskrit, and the Mahāsāṃghikas, Sammitīyas and Sthaviravādins used Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and Pāisāci respectively (R. Kimura, 'Introduction to the History of Early Buddhist Schools', *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes III*, Orient, p.3, Calcutta 1927, p.125; see also E. Obermiller (tr.), *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, Heidelberg 1932, repr. Delhi 1986, p.96).

However, observations such as 'The Pali Tripitaka represents the earliest available and most complete collection of Buddhist sacred literature'³⁶ have led the younger generation of Pāli scholars in India to believe that the Nikāyas are the only authentic version of the Buddha's teachings. They should not forget that the Nikāyas are not all that came directly from the Buddha's lips and that the texts took quite a long time to reach their present form. Strata in subject-matter and language are conspicuous. The Āgamas in their Indian original were synchronous with the Nikāyas in their composition. Hence, more reasonably we subscribe to Anesaki's view that 'it can hardly be said that the present Pali canon was the only version of the Buddha's discourses and that others are mere derivations from it'³⁷.

To conclude, we may say that to whatever school or schools these Chinese Āgamas will finally be attributed, they are primary sources for early Buddhist teachings. Any kind of study in this field remains incomplete unless the materials of the Chinese Āgamas are tapped and utilised. However, the difficulty is that, being in Chinese, they are *terra incognita* to most of us. It is, therefore, imperative that they should be made available in English translation to scholars and students³⁸. The task is extremely difficult, but not impossible. We may even have them restored in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Pāli.

36 B.V. Bapat in *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p.138.

37 *The Four Buddhist Āgamas*, . . ., p.1.

38 [Ed.] See BSR 2, 1-2 (1985), pp.71-2, on the Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai's plan to translate the entire Chinese Buddhist Canon into English (we have received no progress report on this project).

THE EARLY SPREAD AND INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM IN WESTERN ASIA¹

Russell Webb

Although earlier historians of Orientalism have reviewed the first Western contacts, few, if any, have defined the geographical boundaries of the Occident or delineated its eastern extent.

Strictly speaking, the eastern limits of the West are bounded by the Bosphorus and the Urals, but these divide the modern states of Turkey and Russia; politically, the former is considered as part of the 'West' whilst the latter until recently led the 'Eastern bloc' albeit not of the Orient in cultural terms. Possibly as a logical consequence and culmination of the Diaspora, the modern state of Israel is invariably considered, politically, culturally and even ethnically, as a 'Western' country, whereas its half Christian neighbour to the north, Lebanon, is not.

An important consideration to bear in mind is common religious or spiritual aspirations or tendencies. Thus, with the establishment of Zoroastrianism as the state religion at the beginning of the Sassanian era (226-651 CE), Persia became, with its dualistic and theistic eschatology having influenced Judaism and Christianity, the embodiment of the cultural divide

¹ A shortened version of the introductory chapter to the author's projected book on *Buddhism in the West*.

between East and West. Despite its exclusive ideology², the country continued to serve as a two-way conduit for religious and cultural expressions between East and West until the Arab Muslim conquest created an 'Iron Curtain' which was not to be penetrated until the Mongol invasions and settlements of the twelfth century.

It is with this understanding in mind that we can initiate a preliminary discussion of the extent of Buddhist influence in the 'Western borderlands'³. Mindful of the extent of its far-reaching

2 Despite the 'Aryan connection', there is but a single allusion to Buddhism in the Zoroastrian Canon: v.16 of the *Farvadin Yasht* exhorts 'a man . . . who returns a victor from discussions with Gaotema the heretic' (tr. James Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta* II, Sacred Books of the East, Oxford 1883, Delhi 1977, p.184). However, in 'Some References about Buddhism in Iranian Literature and History' (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference* [Baroda 1933] 1935, pp.869-79), Aga Pour-e-Davoud cites Spiegel, Geldner, Justi and Tiele in arguing that Gaotema was merely a legendary opponent of Ahura Mazda and 'that in Zoroastrian scriptures neither Buddhism nor its founder Buddha are mentioned directly or indirectly' (p.879).

In the *Bundahišn*, a treatise completed in the twelfth century but containing traditional materials dating back to classical Iranian times, a list of Zoroastrian demons mentions 'The demon But [Buddha] whom they worship in India and whose spirit dwells in such idols [but] as Bōdāsap, (she) worshipped'. *The Būndahišn*, ed. T.D. Anklesaria, Bombay 1908, p.186, ll.11-12; tr. B.T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Akāsik*, Iranian or greater Bundahišn, Bombay 1956, p.241.

See also Sheo Narain, 'Gautama and the Parsi Scriptures' (? — repr. in *Insights into Buddhism*, ed. S.K. Gupta, Delhi 1986) and 'Zoroastrianism and Buddhism' (*The Maha Bodhi* 43, Calcutta 1934); Clay Lancaster, 'Is Mahayana Indebted to Mazdaism?' (*The Middle Way* 27, London 1952) and Sir Charles Eliot, 'Persian Influence in India' (*Hinduism and Buddhism* III, London 1921, 1971 and Delhi 1988).

3 The Hellenistic influences in Afghanistan and Pakistan will be discussed in the chapter on Greece in the author's book, *Buddhism in the West*.

ramifications, however, it may only be possible to provide a few pointers supplemented by details of published works which explore specific issues in greater depth.

* * * * *

References to Buddhist penetration in Persia proper are few and far between⁴. The *Mahāvamsa*⁵ refers to Mahādeva Thera leading a delegation from Pallavabhoga (i.e. the land of the Pahlavas or Persians) to witness the foundation stone laying of the Mahāthūpa (Suvannamālī or Rūvanvālsāya) at Anurudhapura, Ceylon, in 137 CE. The intrepid Chinese pilgrim monk, Hsüan-tsang (600-64), in his *Hsi-yü-chi*⁶ refers to two or three Sarvāstivādin *ārāmas* in the kingdom of Po-la-ssē. Otherwise, we have only the sweeping (and unsubstantiated) statement of the Muslim historian, Al-Bīrūnī (973-1048): 'In former times, Khurāsān, Persia, Iraq⁷, Mosul and the country up

4 Bhikkhu Metteyya wrote briefly on 'Buddhism in Media, Parthia and Persia' (*The Maha Bodhi* 49, 1940) whilst M. Hermanns' paper on 'The Impact of Buddhism on Persia, the Near East and Europe' (*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1957) is negated by the final sentence: '... Buddhist impact was of no importance on Zoroastrianism, Hellenism and Christianity' (p.16).

5 W. Geiger (tr.) *Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, PTS, London 1912, 1980, Ch. XXIX, 38. This observation was, however, refuted by É. Lamotte who, in his *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain 1958; English version (referred to henceforth) *History of Buddhism in India*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988, p.400), claimed that Pallavabhoga was synonymous with Pallavanad, modern Palnod, in the district of Guntur in Andhrapradesh.

6 Tr. by S. Beal as *Buddhist Records of the Western World* II (London 1906; Delhi 1982, p.278, and as *Chinese Accounts of India*, Calcutta 1958).

7 T.W. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, repr. Delhi 1981, p.104), followed by others, identifies Bāveru with Babylon (in modern Iraq). Its significance lies in

to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic⁸.

With Khurāsān in north-east Iran we seem to be on firmer ground insofar as documentation is concerned⁹. The territory

Jātaka 339 which relates the story of the Bodhisatta (the future Buddha Gotama) who, in the form of a peacock, is brought there by Indian merchants. Could this legendary episode allude to the introduction of Buddhism by the (numerous) converts from the *vaiśya* (mercantile) caste? Less tenable is W. Stede's suggestion (*Pali-English Dictionary*, Afterword. PTS repr. 1972, p.737, n.3) that the brahmin Bāvarī, who features in the Prologue and Epilogue of *Sutta-Nipāta* V, is a Babylonian. See also R. Morris, 'Are there any traces of Babylonian or Assyrian names in Pāli literature?' (*Academy* 963, 14.10, 1890; repr. in JPTS 1891-3, 1978), S. Lévi, 'Autour du Bāveru-Jātaka' (*Annuaire de l'EPHE*, Paris 1913-14) and E. Sluszkiewicz, 'Pāli Bāveru "Babylon"' (*Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XLI, Warsaw 1980).

One of the few pieces of tangible evidence to suggest a concrete link between India and Arabia is a figure of a dancing girl found at Khor Rori, Dhofar, in the modern state of Yemen. Dating from the second century CE and probably emanating from Gujārāt, it could well have formed part of a private shrine of a Jain or Buddhist merchant (Hermann Goetz, 'A Unique Indian Bronze from South India', *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda* XII, 1963, and *Archaeology* XVI, Cambridge Mass. 1963).

8 From his *Tahkik-i-Hind* (composed in 1030), ed. and tr. by E.C. Sachau as *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (2 vols, London 1879; Lahore 1978) and as *Alberuni's India* (New Delhi 1983, Delhi 1989); (abridged ed. by A.T. Embree, New York 1971). See also *Alberuni's Indica* abridged and annotated by Ahmad Hasan Dani (Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad 1973), Jai Shankar Mishra, *Albiruni: An 11th Century Historian* (Varanasi, n.d.) and A. Sharma, *Studies in 'Alberuni's India'* (Wiesbaden 1983). Of significance is the portrayal of a Syrian (amongst a multi-racial group) paying reverence to the Buddha as depicted in a fresco from Bezeklik — Prañidhi Scene No.14 in temple No.9 — discovered by A. von Le Coq and reproduced in his volume on *Chotscho* (Berlin 1913; Graz 1979 — colour plate No.28).

9 See, e.g. W. Sundermann, 'Die Bedeutung des Parthischen für die Verbreitung buddhistischer Wörter indische Herkunft' (*Altorientalische Forschung-*

formed an independent kingdom from c.250 BCE until the advent of the Sassanian Empire in 226 CE. The names of a number of Parthian Buddhists (mainly Hīnayānist) have been recorded in the annals of China which called the kingdom (of Parthia — Arsak) An-hsi — hence all Dharmadūtas bore the prefix 'An':

An Shih-kao¹⁰ (= Pārthamaśrī?) was a prince of the second century who abdicated in favour of his uncle¹¹, entered the Sangha and studied the Abhidharma and meditation techniques. In 147 he travelled (possibly by sea via Canton) to Loyang, the capital of Honan province in China, mastered the language and translated sūtras from the Āgamas, particularly those dealing with *samatha* and *vipaśyanā*.

An-hsüan¹² was an upāsaka who went to Loyang before 181 and translated Prajñāpāramitā texts.

An Fa-hsien¹³ (= Dharmabhadra) was a bhikṣu who flourished at

en 9, E. Berlin 1982) and an English abstract, 'The Parthian Language and the Diffusion of Buddhist Terms of Indian Origin (*Summaries of Papers — Fourth World Sanskrit Conference* [Weimar 1979] — ed. W. Morgenroth, Humboldt University, Berlin 1979).

10 See J.J. Modi, 'An Iranian Prince of the Parthian Dynasty as the First Promulgator of Buddhism in China' (*Jha Commemoration Volume*, Poona 1937, pp.249-58), and *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* (abbrev. *Ency. Bud.*) I, 4, Colombo 1965, pp.725-9. On all these Parthian Dharmadūtas, also see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (2 vols, Leiden 1959, 1972).

11 Presumably Osroes c.89-128, Mithradates (Mtrdt) 128-47 or Vologeses (Wlgš) IV 148-92. According to Albert J. Edmunds, it was 'probably the son of Vologeses II, who died that year' [i.e. 149] (*Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, 3rd ed., Tokyo 1905, p.7).

12 *Ency. Bud.* I, 4, p.657. See also K. Saha, *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature in Central Asia*, Calcutta 1970, p.25.

13 *Ency. Bud.* I, 4, p.615.

the time of the Wei dynasty (220-64).

An Fa-ch'in¹⁴, also translated texts at Loyang, between 281-306.

T'an (wu-)ti¹⁵ (= Dharmasatya) translated a Dharmaguptaka Vinaya text (Taishō No.1433) in 254.

Chi-tsang¹⁶ (549-623) came from Parthia and composed a descriptive work on the Buddhist Schools (Taishō No.1852).

According to Yang Hsüan-chih's *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi* (Taishō No.2092)¹⁷, the legendary founder of Ch'an Buddhism in sixth century China, Bodhidharma, came from Po-ssü-hu-jeu which has been identified as Persia or an Iranised state in Central Asia which would point to Khotan or Sogdiana. Certainly, his radical method of practice hardly accords with his alleged brahmin background and upbringing in South India and one suspects that his Chinese followers felt obliged to legitimise the new movement by claiming a connection with India, the 'holy land' and therefore the authentic source of the Buddha-dharma¹⁸.

* * * * *

The syncretic tenets of Mānī (217-76), a native of what is now Iraq, are well enough known and several writers have paid attention to the Indian (although not necessarily the Buddhist)

14 *Ibid.*

15 A.C. Banerjee, *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*, Calcutta 1977, p.11, and Lamotte, *History*, p.538.

16 Lamotte, *History*, p.537.

17 Tr. by Yi-t'ing Wang as *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*, Princeton University Press, 1983.

18 See *Ency. Bud.* III, 2, 1972, p.191ff.

derivation and complexion of his doctrines¹⁹ which, in turn, influenced the Western Gnostics and Cathari. Indeed, the Christian eremetical and monastic manifestations in Syria arose as a direct consequence of the former Manichaeism presence. Another factor to bear in mind was the presence of the Aramaic-speaking proto-Gnostic community — the Mandaeans²⁰

19 E.g. A. Banerji-Sastri, 'Resemblance of Manichaeism to Buddhism' (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* XXVIII, 3, Patna 1942), Piet F.M. Fontaine, *Dualism in Ancient Iran, India and China* (Amsterdam 1990), J. Ries, 'Bouddhisme et manichéisme. Les étapes d'une recherche' (*Indianisme et Bouddhisme*, Mélanges Lamotte, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980; English tr., *Buddhist Studies Review* 3, London 1986), David A. Scott, 'Manichaeism Views of Buddhism' (*History of Religions* 25, Chicago 1985), W. Sundermann, 'Manichaeism Traditions on the Date of the Historical Buddha' (*The Dating of the Historical Buddha* 1, ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen 1991), and the writings of H.-J. Klimkeit, e.g. 'Manichäische und buddhistische Beichtformeln aus Turfan. Beobachtungen zur Beziehung zwischen Gnosis und Mahāyāna' (*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, Cologne 1977), 'Christentum und Buddhismus in der innerasiatischen Religionsbewegung' (*ibid.*, 1981), 'Christian-Buddhist Encounter in Medieval Central Asia' (*The Cross and the Lotus*, ed. G.W. Houston, Delhi 1985), 'Jesus' Entry into *Parinirvāṇa*: Manichaeism Identity in Buddhist Central Asia' (*Numen* XXXIII, Leiden 1986) and 'Synkretismus in Zentralasien — eine Zwischenbilanz' (*Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*, ed. W. Heissig and H.-J. Klimkeit, Wiesbaden 1987). See also Jes P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvánīft. Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen 1965), A. Böhlig, 'Der Synkretismus des Mani' (*Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, ed. A. Dietrich, Göttingen 1975), Larry W. Clark, 'The Manichean Turkic *Pothi-Book*' (*Altorientalische Forschungen* IX, E. Berlin 1982), Jean W. Sedlar, 'The Indian Origins of Manichaeism' (*India and the Greek World*, Totowa, New Jersey, 1980), and G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism* (London 1961).

20 See E.S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (Oxford 1937; Leiden 1962), Kurt Rudolph, *Die Mandäer* (2 vols., Göttingen 1960-1) and 'Die Religion der Mandäer' (*Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, ed. H. Gese et al., Stuttgart 1970), Sedlar, 'The Mandaeans: between India and

— which had migrated from Palestine in the first century to Maishan in the lower Tigris-Euphrates valley, the homeland of Mānī. Moreover, whilst debating the possible proto-Mandaean affiliation of the latter's father, Patek, who resided in the capital city of Ctesiphon, L.J.R. Ort makes the startling statement that 'The temple (or: sanctuary) where Patek used to go may have belonged to the following religions: Zoroastrianism, Zervanism, the cults of Mithra or of Anahita, **Buddhism**, the Jewish religion, Christianity, or a gnostic religious community'²¹.

Influencing the contemporary Semitic religions in the West, could not the Mandaeans themselves have been influenced by developments further east? Maishan (modern Basra?) was as much an inter-national entrepôt at the top of the Persian Gulf as Alexandria (reached via the Red Sea): if a community of Indian Buddhist merchants (even bhikṣus) could establish itself in the latter²², why not in the former which was more accessible

Palestine', *India and the Greek World* (op. cit.), G. Widengren, *King and Savior*. Studies in Manichaean, Mandaean and Syrian-Gnostic Religion (Leipzig/Wiesbaden 1946/1955), and (ed.) *Der Mandäismus* (Darmstadt 1982).

21 *Mani. A Religio-Historical Description of his Personality*, Leiden 1967, p.199. Emphasis mine.

22 The expatriate Greek orator, Dion Chrysostomos (c.40–c.112 CE), during the course of his celebrated address 'To the People of Alexandria' is quoted as saying: 'I see among you, not only Greeks and Italians, Syrians, Libyans and Cilicians, and men who dwell more remotely, Ethiopians and Arabs, but also Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and some of the Indians, who are among the spectators and are always residing there'. *Oratio* XXXII. 40. Tr. by H. Lamar Crosby, *Dion Chrysostom* III (Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1949, 1979, pp.209–11). Moreover, he elaborates by describing the Indian merchants as a class held 'in low repute' by their countrymen who 'say harsh things about them' (*Ibid.* XXXV. 23; III, p.413). This remark suggests that the former were Buddhists who were regarded as heretical by the brahmin

by sea from India or overland from Afghanistan during the Kuṣāṇa era?

'In "one year of his reign", i.e. of Taxmōrup, Bōdāsp [= Bodhisattva in Middle Persian] appeared and founded the astrological lore of the Šābians: covering both religious communities known in Islamic times by this name — the Šābians of Harrān [north-western Iraq] and the Mandaean Baptists of the South Mesopotamian swamps²³. Mas'ūdi [d. 965] well knows that this Bōdāsp is of Indian origin. He is supposed to have emigrated via Iran to the West. His astrology was a renewal and spiritualisation of the older idolatry²⁴. The Persians, too, were supposed to have been followers of the Bōdāsp's Sabaeian religion before Zarathustra converted them²⁵. Ḥamaza

establishment of the Śunga dynasty — an argument that is enhanced by the fact that brahmins were forbidden to cross the sea on pain of incurring ritual pollution and possible expulsion from caste membership (see Sedlar, 'Travellers Indian and Greek', *India and the Greek World*, op. cit.).

23 Maçoudi [Al-Mas'ūdī], *Les prairies d'or* II (Paris 1863, pp.III, 3 – 112, 5) tr. A. Christensen, *Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens* I (Uppsala 1918, p.194), quoted by W. Sundermann in 'Eine Bemerkung zur Datierung des Buddha in der mittelpersischen Literatur der Zoroastrier' (*The Dating of the Historical Buddha* 2, ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen 1992, p.336) and tr. here by Maurice Walshe. See also J. Pedersen 'The Šābians' (*A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T.W. Arnold and R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922). Ernest Renan (*The Life of Jesus*, tr. W.G. Hutchinson, London 1897, Ch.VI, p.63) goes so far as to state: 'Babylon was for some time a true focus of Buddhism. Budasp (Bodhisattva) was reputed a wise Chaldean, and the founder of Sabeism'.

24 Maçoudi (op. cit., IV, 1865, pp.44, 2 – 45, 9), Christensen (op. cit., pp.194–5), Sundermann (op. cit.).

25 M.J. de Goeje (ed.) *Kitāb at-tanbīh wa'l-ischrāf auctore al-Mas'ūdī* (Leiden 1894, pp.90, 13 – 91, 1), Christensen (op. cit., p.195), Sundermann (op. cit.).

al-Isfahānī described and explained in detail why idolatry developed under Taxmōrup. Then came Bōdāsp, who introduced fasting and gave the traditional religion an ascetic turn²⁶. It has been suggested 'that the Harrānians adopted the Buddha, together with Hermes Trismegistos, as founder of their religion, and even identified the two'²⁷.

Arabic histories identify Indian settlements in Arabia and neighbouring territories and these included the *ahmara* or *hantra* — 'the red-clad people from Sind' — so-named after their saffron-coloured robes. It has been suggested that these were bhikṣus resident at Kūfah²⁸ — a centre of learning ninety miles south of Baghdad —, and on the Persian Gulf²⁹. Moreover, the *Tārīkh-i-Tabarī* has mentioned the names of three *ahmari* renowned commentators during the time of Caliph Abū Bakr. It may be presumed that this group was primarily engaged in scholastic pursuits and also might have interpreted the Buddhist philosophy to the Arabs³⁰. It has also been stated

26 I.M.E. Gottwaldt (ed.) *Hamzae Ispahanensis annalium libri X* (St. Petersburg-Leipzig 1844, pp.30, 12 – 31, 2), Christensen (*op. cit.*, pp.195–6), Sundermann (*op. cit.*, p.337).

27 Christensen (*op. cit.*, pp.199, 203), Sundermann (*op. cit.*, p.338).

28 See A.H.H. Abidi, 'Indo-Arab Relations — cultural or commercial?' (*Cultural Forum* VIII, 3, New Delhi 1966, p.32) and W.H. Siddiqi, 'India's Contribution to Arab Civilization' (Lokesh Chandra et al., ed., *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Madras 1970, p.582).

29 The latter observation was made by W. Ball in 'Two Aspects of Iranian Buddhism' (*Bulletin of the Asian Institute of Pahlavi University*, NS II, 1–4, Shiraz 1976, pp.103–27) who tentatively identified the Chehel-khāneh Caves at Zīr Rāh as having belonged to an Indian Buddhist community of the seventh–eighth century.

30 Abidi/Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, pp.31/582. *Tabarī's* chronicle was edited by M.J. de Goeje for the series *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Leiden 1879.

(albeit not substantiated) that 'Many Buddhist texts (*Jātakas*) were translated into Arabic and Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* was edited and modified by Arab writers'³¹ and that 'The Islamic *sidja* (prostration), *ahrām* (garb of worship during the Haj), *tawāf* (circumambulation) of Ka'ba have close resemblance to the mode of worship of the Buddhists'³².

Despite the triumph of an aggressive Islam, some of the quietist characteristics of Buddhism surfaced in the mystical Ṣūfī movement. This was initially centred on Balkh, a noted Buddhist site in Afghanistan where, until their conversion to Islam c.705, the Barmaki (from *barmak*, 'head priest') had acted as hereditary wardens of the Nawbahār³³ (= Nāvavihāra or Nāvasaṅghārāma) which, sixty years later, they were alleged to have plotted to restore to its former glory. (Yaḥya ibn Barmak, the grandson of the last such warden became vizir of Caliph Haroun al-Rashīd and was instrumental in listing 'Indian faiths and religions' in the Arabic catalogue, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*.)

31 Siddiqi (*op. cit.*, p.586) and Tara Chand, 'Builders of Civilization' (*Cultural Forum*, *op. cit.*, especially 'The Legend of Sakyamuni', pp.19–20).

32 Siddiqi (*ibid.*).

33 This monastery, the main regional centre of pilgrimage, was described in detail by Ibn al-Faqīh Hamadhānī (early tenth century) whose work, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, was edited by de Goeje (*Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, 1885). In the early thirteenth century, on the eve of the Mongol conquest when the valley was denuded of all life for six centuries, Yāqūt (ibn 'Abd Allah, al-Ḥamawī) described the 'two immense idols' of the standing Buddha at Bāmiyān: 'carved in the rock and rising from the foot of the mountain to the summit . . . One cannot see anything comparable to these statues in the whole world' — quoted from Benjamin Rowland, *The Art of Central Asia* (New York 1974, No original source indicated).

The far-reaching spiritual influence of the Nawbahār warrants our attention. It now transpires³⁴ that there was a cluster of sites bearing the same name, mainly concentrated at Khurāsān but also as far west as the modern border with Iraq and at Bukhara and Samarkand in Uzbekistan. 'Since there have been no finds of Buddhist remains in Iran and since no one has as yet excavated any of the sites named Naw Bahār, no material connection can be drawn between the Naw Bahārs of Iran and the Buddhist Naw Bahār of Balkh; but geographical distribution may be added to the already strong circumstantial case for making the connection. The great concentration of Naw Bahārs in north-eastern Iran, and in particular at the point where the road from Herat and the road from Bukhara join to form the Khurasan Highway, the main east-west route in Iran, fits well with the idea of Buddhism spreading westward from its stronghold in eastern Afghanistan and becoming progressively attenuated the further it went³⁵. 'What particular doctrines may have distinguished the Buddhism of the Naw Bahār from other types of Buddhism we have no way of knowing at present. Politically, however, the geographical distribution of Naw Bahār place-names, assuming they betray ancient sites of other monasteries, indicates that the Buddhism of Naw Bahār was overwhelmingly Iranian in character. Perhaps it is best to see in the Naw Bahār at Balkh the last functioning segment of what was once a string of monasteries stretching from Bactria to Kurdistan and devoted to a form of Buddhism that was uniquely identified with Iranian speakers³⁶.

34 Thanks to the observations of Richard W. Bulliet in 'Naw Bahār and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism', *Iran* (Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) XIV, London 1976.

35 *Ibid.*, p.142.

36 *Ibid.*, p.144.

Despite the destruction of the monasteries west of Balkh at the hands of an intolerant Zoroastrian régime prior to the Arab invasion, the popular sympathy for Buddhism in Khurāsān remained. Moreover, these institutions 'retained a reputation as educational centres for centuries after they had lost their purely religious identification³⁷ and, indeed, led to the creation of the Islamic *madrassa* (which originated in the above Iranian province in the ninth century).

'It is known that Buddhist works were translated into Arabic during the Abbasid period, especially in the reigns of Al-Manṣūr and Harun Al-Rashid³⁸. Early Muslim historical literature refers to Buddhist monks and temples. For example, al-Shahrastānī (1076-1153) in his *Kitāb al-milāl wan Nihāl* gives a coherent account of the tenets of Buddhism, whilst contemporaries describe the Buddha as the prophet of the *samaniyya* (Sanskrit, *śramaṇas*; Gandhārī, *ṣamaṇa*), the term for Buddhists in Iran. Writers have also provided some indication of the extent, in Iran, of Buddhism and its subsequent influence, albeit intangible, on Islam³⁹.

37 *Ibid.*, p.145.

38 N.N. Bhattacharya, 'India's Contribution to Islamic Thought and Culture' (L. Chandra, *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, *op. cit.*, p.576) paraphrased from T.J. de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London 1903, p.9.

39 In chronological order: Alfred Kremer, *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams* (Vienna 1873), Ignác Goldziher, 'A Buddhismus hatása az Iszlámra' (a lecture delivered to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, in March 1903) summarised by Th. Duka as 'The Influence of Buddhism upon Islam' (*JRAS*, London 1904) and incorporated in the former's *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg 1910, 1925), V.V. Barthold, 'Der iranische Buddhismus und sein Verhältnis zum Islam' (*Oriental Studies in*

Following the Arab conquest, Arabic became the medium for transmitting Indian culture to the West. The most renowned example of a legend that received this treatment and which had far-reaching consequences was that of Barlaam and Josaphat. What follows is based mainly on the definitive study by D.M. Lang⁴⁰.

Ārāḍa Kālāma (the ascetic teacher of the Buddha-to-be) — Barlaam — Balahvar instructs the Bodhisattva — Būdhāsaf (Arabic) — Yūdāsaf (or Bwdysf, Persian) — Iodasaph (Georgian) — Ioasaph (Greek) — Josaphat (Latin). Although there is no direct Sanskrit original upon which the Arabic and Western legends are based, in extolling asceticism and renunciation the closest parallel text is the Buddhacarita. The Manichaeans had, in the eighth century and possibly through the medium of Sogdian, conveyed the legend from Central Asia to the Arabs. (Note: PwtysB — Bōdisaf — Old Turkic, Bodisav = Bodhisattva, Satudan = Śuddhodana, and Chinak = Chandaka or Channa.) Arabic 'lives' of the Buddha (translated from Pahlavi) composed

Honour of C.F. Pavry, London 1933), Margaret Smith, 'The Doctrine of Reincarnation in Persian Thought' (*The Aryan Path* XIV, Bombay 1943), Joseph Head and S.L. Cranston (ed.), *Reincarnation: An East-West Anthology* (New York 1961; rev. ed., *Reincarnation: The Phoenix Fire Mystery*, 1977 — sections on Persia and Islam), and Said Naficy [Sa'īd Nafisi], *Les origines du soufisme iranien* (Teheran 1965).

See also Daniel Gimaret, 'Bouddha et les bouddhistes dans la tradition musulmane' (*JA* CCLVII, Paris 1969), Arvind Sharma, 'Early Buddhism and Early Islam' (*Islam and Modern Age* 15, New Delhi 1984), and the most detailed survey in this connection, if somewhat apologetic towards Islam — S.M. Yusuf, 'The Early Contacts between Islam and Buddhism' (*University of Ceylon Review* XIII, 1955).

40 *The Wisdom of Balahvar*, London and New York 1957.

between 767-815, comprised *Kitāb al-Budd* ('Book of the Buddha') and *Kitāb Būdhāsaf mufrad* ('Book of Buddha by himself'). The former was later incorporated in *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsaf* ('Book of Bilawhar and Būdhāsaf'), versified by the Baghdad poet, Abān al-Lāhiki (750-815), but no longer extant; the most complete available text is the 'Book of Bilawhar and Būdhāsaf, with Exhortations and Parables filled with Wisdom'⁴¹. The second original work only survived in the form of a chapter in *Nihāyat al-Irab fī Aḵḅar al-Furs wa'l-'Arab*, attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffa⁴².

The earliest surviving Arabic version of the legend was included in a Shī'a work, *Kitāb ikmāl al-dīn wa 'itmām al-mī'ma* ('Book of the Perfection of Faith and the Accomplishment of Felicity'), composed by Ibn Bābūya of Qum (d.991)⁴³, whilst a

41 Published by Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn ibn Jūvakhān (Ṣafdarian Printing Press, Bombay 1888-9) and tr. by Baron Viktor R. Rosen under the title *Povest' o Varlaame pustynnike i Iosafe tsareviche indijskom* (ed. I.Yu. Krachkovsky, Moscow 1947).

42 Summarised by E.J. Browne (*JRAS* 1900) and tr. by V.R. Rosen (*Mémoires de la section orientale de la Société impériale d'Archéologie de Russie*, St. Petersburg 1901-2).

43 The relevant sections were analysed by S. Oldenburg under the title 'Persidsky izvod povesti o Varlaame i Iosafe' (*Mémoires . . .*, St. Petersburg 1890). The same Shī'ite theologian copied or translated other stories which were undoubtedly derived from Indian Buddhist originals, ed. and tr. by S.M. Stern and Sofie Walzer in *Three Buddhist stories in an Arabic version*, Oxford 1971.

At the VIIIth International Congress of Orientalists (Vienna 1886), Fritz Hommel presented 'Die älteste arabische Barlaam-Version' (published in *Proceedings* I, Vienna 1888). This admittedly defective text, dating from 1688 and housed in the library of the Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Halle), was subsequently tr. by E. Rehatsek as 'The Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic' (*JRAS* 1890). Finally, at the end of the seventeenth century,

Spanish rabbi, Abraham bar Samuel Halevi ibn Hasdāy (or Chisdai, d. c.1220), produced a Hebrew metrical translation — 'The King's Son and the Ascetic'⁴⁴.

The Georgian *Life of the Blessed Iodasaph*⁴⁵, preserved in an eleventh century manuscript in the Greek Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem, 'is a direct adaptation of the Arabic story of the Bodhisattva in a Christian context, and thus lies at the base of all the Christian versions of the Barlaam and Iosaph romance'⁴⁶. . . despite the composite, indeed disparate elements

Aqā Muḥammed Bāqir Majlisī tr. *Balawhar wa-Būdhāsaf* (?) for his general exposition of ethics published as *Ayn al-Ḥayāt* (Teheran 1952-3). Despite this rare Persian text, the earliest surviving manuscript of indigenous poetry is a metrical rendering of the legend, attributed to Rūdakī from the early tenth century at the latest and discovered at Turfan by one of the German expeditions a thousand years later. For a summary of mainly Arabic and Persian recensions see D.M. Lang, 'Balawhar wa-Yūdāsaf' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* I, ed. H.A.R. Gibb et al., Leiden and London 1960. See also T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories* (London 1880, rev. ed. 1925; repr. Varanasi 1973, pp.xxvii-xlvi and 237-42), E. Kuhn, 'Barlaam und Iosaph, eine bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie' (*Abhandlungen der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich 1893, pp.1-88), Hiram Peri, *Der Religionsdisput der Barlaam-Legende* (Salamanca 1959), and Jean Sonet, *Le Roman de Barlaam et Josaphat* (Louvain 1949).

44 Tr. by Nathan Weisslowits as *Prinz und Derwisch*, Munich 1890.

45 Published by I.V. Abuladze, Tbilisi 1957.

46 Lang, *The Wisdom of Balahvar*, *op. cit.*, p.49. For further developments see Philip Almond, 'The Buddha of Christendom' (*Religious Studies* 23, Cambridge 1988), John C. Hirsh (ed.), *Barlaam and Iosaphat*. A Middle English Life of Buddha (London 1986), Joseph Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat*. English Lives of Buddha (London 1896), Raoul Manselli, 'The Legend of Barlaam and Iosaph in Byzantium and in the Romance Europe' (*East and West* 7, Rome 1957), and S.M. Pathak, 'The Buddha Legend in medieval Christian Literature' (*Journal of Historical Research* 16, Ranchi 1974).

of which the Christian legend of Barlaam and Iosaph is composed, it manages to retain a surprisingly large element of the authentic teachings of Gautama Buddha'⁴⁷.

* * * * *

The intrusion of the Mongols put a temporary check to rampant Islam and even reversed the declining fortunes of Buddhism. A grandson of Genghis Khan, Hülegü (1217-65), conquered Persia from 1253 and established the Il-khan dynasty with the capital at Marāgheh (later Tabriz). His son, Abagha (d. 1282), was Buddhist and married a Christian. Their son, Arghūn (ruled 1284-91), endeavoured to establish Buddhism as the state religion but this final effort to stabilise the westernmost territorial limit of Buddhism was completely undone by his successor who became known as Maḥmud Ghāzān (1271-1304). Although educated by bhikṣus, he was persuaded to embrace Islam prior to his coronation in 1295 — if only to legitimise his rule in the eyes of the predominantly Muslim population. Despite the attempt of bhikṣus to reconvert Öljeitü (1305-16) — who was successively Christian, Buddhist and Muslim — to Buddhism, the religious complexion of the country has remained unchanged ever since⁴⁸.

Only fragmentary evidence of Buddhist settlements during the Mongol occupation of Persia has survived, e.g. previously inhabited caves at Rasat-khāneh, Marāgheh, have been dated to

47 Lang, *op. cit.*, p.17.

48 For a brief survey of this era see A. Bausani, 'Religion under the Mongols' in J.A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Islam* 5 (1968).

the thirteenth century⁴⁹. Otherwise, the only tangible signs of any Buddhist influence lie in the fields of art and architecture⁵⁰.

In 1305 Rashīd ad-Dīn composed a 'Life and Teaching of Buddha'⁵¹. The only full-length work of its kind, it provides a unique picture of the Indian-based, non-Mongol lamaistic, system of Buddhism that prevailed prior to Ghāzān Khan's conversion a decade earlier. The author's informant, Kamālaśrī Bakhshī (a hermit from Kashmir), obviously quoted from the texts of which only the Arabic titles have survived. A further three texts have also been identified with Sanskrit originals⁵².

49 See W. Ball, 'Two Aspects of Iranian Buddhism', *op. cit.*, pp.127-43.

50 See, e.g., E. Dietz, 'Sino-Mongolian Temple Painting and its Influence on Persian Illumination' (*Ars Islamica* 1, Ann Arbor 1934, pp.160-70), A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, 'The Buddhist heritage in the art of Iran' (*Mahayanist Art after A.D.900*, ed. William Watson, Percival David Foundation, Univ. of London 1971), 'Recherches sur l'architecture de l'Iran bouddhique I. Essai sur les origines et le symbolisme du stūpa iranien' (*Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam* 3, Geneva 1975), and 'The Buddhist ritual in the literature of early Islamic Iran' (*South Asian Archaeology* [6th Intl. Conf. of the Assoc. of S. Asian Archaeologists, Cambridge 1981], ed. Bridget Allchin, Cambridge 1984); and Aurel Stein, 'A "Persian Bodhisattva"' (*Studia Indo-Iranica*, ed. W. Wüst, Leipzig 1931) — colour reproduction in M. Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting* (London 1978, p.57). Three scenes appear in Rashīd ad-Dīn's *Jami al-Tavarikh* ('World History'), produced for Öljeitü in 1314, whilst at least two appear in Hāfiz-i Abrū's *Majma' al-Tavarikh* ('Collection of Chronicles') c. 1425, as illustrated in Pratapaditya Pal (ed.), *Light of Asia*. Buddha Sakyamuni in *Asian Art* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984, p.65).

51 Summarised in English by Karl Jahn in *Central Asiatic Journal* 2, Wiesbaden 1956.

52 Gregory Schopen, 'Hinayāna Texts in a 14th Century Persian Chronicle', *CAJ* 26, 1982. See also A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, 'L'évocation littéraire du bouddhisme dans l'Iran musulmane', *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam* 2, 1974.

* * * * *

The next development to consider is that of Gnosticism, a fusion of Oriental, Platonic and Christian ideas that has been described as 'Orientalism in a Hellenic mask'⁵³. We need only mention two prominent representatives. First, Basilides (or Basileides), a Hellenised Egyptian or Syrian of the second century CE, who heard of Buddhism from Indian merchants from the port of Barygaza in Gujarāt and from Ceylon. His main work, the *Exegetica*, 'a commentary on the Gospels', was quoted by St. Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromata*. However, Basilides 'adopts the Buddhist philosophy, but not the Buddhist religion; the Buddhist faith is nothing to him. And it is as a metaphysic, not a religion, that Buddhism first penetrated to the West'⁵⁴. Basilides accepted the presence of *duḥkha* qualified, nevertheless, by positing (the propensity to) sin as a prime cause. The doctrine of *karma* and transmigration⁵⁵ (citing St. John ix 2

53 H.G. Rawlinson, 'India in European Literature and Thought', *The Legacy of India* (ed. G.T. Garratt), London 1937; Oxford 1989.

54 J. Kennedy, 'Buddhist Gnosticism, the System of Basilides' (*JRAS* 1902, p.388) on which the following account is based. See also Gilles Quispel, 'L'homme gnostique (La doctrine de Basilide)', *Eranos* XVI, Zürich 1948.

55 This doctrine was firmly held and developed in antiquity only by the Indians, Gauls and Lithuanians. It was transmitted by the Cymni or Cimmarians of Asia Minor during the sixth century BCE to Pherecydes and Pythagoras. Under the term *gilgul* the doctrine was even introduced into the Hebrew tradition via one of the books of the Kabbalah, *Sefer ha-bahir* ('Book of Brightness'), dating from the late twelfth century and probably composed in Provence (France). This text has been tr. by Ronald C. Kiener and included in *The Early Kabbala* (ed. Joseph Dan, New York 1986). See Margaret Smith 'Reincarnation in Jewish Thought' (*The Aryan Path* XIII, Bombay 1942) and the Jewish sections in Joseph Head and S.L. Cranston (ed.), *Reincarnation . . .*

and Romans vii 9) were also accepted. He propounded five entities of spirit and matter (cp. *skandhas*) and would appear to have denied the concepts of soul and a personal Creator God in the accepted brahmanical and later Christian sense of these terms.

A contemporary, neo-Gnostic, teacher was Bardasanes (or Bardaiṣān)⁵⁶ who was b. 154 in Edessa [= Urfa in modern Turkey] — an independent Parthian city-state which was annexed by Rome in 216. He was converted to Christianity in 179 but was later excommunicated and died in exile in 222. Towards the end of his life he met an embassy from India passing through Syria to the Roman emperor, Elagabalus, in 218. From the leading delegate, Dandamis, he learnt of Indian religious doctrines and practices and subsequently alluded to bhikṣus ('samanaeans' - *śramaṇas*) in a fragment of a lost work preserved by the Greek Neoplatonist, Porphyrios (Porphyry), in his treatise 'On Abstinence from Animal Food'⁵⁷.

Despite the attention given to Gnosticism as a whole in recent years, very little has been written on the Indian

op. cit.

56 See H. Drijvers, 'Bardaiṣān of Edessa and the Hermetica. The Aramaic Philosopher and the Philosophy of his Time' (*Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 21, Leiden 1969-70), 'Bardaiṣān von Edessa als Repräsentant des syrischen Synkretismus im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.' (*Synkretismus im syrische-persischen Kulturgebiet*, *op. cit.*), and Sedlar, 'Two Philosophers: Basileides and Bardaisan' in her *India and the Greek World* (*op. cit.*).

57 Book IV, Ch.17. Tr. by J.W. McCrindle in *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* (Westminster 1901, St. Leonards 1971 and New Delhi 1974, pp.169-71) and Thomas Taylor, ed. Esme Wynne-Tyson (London 1965, pp.170-1). A related passage was also tr. by R.C. Majumdar in *The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta 1960, 1981, pp.425-9.

connection⁵⁸.

* * * * *

If the Gnostics absorbed a least a modicum of Buddhist philosophy, then the pre-Christian monastic communities that flourished in the Middle East may well have been influenced by the practices of the Buddhist Sangha. According to one report⁵⁹, an Aśokan inscription in Aramaic found in eastern Afghanistan suggested that the Indian emperor was aware of the importance of the Syrian town of Tadmor (Palmyra)⁶⁰ towards which he directed his Dharmadūtas. The latter were, according to Rock Edict XIII, deputed to the following kings, although there is no evidence of their reaching their destinations: Antiokos II Theos (Syria and Palestine, 261-246 BCE), Ptolemaios II

58 See, however, E. Conze, 'Buddhism and Gnosis' in Ugo Bianchi (ed.), *Le origini dello Gnosticismo* (Leiden 1967; English ed., 1970) and repr. in the former's *Further Buddhist Studies* (Oxford 1975); and Sedlar, 'Gnosis: the Indian Parallels' in her *India and the Greek World* (*op. cit.*). The standard textbooks on the entire phenomenon are Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* (2 vols, Göttingen 1934, 1954), *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston 1958, New York 1979) and Kurt Rudolph, *Die Gnosis: Wesen und Geschichte einer spätantiken Religion* (Leipzig 1977), tr. as *Gnosis* (Edinburgh 1983), whilst a popular overview is provided by Benjamin Walker, *Gnosticism. Its History and Influence* (Wellingborough 1983). See also G. Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion* (Zürich 1951) and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Macropaedia (15th ed., 1981), Vol.8, pp.214-19.

59 'Jesus drew inspiration from Buddhist ideas', *World Buddhism*, Nugegoda, Nov. 1970; original report by Eric Pace in *The New York Times*.

60 This observation is disputed by B.N. Mukherjee who, in the sole full-length study of the Aramaic inscriptions — *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka* (Calcutta 1984, p.11) — maintains that it is the rock on which the edict is inscribed that was called Tdmr (or Trmd).

Philadelphos (Egypt, 285-247), Magas (Cyrene, North Africa, c.258-250), Antigonos Gonatos (Macedonia, 276-239) and Alexander (Corinth, 252-244, or of Epirus, 272-255).

The Anglican theologian, Henry Mansel (1821-70), maintained that the philosophy and rites of the Therapeutae were derived from these Dharmadūtas within two generations of Alexander the Great⁶¹, a view shared by F. Schelling, Schopenhauer, C. Lassen and E. Renan. Whether this statement is accurate or not, 'The Therapeutae . . . appear to have sprung from a union of the Alexandrian Judaism with the precepts and modes of life of the Buddhist devotees, . . . in their ascetic life, in their mortification of the body and their devotion to pure contemplation, we may trace at least a sufficient affinity to the Indian mystics to indicate a common origin'⁶². Their

61 Quoted by Arthur Lillie in *Buddhism in Christendom*, London 1887, p.75. In fact, the time scale is incorrect by at least fifty years: Alexander died in 323 BCE whereas the Dharmadūtas despatched by the Third Council in Pāṭaliputra would not have started before 246. A similar chronological discrepancy attends the argument of Vládas Stanka ('The Star from the East and Aśoka's Wheel', *The Maha Bodhi* 71, 1962), who maintains that the Three Kings in the Gospel of St. Matthew symbolised the (alleged) presence of Dharmadūtas — the 'Wise Men from the East'. See also 'Christian-Buddhist Encounter in Medieval Central Asia' (*The Cross and the Lotus*, ed. Houston, *op. cit.*) where H.-J. Klimkeit cites (on p.17) an Old Turkic text which implies that the 'three precious gifts' from the Magi are the *triratna*.

62 James Moffat, in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* XII (ed. James Hastings, Edinburgh and New York 1928, p.319) quoted by Shanta Ratnayaka in 'A Buddhist-Christian Monastic Dialogue', *The Maha Bodhi* 88, 1979, p.161.

See also Philo's nine-point observation quoted by Samuel Beal in *Abstract of Four Lectures on Buddhist Literature in China* (London 1882; Delhi 1988, pp.162-3); William M.F. Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt before Chris-*

nomenclature derived from the Greek for 'healers', 'devotees' or 'attendants', the adherents settled on the shores of Lake Mareotis, near Alexandria. The only contemporary account of them is contained in *De Vita Contemplativa* by Philo Judaeus (c.20 BCE - 45 CE)⁶³, a Hellenised Jew who lived in Alexandria.

Concerning the Essenes, the other Jewish sect, 'Whether the Essenes owed their rules of life to Buddhist influences in Palestine or not, the agreement of these rules with Buddhism is very remarkable. Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that a knowledge of Buddhism had reached as far as Judea, before Christ. It would be strange, considering the close intercourse between the Greek Bactrian kingdom and Syria, if it had not. Buddhism in India undoubtedly owed much to Greek art in Bactria; and the same workmen who were employed at Taxila, may have worked at Antioch. At least, there is no improbability in such a supposition.'

'At any rate, when the Greek Bactrian kingdom was overthrown, we may reasonably suppose that many of the colonists would return to lands nearer home, and seek intercourse with their brethren in Syria, and, perhaps, among the Macedonian colonists in Samaria.'

'The Greeks were supplanted by Parthians — and not only do we find Parthian Buddhists, but we read of Parthians among

tianity (London and New York 1912) and Sedlar, 'Asceticism on the Rise: from India Westward', *India and the Greek World* (*op. cit.*).

63 Included in *Philo* IX, tr. by F.H. Colson, Loeb Classical Library, London 1941, 1985. See also Frank W. Tilden (tr.) *Philo Judaeus, on the Contemplative Life*, Bloomington 1922.

the Jews at Jerusalem keeping Pentecost⁶⁴. Both Josephus and Philo provide graphic descriptions of the daily life of the Essenes⁶⁵ who were centred on Qumrān, near the Dead Sea. Their communities flourished between 150 BCE and 70 CE and they numbered approximately 4,000 according to the Roman historian, Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE).

However, both these communities died out in the first century CE, a good two centuries before the rise of Christian movements which were directly influenced by Manichaean examples in Syria rather than Egypt. The initial contacts and dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity⁶⁶, and those in more recent times, have been surveyed more extensively elsewhere.

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Summing up, a Buddhist community, recognisable as such, was never established in the Mediterranean area or, indeed, anywhere in the West proper. The only exception might be made in the case of the international emporium of Alexandria in Egypt where individual Buddhist merchants from India could

64 S. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp.159-60.

65 *Ibid.*, pp.160-2. Beal then favourably compares the Essene observances with those of both bhikṣus and upāsakas (pp.164-5). However, J.J. Modi ('Who were the Persian Magi, who influenced the Jewish Sect of the Essenes?', *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz*, Leipzig 1933) argues that the Maga, a celibate sub-sect of Zoroastrianism, exerted a direct influence on the Essenes whose name is derived from *ashavan* ('holy') in the *Zend Avesta*.

66 See, e.g. Arthur Lillie, *The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity* (London 1893) and Sedlar, 'Christian-Buddhist Affinities', *India and the Greek World* (*op. cit.*).

well have formed part of the transient population. É. Lamotte concluded an essay with the statement (in translation): '... it [Buddhism] disdained the Western world, which was indifferent to hostile to the Good Word...'⁶⁷. Lucette Boulnois, on the other hand, suggests reasons for the tangible absence of Buddhists in Europe — notably the formidable economic and ideological barrier of Persia⁶⁸. However, she continues by generalising over the supposed greater knowledge of brahmanical philosophy, citing Jean Filliozat who, in an edited translation of *Katā pasōn airēseōn elenchos* or *Philosophumena* ('Refutation of all heresies') by [Bishop] St. (Romanus) Hippolytus (d. c.240)⁶⁹, cautiously attempts to relate each doctrine to that to be found in the Upaniṣads. But even he admits that the primary source of the bishop's information derives from the Greek ambassador Megasthenes' reports four centuries earlier! In any case, it can be argued that the main thrust of the Christian polemic was aimed at the Gnostics who had accepted Indian metaphysical views indiscriminately.

Boulnois ends her brief discussion on this subject with the remark that 'Buddhism, in spite of all it had in common with contemporary Western thought, scarcely impinged upon Western consciousness; it was Hindu ideas that made their mark. A

67 'Les premières relations entre l'Inde et l'Occident' (*La Nouvelle Clio* V, Brussels 1953), English tr. in BSR 5, 2 (1988) and 6, 1 (1989).

68 *La Route de la Soie* (Paris 1963; Geneva 1986), tr. as *The Silk Road* (London 1966, p.101)

69 'La doctrine des brâhmanes d'après Saint Hippolyte' (*Revue d'Histoire des Religions*, Paris 1945); rev. ed. 'La doctrine brahmanique à Rome au III^{ème} siècle' (*Les Relations extérieures de l'Inde* I, Pondicherry 1956). English tr. of *Philosophumena* by F. Legge (2 vols, London 1921).

doctrine undergoes ideological attack when it becomes important enough to be a menace; and doubtless Brahmanism aroused too much interest for the liking of convinced Christians. No such attack was necessary in the case of Buddhism, for this religion made almost no impression on Western thought⁷⁰. However, far from having anything in common with Western thought (certainly posterior to the ideas generated by the Athenian Academy), the essential Buddhadharma was ahead of the prevailing mental attitude, even of that of the most liberally-inclined Gnostics, obsessed as they were with cosmological speculations and, as everywhere in the West, unable to conceive of a system of thought and practice disconnected from some form of theism.

70 *The Silk Road, op. cit.*, p.105.

EKOTTARĀGAMA (XIV)

Traduit de la version chinoise par
Thích Huyền-Vi

Fascicule septième
Partie 16

3. ¹Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois quand le Buddha résidait à Śrāvastī, dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada, il disait aux bhikṣu: Je vais établir deux comparaisons [du comportement humain]: celle avec le comportement du corbeau et celle avec le comportement du cochon. Ecoutez bien et réfléchissez bien. Voici la comparaison de l'homme avec le corbeau:

Celui qui habite dans un lieu calme, cherche souvent à satisfaire ses désirs sexuels, pratique de mauvaises habitudes, puis par pudeur il regrette et cherche une personne respectable pour parler des ses actes indignes. Pourquoi? Parce qu'il est critiqué par des honnêtes gens, et qu'il se repent. C'est comme le corbeau qui a peur de la faim, mange de la chair pourrie, puis il frotte son bec pour l'essuyer parce qu'il a peur que d'autres corbeaux savent qu'il a mangé de la pourriture.

'Voici la comparaison de l'homme avec le cochon: Celui qui habite dans un lieu calme, cherche à satisfaire ses désirs sexuels, à pratiquer de mauvaises habitudes, mais il est impudent, il ne regrette pas ce qu'il a fait, au contraire il se vante de son courage, de sa compétence dans la satisfaction des

1 Voir T 2, 579a24 et suiv.

cinq désirs fondamentaux de l'homme². Il se sent supérieur aux autres parce qu'il a eu des plaisirs que d'autres ne connaissent pas. C'est comme le cochon qui mange des aliments malsains, qui se couche sur des saletés, gambade de joie en s'adressant aux autres cochons.

C'est pourquoi, ô bhikṣu, il faut éviter [ces deux comportements]. Vous devez apprendre sérieusement cela. — Ayant entendu ces paroles du Bouddha, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

4. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu . . . le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī . . . il disait aux bhikṣu: Je vais vous parler des gens qui se comportent comme un âne et d'autres qui se comportent comme un buffle. Ecoutez et réfléchissez bien.

'Voici celui qui se comporte comme un âne. Il a les cheveux, les moustaches et la barbe rasés, il porte les trois vêtements religieux, il a la foi solide — c'est pourquoi il a quitté sa famille pour être admis au saṃgha³. Cependant il n'a pas la pureté sensorielle⁴: quand il voit quelque chose, de nombreuses illusions sont nées dans son esprit et de nombreux sentiments sont nés dans son cœur, il ne sait pas maîtriser ses sensations visuelles; il en est de même pour l'ouïe, l'odorat, le goût et le toucher; il ne sait pas maîtriser ses pensées, il se laisse entraîner par des idées malsaines. il ne sait non plus maîtriser ses

2 C-a-d 'les cinq désirs qui naissent des objets des cinq sens: les choses vues, entendues, senties, goûtées ou touchées. Aussi les cinq désirs de la richesse, de la luxure, de la nourriture et des boissons, du renom et du sommeil' (Soothill et Houdous, *Dict. of Chin. Buddh. Terms*, p.121).

3 Litt: 'pour étudier le Chemin ou la Vérité.'

4 Litt: 'ses organes sensoriels ne sont pas établis'.

mouvements pour avoir une démarche et des postures correctes. Il ne sait pas porter les vêtements religieux et le bol à aumône comme il faut. En le voyant, ceux qui mènent la vie brahmique (*brahmacarya*) rigolent et disent: 'Cet imbécile a l'air d'un moine, mais un moine ne lui ressemble certainement pas'. Il réplique tout de suite à haute voix: 'Je suis aussi un moine! Je suis aussi un moine!'. C'est comme un âne parmi les buffles; il dit: 'Je suis aussi un buffle!', alors que oreilles, cornes, queue, voix, tout est différent; et les buffles, en le voyant, lui donnent des coups de cornes et des coups de pieds pour le chasser.

'Voici celui qui se comporte comme un buffle. Il a les cheveux, les moustaches et la barbe rasés, il porte les trois vêtements religieux, il a la foi solide — c'est pourquoi il a quitté sa famille pour être admis dans le saṃgha³. Il a obtenu la pureté sensorielle⁵: il mange et boit avec modération, il ne manque jamais les séances de pratique religieuse et il est résolu à développer les trente-sept auxiliaires de l'illumination (*saptatrimśad bodhipākṣikā dharmāḥ*)⁶. Quand il voit quelque chose, il ne laisse pas son esprit entraîner par des illusions visuelles, ni son cœur par des sentiments de désir ou de haine; il essaye de voir chaque chose telle qu'elle est; ceci fait naître en lui la bonté naturelle et fait disparaître toutes les mauvaises idées. Il en est de même quand il entend, quand il sent, quand il goûte, ou quand il touche. Grâce à cela son esprit est pur et son cœur serein. En le voyant de loin, ceux qui mènent la vie brahmique se disent: 'Nous avons de la chance d'avoir un camarade de classe comme lui'; puis ils viennent volontiers pour subvenir à ses besoins de telle façon qu'il ne lui manque de

5 Litt: 'ses organes sensoriels sont calmes et établis'.

6 Voir BSR 2, 1-2, p.46, n.17; 3, 1, p.38, n.13.

rien. C'est comme un bon buffle parmi les buffles, car leur pelage, leur queue, leurs oreilles, leurs cornes, leur voix se ressemblent tous. Les autres buffles viennent le lécher partout pour témoigner leur sympathie.

'C'est pourquoi, ô bhikṣu! il faut faire comme le buffle et non pas comme l'âne. Vous devez apprendre sérieusement cela'.

Ayant entendu ces paroles de Bouddha . . . en pratique.

5. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu . . . le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī . . . il disait aux bhikṣu: Je vais vous parler de ce qui est bien et de ce qui est mal. Ecoutez et réfléchissez bien.

1 — Tuer est mal, respecter la vie est bien.

2 — Voler est mal, respecter la propriété d'autrui est bien⁷.

3 — La luxure est mal, s'en abstenir est bien.

4 — Mentir est mal, dire la vérité est bien.

5 — La médisance est mal, s'abstenir de la médisance est bien⁸.

6 — Parler pour créer un affrontement entre deux personnes est mal, parler pour créer la compréhension entre deux personnes est bien⁹.

7 — La parole inconsidérée est mal, s'abstenir de la parole inconsidérée est bien.

8 — La convoitise est mal, s'abstenir de la convoitise est bien.

9 — La colère est mal, la sérénité est bien.

10 — La vue fautive est mal, la vue correcte est bien.

7 Litt: 'prendre seulement ce qui est donné est bien'.

8 'La médisance' littéralement 'les propos sensuels, les remarques impropres'.

9 Litt: 'deux langues est mal . . .'

'Celui qui pratique ces mauvaises actions tombera dans l'animalité, dans la voie des fantômes affamés, dans l'enfer.

'Celui qui pratique ces bonnes actions bénéficiera du bonheur dans le ciel, en ce monde des hommes, ou dans le monde des asura¹⁰.

'C'est pourquoi, ô bhikṣu, il faut éviter les mauvaises actions et pratiquer les bonnes¹¹. Vous devez apprendre sérieusement cela.

Ayant entendu ces paroles du Bouddha . . . en pratique.

6. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu . . . le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī . . . il disait aux bhikṣu: Je vais vous prêcher la Doctrine subtile, belle au commencement, belle au milieu, belle à la fin, avec son sens et sa teneur, manifestant la vie brahmique dans son intégrale plénitude¹². Il y a deux *dharma*. Ecoutez et réfléchissez bien. C'est la distinction entre:

la vue fautive et la vue correcte,

10 Contraire à l'EĀ qui considère heureuse la renaissance comme un *asura*, selon la tradition pāli, c'est *apāya*, un état de malheur et de perte; cf. par ex., Itivuttaka 93.

11 Pour un parallèle éloigné de cette section de l'EĀ, voir *Āṅguttara* V, 260 et suiv: *pāṇātipāto bhikkhave adhammo, pāṇātipātā veramaṇī dhammo . . .* Sur les dix *karmapatha*, 'chemins de l'acte' (avec références), voir Lamotte, *Traité I*, p.501.

12 Ce passage s'approche de, mais ne s'accorde pas exactement avec le cliché qui paraît, par ex., dans *Dīgha* I, 62; pour une traduction française, voir J. Bloch, J. Filliozat, L. Renou, *Canon bouddhique pāli, Suttanipāta, Dīghanikāya I*, fasc. 1, p.55 (Paris 1989). Pour une version sanskrit correspondante, voir Ch. Tripāthī, 'Die Einleitung des Daśottarasūtra', dans *Indianisme et Bouddhisme*, p.357 (Louvain-la-Neuve 1980): (*dharmaṃ vo deśayiṣyāmi ādau kalyāṇam . . .*

la conception fautive et la conception correcte,
 la parole fautive et la parole correcte,
 l'action fautive et l'action correcte,
 la manière de vivre fautive et la manière de vivre
 correcte,
 l'effort faux et l'effort correcte,
 l'attention fautive et l'attention correcte,
 la concentration fautive et la concentration correcte¹³.

Voilà, je vous ai montré le domaine de ce qui est faux et le
 domaine de ce qui est correcte. Le Tathāgata a fait tout ce qu'il

13 Cf. BSR 4, 2, p.133, n.14; 5, 1, p.52; 6,1, p.39 (le noble chemin à huit branches). Jusqu'ici le noble chemin à huit branches a été énuméré trois fois dans l'EĀ, ici inclus, et en chaque cas la liste diffère légèrement. Naturellement il est impossible de dire si cette inconsistance soit due à l'original indien employé dans la préparation de la traduction chinoise ou au traducteur. Comme dans la traduction ici la liste traditionnelle est donnée invariablement (en correspondance à *dr̥ṣṭi*, *saṃkalpa*, *vāk*, *karmānta*, *ājīva*, *vyāyāma*, *smṛti*, *samādhi* (le *samyak* étant omis dans l'intérêt de la concision), une liste synoptique des recensions de l'EĀ peut se donner:

EĀ 564a11-12:	568a6-8:	580b8-10
1. <i>dr̥ṣṭi</i>	<i>dr̥ṣṭi</i>	<i>dr̥ṣṭi</i>
2. <i>upāya-kauśalya</i>	<i>vyāyāma</i>	<i>vyāyāma</i>
3. <i>vāk</i>	<i>karmānta</i>	<i>vāk</i>
4. <i>karmānta</i>	<i>ājīva</i>	<i>karmānta</i>
5. <i>ājīva</i>	<i>upāya-kauśalya</i>	<i>ājīva</i>
6. <i>vyāyāma</i>	<i>vāk</i>	<i>upāya-kauśalya</i>
7. <i>smṛti</i>	<i>smṛti</i>	<i>smṛti</i>
8. <i>samādhi</i>	<i>samādhi</i>	<i>samādhi</i>

La manière de rendre les huit membres du noble chemin dans l'EĀ (non pas la succession de chaque membre) s'accord avec celle du Mahāvīyutpatti 997-1104, sauf les recensions de *saṃkalpa* et de *vyāyāma*. Le traducteur de l'EĀ interprète *saṃkalpa* comme étant les moyens salvifiques, et *vyāyāma* comme *ṛāṇa* ('reigner, gouverner; préparer; traiter, guérir; réprimer, punir' — cf. Soothill, p.265).

faut. Réfléchissez bien, méditez bien sans relâche. Celui qui ne met pas en pratique cette leçon dès maintenant, n'aura plus le temps de se repentir.

Ayant entendu ces paroles du Bouddha . . . en pratique.

7. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu . . . le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī . . . il disait aux bhikṣu: Je vais vous parler du flambeau du Dharma, et je vais vous montrer aussi les actions qui créent ce flambeau. Ecoutez bien et réfléchissez bien. Le flambeau éclairant est la fin de la convoitise, de la colère et de l'ignorance. Les actions qui créent ce flambeau sont: la vue correcte, la conception correcte, la parole correcte, l'action correcte, la manière de vivre correcte, l'effort correcte, l'attention correcte et la concentration correcte¹⁴. C'est donc le bon karma qui crée le flambeau éclairant. Voilà je vous ai parlé du flambeau éclairant et des actions qui créent ce flambeau. Le Tathāgata a fait ce qu'il faut. Réfléchissez bien, méditez bien sans relâche. Celui qui ne met pas en pratique cette leçon dès maintenant, n'aura plus le temps de se repentir.

Ayant entendu ces paroles du Bouddha . . . en pratique.

8. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu . . . le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī . . . il disait aux bhikṣu: Il y a deux forces (*bala*): celle de la patience (*kṣānti*) et celle de l'attention mentale (*manasikāra*). Si je n'avais pas eu ces deux forces, je n'aurais pas été venu aux environs d'Urūvilvā pour y pratiquer l'ascétisme pendant six ans, je n'aurais pas pu maîtriser Māra le Malin (litt.: *śatru*) et réaliser la suprême et parfaite illumination (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*). C'est parce que j'ai la force de la patience et la force de

14 Littéralement comme ci-dessus, EĀ 580b8-10 — cf. n.13.

l'attention mentale que j'ai pu, assis au pied de l'arbre Bodhi (litt.: l'endroit du Chemin), maîtriser Māra et ses troupes et réaliser la suprême et parfaite illumination. C'est pourquoi, ô bhikṣu, il faut trouver les moyens salvifiques pour développer en vous la force de la patience et la force de l'attention mentale; [si vous réussissez en cela], vous obtiendrez le niveau de celui qui est 'entré dans le courant', le niveau de celui 'qui ne revient qu'une fois', le niveau de celui 'qui ne revient plus', le niveau de l'arhat¹⁵, le stade du Nirvāṇa sans un reste de conditionnement (*anupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu*), le Parinirvāṇa. Vous devez apprendre sérieusement cela.

Ayant entendu ces paroles du Bouddha . . . en pratique.

9. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois quand le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī, dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada, le vénérable Aniruddha demeurait à Kuśinagara, là où il est né¹⁶. Un jour, les Caturmahārājakāyika et cinq cents [autres] deva, y compris le vingt-huit rois des esprits errants, vinrent au devant du vénérable Aniruddha, se prosternèrent à ses pieds, puis se tinrent debout à ses côtés et chantèrent ces vers:

Nous vous saluons avec adoration, ô vénérable,
Que les hommes ont beaucoup respecté!
Veuillez bien nous montrer
Quelle méditation nous devons pratiquer.

En ce moment, un brahmacārin nommé Chō-pa-tcha

15 Voir BSR 1, 2, p.134, n.16.

16 Sur Aniruddha, voir Malalasekera, DPPN 1, pp.85-90; Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti*, pp.167-9. Selon la tradition bouddhiste, Aniruddha était originaire de Kapilavastu, non pas de Kuśinagara comme rapporté ici par l'ÉA.

(闍拔吒), disciple de Fan-mo-yu (梵摩喻), vint aussi au devant du vénérable Aniruddha, se prosterna à ses pieds, puis s'assit à ses côtés. Ensuite il demanda:

— Jadis je vivais dans un palais royal mais je n'ai jamais senti cet exquis parfum naturel. Quelqu'un est-il déjà venu ici? Ou est-ce le parfum des deva, des nāga, des génies?

— Regardez, dit Aniruddha, voilà les Caturmahārājakāyika et cinq cents deva, y compris les vingt-huit rois des esprit errants.

— Pourquoi, dit le brahmacārin, je ne les vois pas? Où sont les Caturmahārājakāyika?

— Aniruddha: Peut-être parce que vous n'avez pas encore d'œil divin (*divyacakṣus*)¹⁷.

— Le brahmacārin: Si j'avais l'œil divin pourrais-je voir les Caturmahārājakāyika et les vingt-huit rois des esprit errants?

— Aniruddha: Bien sûr! si vous aviez l'œil divin vous pourriez voir les Caturmahārājakāyika et les cinq cents deva, y compris les vingt-huit rois des esprits errants. Mais, ô brahmacārin! l'œil divin n'a rien d'extraordinaire! Il y a un Brahmadeva nommé Sahasracakṣus (Indra)¹⁸ qui peut voir des milliers de mondes comme on voit un diadème dans sa main; cependant il ne peut pas voir son propre corps habillé.

— Le brahmacārin: Pourquoi ce Brahmadeva Sahasracakṣus ne peut-il pas voir son propre corps habillé?

17 Sur Aniruddha et l'œil divin et sur les cinq yeux, avec toutes références utiles, voir É. Lamotte, *ibid.*

18 A la différence de l'ÉA ici, selon la tradition Indra n'appartient pas à la classe des dieux Brahmā.

— Aniruddha: Parce qu'il n'a pas encore l'œil de la sagesse suprême¹⁷.

— Le brahmacārin: Si j'avais l'œil de la sagesse suprême, pourrais-je voir mon propre corps habillé?

— Aniruddha: N'importe qui a l'œil de la sagesse suprême peut voir son propre corps habillé.

— Le Brahmacārin: Ô vénérable, veuillez m'apprendre ce qu'il faut faire pour avoir l'œil de la sagesse suprême.

— Aniruddha: Est-ce que vous pouvez respecter les observances (*śīla*)?

— Le brahmacārin: Quelles sont ces observances?

— Aniruddha: S'abstenir de faire le mal, de faire ce qui est injuste.

— Le brahmacārin: Oui, je pourrais respecter de telles observances.

— Aniruddha: Ô brahmacārin! dorénavant vous devez respecter strictement les observances; vous devez aussi vous débarrasser des nœuds de l'orgueil (*māna*), et des préjugés de l'ego (*aham*) et du moi (*ātman*).

— Le brahmacārin: Qu'est-ce que l'ego? Qu'est-ce que le moi? Quels sont les nœuds de l'orgueil?

— Aniruddha: L'ego c'est le domaine de l'esprit (*nāma*). Le moi c'est la forme (*rūpa*). De ceux-ci sont produits les connaissances, les sentiments, les jugements et l'idée de l'ego et du moi qui sont les nœuds de l'orgueil. C'est pourquoi, ô brahmacārin! il faut chercher des moyens salvifiques pour éliminer ces nœuds. Vous devez apprendre sérieusement cela.

Le brahmacārin se leva, se prosterna devant Aniruddha, fit trois tours autour du vénérable et quitta le lieu. Sur son chemin de retour, en réfléchissant sur ce qu'eut dit Aniruddha, il fut illuminé, toutes ses impuretés s'effacèrent et il obtint l'œil dharmique (*dharmacakṣus*)¹⁷. En ce moment T'ien-hi-yu (天喜與), un de ses amis, sachant ce qui s'était passé pour le brahmacārin, vint se prosterner aux pieds d'Aniruddha, se tint debout à ses côtés et le complimenta par ces vers:

Le brahmacārin n'est pas encore arrivé chez lui,
Sur son chemin il est déjà illuminé.
Il n'a plus d'impuretés, il a obtenu l'œil dharmique,
Il n'a plus de doute, plus d'hésitations.

Le vénérable Aniruddha répondit:

J'ai deviné que le brahmacārin
Serait illuminé sur son chemin de retour
Car, à l'époque du Bouddha Kāśyapa,
Il avait déjà écouté cet enseignement.

Après cet événement, le vénérable Aniruddha quitta son pays natal, voyageait à travers plusieurs pays [pour enseigner la doctrine].

Ce jour-là il arriva à Śrāvastī, se prosterna aux pieds du Bouddha, puis se tint debout à ses côtés. Le Bienheureux lui donna quelques conseils. Aniruddha écouta attentivement, puis le salua et se retira. Alors le Bienheureux dit aux bhikṣu: Parmi mes disciples (*śrāvaka*) le bhikṣu Aniruddha est le

meilleur [entre ceux qui] ont obtenu l'œil divin¹⁹. Ayant entendu ces paroles du Bouddha, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et mettaient en pratique [la doctrine].

10. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois quand le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī, dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada, il y avait le vénérable Rāhula qui observait strictement les *śīla* sans laisser aucune faille, aussi petite soit-elle; cependant il n'arrivait pas encore à maîtriser toutes ses passions, son esprit n'était pas encore libéré. Plusieurs bhikṣu, voulant des explications, vinrent au devant du Bienheureux, se prosternèrent à ses pieds, puis s'assirent à ses côtés. Ensuite ils demandèrent au Bienheureux: Le bhikṣu Rāhula observe strictement les *śīla* sans laisser aucune faille, aussi petite soit-elle; pourquoi n'arrive-t-il pas à maîtriser ses passions et à libérer son esprit? — Le Bienheureux répondit par ce quatrain:

Celui qui observe correctement les *śīla*
Aura ses organes sensoriels purifiés.
À fur et à mesure, il arrivera sans doute
À éliminer toutes ses entraves passionnelles.

C'est pourquoi, ô bhikṣu!, il faut toujours observer les *śīla* et perpétuer dans la pratique du vrai dharma pour éliminer les impuretés mentales. Vous devez apprendre sérieusement cela. — Ayant entendu l'enseignement du Bouddha, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et le mettaient respectueusement en pratique'.

Traduit en français par Minh-Thien Trân-Huu-Danh

19 Cf. Aṅguttara I, 23: *etad aggamaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvakaṇaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ . . . dibbacakkhukānaṃ yaḍidamaṃ Anuruddha.*

Notes par les rédacteurs adjoints

BUDDHIST ETHICS COME OF AGE Damien Keown and The Nature of Buddhist Ethics

Charles S. Prebish

Frank Reynolds' useful publication 'Buddhist Ethics: A Bibliographic Essay', published in *Religious Studies Review* (5, 1 [January 1979]), demonstrated quite amply how little literature was available on this important topic in Buddhist Studies just more than a decade ago. In the interim, a significant interest has developed in both the ancient and modern aspects of the Buddhist ethical tradition, resulting in a bevy of articles and volumes with such captivating titles as *Ethics, Wealth, and Salvation* (ed. Russell F. Sizemore and Donald K. Swearer; Columbia, S. Carolina, 1990), *Inner Peace, World Peace* (ed. Kenneth Kraft; Albany, NY, 1992) and *The Social Face of Buddhism* (Ken Jones's widely read treatise on socially engaged Buddhism, London 1989). None of these publications advances the topic nearly so much as Damien Keown's important new book *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics**.

Keown's book is a revised version of his Ph.D. dissertation at Oxford, and while he includes chapters on Buddhism's relationship to utilitarianism and to Aristotle, the real value of the work lies in its careful and comprehensive delineation of the definition and scope of Buddhist ethics. In his introductory chapter on 'The Study of Buddhist Ethics', he begins from virtually the same standpoint as my own volume *Buddhist Ethics: A*

* The Macmillan Press, London 1992. ix, 269 pp. £42.50

Cross-Cultural Approach (Dubuque, Iowa, 1992): that the Theravāda tradition has claimed the vast majority of publications in a still tiny area and that even those studies which move beyond the Theravāda tradition, such as Louis de La Vallée Poussin's *La Morale Bouddhique* (Paris 1927), do not venture beyond the general scope of the various Hīnayāna sects. Not only does Keown make a serious attempt to offer the reader more than a simple descriptive approach to ethics, he also engages in a decisive and important dialogue with Mahāyāna ethics, a subject barely considered in the majority of published works on Buddhist ethics. To be sure, at least one major study of Buddhist ethics confronts the Mahāyāna tradition (i.e. G.S.P. Misra's *Development of Buddhist Ethics*, Delhi 1984), but Keown far surpasses Misra's rather cursory study. At the outset, Keown informs us that he intends to go 'against the current' with regard to traditional studies of Buddhist ethics, listing no less than fifteen viewpoints which he intends to reject in the development of his study.

In the beginning of his important chapter on 'Aspects of *Sīla*', Keown makes it abundantly clear that the major focus of any consideration of Buddhist ethics must necessarily concentrate on *sīla* rather than *vinaya*, despite efforts by such scholars as W. Pachow to argue that the Vinaya essentially represents a fuller exposition of the precepts included in the traditional *pañcasīla*. Following John C. Holt (*Discipline. The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinaya-piṭaka*, Delhi 1981) and others, he concludes, 'Overall, there seems to be no reason to believe that the *Vinaya* is either derived from a simpler set of moral principles or founded upon a single underlying principle or rationale' (p.34). This is an important distinction, for in East Asian Buddhism, the technical term *chieh-lü* combines *sīla/vinaya*, resulting in statements like that of Ven. Sheng-Yen who,

in the Prologue to *Buddhist Ethics and Modern Society* (ed. Charles Wei-hsun Fu and Sandra A. Wawrytko; Westport, Conn., 1991) says, 'The precepts (Vinaya) form the basis of Buddhist ethics' (p.4). Although Akira Hirakawa sheds considerable light on this subject (in *Genshibukkyō no Kenkyū: Kyōdansoshiki no genkei* - 'Studies in Primal Buddhism: The Original Model of the Organisation of the Buddhist Order', Tokyo 1964), establishing the need to understand *vinaya* as an externally enforced code, as much concerned with organisational purity as with the specifics of ethical conduct, while *sīla* presents an internally enforced ethical framework for structuring an individual's life, it is rather the norm for scholars to gloss over this important distinction. Keown understands this clearly, discerning *sīla* as an incredibly rich concept for understanding individual ethical conduct. Accordingly, he offers in this chapter a critical consideration of the various etymological derivations of the term, far more difficult to explain than *vinaya*, and citing such diverse sources as Buddhaghosa, Vasubandhu and sGam-po-pa. Perhaps the major thrust of the chapter concentrates on locating *sīla* contextually in both the canonical and non-canonical literature. In this respect he devotes much time to an analysis of the first thirteen suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya, a section known as the *Sīlakkhandavagga* and presenting the clearest and most detailed exposition of *sīla* in the Pāli Canon. In his consideration of the Brahmajāla Sutta, he carefully examines the preliminary critical portion of the text, divided into three sections known, respectively, as the short, medium and long divisions. This is significant because these three tracts occur in each of the thirteen suttas of the *Sīlakkhandavagga*, and, more importantly, contain almost all the precepts deemed essential for proper ethical conduct as presented in the *pañcasīla*, *aṭṭhaṅgāsīla*, *dasasīla*, *dasakusalakammāpatha* and

Pātimokkha. In presenting both the benefits and dangers of *sīla*, Keown concludes that '*Sīla* is precious, valuable and pleasant in itself, and at the same time is the necessary foundation for the entire spiritual project envisaged by Buddhism' (p.55). As his study progresses, Keown presents *sīla* in a fashion that supersedes even his own initial presumptions.

It would be incorrect to presume *sīla* is topically important only in the suttas, as it is also of much interest to the Abhidhamma and later commentarial authors as well. Keown recognises this circumstance and explores it fully in a chapter on 'Ethics and Psychology'. He shows how the very first text of the Theravādin Abhidhamma, the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, classifies mental elements around a markedly ethical base. He draws freely from the Visuddhimagga and Milindapaṇha as well. In so doing, he echoes G.S.P. Misra's conclusion drawn from a different Abhidhamma text, the Puggalapaññatti, which: 'deals with the classification of human types in which ethical consideration, among others, is the most dominant principle' (*Development of Buddhist Ethics*, p.67). Keown enhances his work in this section by references to Harvey Aronson's important study of sympathy (*anukampā*) in *Love and Sympathy in Theravāda Buddhism* (Delhi 1980), and to the role and relevance of calming meditation (*samatha-bhāvanā*) and insight meditation (*vipassanā-bhāvanā*) in the ethical process, as explored by Griffiths, Gimello and others.

One of the most interesting chapters of the book is entitled 'The Transcendancy Thesis', especially important because it thoroughly details, and **utterly undermines**, the so-called 'transcendancy thesis' postulated primarily by E.J. Thomas (in 'The Basis of Buddhist Ethics', *The Quest* VI) in 1914, but fully developed independently by Winston King in *In the Hope of*

Nibbana (La Salle, Ill., 1964) and by Melford Spiro in *Buddhism and Society* (Berkeley, Ca., 1970). The argument is simple and straightforward. Using Spiro's terminology, **Nibbanic** Buddhism involves **monks** pursuing the goal of **Nibbāna** by destroying *kamma* through *bhāvanā* or meditative discipline, while **Kammatic** Buddhism involves **lay practitioners** pursuing the goal of **favourable rebirth** through the production of *puñña* or merit by acts of *dāna* (giving) and *sīla* (morality). And, of course, once Nibbāna is attained, ethical cultivation is transcended. The theory is largely based on the well-known 'Parable of the Raft', taken from the Alagaddūpama Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya ('Discourse on the Parable of the Water-Snake'). In addition to citing a number of additional passages from other canonical texts which **contradict** the transcendancy thesis by clearly stating that *sīla* is **part of the farther shore**, Keown concludes properly:

'...the Buddha is using the Raft Parable to remind the monks of two things: first, that the sole purpose of the collective body of knowledge and discipline which is the *dhamma* is to be a means for reaching salvation; and second, that the individual components of this, such as particular doctrines, practices, teachings or philosophical views (*dhammā*) must not be allowed to become the subject of an emotional attachment and assume a disproportionate status within the context as a whole' (p.102).

Having dismissed the transcendancy thesis, the author is thus necessarily obliged to consider how ethics functions not only on the path to the attainment of Nibbāna, **but also after the attainment of enlightenment**. This problem he attacks in

'Ethics and Soteriology'

Having dispensed with the notion that Buddhist ethics is a purely worldly concern, eventually to be transcended, Keown progresses to a comprehensive discussion of the Eightfold Path insofar as it relates to ethical matters. Here he tries to demonstrate that Buddhism does not present two paths, one for the laity and one for the monastic tradition, or one path for slow learners and another for the quick-witted, but rather one single path in which proper ethical conduct is a necessary ingredient of the path to enlightenment. As such it becomes possible to summarise the relationship between *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*:

'The fact that the Eightfold Path begins with *sīla* does not mean that morality is only a preliminary stage. The Eightfold Path begins with *sīla* but ends with *sīla* and *paññā*. *Sīla* is the starting point since human nature is so constituted that moral discipline (*sīla*) facilitates intellectual discipline (*paññā*). Until correct attitudes, habits, and dispositions have been inculcated it is easy to fall prey to speculative views and opinions of all kinds. This does not mean that there is a direct line leading through *sīla* to *paññā*, or that morality is merely a means of limbering up for the intellectual athlete. No: morality is taken up first but constantly cultivated alongside insight until the two fuse in the transformation of the entire personality in the existential realisation of selflessness' (pp.111-12).

Yet *sīla* is not left behind upon the attainment of enlightenment and remains a significant element in the conduct of

the Buddha and other enlightened beings. In the Kassapa-sihanāda Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, the Buddha says, with regard to his own ethical attainment:

'Now there are some recluses and Brahmans, Kassapa, who lay emphasis on conduct. They speak, in various ways, in praise of morality. But so far as regards the really noble, the highest conduct, I am aware of no one who is equal to myself, much less superior. And it is I who have gone the furthest therein; that is, in the highest conduct (of the Path)' (Part I, p.237 in T.W. Rhys Davids' PTS translation).

Of course the Pāli word utilised to indicate 'highest conduct' is *adhisīla*. The implication of the Buddha's statement is clear enough: his attainment was unquestionably motivated by compassion and fuelled by moral development of the highest order, but also that **the attainment of Buddhahood (or, for that matter, arahantship) does not preclude ethical propriety.** Drawing again from Aronson's *Love and Sympathy in Theravāda Buddhism*, Keown sees ethical goodness, as manifested by the Buddha or any serious practitioner, as a reflection of his sympathy (*anukampā*) for all sentient beings. Thus, in identifying *sīla* as an on-going attribute in the behaviour of the enlightened, he remarks that 'the *Arahat* certainly has not gone beyond *kusala*, and *kusala* is the term which *par excellence* denoted ethical goodness' (p.124).

If the above demonstrates that Buddhist ethical development takes its inspiration from the Buddha's personal example, it is not unreasonable to conclude about the Buddha, as Lal Mani Joshi does, that 'His love of solitude and silence was matched only by his universal compassion for suffering creatures'

(*Studies in the Buddhist Culture of India*, 2nd revised ed., Delhi 1977, p.91). Such an approach led Joshi and others to identify the Hīnayāna ethical approach as narrower and more limited in scope than Mahāyāna. One should not read Joshi's evaluation too aggressively, or as a rejection of the Hīnayāna understanding of *śīla*, but rather as what Keown calls (on p.130) a 'paradigm shift'. And it is in Keown's long chapter on 'Ethics in the Mahāyāna' that he makes an enormous contribution to our understanding of Mahāyāna ethics, so minimally treated elsewhere despite a rich literary history and many less than scholarly assumptions about the nature of both the bodhisattva path and the function of the *pāramitās*.

Although Nalinaksha Dutt, in his still important *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relation to Hīnayāna* (London 1939), cites a rather expansive list of Mahāyāna sūtras dealing with ethical issues, there is little doubt that three texts form the most obvious basis of Mahāyāna ethics: the (1) (Mahāyāna) Brahmajālasūtra, (2) Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva, and (3) Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva. Keown points out, however, that two further texts **not generally associated with Mahāyāna ethics** are also critically important here: the Mahāyānasamgraha and the Bodhisattvabhūmi, and it is on the basis of their evidence that many authors have advanced the theory of the superiority of Mahāyāna ethics over that of Hīnayāna.

On pages 135-57 of *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics*, Keown provides an exceedingly careful exposition of the argument. The Mahāyānasamgraha suggests that Mahāyāna is superior to Hīnayāna in four ways: (1) in its classifications (*prabheda-viśeṣa*), (2) in its common and separate rules (*sādhāraṇa-asādhāraṇa-śikṣā-viśeṣa*), (3) in breadth (*vaiḥpulya-viśeṣa*), and (4) in depth (*gāmbhīrya-viśeṣa*). The first category is the most

important of the four since it supports the other three and is itself composed of three sections: (a) morality as temperance (*saṃvara-śīla*), (b) morality as the pursuit of good (*kuśala-dharma-saṃgrāhaka-śīla*), and (c) morality as altruism (*sattva-artha-kriyā-śīla*). This threefold categorisation of morality is further developed by the Bodhisattvabhūmi, concluding that it is the element of altruism that enables Mahāyāna morality to surpass its Hīnayāna counterpart.

In the fourth chapter of the Bodhicaryāvatāra, one reads, 'The son of the Conqueror, having grasped the Thought of Enlightenment firmly, must make every effort, constantly and alertly, not to transgress the discipline (śikṣā)' (Marion Matics, *Entering the Path of Enlightenment*, London 1970, p.157 [verse 1]). Just one chapter later, the text says, 'Thus enlightened, one ought to be constantly active for the sake of others. Even that which generally is forbidden is allowed to one who understands the work of compassion' (Matics, p.169). As a result of the above passages, we find ourselves confused over the apparent incongruency in the textual accounts of Mahāyāna ethical conduct and wondering just how breaches of conventional ethical behaviour are sanctioned. Keown addresses the resolution of these two radically conflicting views by explaining the notion of *upāya-kauśalya*, or skill-in-means, in a profoundly new and innovative fashion. In the process, he offers a brilliant resolution of the problem. That the bodhisattva is free to transgress the precepts, even to the extent of taking life, is stated with regularity in Mahāyāna texts such as the Śikṣāsamuccaya, Upāli-paripṛcchāsūtra, Upāyakauśalyasūtra and others, but such apparent transgressions are always sanctioned in the name of skill-in-means. About these activities, Keown remarks (on p.154):

'When actions of these kinds are performed there

are usually two provisos which must be satisfied: (a) that the prohibited action will conduce to the greater good of those beings directly affected by it; and (b) that the action is performed on the basis of perfect knowledge (*prajñā*) or perfect compassion (*karuṇā*).

The above conclusion is mirrored by Misra in *Development of Buddhist Ethics* (p.137). Thus the relationship between *śīla* and *prajñā* in Mahāyāna is parallel to the similar relationship between these two perfections operative in Hīnayāna, but what seems **not to be parallel** is that the Hīnayāna adept is at no time allowed to breach the practice of proper morality. From the above, Keown postulates that Mahāyāna is utilising two uniquely **different** types of *upāya-kauśalya*. About the first, which he categorises as normative ethics and calls *upāyal*, Keown says (on p.159):

Upāyal does not enjoin laxity in moral practices but rather the greater recognition of the needs and interest of others. One's moral practice is now for the benefit of oneself and others by means of example. Through its emphasis on *karuṇā* the Mahāyāna gave full recognition to the value of ethical perfection, making it explicit that ethics and insight were of equal importance for a *bodhisattva*.

The second type of *upāya-kauśalya* has nothing to do with normative ethics or ordinary individuals. It is the province of those who have already perfected ethics and insight. Thus (on p.157) we read

'. . . It is the *upāya* of the *bodhisattvas* of the

seventh stage (*upāya-kauśalya-bhūmi*) and beyond, whose powers and perfections are supernatural. *Upāya2* is depicted as an activity of the Buddhas and Great *Bodhisattvas* (*Bodhisattva-Mahāsattvas*) and it is only they who have the knowledge and power to use it. It is by virtue of *upāya2* that *bodhisattvas* transgress the precepts from motives of compassion and are said to do no wrong'.

There can be little doubt that *upāya2* is **not** the model by which ordinary beings perfect themselves but the rather pragmatic moral outcome of the attainment of the seventh stage of the bodhisattva path. *Upāya2* is the social expression of a genuine understanding of the notion of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) in which no precepts can even be theorised. As such, it represents the far extreme of the ethical continuum, a Buddhist situation ethics established not simply on love, as in Joseph Fletcher's system, but on the highest and most profound manifestation of compassion.

Keown concludes his volume with chapters on 'Buddhism and Utilitarianism' and 'Buddhism and Aristotle'. In the former chapter, he explores a number of theories of utilitarianism (e.g. act utilitarianism, rule utilitarianism and negative utilitarianism) as well as the writings of Bentham and Mill. He proceeds to an examination of Buddhism in relation to utilitarianism and a discussion of skill-in-means compared to situation ethics. In the latter chapter, he moves beyond the social and cultural differences in the two systems to focus on the parallels with respect to human perfection in each programme. In this regard, Keown examines *eudaemonia* and Nirvāṇa, Aristotle's psychology, the psychology of moral choice and the desire for

good. No doubt Keown's motives for concluding in this fashion are obvious, for he suggests early in his text (p.21) that 'Aristotle's ethical theory appears to be the closest Western analogue to Buddhist ethics, and is an illuminating guide to an understanding of the Buddhist moral system'. While these final chapters are indeed interesting in their own right and demonstrate that Keown's vision proceeds beyond a rather narrow focus, this reviewer finds them a rather odd termination of the volume. Precisely because the points emphasised are valuable for their contextual location of the major problematics of Buddhist ethics, I would have preferred their placement at the front of the book rather than the rear. This may, however, only reflect an idiosyncratic judgment on my part.

The relative vitality of Buddhist ethics in the modern world is a concern that cannot be minimised. Indeed, Kōshō Mizutani, in the Prologue to *Buddhist Ethics and Modern Society* asserts, 'I submit that a study of Buddhism that emphasizes its ethical aspects will be the most important task facing Buddhists in the twenty-first century' (p.7). At least with regard to the scholarly tradition, I think *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics* represents an exceedingly important step in the direction suggested by Mizutani. It is an entirely different direction than that taken by the contributors to such interesting volumes as *The Path of Compassion* (ed. Fred Eppsteiner, Berkley, Ca, 1988) in which modern Buddhists like Sulak Sivaraksa, Jack Kornfield, Thich Nhat Hanh and others argue about timely ethical issues with deep sincerity and commitment, but with rarely a canonical reference, almost never a footnote to Buddhist commentarial literature. It is my contention that works such as Keown's which are not only expansive in scope and thorough in methodology, but also textually grounded provide a genuine potential for bringing Buddhist ethics to our attention in a bold new way

that is useful to both scholars and practising Buddhists alike.

In an exciting new article, drawing heavily on the work of recent biblical scholarship, Harold Coward points out that:

'The relationship between a religious community and its scripture is complex, reciprocal and usually central to the normative self-definition of a religion. The awareness of this relationship is the result of postmodern approaches that no longer see scriptures as museum pieces for historical critical analysis, but recognize them to be the products of human perception and interaction — both in their own time and in today's study by scholars' (See 'The Role of Scripture in the Self-Definition of Hinduism and Buddhism in India', *Studies in Religion* 21, 2 [Wilfrid Laurier Univ., Ontario 1992], p.129).

Coward goes on to argue for what he calls 'the reciprocal relationship between text and tradition in Buddhism' (p.143). A careful examination of Keown's *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics* documents amply how such an important and necessary approach functions in Buddhism.

The high success of *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics* develops not simply because it moves well beyond such outdated works as S. Tachibana's *The Ethics of Buddhism* (London 1926, 1981), King's *In the Hope of Nibbana* (op. cit.) and Saddhatissa's *Buddhist Ethics* (London 1970, 1987; New York 1970), or because it supersedes such less than successful studies as G. Dharmasiri's *Fundamentals of Buddhist Ethics* (Singapore 1986; Antioch, Ca, 1989) but rather because it presents a creative and innovative revisioning of Buddhist ethics, a new paradigm for understanding the whole of the

Buddhist ethical tradition, and makes full use of the rich canonical and commentarial literature that is available. It succeeds because Keown lets the texts speak for themselves without forcing the passages cited into a pre-arranged agenda dictated more by prior researchers' conclusions than by the message delivered. To be sure, there will be those who will neither agree with nor appreciate Keown's approach and conclusions. This reviewer, however, thinks that Damien Keown has presented Buddhist Studies with a most valuable volume, perhaps even the most important such work in decades, and one that may well provide important renewed interest in the Buddhist ethical tradition.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Journal of the Pali Text Society, Vols XIV-XVIII, PTS, Oxford 1990, 1990, 1992, 1992, 1993. £13.50 each.

Following the successful revival of the Society's Journal in 1981 to mark the Society centenary, the Council of the Pali Text Society decided to continue the Journal on an *ad hoc* basis, as and when sufficient material of a publishable standard was received. After the publication of Vol. XIII in 1989 (noticed in BSR 9, 1, pp.88-90), a good supply of material enabled the editor to produce two volumes (XIV and XV) in 1990, but no volume was published in 1991. Once again it was possible to produce two volumes (XVI and XVII) in 1992, while Vol. XVIII was published early in 1993.

A very large proportion of Vol. XIV is devoted to a study by Dr H. Hundius of the colophons of thirty Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand, and he shows how the information which they contain throws light on the cultural and social conditions of the time at which the manuscripts were written. The volume also contains No.2 part 1 of a further study of the Pāli grammarians by O.H. Pind, in continuation of his article in Vol. XIII. Vol. XV contains no less than three articles written (by O. von Hinüber, Richard Gombrich and Charles Hallisey) in response to Gregory Schopen's comments in Vol. XIII on the fact that no rules are prescribed in the Khandhaka of the Theravāda Vinaya regulating the veneration of *stūpas*. Richard Gombrich also contributes a short note about the verses attributed to the former courtesan Ambapālī in the Therīgāthā, while Charles Hallisey has produced an edition, with a lengthy introduction, of the Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta, which despite its title of

sutta and its attribution to the Buddha is not reckoned as canonical. The problem of what 'canonical' means in the context of Theravāda scriptures is the subject of a paper 'On the very idea of the Pāli canon' by Steven Collins in the same volume. (This is a revised version of the second I.B. Horner memorial lecture which he delivered in London in September 1987.) The volume also contains a posthumous edition by Ven. Dr H. Saddhātissa of the *Nāmacāradīpikā*, one of the nine *Abhidhamma* manuals entitled in Burmese *Leṭ-than* or 'Little finger summaries', a study of the categories of *sutta* in the Pāli *Nikāyas* by Joy Manné, and a brief note by P. Jackson on some of the problems presented by the fact that there are several authors of Pāli texts who have the name *Dhammapāla*.

Theravāda literature is full of references to texts which are frequently known to us only by name. What is needed is a computer data-base into which titles can be entered as they are encountered, with quotations and further information being added later. As a preliminary to this, Vol. XVI contains an index which Jacqueline Filliozat has compiled to various articles by the late H. Saddhātissa and other scholars dealing with Pāli literature in South-East Asian countries. To this she has added an index to the *Bhāṇavārapālī*, which includes many hundreds of references to, and quotation from, Pāli texts. The volume also contains a translation by R.H.B. Exell of the *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, another of the *Leṭ-than* texts. (This is a revised version of a translation which appeared in *Visakha Puja*, Bangkok 1964.) An article by Oskar von Hinüber examines the meaning of the Vinaya term *āpatti-samuṭṭhāna* 'the arising of an offence' and puts it into the context and history of the Theravāda Vinaya. In an article entitled 'The case of the murdered monks' Laurence C.R. Mills (formerly Phra Khantipālo) examines the strange story told in the *Mahāvibhaṅga* about Migalaṇḍika who

murdered a number of monks, at their own request, since they were so affected by the *asubha* nature of their bodies that self-hatred arose in them. Gregory Schopen contributes another study of the ritual obligations of monks in the Pāli Vinaya, this time their role as donors, while Peter Skilling contributes a study of the *raṅṣā* 'protection' literature of the Śrāvakayāna, comparing the Pāli *paritta* texts with similar texts found in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* and other, including Mahāyāna, literature.

Almost the whole of Volume XVII is devoted to a very long article by Eivind Kahrs, the recently appointed lecturer in Sanskrit at the University of Cambridge, in which he explores a portion of the *Saddanīti*. This very long and important Pāli grammatical text has been little studied, and the article is a revised form of the lectures which Dr Kahrs gave in Cambridge during the first year of his appointment. The Society hopes that this paper will lead others to examine and expound this text and make its contents better known. The volume also contains a short addendum by Richard Gombrich to the study of the *Aggañña Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which he published in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35 (1992).

Vol. XVIII contains an edition by the late Eugène Denis, S.J., of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*. This has been revised by Steven Collins, who has also translated Denis's introduction to the edition, and added a new translation of the text. Charles Hallisey follows up his earlier work on the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* with an edition and translation of the *Nibbāna Sutta*, an allegedly non-canonical *sutta* which compares *Nibbāna* to a great city. The volume also contains a list, made by Jinadasa Liyanaratne, of Cambridge University Library's collection of Pāli manuscripts from Sri Lanka, many of them formerly in the possession of T.W. Rhys Davids, while Peter Skilling contributes a note on a citation from an *Abhayagiri* text, preserved in

Tibetan translation in the Tarkajvālā of Bhavya, which appears to be from the Buddhavaṃsa of the Abhayagiri school.

Each of these volumes contains a few pages devoted to Pāli Lexicographical Studies (VII-X) by the present reviewer, who also contributes to Vols XIV, XV and XVIII cumulative indexes of articles which have appeared in JPTS since the *Index to the JPTS 1882-1927* by P.D. Ratnatunga (revised with appendix and arranged by S.S. Davidson) was published in 1973. All volumes contain information about the grants which the PTS makes for the study of Pāli, and invite contributions in the field of Pāli (not Buddhist) studies for future volumes of the JPTS.

K. R. Norman

K.R. Norman: Collected Papers. Four volumes. Pali Text Society, Oxford: Vol.I, 1990, xvi, 271 pp.; Vol.II, 1991, xvi, 276 pp.; Vol.III, 1992, xvi, 292 pp.; Vol.IV, 1993, xvi, 288 pp. £17.25 each.

It is not always understood by those who read some of the older translations of Pāli texts that the translators thereof often had no formal training in the language. Self-taught, or taught by native scholars whose standard of proficiency in teaching was not necessarily high, they were forced, in the days before such aids as good dictionaries and grammars in a European language existed, to translate by the 'intuitive' method, whereby they examined the context and deduced from that what the meaning must be. The wonder is not that these intuitive translators were incorrect, but that they were correct so often.

Nor is it always understood by non-specialists that an early Pāli canonical sutta is itself a translation, and forms which have been left untranslated from an earlier version in another dialect can sometimes be identified. Although it may be possible to

translate such a Pāli text into English, it is necessary, if the aim is to establish its meaning for the original hearers, first to try to find out what the author actually said, i.e. to 'back-translate' the text into a form of language as close as possible to that which it is believed was spoken at the time of the Buddha.

This involves making use of all the resources of linguistic and literary criticism to establish the original form of the text which it is wished to translate, which requires a knowledge of the languages of North India and Ceylon at the time of the Buddha and the centuries immediately following his decease. This in turn necessitates expertise not only in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages, of which Pāli is one, but also in classical and Buddhist Sanskrit, since much of the language of the early Buddhist texts is related to or taken over from Sanskrit, while parallel versions of many Pāli canonical texts exist in Buddhist Sanskrit.

In the rules of the Pali Text Society one of its objects is stated to be to 'publish such other works as may be necessary for or conducive to the study of Pali'. In the belief that an appropriate way for the Society to fulfil this obligation would be to publish his mainly philological articles, the Council of the PTS persuaded Mr Norman to allow this to be done. These studies span the years from 1956 and appeared in a large number of different journals and books, access to which is in many cases now rather difficult. All the pieces have been re-typed, facilitating the adoption of a standard form of page format, footnotes and abbreviations. Where appropriate, references have been added to later articles in which the same subject has been treated.

Ninety-nine articles have been listed but two are 'not included'. The balance comprises a series of sixteen 'Middle Indo-Aryan Studies' with an additional six items on aspects of

Prakrit, eight 'Pāli Lexicographical Studies' (from JPTS) together with twelve and nine pieces respectively on the Pāli language and cultural/historical aspects of Pāli, eighteen articles on the Aśokan inscriptions, two/one on the Gāndharī/Patna Dhammapadas, and miscellaneous studies on Pāli canonical doctrines and factual issues (i.e. on the PTS itself). All told, these volumes serve as an illuminating testimonial to the academic career of the President of the PTS.

Mr Norman retired last year from his position as (Hon.) Professor of Indian Studies (specialising in Prakrit and Pāli) at Cambridge. In his honour, L.S. Cousins and John D. Smith edited a special issue of the *Indo-Iranian Journal* (Vol.35, Nos 2-3) which comprised ten essays by friends and colleagues, including one by Dr Eivind Kahrs from Oslo, his successor (as Lecturer in Sanskrit) at Cambridge.

RBW et al.

Buddhist Monastic Life, according to the texts of the Theravāda tradition. Mohan Wijayaratna, trans. Claude Grangier and Steve Collins, introd. Steve Collins. Cambridge University Press, 1990. xxiv + 190 pp. H/back £27.50, US\$37.50, Aus\$45.00; p/back £8.95, US\$10.95, Aus\$22.50.

This concise work is well-described by its title: it presents no speculations and does not digress into Indian history, simply but with a wealth of textual illustration, it presents Buddhist monastic life according to the Vinaya and Sutta traditions in Pāli. In the short space of only 150-odd pages the author attempts to cover a subject which in the original texts runs to a few thousand; on the whole he has done so with lucidity.

As the reviewer has recently completed a Vinaya-treatise with rather different intentions — Vinaya for the present age

and 'western' society, divided into four sections on Persons, Possessions, Places and Procedures, it is interesting to see whether our author has covered a similar range with his eight chapters.

'The Origins of the Community' (Ch.1) deal with the how and why of renunciation. What *pabbajjā*, leaving home or going forth, really means is thoroughly dealt with here quoting from suttas as well as Vinaya. The author remarks truly that 'renunciation could be either negatively or positively motivated. But Buddhist monasticism accorded no importance to this distinction . . .'

Under 'Dwelling-Places' (Ch.2) the author has clearly indicated the beginnings of settled monastic life, settled for three months of the Rains at any rate, and how monks and nuns were expected to travel, lodging at different monasteries as they encountered them, or staying in the forest or other suitable places if they did not. The 'settled' nature of the modern Sanghas can in no way be compared with the temporary settlement of Sangha members then. Now the Sangha on the whole has really settled down to be comfortable in this world, but this was not so easy to do when it was expected that one would move on, keep going, as long as health, weather and age permitted. Nor, of course, were those ancient Sanghas burdened by books to study.

Chapter 3 considers clothing and the author's very literal attitude to the Vinaya is well-illustrated by his treatment of the subject. He has accepted all the statements about monks' and nuns' robes without questioning them at all. His attitude is very much: this is what the Vinaya says so this is the way it was. Rather more interpretation of Vinaya matters is needed so as to avoid this extreme view of fundamentalism. This chapter treats not only of robes but has some interesting things to say on

private and communal property. Shoes also find mention, the first allowed having only 'a single strand' (Horner has 'a single lining') but this should read 'a single layer' (of the sole).

After the last two chapters it is natural to review the rules on food. The author remarks, 'So monks and nuns were only allowed to eat what they had been given . . . In this matter they were completely dependent on others like small children or hospitalized sick people'. In my work I have noted some reasons for this, a restriction that worked well enough in ancient India and even in modern Thailand but which seems strange to Westerners. Comparing monks to small children is appropriate. They are helpless, having always to be helped by other people. Whether this condition of the Helpless Monk Syndrome can long continue in our times is doubtful. Both almsround and invitations are described here with reference to the relevant rules.

A whole chapter is then devoted to the interesting subject of money. From my investigation of Vinaya in my book, as well as from experience in Asia, I have found this a particularly confused area. The author covers the same general area and quotes from the same texts but he omits totally to comment upon what happens with monks and money now in Buddhist countries. His book deals only with the texts, thereby giving perhaps a very distorted picture of what Buddhism is like at the present time.

Chapter 6 deals with Chastity (which is not a very good translation of *brahmacariya*), that is, abstaining from sexual relations and the whole range of actions which are allied to or lead up to sex. When reading Pāli texts, whether Vinaya or Sutta — which are plentifully quoted on the subject — one must not forget that they have been transmitted by monks. Generations of monks recited them and later wrote them down.

As to how reliably they transmit the Buddha's teachings is some cause for dispute. They emphasise the monastic Sanghas' activities and tell us very little about those who were teachers of Dhamma, Uggā for instance, or Visākhā, who were not ordained. As this is so, it is legitimate to enquire whether the emphasis on a chaste monastic Sangha represents the whole of the Buddha's teaching. Anyone who investigates this matter must conclude that while monks' and nuns' orders were a part of the original dispensation, there were also many learned and well-practised laypeople who reached high attainments. The Vinaya rules on a very strict *brahmacariya* begin to look decidedly strange in this light. The author devotes a long chapter to this subject, considered only with regard to the texts, but covering all the ground there.

In the next chapter he has reviewed Solitude and come out quite strongly in favour of cenobitic Sangha lifestyle that much of the Vinaya texts portray. He has not considered that the early Sangha had a variety of lifestyles available according to types of persons. This is much better illustrated by the earliest texts ('early' and 'late' are not distinguished by him), such as the Suttanipāta and the Thera-therīgāthā where evidence of the *muni* lifestyle is still visible. This is one of the weakest chapters in the book as it has not given a proper balance but has plumped for the Vinaya accounts without close examination. But this would take the author into an area where plainly he does not wish to tread. The chapter holds more than a disquisition on solitude and community life, for we are also given notes on Admission into the Community, its Rules, its Unity and its relations with lay society. In his comments on the last subject (p.129) the author describes a Sangha penalty that may be imposed on troublesome laypeople: the overturning of the bowl. Horner's Vinaya translation makes it seem as though

the bowl of the trouble-making layman is to be overturned! The present work has the monks 'in a symbolic gesture' overturning their bowls in front of that layman's house! This is also a misunderstanding for the Pāli expression of 'overturning the bowl' merely means that it would not be upright and so open for that person's offerings. This practice, like so much of the Vinaya, has not been used, possibly for centuries.

The last chapter on the Rules of the Community attempts to cover rules unmentioned so far. Principal matters are outlined but obviously details cannot be given in full. This chapter ends noting that the Buddha did not name a leader, a patriarch, to follow him. Sangha affairs were to be decided by the local Sanghas independently without a superstructure of abbots or other authority-figures. Though he does not say so, his quotations of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta and of the Gopaka-Moggallāna Sutta constitute a criticism of the modern hierarchical Sanghas.

Three appendices round off the book — on Nuns (well might they be an Appendix in Theravāda Buddhism!), Laypeople and The Precepts. A Glossary and Index complete this useful work. The scope of this book is similar to my own but of course it is much more compact, citing more Sutta references though it does not explore many Vinaya matters in detail.

Laurence Mills (formerly Phra Khantipālo)

Ed: See also Jayeeta Gangopadhyay, *Uposatha Ceremony*. The Early Traditions and Later Developments. Delhi 1991.

The Faith to Doubt: Glimpses of Buddhist Uncertainty. Stephen Batchelor, Parallax Press, Berkeley 1989. 192 pp. P/back \$10.00.

This interesting book contains a collection of short articles, essays and parts of a diary in an attempt to portray the author's encounter with the Korean variety of Zen (Son). He was for some years a Gelugpa monk who encountered Theravāda mindfulness meditation in India and then went to Korea to stay in Song-kwang-sa. There a community of Western monks and nuns had gathered round the great Master Kusan Sunim and there this book was created.

Stephen, as he is again now, found his Gelug experience rather stifling, good no doubt if one has a great deal of faith. In encountering Theravāda he chanced on the Kālāma Sutta which opened to him a new approach allowing, indeed positively encouraging, questions. The move to Son in Korea may then be seen as the resolution of this problem by developing the great doubt which lies at the centre of our being.

Readers who like the sound of this — but remember that it was produced by as well as concurrent with a great deal of meditation practice — should dip into this book for some refreshing attitudes.

Personally I liked the fragments of a twenty-fifth century dialogue somewhat in the manner of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras (Ch. Five), the account of the great Master's cremation (Ch. Seven) and the Appendix: The Chinese Lesson. In the last, parallels are drawn between the introduction of Buddhism into China and its present entry into the West. This piece particularly repays reading again and reflection.

More practical and philosophical writings fill the remainder of the book. All of them indicate to us that the way to overcome doubt is not to stifle it with an eiderdown of beliefs but to be courageous in careful examination of questions with appropriate action to follow.

Laurence Mills

Teachings of a Buddhist Monk. Ajahn Sumedho. Edited by Diana St Ruth. Foreword by Jack Kornfield. (Buddhist Publication Group) Sharpham North 1990. 109 pp., illustrated. £4.99.

This little book, delightfully illustrated by Marcelle Hanselaar, contains eight selected talks by the distinguished abbot of Amarāvati. In the forest tradition, they are all extempore talks, and they cover various aspects of Buddhist life. Jack Kornfield's foreword gives some account of Ven. Sumedho's early struggles and summarises his teaching thus: 'All his teaching points to an immediate mindfulness of this very body and mind. It is not through philosophy or special practices, but here that wisdom arises . . . To live the holy life, the life of freedom, is to stand nowhere, to possess nothing, to take no fixed position, to open to what is, moment after moment'. All the talks are really variations on this theme. Thus in the first talk, 'Let Go of Fire', he points out that to grasp at a fire, however pretty, is painful. Going on to mindfulness, he points out that even amid distractions we can be mindful: 'Being aware of confusion is also being mindful' (p.21). In the second talk, the two 'tools' are discussed: concentration/tranquillisation and the development of insight. Both are basically simple but not necessarily easy at first.

Other chapters deal with all that can be accomplished by contemplating one exhalation at a time, the nature of the whining, complaining mind, the 'unfairness' of life, the uselessness of worrying, and so on, and, especially, 'being the knowing'. In the last chapter he recalls his annoyance at a senior monk who 'would not pass the cakes' and indicates how we can use difficult situations as material for contemplation. But perhaps the message is best summed up in a paragraph on

p.37: 'Through awareness we no longer identify and attach to, such thoughts — this is liberation into immortality. And we cannot conceive. Can we conceive of anything that does not begin and end? What is the beginning of immortality? And what is the end of it? We can philosophize about it till doomsday — it will not help at all. So we bring our practice down to practical living, right now in the present moment, to awareness in the present moment, from one moment to the next. It is through resolute, constant awareness that we develop'.

Maurice Walshe

Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Die zweite Drehung des Dharma-Rades. Hans Wolfgang Schumann. Diederichs, Munich 1990. 215 pp. DM32.

The author of this book had a brief career in journalism, but eventually opted for the study of Indology and comparative religion. From 1961-63 he lectured at Banaras Hindu University but, as no permanent academic appointment was forthcoming, he entered the diplomatic service. He is now the German Consul-General in Bombay. English readers may remember him from his earlier survey of Buddhist teachings and schools which was translated into English at the instigation of the reviewer by a research student of his for the benefit of students in his undergraduate course in Mahāyāna Buddhism, as it was a useful handbook of important Buddhist schools and their terminological peculiarities, even though it gave only slight surveys of the doctrine (*Buddhism: An Outline of its Teachings and Schools*, London 1973).

The present book, covering virtually the same ground, certainly has much more substance than its predecessor but,

should it also be translated, it would now have to compete with a large number of substantial books on Mahāyāna Buddhism which have appeared in English in the past fifteen years or so.

The author starts in his 'Foreword' with a reference to the image of the three turnings of the 'Wheel of the Doctrine' [adapted by later schools from the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, the first discourse of the Buddha]. The second turning is ascribed to the 'transcendent' Buddha who revealed the Prajñāpāramitā and Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtras and the third push was given to the wheel by Ādi Buddha in revealing the Tantras. A short introduction, called 'From Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna', then briefly outlines the transitory period of sectarian splits with the characteristics of those schools from which the system of Mahāyāna drew some of its ideas, viz. Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika, Mahāsaṅghika and Lokottaravāda, and ends with a list of the fourteen most important Mahāyāna sūtras.

The book is then divided into three sections. The first, 'The Philosophy of Mahāyāna Monism', deals with the systems of Śūnyatāvāda and Vijñānavāda. The former is derived, in the author's presentation, from the Buddha's *anatta* or 'no-self' doctrine, 'no-self' and 'empty' (*śūnya*) being synonyms. Emptiness then becomes the abiding, absolute and unconditioned dharma immanent both in Saṃsāra and Nirvāna, which led to the monistic philosophy of emptiness (developed already in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā). With emptiness inherent in all beings, they must be, on the absolute level, identical. Since the absolute represents salvation, i.e. Buddhahood, everybody is inherently already saved, everybody is a Buddha, only 'the Buddha is aware of his own Buddha-nature, while the worldling is not'. Liberation comes with this knowledge, namely with the 'perfection of wisdom'. Being difficult to develop, but easy to revere, a cult developed around it until Prajñāpāramitā came to be described

as 'Mother of all Buddhas' and was worshipped as a female bodhisattva who could be asked to help in the process of liberation. The author deals also with the philosophical problems of the existence of things and of the reality of the world and Nāgārjuna's contribution to the development of the school in the sense of a new formulation of the 'middle way' which gave it its second name, Madhyamaka.

As to the second school, that of consciousness or 'mind-only', in the author's view, 'already the historical Buddha Gautama derived the subjective existence of the world from consciousness' and to illustrate it he quotes a passage from D 11 and the better known passage from A 4, 45, 3 ('In this fathom-long body . . .') which reappears in the Sanskrit version of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, the basic source of Vijñānavāda thought. The author explains its teaching on three modes of existence: (1) the imagined (*kalpita*) world of objects is just thought-consciousness (*manovijñāna*) and does not exist outside the (universal) mind (*citta*); (2) the subject of this process, the I, is also a product of thought (*manas*) within *citta*; (3) in the absolute sense only mind (*cittamātra*) exists and harbours as ground- or store-consciousness (*alāyavijñāna*) the seeds of the subject-object world. This, according to the author, is an absolute idealism which does not need the concept of emptiness for what it regards as non-existent, but borrows the concept of two levels of truth to explain ignorance which causes the world to seem real. However, it can be overcome by a sudden act of knowledge brought about by previous sustained effort which entails discipline, study and meditation, i.e., the practice of yoga (which gave the school its second designation, Yogācāra). Then it is recognised that all being mind only, there is no difference between Saṃsāra and Nirvāna. Further attention is then given to Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, followed by a brief look at Zen

Buddhism.

The second section, 'Buddhas of Time, Buddhas of Space, Ādi Buddha', gives a survey of the Buddhas of the past from the Pāli sources, starting with Dīpaṅkara and ending with Gotama as the twenty-fifth one. After dealing with the transformation of the Lokottaravāda school, the author proceeds to the systems of 'transcendent Buddhas' of Mahāyāna combined with the Trikāya doctrine. While Pāli sources denied the possibility of the appearance of more than one Buddha at a time, Mahāyāna envisages, already in the Saddharmapūṇḍarīka Sūtra, the coexistence of many Buddhas, each looking after a different world system from his own paradise (*buddhakṣetra*), an intermediary sphere on the threshold of Nirvāṇa. This development led to popular cults, that of the Amitābha/Amida being the most influential among them. A certain system was brought into the profusion of these space Buddhas by the development of the *maṇḍala* of five [Dhyāni] Buddhas (with their retinues of bodhisattvas), one for each direction, and the central one as Ādi Buddha whom the author regards as the product of Mahāyāna monism, the personified Absolute with which all Buddhas are identical.

The final section deals with the 'Bodhisattva Path' as described in various sources and distinguishes the active path, with its training in perfections which proceeds through ten stages, and a passive path which is open to followers of one of the transcendent Bodhisattvas who made a solemn vow to save all beings, the most popular among them being Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, later joined by Tārā.

The book is a reasonably comprehensive overview of the field of Mahāyāna Buddhism with useful hints about the connections to earlier schools and Pāli sources. It also gives quite substantial extracts from the sources in translation to illustrate

the teachings and supplement the author's expositions. Its main drawback is the author's misleading interpretation of Mahāyāna as a monistic philosophy. He appears to view many of the textual pronouncements uttered by transcendent Buddhas and bodhisattvas in their many conversations as categorical ontological statements and the Mahāyāna philosophers as system builders in the vein of the German idealistic tradition. Yet not even the Lankāvatāra Sūtra can justifiably be interpreted that way (despite the works of D.T. Suzuki); all Mahāyāna texts and philosophical works appear, on careful analysis, rather vague about the nature of the ultimate achievement, just as the Buddha always avoided answering definite questions with ontological purport. In both cases the purpose is to stir the mind and turn it to practice so that the final vision becomes a matter of experience rather than of anticipated conceptual understanding.

A similar reservation must be expressed with respect to the author's statements about Ādi Buddha and Dharmakāya where 'all Buddhas are identical' and which is 'duality-free' and 'another name for the Absolute in which everybody, knowingly or unknowingly, participates'. One should further bear in mind that many of the author's descriptions are, unavoidably in a popularisation, simplifications of the intricate Mahāyāna doctrines. However, with these reservations in mind, the book can be regarded as a very useful introduction to the vast area of Mahāyāna developments, made attractive also by its illustrations with captions explaining their iconography.

Karel Werner

A Thousand Journeys. The Biography of Lama Anagarika Govinda. Ken Winkler. Element Books, Shaftesbury 1990. 182 pp., illustrated. P/back £8.95.

This is the first biography of a most remarkable personality among Western converts to and practitioners of Buddhism. Born Ernst Lothar Hoffmann in Kassel, Germany, at the turn of the century, he had already become drawn to studying different religions, including Buddhism, by his teens. The war caught up with him in 1916 when he was called up. He contracted tuberculosis while serving, but his condition was later cured. After university studies in Switzerland and Italy he settled for a time on Capri and wrote his first book, on Buddhism and the idea of God, in 1920. He also discovered that he could paint and various influences led him to archaeological studies of Stone Age monuments in the Mediterranean, for which he received a fellowship. He utilised his field-work experience of ancient tumuli when his interest turned to the study of Buddhist monuments, particularly the stūpa.

In 1928/9 he moved to Ceylon to study under the renowned monk Nyanatiloka Mahāthera, who was also German born. There he became Brahmācāri Govinda. Together they then travelled in Burma where Govinda obtained the status of an *anāgarika*. Back in Ceylon, he received an invitation to an international Buddhist conference in Darjeeling in his capacity as General Secretary of the International Buddhist Union. This changed his life. Stranded on his travels by bad weather for several days in the Ghoom monastery near Darjeeling, he experienced a transformation in his perception of Buddhism and found in its Tibetan form a spiritual dimension which was fully alive and contemporary, yet represented an uninterrupted continuity from the past centuries. When he met the renowned Tomo Geshé Rinpoche, he became his pupil and was initiated by him. Through his guidance he acquired a direction which he was to follow all his life, maturing into a competent teacher and interpreter of living Buddhism to the West. At his teacher's

instigation Govinda founded the Society and Vajrayāna Buddhist Order 'Arya Maitreya Mandala' which now has its headquarters in Germany, with members and branches in several other countries.

Govinda never returned to Ceylon, and the book then describes his studies and activities in India and gives surveys and sometimes vivid pictures of his travels in Tibet, the most important of which were later undertaken together with his wife Li Gotami. He first met her around 1933, when she was studying and he was teaching in Tagore's University in Shantiniketan, but they married only in 1947. In between he suffered wartime internment in Premanagar where he struck up a lifelong friendship with Nyanaponika Thera, another German-born Buddhist monk brought there from Ceylon. The most arduous and adventurous journey the husband and wife team undertook was to the ancient abandoned city of Tsaparang in Western Tibet. Here they copied priceless frescoes, most of which were later destroyed during the Chinese 'cultural revolution'.

Acquaintance with Evans-Wentz led to the pair's settling down on his estate in Almora, which became known to many Western visitors and readers of Govinda's books as Kasar Devi Ashram. Here many important conversations took place which had a direct or indirect influence on Buddhist activities throughout the world. Among visitors was Sangharakshita, who later founded (The Friends of) the Western Buddhist Order. Their stay in the sub-Himalayan refuge was interrupted by travels to Europe for the sake of providing personal guidance and teaching for the members and friends of AMM, but fame brought invitations to lecture in universities, colleges and Buddhist organisations in the USA with protracted stays. Deteriorating conditions in India and better publishing oppor-

tunities eventually led to a decision to remain in the USA for good, and the Lama passed away there in early 1985. Li Gotami then returned to her family in India where she died in three years later.

This is a most welcome book and every reader of Govinda's works will find it useful and will be delighted by some of its photographs. Readers who do not know his books will no doubt immediately start hunting for his best known and loved autobiographical work, *The Way of the White Clouds*, on which the author draws heavily in parts. In some passages the depth and calibre of Govinda's personality come through, but on the whole the book leaves a lot to be desired. The author is obviously not an experienced writer and certainly not a biographer. We have, of course, to concede that it could not have been an easy task to try to assemble basic materials for a full and more detailed life story in face of the fact that the Lama, as it seems, never kept a diary or any continuous records of his life and, although an excellent narrator and conversationalist, it was always difficult to make him talk about himself. Nevertheless, one cannot escape the impression that the author did not make best use of his opportunity of frequent visits to the couple during their years in the USA. This may well be true also of his interviews with those who knew Govinda and of his approach to finding and researching written sources. Still, as a first life sketch the book will serve well, not least also as a reminder that another biography which would be thoroughly researched and draw also on German sources is needed.

Lama Govinda certainly deserves it. His was an unusually balanced personality which the reviewer had the good fortune of experiencing in seminar sessions and personal encounters in Germany. He was an artist (poet and painter), a philosopher, a master of the spoken as well as the written word, both in

English and German, an experienced meditator and a supreme performer and reciter of *mantras* when conducting rituals which, with him, were never dull or routine but endowed with meaning — they were true 'meditations made visible'. He was also a true teacher who could address those who approached him on the appropriate level. Much of his deeper transmissions may never become public. Just as he was reticent about what was going on during his encounters with his teachers, so his direct pupils may similarly keep their experiences to themselves. The next step now would be if Dr Gottmann, the successor of Lama Govinda in the leadership of the AMM, could be persuaded to write the next biography.

Karel Werner

The Civilizations of Asia. Before the European Challenge. Jaroslav Krejčí. Macmillan Press, London 1990. xiv, 348 pp. £37.50.

When the author prepared this book for publication, he could not have foreseen that it would come out at a time when his native country, from which he had emigrated after the Soviet invasion in 1968, would have cast off the chains of Communist rule under which it had languished for nearly forty-two years with only a month's respite during the 'Prague Spring'. His background was in economics and at one time he had served in the Czechoslovak Central Union of Commerce and even held positions in the Czechoslovak State Bank and the Academy of Sciences. Professionally, he did not survive the Communist putsch of 1948 for very long and in the 1950s he found himself in a labour camp, with the relatively easy task of grinding glass for chandeliers (other, less fortunate, undesirable intellectuals

were languishing in heavy industrial jobs, in Bohemian uranium mines or on construction sites). Whilst engaged in this work his mind was free to ponder the problems of human existence and from economics his interest shifted to socio-historical perspectives, prompted to some degree by his knowledge of the works of Sorokin and Toynbee, both of whom were powerful challengers of the Marxist ideology which ruled around him. When released in 1960, he developed his own ideas about the rise and fall of the fortunes of mankind as it developed various civilisations and let them slip away again. After a brief return to economics during the Dubček era, he emigrated to Britain where he found an interesting appointment in the Faculty of Arts at Lancaster University as an inter-departmental lecturer on social structures and developments, which included a course on the role of religion in that context for the Department of Religious Studies; his previous studies of non-European civilisations now acquired a new use as well as a fresh perspective. However, it was only his retirement as Professor Emeritus which enabled him to return to what by then became his *tour de force*, and the present book is the result.

In his introduction to this grandiose survey of civilisations, the author points out that it is only Europeans who have ever shown the irresistible drive to explore the whole globe. Other peoples, when they developed their high cultures, tended to 'rest on their oars' and, consequently, they now busy themselves in imitating and absorbing those elements of European civilisation which have made it so powerful and influential, particularly its science and technology, but also some of its humanitarian values such as personal liberty and greater equality between people, although some signs of resistance to this process have manifested themselves in most of the non-European spheres, e.g. in the militant Islamic backlash or in the partial revival of

traditionalist values in India and Japan.

In dealing with individual civilisations, the author presents their specific paths to prominence and peak achievement, describes their social structures and cultural successes and pays special attention to the religious perspective within them. When surveying the ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian achievements, the author comments on the 'mythopoetic' nature of their world-views. In Egypt 'everything revolved around a fantastic world of spiritual forces', but in spite of that the belief was that, provided he learned the rules that governed the world, man could take his fate into his own hands and even find salvation beyond. In the multi-ethnic Mesopotamian context man felt himself more like a servant, if not a mere puppet, in the hands of the gods — a much more resigned attitude, compensated for by focussing on empire-building in this world, rather than a futile search for immortality. Both these civilisations perished, but some of their features have been carried over even into modern times by peoples whose ancestors lived on their fringes but later played a more prominent role in the march of history. The Phoenicians transformed writing from the cuneiform script to the phonetic alphabet and carried it around the Mediterranean world in the trail of the commercial ventures. The Hebrews wrote the first full story of the creation of the world and crystallised the idea of one God, which may have originated with the Egyptian Akhenaten.

With the Iranians we meet the first Aryans (Indo-Europeans) in the book and they have been very influential in history, with Zarathustra's dualism still to some extent traceable in Christianity, then in the wars and cultural encounters with Greece and Hellenism, in Manichaeism connections with medieval heresies, in softening Islam somewhat with Sufi trends, and in the complicated situation in modern Middle Eastern

politics, though the latter is no concern of the book.

India gets coverage from the pre-historic Harappan civilisation to the onset of colonialism. The great achievement of the Vedas was the notion of a cosmic and moral order (*ṛta*) projected in human terms into the karmic law governing metempsychosis from which liberation was sought by various means. Buddhism elaborated the concepts, but does not differ in aim from Hindu schools. Yet it liberated Indian society from the constraints of rigid caste regulations, at least for a time, and from the ban on foreign travel, thus enabling the spread of Indian civilisation to South-East Asia. Some attention is also given to the emergence of Mahāyāna described, not quite accurately, as the split in Buddhism, and its aspect of the 'happy end' for the individual as well as on the cosmic level is highlighted. Nevertheless, the 'Pan-Indian Synthesis', dominating also much of the South-East Asian scene, has the garb of revitalised Hinduism, based especially on the Epics, although softened by Buddhist ethics. The inroads of Islam into the area brought new imperial regrouping, but in effect paved the way for the colonial powers.

China also receives a substantial chapter. More practical than India, it had the technological edge until the sixteenth century, but the lack of feeling for generalisations and abstractions due to the peculiarities of the Chinese language and script was not favourable to developing real science. Instead, it was bureaucratic pedantism making use of the Confucian value system which ruled, while the emotional and spiritually creative elements were supplied by Taoism and Buddhism. Modern European technology brought even this colossus under indirect Western domination, only to lead to the tragic result of its adopting Europe's Communist ideology in asserting its independence from Europe, again a feature which the book does

not touch upon.

A short final chapter entitled 'The Rythm of the Far East: Reception and Adaptation' deals with the countries to which China radiated its overpowering civilisation: Korea, Japan and Vietnam with Laos and Cambodia. Japan developed a unique symbiosis of its own Shintō tradition with adapted forms of Chinese Buddhism before the appearance of Western gunboats forced it into integration with the modern world.

The book falls within the tradition of the great continental surveys which used to flourish in Germany and is still alive in France, and it certainly fills a gap in the Anglo-Saxon scene with its bias towards hard specialisation and suspicion of comprehensive works of scholarship, especially when written by one person. At the same time, the book is not as voluminous as it would be if it had been conceived in Germany and it does not try, as a French work might do, to discover an underlying unifying trend in the evolution of civilisations to be realised in the future. In fact, the book represents in my view an essential comparative mosaic of knowledge about Oriental civilisations, which everybody who is interested in any of their individual facets should possess in order to fit his chosen subject into context. Buddhists are likely to find that the line of thought and interpretation evident in the book, besides being firmly rooted in sober yet open-minded European rationalism, has much in common with the Buddhist way of looking at and evaluating human endeavours in social and cultural fields. A well written and very readable book.

Karel Werner

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO BSR 9, 2

1 — NOTES ON THE UDĀNA, by J.D. Ireland:

p.143, l.10: for 'Their origin' read 'The tradition of their origin'.

p.144, l.10: for 'complexion' read 'colour'.

p.146, l.16: for 'Mahādeva' read 'Mādhava'.

2 — Review of Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden:

p.210, l.3: for 'between 1985 and 1989' read 'between 1955 . . . '.

p.211, l.6: for 'Mūlasarvāstivādin' read 'Mūlasarvāstivāda'.

p.212, l.3: for 'DhpA' read 'Dhp-a'.

p.212, n.4, l.1: for '*Untersuchungen der . . .*' read '*Untersuchungen zur . . .*'.

p.213, ll.14-15: for 'Those, who do not believe this fact,' read 'Those, who do not perceive . . . '.

p.214, l.24, at 'ribaldry' add new footnote 'Cf. Papan̄casūanī III, 90 (Thai ed., 1920): *aṇḍahārako 'ti ādi duṭṭhullavacanam 'pī*'.

p.215, l.13: for 'Hybrid Buddhist' read 'Buddhist Hybrid'.

3 — Obituaries:

p.193: N.N. Poppe died 8 June 1991.

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