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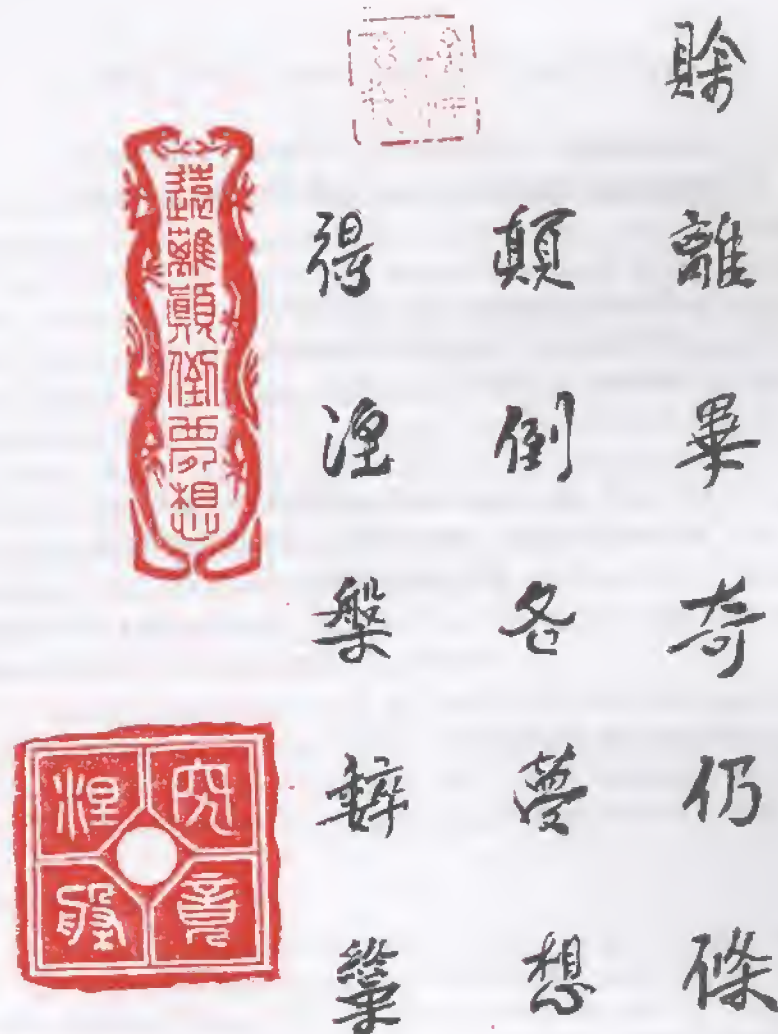
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Frontispiece: the calligraphy in Sino-Vietnamese characters (Nôm) by Ven Thích Huyền-Vi reads:

*"Having transcended all illusions,
in the end he [the Bodhisattva]
attains to Nirvāṇa."*

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

THE ĀSAVA AND THE ARIYA-SĀVAKA

John D. Ireland

An important purpose of the practice of the Buddhist Path, the discipline of *sīla*, the cultivation of self-control and mindfulness and so forth, is to discontinue the production of the *āsava*, the flow of defilements. It is these that dull the mind and prevent the arising of understanding, of insight. The *āsava* come to an end finally in the enlightenment of the arahant. The word *āsava* means 'influx' or 'an outflow' that overwhelms.¹ It seems to mean both 'inflow' and 'outflow' of defilements¹ and is actually more nearly synonymous with *ogha* than is perhaps recognised. The *ogha* or 'flood' is that which bears one along in Saṃsāra, that 'overwhelms the sleeping village' (Dhp 47), that 'drowns in the ocean of Saṃsāra'. In the earlier suttas the term *ogha* occurs more frequently than *āsava*.

Āsava is connected with the burden of past kamma awaiting fruition in future lives². Thus the arahant, by destroying the *āsava* has destroyed the kamma that would otherwise produce its effect in future lives, or at least attenuate it. See, for

1 See I.B. Horner's *Middle Length Sayings* I, pxxiii, for the meaning of *āsava*.

2 That the Jains understood the term in this sense is evident from a passage in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, where the Jain disciple Vappa says, '... there may be, sir, a formerly done evil deed, its result not (yet) ripened, because of which influxes (*āsavā*) to be experienced as suffering would flow in upon (*assaveyyum*) a man in a future life' (A II, p.196). It is possible the Buddhists adopted the term from the Jains.

example, Aṅgulimāla's suffering three blows to the head and the Buddha's remarks about it in M 86, that he should endure it as he is experiencing the results of kamma that would otherwise have resulted in him being born in hell. It is the *āsava*-flow that impels one on into future births (*punabbhava*): the flow of sensuality (*kāma*), ignorance (*avijjā*) and being (*bhava*). There is also a fourth, (wrong) views (*diṭṭhi*), that was added to the *āsava*, but this ought perhaps to be covered by *avijjā*. It should be noted that *avijjā* is not merely the absence of knowledge or ignorance, but means false or wrong understanding resulting in wrong views and speculative knowledge. The negative prefix 'a-' has six different meanings of which absence is only one. The 'a-' in *avijjā* has the same function as in *adhamma* which is recognised as not merely meaning the absence of 'righteousness', but positive 'wickedness' as applied, for instance, to the behaviour of Devadatta³. *Adharmaḥ* is the example given in Sanskrit grammar for this use of the prefix 'a-'.

The arahant, the *khīnāsavo* — 'he in whom the *āsava* are destroyed' — by realising that the *āsava* are no more, can truly affirm, 'Finished is birth . . .' *khīnajāti*, etc., i.e. the kamma that would otherwise lead to another birth and keep it in being is no more. Thus the realisation that the *āsava* are destroyed is the same as realising that rebirth will no longer occur, the necessary reason or conditions for the future birth no longer exist. If the destruction is not complete, the alternative is *anāgāmitāya*, non-returning.

It is because the anāgāmin still has some *bhavāsava* that he continues to 'become' and arises in the Brahma-world of the Pure Abodes. As the sotāpanna and sakadāgāmin are not rid of

3 See Itivuttaka, sutta 89.

the *āsava* (specifically the *kāmāsava*) they will continue to be born among devas and men in the Kāmaloka. However, much of their past kamma has been destroyed so they will not continue in Saṃsāra for long and are completely excluded from the lower realms, the *apāya*. It is, apparently, at the moment of stepping onto the Path, the *ariya-magga*, that a large amount of the burden of past kamma awaiting fruition is destroyed, altered or becomes inoperative. And therefore, it is at this moment also that it is decided whether or not the *āsava*-flow will dry up in that lifetime or will continue to flow for a little longer, but not longer than another seven births, according to the Buddha. As it is connected with past kamma which is so complex and varied for each individual and as a deed already done cannot be undone, a person has no choice in the matter of whether he becomes a sotāpanna, sakadāgāmin, anāgāmin or arahant. All this leads to the startling conclusion that, at the time of the Buddha, contrary to what came to be believed in later times, an individual did not progress from sotāpanna, etc., through to arahant, but that the four paths and fruits were originally considered to be alternative attainments. By definition the arahant attains the fruition of the path, *arhatta-phala*, and extinction (*parinibbāna*) 'here and now' in this present life. The anāgāmin, however, cannot do this, he has missed the opportunity and must continue on to the Pure Abodes and attain extinction 'there', being unable to return 'here' to this life again. For the sotāpanna and sakadāgāmin it is not stated how they will attain Parinibbāna, so it is uncertain as to their fate. It is possible they will attain it at the moment of death at the end of their last birth.

The simile is given in the suttas (e.g. M 105) of a man struck with a poisoned arrow. A surgeon is obtained who extracts the arrow, drains the poison and cleans up the wound.

He advises the patient to look after the wound, anoint it and wash it from time to time, cover it and keep it clean so that it will heal completely. As the patient follows this advice the wound soon heals. In another case, although the wound was not completely drained of the poison, this does not matter. By following the surgeon's advice of looking after the wound, it does heal as in the first case, although it might possibly take a little longer to do so. However, the situation exists where someone else is treated by the surgeon and the arrow extracted, but he ignores the advice given to look after the wound. The poison that is left behind does its work and, being contaminated by dust and dirt, the wound festers and discharges causing the death of the patient.

The surgeon, of course, is the Buddha. The poisoned arrow is craving, the cause of suffering or the state of needing treatment. By extracting the arrow and draining the poison the Buddha is showing what is 'health' or Nibbāna. Thereafter, it is up to the person concerned to attend to his own wound, that is, to tread the Path so that complete health or Parinibbāna is finally attained. The first case is that of the arahant, the next in which a variable amount of poison (ignorance, *avijjāsava*) still remains behind are those on the three lower paths. Finally, there is the person who ignores the advice of the Buddha, does not enter the Path or goes off on a wrong path (see M 107). He, presumably, by not stepping onto the Path does not become an *ariya-puggala* and his *āsava* continue to be produced and increase and accumulate. Reverting or falling away, 'giving up the training', is called 'death' elsewhere in the suttas.

That the sotāpanna is said to be born only up to seven

more times at the most should probably not be taken literally⁴ The number seven merely means a few times and is not intended to be precise. In the Abhisamaya Saṃyutta (S II, p.136) is given the simile of the seven balls of clay set beside the great earth, meaning an infinitesimal small amount. Thus, for the *ariya-sāvaka* the past kamma awaiting fruition, the huge burden carried from birth to birth, has all been wiped out and only a minute quantity is left.

The arahant is called an *asekha*, one who has finished the training, but the sotāpanna, etc., are called *sekha* who still have work to be done to realise their goal. In the case of the anāgāmin it is minimal and originally it seems there was only a technical difference between the anāgāmin and the arahant; both were assumed to have attained their goal. However, the sotāpanna and the sakadāgāmin have to be trained in cultivating the Eightfold Path, and especially the last three factors. They lack the experience of meditation practice, of *jhāna* and *samādhi*, that is needed to realise the fruition of the Path and the further factors of Right Knowledge and Deliverance possessed by the arahant.

4 Note the seven years reduced to seven days at the end of the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta; the number seven is again probably used as a figure of speech not to be taken literally. However, the mention elsewhere of being born a brahmin back through seven generations means a large number, although again still an indefinite and arbitrary figure.

THERĪGĀTHĀ : ON FEMINISM, AESTHETICISM AND
RELIGIOSITY IN AN EARLY BUDDHIST VERSE
ANTHOLOGY (Part I)

Vijitha Rajapakse

I

The ancient Buddhist verse anthology known as the Therīgāthā (Thig) attracted the attention of some of the earliest Western Pāli scholars¹ and actually became the focus of many admiring comments from a very notable woman among them, Caroline Rhys Davids (who also rendered the anthology into metrical English²). Enquirers into the status of women within the Thera-

1 Therīgāthā, a gathering of 73 versified religious articulations in canonical Pāli, and attributed to women members of the Buddhist Order (therīs or bhikkhūṇīs) are traditionally juxtaposed to a much larger companion collection authored by their male counterparts, the Theragāthā (Thag). These two anthologies (which date back to the earliest period of Buddhist history, though committed to writing perhaps only around 80 BCE), were first printed in the West late in the 19th century in versions edited by R. Pischel and H. Oldenberg respectively. Their conjoint edition revised with appendices by K.R. Norman and L. Alsdorf (*The Thera and Therī Gāthā*, PTS 1966) remains the standard text, and as such will be the source of our references hereafter.

2 Mrs Rhys Davids published her translation of Thig as *Psalms of the Sisters* (1909) and that of Thag as *Psalms of the Brothers* (1913), incorporating into each commentarial elucidations taken from Dhammapāla's Paramatadīpanī. This particular order (which reverses the traditional one) is still retained in the single volume edition of the two translations now available as *Psalms of the Early Buddhists* (PTS 1980). Although English prose versions of the two anthologies have been brought out (cf. K.R. Norman, tr., *Elders' Verses* (PTS 1969-71), this article will use the Rhys Davids translation. In citations hereafter (both in the text and footnotes), *Psalms of the Sisters* is abbreviated to PsS; *Psalms of the Brethren* as PsB. It should be noted that in her Introduction to PsS Mrs Rhys Davids went to some lengths in highlighting the uniqueness and

vāda tradition in particular have time and again drawn this remarkable text³ into their various disquisitions⁴. Yet its content (which has a complex significance and, especially when viewed from present-day perspectives, encompasses many strands of meaning), does not seem to have been very closely scrutinised so far. Indeed, though Thig can be said to present an unusually

value of Thig. Not only did she reject the attempts of K.E. Neumann (the German translator of both *gāthā* collections) to cast doubt on the feminine authorship of Thig, but she also sought to stress the fact that the 'rare and remarkable utterances' enshrined in this anthology are indeed 'profoundly and perennially interesting as expressions of the religious mind, universal and unconquerable' (PsS, pp.xix, xxiii).

3 The Thig text deserves recognition as one of the oldest religiously reflective documents whose authority is attributable to a group of women. In commenting on the feminine viewpoints articulated here, Mrs Rhys Davids drew attention to the need to remember that rarely 'since the patriarchal age set in has woman succeeded in so breaking through her barriers as to set on lasting record the expression of herself and of things as they appeared to her' (PsS, p.xxiii).

4 In this connection, the following writings are noteworthy: M.E. Lullius van Goor, *Die Buddhistische Non* (Leiden 1915), I.B. Horner, *Women under Primitive Buddhism* (London 1930, Amsterdam 1975, Delhi 1990), Meena Talim, *Woman in Early Buddhist Literature* (Univ. of Bombay 1972), R. Pitzer-Reyl, *Die Frau im frühen Buddhismus* (Berlin 1984) and Susan Murcott, *The First Buddhist Women* (Berkeley 1991). The general instructiveness of Thag and Thig to the historian of religion has also been underscored in certain accounts of Buddhism, albeit in a fleeting manner. Thus, Ninian Smart (*The Religious Experience of Mankind*, New York 1969, p.98) for instance, refers to the 'tenderness' and 'sense of beauty' in some of the *gāthās*, and points out that the poetry of the early monks and nuns 'help us realize that Buddhism was continuous with, even though transcendent to, the world around it'. There is again some recognition (though inchoate) of the relevance of these *gāthās* to a grasp of esoteric details of Buddhism's psychological bases, cf. Rune E.A. Johansson, *The Dynamic Psychology of Early Buddhism* (London 1985).

attractive context for multidisciplinary investigation, it is doubtful whether this has been seriously recognised by modern researchers in Buddhist studies. The discussion in this article endeavours to make some amends for this situation by initiating a brief (though nevertheless somewhat broad-based) reflective analysis of the anthology which might serve as a catalyst towards a more thorough-going revaluation of Thig and its Commentary. What follows will first highlight the feminist dimension in a selection of the *gāthās* (whose women authors not unnaturally were often acutely conscious of their femininity, *itthibhāvo*), next draw attention to the character and scope of the philosophic viewpoints and aesthetic and poetic perceptions that are woven into some of them, and finally, dwell on the religiosity that suffuses and indeed gives unity to the anthology, underscoring above all the Buddhist⁵ inspiration and roots of this religiosity. The following discussion is mainly sustained by a process of primary reflection on Thig; yet our clarifications will on occasion acquire a comparative character, entailing not only a consideration of the insights developed in other Pāli textual sources, but also those set forth in a fairly wide range of Western philosophical and literary works as well as religious writings⁶.

5 It should be noted that 'Buddhist' and 'Buddhism' as used in this article refer to the standpoints of the Theravāda tradition of early Buddhism.

6 The comparative aspect in our proposed revaluative exercise hereafter, it should be noted, is not idiosyncratic (or for that matter dysfunctional) even when considered from a purely exegetical standpoint. Mrs Rhys Davids, for instance, seems to have been notably persuaded that the thoughts and feelings expressed in the interesting settings of these *gāthās* merit examination from wider perspectives; and closing her Introduction to Thig, she actually drew attention to the new illumination that can result from an application of comparative insights on the ancient Buddhist religious articulations (cf. PsS, pp.li-lii).

II

Conventional approaches allow little room to assume that the articulations of religious and philosophical perspectives are notably affected by gender considerations — that is to say, the biological difference between man and woman, male and female. Yet the distinctive gender character of both thinking and viewing has on occasion been strikingly highlighted in certain philosophical circles⁷ and it is, in any event, an important recognition among contemporary feminists. Now when viewed against the background of these circumstances in particular, Thig strikes one as an interestingly instructive text. For what is encountered here is not only an ancient religious verse anthology of women's authorship, but also one which, more significantly, often bears witness in revealing terms to women's distinctive association with and appropriation of the Buddha's soteriological teachings. Feminism as a stance that focuses upon and argues for the rights of women in the social world is of course not seriously underscored or projected in this text (though, as will be shown shortly, it is noteworthy that it does on occasion stress the

7 In *The Subjection of Women* (1869), John Stuart Mill, for example, expressed the view that the 'knowledge men can acquire of women' will indeed be 'wretchedly imperfect and superficial and always bound to remain so until women themselves have told all they have to tell' (*Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* 21, Toronto 1981, p.271). The sociologically minded German philosopher Georg Simmel went much further and characterised civilisation as an essentially masculine one, mirroring in the main the gender distinctive biases and perceptions of just one sex. The ideas in some of Simmel's essays (especially the collection entitled *Philosophische Kultur*) have lately been considered to be seminal in scope, providing 'a new point of view' from which to examine the role of gender in human reflective activities. Cf. Karen Horney, 'The Flight from Womanhood', *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 7 (1926).

equality of women and men in the mental sphere in somewhat rhetorical terms). However, feminism in another sense is very much in evidence in the work: indeed, Thig is replete with articulations that record some characteristic viewpoints, experiences, attitudes and thought patterns of women. How exactly does feminism thus understood manifest itself here? As already hinted, notwithstanding the frequent contemporary use of Thig to clarify the backgrounds of the earliest members of the Buddhist Order (and also for the larger purpose of gaining insights into women's association with Buddhism during its early formative stages)⁸, the variety of distinctively feminine perspectives that figure in these *gāthās* do not seem to have attracted much specific attention in recent times. Notable cross-culturally conceived feminist critiques of this decade show no awareness of Thig⁹, and the characteristic preoccupations with womanhood and the feminine that come to the fore in this setting are also apt to be overlooked in conventional expositions of Buddhist thought (where sensitivity to gender considerations is still non-existent or inchoate)¹⁰. Yet there is much that is noteworthy in

8 Cf. works cited in n. 4 above and also the following which occasionally use the text to illustrate many secondary details relating to early Buddhism's background: Dev Raj, *L'esclavage dans l'Inde ancienne d'après les textes palis et sanskrits* (Pondichéry 1957), Uma Chakravarti, *The Social Dimension of Early Buddhism* (Delhi 1987), Richard Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Banaras to Modern Colombo* (London 1988).

9 Cf. Marilyn French, *Beyond Power: Women, Men and Morals* (London and New York 1985).

10 However, that gender impacts on thought, it should be noted, is an important contemporary recognition. The ways in which it has influenced the development of Western philosophical ideas, for instance, has been the subject of several recent studies, cf. G. Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: 'Male' and 'Female' in Western Philosophy* (London 1984). See also M. Vetterling-Braggin

the feminine perspectives that find expression in Thig, and an examination of them is perhaps the most appropriate point of departure for our present discussion.

Considered overall, what the verses of Thig record in different ways is just one central thing: the success of committed Buddhist soteriological endeavours. Hence the Buddhist character of this text might impress many as not only paramount, but finally to overshadow the feminine origins of its contents. However, it needs to be reiterated that the fact that the endeavours in question were those of women, though admittedly of mainly secondary importance to a purely religious estimation of the text, is nevertheless of great significance to a gender sensitive enquiry. For many verses of individual therīs (especially when viewed against the background of the relevant commentarial clarification) indeed tend to reveal fascinatingly distinctive feminine perspectives, the likes of which are rarely seen elsewhere in Pāli canonical contexts. That the Buddhist spiritual exertions depicted here are those of women tends, to be sure, to be unmistakably emphasised in the *gāthās*, giving them a feminine stamp which is difficult to ignore. Yet the actual terms in which this is done are by no means uniform. On the contrary, it is possible to say that in Thig, women's distinctive gender consciousness is projected through a complex range of images, perceptions and thoughts. Let me highlight a few charactersitic examples.

The essential femininity of their authors is sometimes prominently and assertively proclaimed within the *gāthās*, a circumstance all the more significant once the strongly pat-

riarchal social milieu in which Buddhism originated and developed is recalled¹¹. The articulations of Subhā, for instance, begin with a poignantly invoked reference to her standing as a female:

A maiden, I, all clad in white, once heard
The Norm, and hearkened eager, earnestly,
So in me rose discernment of the Truths. (PsS, p.142)¹².

To anyone conversant with the negative estimations of women set forth in such writings as the *Kunāla Jātaka*¹³, the sensitive awareness as well as understanding acceptance of the feminine seen in Thig will no doubt strike one as a sharp contrast. Indeed, in this setting where female nature and womanly traits were viewed from within, none of the flaws of character attributed to women by (mostly male) critics were either perceived or acknowledged. 'How should woman's nature hinder us?', asked one religious bent on winning emancipation, and proceeded firmly to rule out doubts raised about female capacities, both intellectual and spiritual¹⁴. Complementing this attitudinal

11 Cf. V. Dhruvarajan, *Hindu Women and the Power of Ideology* (Granby, Mass. 1989).

12 *Daharāhaṃ suddhavaṣaṇā yaṃ pure dhammam aṣuṇiṃ
Tassā me appamattāya saccābhisamayo ahu* (Thig 338)

13 See text ed. and tr. by W.B. Bollée (PTS 1970).

14 See PsS, p.45. It is interesting to note that the doubts in question are raised by Māra, the mythic-symbolic focus of evil in Buddhism, who thus assumes the role of a 'male chauvinist' in this setting. Māra generally functions in Theravāda sources as an opponent of goodness and spirituality, but the position taken by this figure here can be read as a result of feminine thinking within orthodox frames. Cf. T.O. Ling, *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil* (London 1962) and M.M.J. Marasinghe, *Gods in Early Buddhism* (Kelaniya 1974, pp.192 ff.).

(ed.), *'Femininity', 'Masculinity' and 'Androgyny': A Modern Philosophical Discussion* (Totowa, NJ 1982).

stance, there is also a striking reliance on what is perhaps best described as feminine models of experience and reflection (backed by images and symbols that can likewise be linked to them). In this connection, the ways in which some common preoccupations of women (both practical and emotional) are brought to bear on the interiorisation of Buddhist doctrinal emphases merit particular notice, for they afford many evidences of this distinctive reliance. It is significant that one *therī*, it appears, came to recognise the universality of impermanence (*anicca*) as taught in Buddhism — initially amidst domestic chores, actually in the course of what emerges as a cooking mishap¹⁵. Another, the sister *Ambapālī* (a courtesan of great beauty in her lay life) arrives at a similar recognition in an even more strikingly feminine fashion: through a contemplative consideration of the faded charms of her formerly much admired body. The sensitively juxtaposed focusings on the graces of the youthful female figure and the unlovely changes wrought upon it through the passage of time evident in her articulations (see PsS, pp.121-6) deserve to be viewed as some of the most arresting examples of Buddhist reflection rooted in feminine self-perceptions. Through a refined use of mainly natural imagery (the aestheticism that comes to the fore here is examined separately below, in Section IV), each detail in the female physique is depicted in *Ambapālī*'s utterances both in its welcome youthful aspect, and again in the conditions of unsightly woe in old age. Of her hair (which it must be noted is a cherished symbol of femininity in traditional South Asian societies, frequently adorned, and always worn long), for instance,

15 See PsS, pp.9-10, which carry the relevant commentarial excerpts that highlight these details.

she thoughtfully reminisced thus:

Glossy and black as the down of the bee my curls
once clustered.
They with the waste of the years are liker to hempen
or bark cloth . . .
Fragrant as casket of perfume, as full of sweet blossoms
the hair of mine.
All with the waste of the years now rank as the odour
of the hare's fur . . .
Dense as a grove well planted, and comely with comb,
pin and parting . . .
All with the waste of the years dishevelled the fair
plaits and fallen . . .
Glittered the swarthy plaits in head-dresses jewelled
and golden.
All with the waste of the years broken, and shorn are
the tresses . . . (PsS, p.121)¹⁶.

Then again, it is on the basis of a portrayal of a characteristic set of unhappy feminine experiences (no doubt deeply

16 *kālakā bhamaravaṇṇasadisā vellitaggā mama muddhajā ahum
te jarāya sānavākasadisā . . .
vāsito va surabhīkaraṇḍaka pupphapūraṃ mama uttamaṅgabhu
tam jarāya sasalomagadnhikaṃ . . .
kānam va sahitaṃ suropitaṃ kocchasuvicitaggasobhitaṃ
tam jarāya virālam tahiṃ tahiṃ . . .
saṅhagandhukasuvāṇṇamaṇḍitaṃ sobhate su veṇhi alaṅkataṃ
Tam jarāya khalati siraṃ kataṃ . . . (Thig 252-5).*

The closing refrain in the English version cited above is 'Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of the Soothsayer'. It translates the original's repeated allusions to the veracity of the Buddha's teachings (*saccavadi-vacanam*) which stress universal impermanence or the ineluctability of decay.

felt in the contemporary world) that Buddhism's parallel emphasis on the pervasiveness of suffering (*dukkha*) is highlighted in Kisā Gotamī's *gāthās*: sharing home with hostile wives, giving birth in bitter pain, suicide resorted to by some to avoid it, and the sad fate reserved for still others when mother and child 'both alike find death' (PsS, pp.108-9), are identified here as suffering associated with femininity, the woes of womanhood (*dukkho itthibhāvo*)¹⁷. Significantly, the 'Buddhist feminism' that one can discern in Thig also entailed on occasion an inversion of male paradigms¹⁸. Perhaps reflecting their largely male authorship, in many Buddhist writings females are cast in roles of seductresses, bent on weaning away men from their spiritual quests¹⁹. But here, in Thig, there are evidences of a veritable role-reversal: far from fostering passion, in its verses women proclaim piety and dispassion to worldly and passionate *men*. Some sayings of the therīs Subhā and Sumedhā (see PsS, pp.142 ff and 165 ff.) are particularly illustrative of this rather striking circumstance. Accosted by a would-be male seducer in her jungle retreat, Subhā intoned in the following manner:

Me pure, thou of impure heart; me passionless, thou
of vile passions;
Me who as to the whole of me freed am in spirit

17 *dukkho itthibhāvo akkhāto purisadammasārathinā
sapattikaṃ pi dukkhaṃ appekaccā sakim vitāṭāyo
gale apakantanti sukhumālīniyo visāni khādanti
janamārakamajjhagatā ubho pi bysannāni anubhonti* (Thig 216-17).

18 It could be argued that at least the formal features of the perspectives brought to bear in this process admit of some comparisons with the emphases in modern feminist thought, cf. Marilyn French, *Beyond Power*, *op. cit.*, Ch.6.

19 The male articulations in Thag offer striking evidences of this, cf. PsB, p.59; cf. *ibid.*, pp.14, 15, 39, 72-3.

and blameless.

Me whence comes it that Thou does hinder . . .
(PsS, p.150)²⁰.

Indeed it is women's success in overcoming the temptations of *men*, and their considered attempts to divert women from spiritual endeavours, that the verses of both the above therīs most strikingly record.

Finally, it is necessary to observe that 'liberty', 'liberation' and 'free womanhood' are ideas that are broached in a fair number of Thig contexts²¹. Indeed, that the bonds and burdens imposed on them by culture and social structures on account of their gender are severed and overcome was the ecstatic cry of quite a few of the therīs (and in this connection, the sense of relief expressed by some on their release from domestic servitude and kitchen drudgery is certainly noteworthy)²². Yet in the last analysis the liberation celebrated here was most

20 *āvilacitto anāvilam sarajo vitarajam anaṅgaṇam
sabbattha vimuttamānasam kim maṃ ovariyāna tiṭṭhasi* (Thig 369).

The verses of 'Vaddha's Mother' (PsS, pp.103 ff.) when taken with those of her putative son (set forth in Thag, see PsB, pp.194-5) bear witness in an even more direct fashion to an instance of a woman assuming the role of a spiritual mentor and instructing a man.

21 Cf. PsS, pp.100, 15, 21, 25, 146. The characteristic phrases used in the text to convey the above ideas are *muttā* and *muttika*. This, it is well to add, did not escape the notice of Mrs Rhys Davids for, commenting pertinently, she observed: 'It is a suggestive point that the percentage of Sisters' Psalms, in which the goal achieved is envisaged as Emancipation, Liberty won — about 23 per cent — is considerably greater than the corresponding proportion in the Psalms by the Brethren (13 per cent). In most cases the male singer had had the disposal of his life in his own hands to a greater extent than was the case of each woman' (PsS, Introduction, pp.xxiv-xxv).

22 Cf. PsS, pp.15, 25.

importantly a religious one: understood and projected in a typically Buddhist fashion, it entailed freedom from 'rebirth and from death', 'lust and hate'²³ — in short, an attainment of spiritual emancipation through an inner grasp of the system's 'saving truth' (*vimokkhasacca*)²⁴. And it is useful to remember that it is again a basic Buddhist emphasis that spurred the women of Thig to think positively about their potentialities and speak openly and without inhibitions in a patriarchal age. For it was the Buddha's position that anyone possessed of the necessary mental and spiritual qualities — 'be it woman, be it man' as a striking canonical statement affirms²⁵ — can find deliverance in Nibbāna.

III

Any attempt to probe into the philosophical content of Thig must of course take particular account of the work's character and roots. To reiterate a point already made in the phraseology of a recent study²⁶, what tends to be presented in this anthology in either 'terse, pointed words or in longer details' are the statements of women in the Buddhist fold who had reached the crowning goal of their religious endeavours, the arahant state. On analysis, these statements reveal in various ways the experiences that preceded the attainment of that goal, the learning processes that were brought to bear in winning it, and how those who attained the unique state actually felt. Now evi-

23 *mutta mhi jātimaraṇā* (Thig 11); *rāgañ ca ahaṃ dosañ ca vicchindantī vihāramī* (Thig 24). Cf. PsS, pp.15, 25.

24 Thig 515. Our focusings on religiosity in Section V below will deal with this matter in greater detail.

25 S I 32, cf. *Book of Kindred Sayings I*, p.45 (PTS 1979).

26 Cf. Pitzer-Reyl, *Die Frau im frühen Buddhismus*, op. cit., p.57.

dently, this is not a context of self-expression within which elaborate, systematic expositions of Buddhist philosophy can be expected and, to be sure, nothing of the kind in the strict sense is to be found in Thig: even so basic a doctrine as that of the Four Noble Truths (*cattarāri ariya saccāni*), for instance, is not expounded, but rather, tersely mentioned here²⁷. Still, there is little room to say that philosophical standpoints are not projected in Thig. On the contrary, all those who read the text carefully will no doubt note that attitudinal stances with philosophical undertones, and thoughts that have discernible philosophical implications, are very much in evidence in many of its verses. Put otherwise, what needs to be recognised in this context is this: it is possible, for one thing, to give philosophical characterisations to many features in the distinctively concrete, subjectively engaged quests for spiritual deliverance which are articulated in this work, and for another, there are several striking focusings on doctrinal emphases here which, though unsystematic, nevertheless offer important insights into the philosophical underpinnings of Buddhism. A few instances of both these manifestations of philosophy broadly conceived such as are encountered in Thig warrant some probing and elucidation.

Those conversant with the thought frames of European existentialism²⁸ would perhaps recognise that there are good grounds for viewing the strikingly solitary and intensely personal

27 Evidence of this may be found in the verses of Mahā-Pajāpati and Kisā-Gotamī, cf. PsS, pp.89, 108 ff.

28 For instructive overviews regarding the positions taken in existentialist thinking, see J. Collins, *The Existentialists: A Critical Study* (Chicago 1952) and M. Grene, *Introduction to Existentialism* (Chicago 1959). Cf. H.B. Blackham, *Six Existentialist Thinkers* (London 1951).

soteriological endeavours of the authors of these verses against the background of certain characteristic emphases found in the writings of such philosophers as Kierkegaard, Heidegger, Marcel and Sartre. It is significant, for instance, that much like Kierkegaard²⁹, the therīs as a whole can be said to regard truth as a subjective and inward experiencing best approached through personal engagement rather than discursive thought or ratiocination (and leading to a transformation which is radical)³⁰. In this connection the distinctive terms in which some of them recognise and contrast their inner natures in early 'unconverted' and later 'converted' states are especially noteworthy, for they can give philosophical meaning within Kierkegaard's celebrated differentiation between the 'aesthetic' and the 'religious' (or 'ethico-religious') as elucidated in *Either/Or* and elsewhere³¹. Indeed, the Kierkegaardian view that there is a plane of living

29 Cf. Kierkegaard, *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* (Princeton 1941) and E. Geismar, *Lectures on the Religious Thought of Soren Kierkegaard* (London 1938).

30 As will be shown more amply below (Section V), the inner knowing as admitted in Buddhism was of course attained through spiritual culture understood and interpreted in a distinctive fashion. Further, the knowing in question encompassed an important extra-sensory dimension (which cannot be accommodated within Western existentialism, as witnessed by numerous references to the 'divine or celestial eye' (*dibbacakkhu*) and other allied capacities collectively referred to as *abhiññā*. Cf. PsS, p.51; also pp.74, 92, 95. In all these contexts, significantly, the attainment of liberating knowledge is portrayed as a process which has 'rent aside the gloom of ignorance' — a moment of enlightenment when the darkness that stood in the way of deliverance is pierced or overcome (*samokkhandam padālayim*, as the text repeatedly puts it, cf. Thig 173, 179).

31 Cf. *Either/Or, A Fragment of Life* (Princeton 1944), *Stages on Life's Way* (Princeton 1940) and A. Shamueli, *Kierkegaard and Consciousness* (London 1971).

which is lacking in purpose, disconnected and without direction or satisfactions, and another which is opposite in character — namely, unified, coherent, focused and satisfying — tends to be clearly anticipated in the following verses of Vimalā:

How was I once puff'd up, incens'd with the bloom
of my beauty,
Vain of my perfect form, my fame and success
'midst the people,
Filled with the pride of my youth, unknowing the
Truth and unheeding! . . .
Today with shaven head, wrapt in my robe,
I go forth on my daily round for food;
And 'neath the spreading boughs of forest tree
I sit, and Second-Jhāna's rapture win,
Where reas'nings cease, and joy and ease remain
(PsS, pp.52-3)³².

32 *mattā vaṇṇena rūpena sobhaggena yasena ca
yobbanena c'upathaddhā aññā samatimaññi 'ham.
sājja piṇḍam caritvāna muṇḍā samghāṭipārutā
nisinnā rukkhamūlamhi avitakassa lābhini* (Thig 72, 75).

The verses of Sīhā which follow next serve to project the mental orientation in the first of the two stages referred to above in revealing terms, and merit notice as a further context which bears out the presence of proto-existentialist insights within the Buddhist spirituality articulated in Thig. Indeed, Kierkegaard's analysis of the operation of the consciousness at the 'aesthetic stage' in particular might be instructively recalled in reading Sīhā's account of her former self, distraught, divided and in despair (and hence displaying many symptoms of 'sickness unto death' in Kierkegaard's phrase), and the final dawn of the liberating vision in the course of an attempted suicide, detailed thus:

Distracted, harrassed by desires of sense,
Unmindful of the 'what' and 'why' of things,

The attitudinal patterns that inform many utterances in this ancient anthology can be linked to or viewed within still other existential thought frames. Existentialist categories of freedom, choice, commitment and authentic existence in particular are indeed discernible underpinnings at many levels of the text. It is noteworthy, for instance, that several therīs here embark on their religious careers after making agonising choices by and for themselves, highlighting in the process an acknowledgement of their essential freedom. Striking testimony to this is found in the verses of Sumedhā (PsS, pp.165 ff.): resisting both parental pressure and a king's love, Sumedhā spurned marriage and adopted the religious life of a nun all on her own. Again, each one of the therīs of the anthology displays a singular commitment to spiritual self-culture and the consummation of its admitted goals. Now these goals, as will be evident from our discussion below (Section V), are of course rooted in a soteri-

Stung and inflated by the memories
 Of former days, o'er which I lacked control —
 Corrupting canker spreading o'er my heart —
 I followed heedless dreams of happiness,
 And got no even tenour to my mind,
 All given o'er to dalliance with sense (PsS, p.54).
Ayonisomanasikārā kāmarāgena additā
ahosiṃ uddhaṭṭā pubbe citte avasavattini
pariyuṭṭhitā kilesehī sukhasaṇṇānuvattini
samam cūṭassa nālabhiṃ rāgacittasānugā (Thig 77, 78).

It should be noted, however, that viewed within the doctrinal frames of early Buddhism itself, the 'unconverted' mind can be said to reflect the proclivities and the psychological make-up of ordinary persons (*puṭhujjāna*); and the 'converted', those of the spiritually awakened élites (*ariyā*). Cf. *Compendium of Philosophy* (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha), tr. Shwe Zan Aung and C.A.F. Rhys Davids (PTS 1979), Introduction, p.49.

ological concern which is characteristic of Buddhist religiosity. Yet a final consequence of their consummation seems to be a consciousness of an accession to a truly authentic realm of being highlighted by the 'cool', 'calm' and 'serene' condition of the arahant³³.

The distinctively subjective and practical orientation given to Buddhist teachings in Thig settings is clearly the source of the existentialist dimension that one can recognise there. And this orientation can again be viewed as a necessary key to an understanding of the text's wider philosophical scope. As indicated at the outset of this section, systematic expositions of Buddhist doctrines are not presented in Thig. Yet no-one is likely to fail to notice that the therīs here frequently project some of their basic emphases in philosophical terms³⁴, and in particular bear witness to an inner cognition of those informing ideas of the system's world-view, namely, impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*) and insubstantiality (*anattā*). Characteristically, in some contexts one encounters references to a combined grasp of the significance of all 'three signata' (*tila-*

33 Section V below will also discuss the meanings of these terms and identify Thig contexts in which they occur.

34 Thus, early Buddhism's devaluation of sense-pleasure, for instance, is very much underscored in the verses of Selā:

Like spears and javelins are the joys of sense
 That pierce and rend the mortal frames of us.
 These that thou callest 'the good things of life' —
 Good of that ilk to me is nothing worth (PSS, p.44).
sattisūlūpamā kāmā khandhānaṃ adhikuṭṭanā
yam tvam kāmaratiṃ brūsi arati dāni sā mamaṃ (Thig 58).

Sumedhā expatiates on this theme in three verses (PsS, pp.171-2), expressing similar thoughts.

kkhaṇā)³⁵. However, elaborations on these 'signata' in other contexts are sometimes quite revealing, especially when their manifestation in living experience is dwelt upon or otherwise brought to the fore. In this connection the ways in which some Thig verses highlight *anicca* and *dukkha* as influences felt in life are perhaps particularly worthy of our notice.

Thus, viewed philosophically, in Ambapālī's verses cited above to draw attention to their feminine perspectives, the main doctrinal point emphasised is of course impermanence. But how is it treated and presented? Clearly not as an abstract principle, but rather as one that affects one's being intimately, and as a result amenable to inner apprehension. Indeed, what emerges from the series of poignant contrasts drawn between the body's youthful beauty and its later decline into a pitiful state which is 'weakly and unsightly' and a 'home to manifold ills'³⁶ is an intimate knowledge of *anicca* which is imbued with transformative, soteriological meaning³⁷. There is evidence of other therīs coming to this knowledge as well³⁸. But the focusings on *dukkha* carried in Thig are no less striking; besides, as will be indicated below, at certain levels they provide important insights into Buddhism's philosophy of consolation, in other words, per-

35 In this connection, the verses of Abhirūpa-Nandā, Uttamā and Sonā (PsS, pp.23, 37, 63) are noteworthy.

36 PsS, p.125.

37 The Commentary to Thig tends to recognise this especially when it maintains that Ambapālī's intimate grasp of impermanence was complemented by insights into *dukkha* and *anattā* as well (paving the way to an attainment of the arahant state), see *ibid.*

38 Cf. PsS, pp.9-10 already referred to in the preceding section; the verses of Sumedhā are also significant in this connection, for some of them portray this therī 'musing on impermanence, developing the thought' (*ibid.*, p.170).

spectives on the ways in which one could bear with and finally rise above one's particular suffering. Of course, suffering is not altogether unrelated to impermanence in Buddhist thought. Distilling canonical insights, Buddhaghosa in his famous Visuddhimagga represented the transitoriness inherent in life as an aspect of suffering (*viparināma dukkha*)³⁹. In any event, that pain and adversity often constitute a veritable backdrop to life is an idea that is stressed in a variety of settings in Thig. In the articulations of Puṇṇā and Isidāsī, for instance, the burdens of domestic labour (with which poor women in particular were commonly charged) are clearly related to the *dukkha* Buddhism held to inform and undergird existence⁴⁰. And, as already indicated in Section II above, Kisā Gotamī, while dwelling on confinement experiences, goes even further through her identification of suffering that touches womankind specifically, *dukkho ittibhāvo*⁴¹.

Since its articulations, as repeatedly noted, are inspired by

39 See Vism, sec. 499. *Dukkha-dukkha*, *viparināma-dukkha* and *sāṅkhāra-dukkha* are identified here as three modalities of suffering, and they encompass respectively the suffering experienced in body and mind, the suffering resulting from impermanence inherent in the nature of things and the suffering associated with our very being as a psycho-physical complex. For some pertinent modern elucidations on this subject, see J.W. Boyd, 'Suffering in Theravāda Buddhism' in *Suffering: Indian Perspectives*, ed. K.N. Tiwari (Delhi 1986).

40 See PsS, pp.117, 158-9. Puṇṇā, formerly a slave in a wealthy house, recounts drawing water from a stream 'in fear of blows' even in the cold season; Isidāsī painfully recalls her endless (and thankless) domestic chores during her lay life. Cf. Dev Raj, *op. cit.*, p.59: 'Probablement le travail le plus dur et le plus malsain auquel on employait les esclaves et les serviteurs des deux sexes était celui de la cuisine'.

41 Cf. n.17 above.

committed Buddhist living, it is, however, also possible to detect in Thig insights and emphases which are more positive in their philosophical implications. For instance, there are clearly in evidence here adumbrations of what might fairly be called a Buddhist philosophy of consolation: in a philosophical appraisal of the text one must not overlook the fact that the particular elaborations of *anicca* and *dukkha* just referred to ultimately have happy outcomes, for the therīs engaged in them finally accept the impermanence and suffering encountered in experience and tend to integrate them into their lives. Finally, it is well to observe that details of this integrative process — which actually led to the acquisition of a definitive ‘saving truth’ (*vimokkha sacca*) — though mainly religious, are not without philosophical significance. For the truth thus acquired is very much a transcendent vision imbued with ultimate meaning. However, this is a matter that merits discussion in relation to our wider examination of the religiosity projected in Thig. Next I propose to turn to a consideration of some aspects of aestheticism reflected in the text.

(To be concluded)

A COMPOSITE SŪTRA FROM THE EKOTTARĀGAMA*

Étienne Lamotte

translated by Sara Boin-Webb

The Ekottarāgama (abbrev. EĀ), or ‘Corpus of Gradual Teachings’, is a collection of Buddhist texts, parallel to the Aṅguttara Nikāya of the Pāli Canon. It is only known in its entirety through a single Chinese translation: the *Tsêng-i a-han ching*¹.

The Tocharian monk Dharmanandin, who knew the Madhyama- and Ekottarāgamas by heart, reached Ch’ang-an in 384 CE and, on the invitation of the local magistrate Chao Chêng, undertook to publish these two Indian works in Chinese. The translation of the EĀ began on 7 May 384 and ended in November of the same year, or in the spring of the following year². Dharmanandin ‘recited the native text orally’, i.e. the Indian original; the Chinese śramaṇas Hui-sung, Chu Fo-nien and others ‘received it on their brush’. A preface³ was added by Tao-an shortly before his death which occurred in 385. Dharma-

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1 See P. Demiéville, ‘La Yogācārabhūmi’, BEFEO XLIV, 2, 1954, p.374, n.1.

2 On the translation of the EĀ by Dharmanandin, see *Ch’u san tsang chi chi*, T 2145, p.10b 21; *Li tai san pai chi*, T 2034, p.75c 18; *Ta chou lu*, T 2153, p.422a 27–9; *K’ai-yüan lu*, T 2154, p.511b 14–15.

3 Preface reproduced in *Ch’u*, T 2145, p.64b.

nandin's translation still existed in 695⁴, but it was already recorded as lost in the *K'ai-yüan* catalogue dating from 730⁵.

This first translation was not considered satisfactory, and the Kaśmīrian monk Saṃghadeva, who had stayed at Ch'ang-an at the time of Dharmanandin, undertook thirteen years later, in Nanking, new translations of the Madhyama (MĀ) and EĀ, not without taking greater or lesser inspiration from his predecessor. The work was carried out near Nanking, in the monastery of the Marquis of Tung-t'ing. The EĀ was started on first. Saṃghadeva translated it and the monk Ta-tsū brushed it. This translation differs very little from Dharmanandin's. It was begun on 14 February 397, but it is not known exactly when it was completed⁶. Nevertheless it was carried out concurrently with that of the MĀ concerning which we are better informed: the latter was undertaken on 15 December 397 and concluded on 24 July 398; the Kaśmīrian monk Saṃgharakṣa 'explained' or 'held' the Indian text; Saṃghadeva translated the Indian into Chin Chinese; the Chinese monk Tao-tz'ü brushed it and compiled a notice⁷.

The translation of the EĀ by Saṃghadeva is edited in the *Taishō Issaikyō* (T 125); it is introduced by a preface compiled in 384-5 by Tao-an, a preface concerning the translation, lost today, by Dharmanandin.

4 Cf. *Ta chou*, T 2153, p.422a 29.

5 Cf. *K'ai-yüan*, T 2145, p.637c 19.

6 On the translation of the EĀ by Saṃghadeva, see *Li tai*, T 2034, p.70c 5; *Ta chou*, T 2153, p.422a 24-5; *K'ai-yüan*, T 2154, p.505a 4.

7 On the translation of the MĀ by Saṃghadeva and Saṃgharakṣa, see *Ch'u*, T 2145, pp.10c 7, 64a 13-15, 100a 1-2; *Kao sêng chuan*, T 2059, pp.329a 23-5, 361b 24-5; *Li tai*, T 2034, p.70c 3-4; *K'ai-yüan*, T 2154, p.505a 2.

Such as it appears in this version, the EĀ is much more voluminous than the Aṅguttara and contains quantities of sūtras which have no correspondents in the Pāli texts. With regard to the Indian original, all information is lacking and we are reduced to hypotheses. Certain indications lead us to think that it came from north India and, more exactly, Kaśmīr⁸. Later research will perhaps enable us to decide whether it was in Sanskrit or Prakrit; if this latter hypothesis is correct, it would seemingly be a Prakrit from the North-West (Gāndhārī)⁹. The sect or school to which the EĀ was answerable has not been determined; that of the Mahāsāṃghikas has been suggested¹⁰, but without any decisive proof. One thing is certain, the EĀ was profoundly influenced by the Mahāyāna, as much from the doctrinal point of view as that of its narrative methods. As Paul Demiéville remarked, it has express and laudatory allusions to the Mahāyāna and, in the parts which are also found in the Aṅguttara (only a minority), it displays a strong tendency to elaboration (*vaiṣṭya*).

8 See J. Przyluski, 'Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha' II, JA, XI^e Sér., XII, 1918, p.435; *La Légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, Paris 1923, pp.206, 212; P. Demiéville, 'La Yogācārabhūmi', p.375, n.3.

9 There certainly existed an EĀ in Sanskrit: the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* III, 1, p.45) refers to the *Vairambhyasūtra* of the EĀ, to the fourth *nipāta*: this concerns the *Verañjasutta* of the Aṅguttara IV, pp.172-9. The Mahākarmavibhāṅga and its Commentary often quote from the Ekottarika, and these quotations are in Sanskrit (see S. Lévi's edition, Paris 1932, pp.92, 153, 155, 162, 167). It only remains to examine the numerous Chinese transcriptions of Indian proper names in Saṃghadeva's version (T 125) and see whether they correspond to Prakrit forms rather than Sanskrit ones. The Dirghāgama has been subjected to an examination of this type by J. Brough, 'Comments on third-century Shan-shan. . .', BSOAS XXXVIII, 3, 1965, p.608 ff.

10 A. Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Saigon 1955, pp.55-6.

Another peculiarity of the EĀ to which I would like to draw attention is the abundance of composite sūtras, artificially wrought by putting end to end sūtras or portions of sūtras taken from other canonical texts. The apocryphal nature of these composite sūtras is emphasized by the fact that generally they have no title and are not listed in the summaries (*uddāna*) which usually conclude the chapters of the Nikāyas and Āgamas.

As an example, I present here a sūtra devoted to Śāriputra, and which appears in chūan 45, p.793, of the *Tsêng-i a-han ching*, the Chinese version of the EĀ:

聞如是。一時佛在羅閱城迦爾陀竹園所。與大比丘衆五百人俱。爾時尊者舍利弗。在耆闍崛山中屏嶺之處補納故衣。爾時有十千梵迦夷天。從梵天沒來至舍利弗所。頭面禮足各圍遶侍焉。又以此偈而歎頌曰。

歸命人中上 歸命人中尊
我等今不得 爲依何等禪

是時十千梵迦夷天說此語已。舍利弗默然可之。爾時諸天以見舍利弗默然可已。卽禮足退去。諸天去未遠。舍利弗卽入金剛三昧。是時有二鬼。一名伽羅。二名優婆伽羅。毘沙門天王使遣至毘留勒天王所。欲論人天之事。是時二鬼從彼虛空而過。遙見舍利弗結加趺坐。繫念在前意寂然定。伽羅鬼謂彼鬼言。我今堪任以拳打此沙門頭。優波伽羅鬼語第一鬼曰。汝勿興此意打沙門頭。所以然者。此沙門極有神德有大威力。此尊名舍利弗。世尊弟子中聰明高才無復過。是智慧弟子中最爲第一。備於長夜受苦無量。是時彼鬼再三曰。我能堪任打此沙門頭。優波伽羅鬼報曰。汝今不隨我語者。汝便住此。吾欲捨汝去此。惡鬼曰。汝畏此沙門乎。優波伽羅鬼曰。我實畏之。設汝以手打此沙門者。此地當分爲二分。正爾當暴風疾雨地亦振動。諸天驚動地已振動。四天王亦常驚怖。四天王已知於我等不安其所。是時惡鬼曰。我今堪任辱此沙門。善鬼聞已便捨而去。

時彼惡鬼卽以手打舍利弗頭。是時天地大動。四面有暴風疾雨尋時來至。地卽分爲二分。此惡鬼卽以全身墮地獄中。爾時尊者舍利弗卽從三昧起。整衣服下耆闍崛山往詣竹園至世尊所。頭面禮足在一面坐。爾時佛告舍利弗曰。汝今身體無有疾病乎。舍利弗言。體素無患唯苦頭痛。世尊告曰。伽羅鬼以手打汝頭。若常彼鬼以手打須彌山者。卽時須彌山便爲二分。所以然者。彼鬼有大力故。今此鬼受其罪報故。全身入阿鼻地獄中。爾時世尊告諸比丘。甚奇甚特。金剛三昧力乃至於斯。由此三昧力故無所傷害。正使須彌山打其頭者。終不能動其毫毛。所以然者。比丘聽之。於此賢劫中有佛。名拘屢孫如來至真等正覺。彼佛有二大聲聞。一名等壽。二名大智。比丘等壽神足第一。比丘大智智慧第一。如我今日舍利弗智慧第一。目乾連神足第一。爾時等壽大智二比丘。俱得金剛三昧。當於一時。等壽比丘在閑靜之處入金剛三昧。時諸牧牛人牧羊人取薪草人。見此比丘坐禪。各各自相謂言。此沙門今日以取無常。是時牧牛人及取薪人。集諸草本積比丘身上。以火燒已而捨之去。是時等壽比丘卽從三昧起。正衣服便退而去。是時比丘卽以其日。著衣持鉢入村乞食。時諸取薪草人。見此比丘村中乞食。各各自相謂言。此比丘昨日以取命終。我等以火焚燒。今日復還活。今當立字。字曰還活。若有比丘得金剛三昧者。火所不燒刀所不入水所不漂。不爲他所中傷。如是比丘。金剛三昧威德如是。今舍利弗得此三昧。舍利弗比丘。多遊二處空三昧金剛三昧。是故諸比丘。常求方便行金剛三昧。如是比丘常作是學。爾時世尊告諸比丘。我當教汝。如舍利弗比丘。比丘智慧大智分別廣智無邊智捷疾之智普遊智利智甚深智斷智。少欲知足閑靜勇猛。念不散。戒成就。三昧成就。智慧解脫見慧成就。柔和無爭去惡辯了忍諸言語。歎說離惡常念去離。愍念生盲然熾正法。與人說法無有厭足。爾時世尊便說此偈。

十千諸天人 盡是梵迦夷
自歸舍利弗 於靈鷲山頂

歸命人中上	歸命人中尊
我今不能知	爲依何等禪
如是弟子花	莊嚴佛道樹
如天晝度園	快樂無有比

弟子華者。即是舍利弗比丘是。所以然者。此人則能莊嚴佛樹。道樹者即如來是也。如來能覆蓋一切衆生。是故比丘。當念勤加勇猛精進。如舍利弗比丘。如是比丘當作是學。爾時諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。

增壹阿含經卷第四十五。

COMPOSITE SŪTRA CONCERNING ŚĀRIPUTRA

I

Thus have I heard. One day the Buddha was in Rājagrha, in the Bamboo Park (Veṇuvana), in the Squirrels' Grove (Kalandakanivāpa), with a great assembly of monks (*bhikṣu*) five hundred in number.

At that moment Venerable (*āyuṣmat*) Śāriputra was on Vulture Peak Mountain (Gṛhdrakūṭaparvata), in a solitary spot, repairing his old robe.

Thereupon ten thousand gods of the Brahmā class (*brahmakāyikadeva*) descended from the Brahmā heaven and approached Śāriputra. Having saluted the venerable one's feet with their heads (*pāday śirasā vanditvā*), they stood in a circle and praised him with this stanza:

'Homage to you, the greatest of men,
Homage to you, the best of men,
We know not
On what you meditate'.

When the ten thousand gods of the Brahmā class had spoken those words, Śāriputra approved them by his silence

(*tūṣṇīmbhāvenāddivāsayati sma*), and the gods, seeing Śāriputra approve them by his silence, saluted his feet and withdrew.

II

The gods had not gone far when Śāriputra entered the Diamond Concentration (*vajrasamādhi*). Then there were two yakṣas: the first was called Kāla, and the second Upakāla. Vaiśramaṇa the king of the gods had sent them to Virūdhaka the king of the gods to enquire about the affairs of mankind and the gods.

Well now, those two yakṣas travelling through space from afar saw Śāriputra sitting with crossed legs (*paryāṅkam ābhujya niṣaṇṇaḥ*), fixing his attention before him (*abhimukhiṃ smṛtan upasthāpya*), his mind calm and concentrated.

The yakṣa Kāla said to the other yakṣa, 'I feel capable of striking the head of that monk (*śramaṇa*) with my fist'. The yakṣa Upakāla said to the first yakṣa, 'Do not scheme to strike that monk's head. Why? That monk is endowed with great supernormal power (*mahariddhika*) and great might (*mahāvebhāva*). The venerable one's name is Śāriputra. Among the Lord's disciples (*śrāvaka*), none surpasses him in intelligence and ability. Of all the disciples endowed with wisdom (*prajñā*) he is by far the foremost. So prepare yourself to undergo an infinite amount of suffering for a long time (*dīrgharātram*)'.

However, the first yakṣa said three times, 'I feel capable of striking that monk's head'. The yakṣa Upakāla retorted, 'If you do not follow my advice, then stay here. As for me, I am leaving you and going away'.

The wicked yakṣa asked, 'Are you afraid of that monk?' The yakṣa Upakāla answered, 'I am indeed afraid of him. If you strike that monk with your hand, the earth will split in two.'

There will immediately be a violent wind and driving rain. The earth will also quake. All the gods will shake with fear. Once the earth has quaked, the four kings of the gods will also be afraid. The four kings of the gods already know that we are no longer in agreement here'. But the wicked yakṣa went on, 'Me, I feel capable of insulting that monk'. The good yakṣa, on hearing that, abandoned him and went away.

Then the wicked yakṣa struck Śāriputra's head with his hand, and immediately heaven and earth quaked greatly. On all sides, violent winds and driving rains arrived shortly afterwards. The earth split in two, and the whole wicked yakṣa fell into the hells (*naraka*).

Then Venerable Śāriputra withdrew from concentration, arranged his robe, came down from Vulture Peak Mountain, went to the Bamboo Park and, having reached the Lord, saluted his feet with his head and sat down to one side.

Then the Buddha asked Śāriputra, 'Does your body not feel some discomfort?' Śāriputra answered, 'My body is always torment-free; I am merely suffering from a headache'. The Lord continued, 'The yakṣa Kāla struck your head with his hand. If that yakṣa had struck Mount Sumeru with his hand, Mount Sumeru would have split in two. Why? Because that yakṣa is possessed of great strength. But now that that yakṣa has undergone the fruition of his fault, the whole of him has entered the Avici hell'.

III

Then the Lord said to the monks, 'Strange and extraordinary is the power of the Diamond Concentration which attains such a high level. Through the power of that concentration the ascetic is protected from injury and, if someone were to strike his head with Mount Sumeru, they would not

even be able to ruffle his hair. Why? O monks, listen to this:

'In the course of the present Auspicious Period (*bhadra-kalpa*), there was a Buddha named Krakasunda, the Tathāgata, holy one (*arhat*), fully and perfectly enlightened (*samyak-sambuddha*). That Buddha had two great disciples. The first was called Life-Like (*Samjīva*), and the second Most-Knowing (*Vidura*)¹¹. The monk *Samjīva* was the foremost of those who possess the bases of supernormal power (*agrya ṛddhipāda-matām*), the monk *Vidura* was the foremost of those who possess wisdom (*agryaḥ prajñāvatām*), just as today in my time, Śāriputra is the foremost of the wise, and Maudgalyāyana the foremost of those who possess the bases of supernormal power.

Well now, the two monks *Samjīva* and *Vidura* together possessed the Diamond Concentration and one day the monk *Samjīva*, in a tranquil spot, had entered the Diamond Concentration. Then some herdsmen (*gopālaka*), some shepherds (*paśupālaka*) and some people gathering firewood (*kāṣṭha*) and grasses (*trṇa*) saw that monk sitting in meditation (*dhyāna*) and said to each other, 'That monk, this very day, has acquired impermanence (*anityatām prāptah*)¹². Then the herdsmen and the people who were gathering fuel collected grass and wood, piled them up on the monks' body and, having burned him with fire, they abandoned him and went away.

Eventually the monk *Samjīva*, having withdrawn from concentration, set his robe in order and departed. Then the following day, having taken his robe and alms-bowl, he entered

11 *Samjīva* and *Vidura* according to the Sanskrit sources, *Samjīva* and *Vidhūra* according to the Pāli sources; see the *Mahāvadānasūtra*, ed. E. Waldschmidt, II, Berlin 1956, pp.76-7, 171.

12 That is, is dead.

the village to beg for his food (*pūrvāhṇe nivasya pātracīvaram ādāya grāmaṃ piṇḍāya prābikṣat*). Thereupon those who had gathered fuel and grass, seeing that monk begging for his food in the village, said to each other, 'Yesterday, that monk was dead (*kālakṛta*); we burnt him with fire; and here is he today returned to life. He must be given a nickname (*samājñā*)'. They nicknamed him Returned-to-Life (*Samjīva*).

If a monk is possessed of the Diamond Concentration, he is not burnt by fire, nor pierced by a knife, nor carried off by water, nor wounded by someone else. Such is, O monks, the potency (*anubhāva*) of the Diamond Concentration. Today Śāriputra possesses that concentration. The monk Śāriputra often dwells in two places: the Concentration on Emptiness (*śūnyatāsamādhi*) and the Diamond Concentration (*vajrasamādhi*). That is why, O monks, the means to practise the Diamond Concentration should be sought; it is in this way, O monks, that you should train yourselves'.

IV

Then the Lord said to the monks, "I declare this to you (*ārocayāmi vaḥ*): that monk Śāriputra is a learned (*pañḍita*) monk. He is of great knowledge (*mahāprajñā*), of excellent and vast knowledge (*viśiṣṭapṛthuprajñā*), of infinite knowledge (*anantaprajñā*), of quick knowledge (*javanaprajñā*), of universal knowledge (*sarvagaprajñā*), of sharp knowledge (*tīkṣṇaprajñā*), of profound knowledge (*gambhīraprajñā*) and of penetrating knowledge (*narivedhikaprajñā*). He has few desires (*alpecchā*), he is easily satisfied (*saṃtuṣṭa*), he likes solitude (*pravivikta*) and is vigorous (*ārabdhavīrya*). His mind is not distracted (*asamkṣiptacitta*). He is endowed with morality (*śīlasamanvāgata*), endowed with wisdom, deliverance, the knowledge and vision of deliverance (*prajñāvimuktijñānadarśa-*

nasamanvāgata). He is gentle (*sūrata*), peaceful (*araṇa*) and remote from wrong (*apakrāntapāpa*). He speaks and upholds others' words (*vaktā vacanakṣamaḥ*). He approves of the rejection of wrong (*pāpavarjana*) and always thinks of avoiding it. Through pity for those born blind (*jātyandha*), he causes the Saddharma to shine and does not tire of expounding the Dharma to people'.

Then the Lord also spoke these stanzas:

'Ten thousand deities,
All of the Brahmā class,
Took refuge in Śāriputra
On Ḡḍhrakūṭaparvata's summit.

Homage to you, the greatest of men,
Homage to you, the best of men,
We know not
On what you meditate.

This flower among the disciples
Adorns the Buddha's Tree of Awakening.
Just as in the heavenly garden of the Pārijātaka,
Joy (*nandana*) is unequalled'.

'Here, the lotus-flower among the disciples is the monk Śāriputra. Why? That man adorns the Buddha's tree. The Tree of Awakening (*bodhivṛkṣa*) is the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata who can shelter all beings. That is why, O monks, you should be mindful (*smṛtīmat*), zealous (*ātāpin*), courageous (*ārabdhavīrya*) and vigorous (*vīryavat*) like the monk Śāriputra. Thus it is, O monks, that you should train yourselves'.

Thereupon the monks, having heard the Buddha's words, rejoiced in them and complied with them.

SOURCES OF THE COMPOSITE SŪTRA

The Sūtra of which we have just given the translation is subdivided into five parts, all of which have their correspondents in other canonical texts.

I. *The Brahmakāyikas' praise of Śāriputra*

This section has as its parallel the *Sandhasutta*¹³ (Aṅguttara V, pp.332-6; Chinese Saṃyukta, T 99, pp.235c 27-238b 11; T 100, pp.430c 10-431b 1). Addressing Venerable Sandha Kātyāyana¹⁴,

13 Sutta also entitled *Saddha* or *Sekha* in the *uddāna* of the Aṅguttara V, p.328, line 8, *Kātyāyana* in the *uddāna* of the Saṃyukta, T 100, p.431b 4.

14 This monk is also known by the names of:

Abhiya or Sabhiya Kaccāna (Majjhima III, p.148)

Sabhiya Kaccāna (Saṃyutta IV, p.401)

Sandhākātyāyana (Nidānasāmyukta, ed. Ch. Tripāṭhī, Berlin 1962, p.167)

Samtha Kātyāyana (Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1930, p.49)

Shan-t'o Chia-chan-yen 散陀迦旃延 (Saṃyukta, T 99, p.85c 18)

Shên-to 說陀 Chia-chan-yen (Saṃyukta, T 99, p.235c 28)

Chên 眞 Chia-chan-yen (Madhyama, T 26, p.550b 18)

Shan-t'o 刪陀 Chia-chan-yen (Upadeśa, T 1509, p.66c 12)

San-t'a Chia-chan-yen-na 散他迦多衍那 (Yogācārabhūmi, T 1579, p.489b 7).

In the Sūtra on the Two Extremes (*antadvaya*) 'Everything exists, nothing exists', the same person is again introduced; but while the Nidānasāmyukta (ed. Ch. Tripāṭhī, p.167) and the first Chinese Saṃyukta (T 99, p.85c 18) call him Sandha Kātyāyana, the Pāli Saṃyutta (II, p.17) and the second Chinese Saṃyukta (T 100, pp.430c 11; 431b 4) call him Kaccānagotta, or simply Kaccāna or Kātyāyana. As for the Sūtra of the Two Extremes, it is often quoted by the name of Kātyānāvavāda (cf. Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt, II, Berlin 1951, p.284; Madh. vṛtti, ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin, St. Petersburg 1913, pp.43, 269; Pratītyasamutapādasūtra of Ullangha, ed. V. Gokhale, Bonn 1930, p.25).

We should add that Sandha Kātyāyana has nothing in common with the parivrājaka Sabhiya of the Suttanipāta (pp.99-102), known to the Mahāvastu (III, pp.394-402) by the name of Sabhika.

the Buddha explains how one should meditate like a thoroughbred horse (*ājāneya*) and not like an unruly one (*khaṭṭuka*):

Having eliminated the obstacles to concentration, the good monk, withdrawn to a solitary spot, does not meditate on earth, water, fire, wind, the sphere of the infinity of space, the sphere of the infinity of consciousness, the sphere of nothingness, the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, this world, the other world, the sun or the moon, what is seen by the eye, what is heard by the ear, what is thought, known, acquired, sought after and examined by the intellect. This is because in him the notion (*saṃjñā*) of earth with regard to earth, and so forth, is destroyed (*vibhūtā*)¹⁵. And the gods with their Indra, the Brahmās with their consorts revere him from afar by saying:

*Namas te puruṣājanya namas te puroṣottama,
yasya te nābhijānīmaḥ kiṃ tvaṃ niśritya dhyāyasi*¹⁶.

The meditation recommended here is certainly the Attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling (*saṃjñāvedayitanirodhasamāpatti*) by means of which the ascetic 'touches' Nirvāṇa in this life, and which constitutes the highest of the nine successive levels of the concentrated mind (*navānu-pūrvavivihāra*).

The *Sandhasūtra* does not specify to which monk the gods'

15 Taking as his authority the Pāli Commentary: *vibhūta* = *pākatā*, F.L. Woodward (*Gradual Sayings* V, p.207) renders *vibhūta* as 'clear'. Here, however, *vibhūta* has the meaning of 'destroyed' as it results from the Chinese translation *伏* (T 99, p.236a 27) and the explanations in the Bodhisattvabhūmi, p.50, line 14: *vibhave ucyate prahāṇam tyāgaḥ* 'By *vibhava* is meant destruction, rejection'. Also see the Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1932, p.688, line 21: *rūpāṇi vibhāvya*.

16 Sanskrit version taken from the Bodhisattvabhūmi, p.50.

praise is being addressed. In fact the stanza *Namas te puruṣā-janya*, frequently found in the canonical texts, is applied to the most varied of holy ones, including the Buddha¹⁷.

The scholars of the Mahāyāna have often exploited the *Sandhasūtra* in which they saw the confirmation of their metaphysical theses. For Śūnyavādins such as Nāgārjuna¹⁸ and Bhāvaviveka¹⁹, good meditation consisted in not meditating on anything, since nothing exists in the triple world. Vijñānavādins such as Asaṅga²⁰ believed that the good monk meditates on the ineffable suchness (*tathatā*) of phenomena they think they discovered, but of which the early texts were entirely unaware.

II. Śāriputra attacked by a yakṣa

This second section has as its correspondents in the canonical texts the following three sources which I shall designate by the letters A, B and C.

A. The *Juṅhasutta*²¹ or 'Moonlight Sutta' (Pāli Udāna IV, 4, pp.39-41).

B. An untitled Sūtra (Chinese Saṃyukta, T 99, p.367b 5-29).

17 The whole stanza is applied to Śāriputra (Theragāthā, v.1084, p.96), to Aniruddha (EĀ, T 125, p.580c) and to an anonymous bhikṣu (Saṃyutta II, p.91). The first two pādas alone are applied to Maudgalyāyana (Theragāthā, v.1179, p.106), and to the Buddha himself (Dīgha III, p.198; Suttanipāta, v.544, p.101; *Bruchstücke des Ātānātikasūtra*, ed. H. Hoffman, Leipzig 1939, p.49).

18 Upadeśa, T 1509, p.66c. Cf. É. Lamotte, *Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* I, Louvain 1944, p.86.

19 *Chang chen lun*, T 1578, p.276c. Cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, 'Le joyau dans la main', MCB II, 1932, p.127; Karatalaratna, rec. N.A. Sastri, Visva-bharati Studies No.9, 1949, p.88.

20 Bodhisattvabhūmi, pp.49-50; Yogācārabhūmi, T 1579, p.489b.

21 Title appearing in the summary of the Udāna, p.46, line 28.

C. The Sūtra entitled *Hai chi Wu-hai* 害及無害²² or 'Sūtra of the offensive (yakṣa) and the inoffensive (yakṣa)' (Chinese Saṃyukta, T 100, p.485a 24-b 22).

One day Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are together in the Kapotakakandarā 'Pigeon Cave' (A) or on the Grḍhrakūṭapārvata (B and C). During the night, Śāriputra enters 'a certain concentration' (*aññatara samādhi*) the nature of which is not specified²³. Two yakṣas pass by: A does not mention their names; B calls them Ch'ieh-cha 伽吒 and Yu-po-ch'ieh-cha 優波伽吒; C calls them Wei-hai 爲害 and Fu-hai 復害 (Ghātaka and Upaghātaka?). One of them wishes to strike Śāriputra on the head, while the other vainly tries to dissuade him. As soon as he has struck Śāriputra, the wicked yakṣa burns and falls into hell. Maudgalyāyana, who saw or heard the blow dealt to Śāriputra, immediately comes to enquire about him, but Śāriputra only admits to a slight headache. The Buddha who has heard their conversation then utters the following *udāna*:

'How could suffering affect
The man whose mind is thus cultivated
And which, like a rock,
Stands unmoving,
Detached from pleasant things,

22 Title appearing in the summary of the second Chinese Saṃyukta, T 100, p.485b 25.

23 In his Commentary upon the Udāna, p.245, Dhammapāla proposes either the brahmanical practice of equanimity (*upekkhābrahmavihāra*) or the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling (*saññavedayitanirodhasamāpatti*), or again the attainment resulting from access to the formless spheres (*ārūppapādakaphalasamāpatti*). In any case, this concerns attainments which ensure the protection of the body.

Indifferent to irritating things?²⁴

Even if it is inspired by these canonical sources, the Sūtra of Śāriputra treats them in a very free fashion.

1. According to the latter, Śāriputra entered the Diamond Concentration (*vajrasamādhi*), a concentration unknown to the early texts but which appears in the list of 108 or 118 *samādhis* drawn up by the Prajñāpāramitās²⁵. According to these texts appertaining to the Mahāyāna, there is a Diamond Concentration or Diamond-like Concentration when one's state of concentration is not 'broken'²⁶. By introducing this concentration, the Sūtra of Śāriputra betrays its dependence on the sūtras of the Great Vehicle.

2. In the Sūtra of Śāriputra, the wicked yakṣa is called Chia-lo 迦羅 (Kāla) and the good yakṣa Yu-p'o-chia-lo 優婆迦羅 (Upakāla). The geographical catalogue of yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūrī mentions them in verse 7, and locates them in Kapilavastu²⁷. The Chinese and Tibetan versions specify the exact meaning of these names: Kāla means 'Black' and Upakāla means 'Nearly-Black'²⁸.

The Sūtra of Śāriputra adds a detail: 'Vaiśramaṇa the king

24 Cf. Pāli Udāna IV, 4, p.41; the Sanskrit version is found in the Udāna-varga XXXI, p.49 (ed. F. Bernhard, Göttingen 1965, p.425):

*yasya śailopamaṃ cittam sthitham nānuprakampate,
viraktaṃ rajanīyebhyaḥ kopanīye na kupyate,
yasyaivaṃ bhāvitam cittam kutas tam duḥkham eṣyati.*

25 See Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, ed. N. Dutt, London 1934, p.142, line 12; p.199, line 3; Śatasāhasrikā, ed. P. Ghosa, Calcutta 1902, p.826, line 13; p.1416, line 1.

26 Śatasāhasrikā, p.1416: *Vajro nāma samādhiḥ, yatra samādhau sthītvā na bhidyate.*

27 Ed. S. Lévi, JA, XI^e Sér., V, 1915, p.31

28 In Tibetan *Nag-po* and *Ne-nag-po*.

of the gods had sent them to Virūdhaka the king of the gods to enquire about the affairs of gods and mankind'. Vaiśramaṇa and Virūdhaka are two of the four great kings (Caturmahārājikas) who form the lower class of the gods of the world of desire (*kāmadhātu*) and are charged with the guardianship of the four cardinal points. Vaiśramaṇa, also called Kubera, rules over the North and is in command of the yakṣas; Virūdhaka rules over the South. The four great kings, either themselves or in the person of their counsellors, travel the world three times a month to check on the conduct of mankind and report to the Trāyastriṃśa gods²⁹. It is to this role that the Sūtra of Śāriputra refers here.

3. This same Sūtra considerably develops the discussion in which the two yakṣas oppose each other and complacently describes the storm and earthquake which vouchsafe the wicked yakṣa's offence.

4. Once the blow has been dealt, it is not Maudgalyāyana who goes to enquire about its results. Śāriputra goes to the Buddha and the latter asks after his health. Nevertheless, the *udāna*: *Yasye śailopamaṃ cittam . . .* uttered by the Buddha on that occasion is passed over in silence. Perhaps there was no obligatory connection between that *udāna* and the narrative which introduces it in the Pāli Udāna and the Sanskrit Saṃyukta.

III. *Samjīva burnt alive without being aware of it*

This third section is the most characteristic. The Sūtra of Śāriputra resorts here to a method common to Buddhist literature, of which the Avadānaśataka, the Mahāvastu and the

29 Cf. Aṅguttara I, pp.142-5, and other references in *Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* II, p.832.

Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya supply many examples. It consists of explaining an event of the present by an event of the past which is like its foreshadower. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, who at present are the Buddha Śākyamuni's two pre-eminent disciples, are the exact replicas of Saṃjīva and Vidura who formerly were the Buddha Krakasunda's two pre-eminent disciples. Then as now, the two good pairs (*bhadrāyuga*) of disciples practised the Diamond Concentration and, just as today Śāriputra received a formidable blow on the head and only had a slight headache, so formerly Saṃjīva, burnt alive by herdsmen who thought him dead, was in no way discomfited and went on his alms-round the following day. That is why he was nicknamed Saṃjīva 'Returned-to-Life'.

Saṃjīva's adventure is narrated in the *Māratajjaniyasutta* of the Majjhima (I, pp.333-4), the *Mo jao luan ching*³⁰ (T 66, p.864c-865a), the *Pi mo shih mu lien ching*³¹ (T 67, p.867a-b), and the *Chiang mo ching* of MĀ (T 26, pp.620c-621a). The Sūtra of Śāriputra reproduces this extract practically word for word. Nevertheless, we should note that the translator, in the circumstances Saṃghadeva, correctly interpreted the names of Krakasunda's two disciples: Saṃjīva which he translates as 'Life-Like' or 'Returned-to-Life', and Vidura which he renders by 'Most-Knowing'. The other translators interpreted Vidura as *yin* 音 'Sound', and Saṃjīva as *hsiang* 想 'Notion' (*saṃjñā*)³².

Śāriputra not only practised the Diamond Concentration but also the Concentration on Emptiness (*śūnyatāsamādhi*): this is the first of the four Doors to Deliverance (*vimokṣasamukha*)

30 Translated by an unknown hand under the Hou Han (25-220 CE).

31 Translated by Chih Ch'ien between 220 and 252.

32 Cf. T 66, p.864c 8; T 67, p.867a 23; T 26, p.620c 12.

accepted by both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, but particularly recommended by the latter³³. The EĀ attaches great importance to them to which it devotes a sūtra³⁴.

IV. The praise of Śāriputra

This fourth section exploits, by somewhat developing it, a canonical stock phrase glorifying the great knowledge of the holy ones. In the early texts this praise is sometimes addressed to the Buddha³⁵, sometimes to Śāriputra³⁶, sometimes to Ānanda³⁷ and finally, sometimes to an individual whose name is not specified³⁸.

The text insists on adding that Śāriputra is endowed with morality, concentration, wisdom, deliverance and the knowledge and vision of deliverance, in other words, the five elements which define Nirvāṇa³⁹.

V. The final stanzas

The Sūtra of Śāriputra concludes with three stanzas. The first

33 See the *Ta chih tu lun*, T 1509, p.96c (tr. in *Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* I, pp.321-3) and especially Chapter XXXXII where the three *vimokṣasamukhas* are set out in the perspective of the Hīnayāna (pp.206a 26-207b 2), then in that of the Mahāyāna (pp.207b 2-208a 2).

34 T 125, p.630b, tr. by A. Bareau, *Bouddha*, Paris 1962, pp.162-3.

35 Dīgha III, p.158; Mahāniddeśa I, p.177; II, p.450; Cullaniḍḍesa, p.135.

36 Majjhima III, p.25; Saṃyutta I, pp.63, 191; Saṃyukta, T 99, pp.330b 1-6, 358c 16-21; T 100, pp.457b 24-9, 477b 7-10.

37 Saṃyutta I, p.64.

38 Saṃyutta V, p.378.

39 These are the five *dhammakhandhas* of the Pāli Canon (Dīgha III, p.279; Saṃyutta I, p.99; Aṅguttara I, p.162; Itivuttaka, pp.106-7), the *lokottaraskandhas* of the Dharmasaṃgraha, ed. M. Müller, Oxford 1885, p.5, the *asamasamāhaskandhāḥ* of the Mahāvūyūtpatti, Nos 104-8, the *anāsravaskandhas* of the Kośa I, p.48, VI, p.297, and of the Kośavyākhyā, p.607.

two can be compared with vv.1082-4 of the Pāli Therāgathā (p.96):

*dasa devasahassāni sabbe te brahmakāyikā
dhammasenāpatim dhīraṃ mahājhāyim samāhitam
Sāriputtam namassantā tiṭṭhantī pañjalīkatā:
namo te purisājañña, namo te purisuttama,
yassa te nābhijānāma yaṃ pi nissāya jhāyasi.*

'Ten thousand gods, all of the Brahmā class, stood with joined hands, paying homage to Sāriputta, general of the Dhamma, steadfast, great meditator and concentrated one: 'Homage to you, most noble among men; homage to you, best of men. We know not on what you meditate.'

I do not know the source of the third stanza in which Śāriputra is presented as the flower adorning the Bodhi tree, here symbolizing the Tathāgata. The Pārijātaka (in Pāli, Pāricchattaka) is a tree growing in the Garden of Joy (Nandanavana) belonging to the Trāyastriṃśa gods.

The Sūtra of Śāriputra analysed here is a typical example of these composite sūtras artificially wrought by the editors of the EĀ by setting end to end other sūtras or fragments of sūtras. However, these compilers took some liberties with their sources, they developed them and, as the need arose, changed them in order to introduce convictions that were dear to them and, in general, inspired by the Mahāyāna.

EKOTTĀRAGAMA (XVIII)

Translated from the Chinese Version by
Thích Huyèn-Vi and Bhikkhu Pāsādika
in collaboration with Sara Boin-Webb

Ninth Fascicle

Part 18

Shame and Remorse

(*hry-apatrāpya*)¹

1. ²Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying in Śrāvastī, at the Jeta Grove, in Anāthapiṇḍada's Park. Then the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: There are two good states (*su-dharma*) which protect the world. Which are those two? Shame and remorse. If these two states, O bhikṣus, were not to exist, the world would not distinguish between father and mother, between elder and younger brother, wife and children, between friend and elder, great and small; [just a though one would] conveniently treat the six kinds of domestic animal as belonging to one and the same species: pigs, poultry, dogs, cattle, goats and sheep. Since these two good states are in the world for its protection, one distinguishes between father and mother, elder and younger brother, between wife and children, [grades of]

1 According to CPD, p.720, *otappa* (*apatrāpya*) means 'shunning, shrinking from, fearing for (evil-doing . . .)'. The Chinese *kui* stands for 'ashamed, remorse'. The latter term is defined not only as 'pain caused by a sense of guilt', but also as 'reluctance to commit a wrong or to act cruelly'. Cf. SWTF, p.520b, under *apa-trāpya*: Schamempfinden, . . . Skrupelhaftigkeit'.

2 See T2, 587b4 ff.; Hayashi, p.142 ff.

seniority, between great and small, and likewise no[body would] treat the six kinds of domestic animal exactly alike. Consequently, O bhikṣus, it is necessary to have a sense of shame and remorse. Thus, bhikṣus, you should train. — Having heard the Buddha's words, the bhikṣus were pleased and respectfully applied themselves to practice³.

2. 'Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying in Śrāvastī, at the Jeta Grove, in Anāthapiṇḍada's Park. Then the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: There are two persons in the world who — even at the cost of their lives — are insatiable. Which are those two? One [of them] acquires goods and chattels which he steadily hides and hoards; the other also becomes wealthy but is fond of [sharing with] people. Such are the two persons, insatiable even at the cost of their lives. — Now there were two bhikṣus who said to the Exalted One: We do not understand, Exalted One, the meaning of this terse statement. How does one acquire, hide and hoard wealth? And how does one become wealthy for the sake of people? Would the Exalted One be kind enough to elucidate its meaning? — Listen attentively, said the Exalted One, and take heed; the time has come for me to explain the meaning to you. — Just so, replied [the bhikṣus]. Then the Buddha addressed the [following explanation] to the bhikṣus:

3 Cf. A I, 51: *Dve 'me bhikkhave sukkā dhammā lokam pārenti. Katame dve? Hiri ca ottapaṇ ca. Ime kho . . . dve sukkā dhammā lokam na pāleyyum nayidha paññāyetha mātā ti vā mātucchā ti vā . . .*; F.L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings I* (PTS 1932), 46. Practically the same text occurs at It, 36; F.L. Woodward, *Minor Anthologies II (As it was Said)* (PTS 1935), 141 f. Whilst the Pāli texts contain a warning against sexual promiscuity, the Chinese seems more concerned with a disruption of the Confucianist hierarchical system of ethics.

There is a son of good family (*kulaputra*) who becomes proficient in many a field such as agriculture or writing, calculating, astronomy, geography, divination, diplomacy or [service as] a courtier. Undaunted by frost and summer heat, hunger and cold, he perseveres with great zeal and, all on his own, [finally] succeeds. He is so efficient that he acquires goods and chattels. [Now, however,] he is unable to have his meals [properly]; moreover, he can neither be with his wife or female slaves nor with his relatives and is [thus] kept entirely apart from them all. As for his acquired goods and chattels, either kings take them by force or they are taken away by thieves; either fire burns or water scatters them and carries them away to other places; [thus all his efforts] are rendered futile. And not only that — members of his family do not stop making his wealth disappear. That is, O bhikṣus, what is called a person who acquires, hides and hoards wealth.

How does one become wealthy and share? There is a son of good family who becomes proficient in many a field such as agriculture . . . Undaunted by frost . . . he perseveres with great zeal and . . . succeeds . . . acquires good and chattels. That person gives generously (*dāna*) to sentient beings, to father and mother, to female slaves and his wife; he makes liberal offerings to ascetics and brahmins. He cultivates all kinds of virtue (*guṇa*) and makes merit [ensuring] heavenly (*divya*) existence. That is, O bhikṣus, what is meant by becoming [wealthy] and giving generously. These are, O bhikṣus, the two insatiable persons, the former acquiring goods and chattels which he hoards; one should conscientiously (*smṛtimat*) give up [his way of acting]. The latter becomes [wealthy] and gives generously. One should emulate [him] at such practice (*kriyā*). Thus, bhikṣus, one should train. — Having heard the Buddha's words, the bhikṣus were pleased and respectfully applied themselves to [their own]

practice⁴.

4 At T2, 587c (n.10), Hayashi, p.142, and Lancaster, p.222, reference is made to A.II.1.1 (Vajjā) (= A I, 47-9). The Chinese passage, however, does not parallel the Pāli text. Nevertheless, some other Pāli places resemble the EĀ text: cf. A IV, 281, 23 - 282, 6; 284, 28-31: *Idha Byagghapajja kulaputto yena kamma-ṭṭhānena jīvikam kappeti yadi kasiyā yadi vaṇijjāya . . . rājaporisena . . . Ayam vuccati . . . uṭṭhānasampadā . . . Idha Byagghapajja kulaputtassa bhogā honti uṭṭhānaviriyādhigatā . . . 'kinti me ime bhoge neva rājāno hareyyum, na corā hareyyum, na aggi ḍaheyya, na udkaṃ vaheyya, na appiyā dāyādā hareyyun' ti? . . . Idha . . . kulaputto vigatamalamaccherena cetasā . . . dānasamvibhāgarato. Ayam vuccati . . . cāgasampadā. — E.M. Hare, *Gradual Sayings IV* (PTS 1935), 188, 3-18; 190, 28-30. Cf. also M I, 85, 30-7; 86, 9-15: *Idha bhikkhave kulaputto yena sippaṭṭhānena jīvikam kappeti, yadi muddāya yadi gaṇanāya yadi saṅkhānena yadi kasiyā . . . rājaporisena . . . sitassa purakkhato uṅhassa purakkhato . . . khuppiāsūya miyamāno . . . kinti me bhoge n' eva rājāno hareyyum . . . Tassa evaṃ ārakkhato gopayato te bhoge rājāno vā haranti . . . dāyādā haranti, So socati . . . yam 'pi me ahosi tam 'pi no na' iṭhīti. — I.B. Horner, *Middle Length Sayings* (PTS 1954), 112, 32 - 113, 4; 113, 19-27.**

As for the enumeration of various kinds of expertise enabling one to make a living and become rich, their Chinese EĀ list is slightly shorter than that of M, *loc. cit.*, but the EĀ items reveal a stage of astounding sophistication unlike that of the Pāli. Although Horner's translation of *gaṇanā*, *saṅkhāna*, viz. as 'calculation and computing', seems rather sophisticated too (the Chinese EĀ simply has 'calculating'); *muddā*, rendered by her as 'reckoning on the fingers', appears comparatively jejune. Probably the Indic original of EĀ had *lekhā* instead of *mudrā*, for the second kind of expertise in the EĀ has literally been translated as *shū shū*, 'lipillekhā', and 'to lay before, to state'; *mudrā*, on the other hand, is represented in Chinese by the character meaning 'seal, stamp, impression', which later on in the context of Chinese cultural history stands for printing. As regards the development of the terms *muddā*, *gaṇanā*, *saṅkhāna*, see a) O.v. Hinüber, *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*, Academy of Sciences and Literature in Mainz, Stuttgart 1990, pp.30-5; b) the review article on v. Hinüber's book by P. Kieffer-Pölz, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 246, 3/4, Göttingen 1994,

3. 'Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying in Śrāvastī, at the Jeta Grove, in Anāthapiṇḍada's Park. Then the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: One should always be given to [practising] the Dharma (lit. *dharmadāya*) instead of being given to [hankering after] material things (*āmiśadāya*)⁵. So it is now [up to] you [whether] the results (*vipāka*) [of your actions] will protect you [or not]. As my disciples (*śrāvaka*) you should respect the Dharma rather than covet possessions (*lābha*). If [you] covet possessions, you will be quite guilty of transgression (*atyaya*) towards the Tathāgata. For what reason? In all likelihood people will be biased against (lit. *na pari-cchid*) the Dharma and revile the Exalted One's Teaching. After vituper-

pp.211-2. In the Vinaya of the Pāli Canon (Vin IV, 6, 32, 7,1-5), as v. Hinüber has shown, *muddā* and *lekhā* are mentioned together (*op. cit.*, p.30). Cf. also Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, p.275, 1-6 (P. Pradhan ed.), where writing (*lipi*) occurs together with engraving (*mudrā*), oral counting (*gaṇanā*) . . . and reckoning (*saṃkhyā*) in connection with an explanation of bodily, vocal and mental *karman* (cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu III*, Paris 1923-31, repr. Brussels 1971, p.253-4). The items 'astronomy, geography, divination, diplomacy' of the above-mentioned EĀ list have no equivalents in the Pāli parallels and betray an appreciably later stage in the compiling of canonical texts.

5 This text is a parallel to the Dhammadāyāsutta, M I, 12-16. It also parallels MĀ, T1, 569c 24 ff. The setting and introductory part of MĀ, however, differ entirely from that of the Pāli and EĀ versions (cf. Thich Minh Chau, *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya, A Comparative Study*, Saigon 1964, p.335). As for the Pāli *dhammadāyāda*, *āmiśadāyāda*, 'heirs of dhamma, heirs of material things' (cf. Horner, *op. cit.*, 16), MĀ has 'seekers of the Dharma, seekers of food'; according to the St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary, *dāya* means both 'inheritance' and 'giving, gift' (deriving from *dā*, to give), 'taking, receiving', might have been non-existent in the Indic original. — In Hayashi, p.147, through inadvertence, the Pāli and MĀ parallel places are given with reference to EĀ, 9th fasc., part 18, No.4 instead of No.3.

ating against it, they will in future be unable to follow the way leading to Nirvāṇa. If [you are greedy for material things, you will] bring shame (*lajjā*) upon me, for report will have it that the Tathāgata's disciples are acquisitive, remiss in practising the Dharma, [themselves] biased against the Dharma [by their indirectly] reviling the Exalted One's Teaching and not actually following it; that after their [indirectly] vituperating against the Exalted One's Teaching, they will in future be unable to follow the way to Nirvāṇa. Now you bhikṣus should conscientiously be given to [practising] the Dharma instead of being given to craving (*kāma*). If [you practise seriously, you] will be [men of] real learning (*bāhuśrutya*) and have a good reputation (*yaśas*) far and wide. Respect the Dharma and do not hanker after property. Then [you need] not be ashamed of anything, for then [you] as the Tathāgata's disciples will practise the Dharma in real earnest and without being in the grip of desire. That is, O bhikṣus, what is to be understood by conscientiously being given to [practising] the Dharma instead of being overcome by the lure of possessions. Why, O bhikṣus, do I make such a statement? (T2, 588a) Is there any reason for it? —

The bhikṣus replied to the Exalted One: Would the Exalted One be so kind as to expatiate upon the subject? — The Exalted One went on saying to the bhikṣus: Once somebody had invited me to a food offering⁶. There happened to remain some leavings (*śeṣa*) fit to be thrown away. Now two bhikṣus came from far away whose bodies were totally exhausted and whose complexion had completely changed. I spoke to the bhikṣus about the leavings that had remained and were fit to be thrown

6 On this special meaning of *pūjā* in Chinese, see Soothill, p.249b, Hackmann, p.305b.

away and told them that the remains [of the meal] which at that very moment were required, were put at their disposal. — Today the Exalted One has some remains [of his meal], one of the bhikṣus thought, which are fit to be thrown away. Just now these are required and are put at our disposal. If we do not have them, this food will have to be taken away and discarded at a spot clear of [vegetation or], if at hand, in water. So now we certainly do the right thing if we partake of this food [in order to] satisfy our hunger and regain our strength. — The other bhikṣu [, however, recalled what] he had learnt: The Awakened One has taught us to be given to practising the Dharma and not to be given to craving, and thus the most excellent [thing] to be cultivated is non-attachment (*aprasaṅga*) with regard to possessions, in one's practising the Dharma the thing to be revered most. Now for the rest of the day I can bear staying without food being, as it were, self-sufficient. There is no need [for my part] to benefit from that meritorious act (*punya*) of faithful almsgiving. — [Thus] that bhikṣu, of his own [accord] no longer thinking about alms[food], did not partake of it, [irrespective of] his body being totally exhausted and not worrying himself about his life. To the former [lit: 'the second'] bhikṣu, on the other hand, it occurred: The Exalted One has some leavings fit to be thrown away. Unless we have them, we cannot recover from our total loss of strength. [I] am going to partake of this food [in order to] satisfy my hunger, regain my strength and [spend the rest of] the day and the night peacefully. — Then the bhikṣu did accordingly and peacefully in retreat completely recovered his strength. Although that bhikṣu, the Exalted One went on, partook of the food offering, staved off the pangs of hunger and completely recovered his strength, [thereby not having done anything wrong,] he is not as much worthy of respect, of veneration and honour as the bhikṣu [who

did not want to eat] (lit. 'the former'). For a long time (*dīrgha-rātram*) that other bhikṣu will have an excellent reputation and be [a man of] far-reaching learning; as for his forbearance (*saṃvara*), he knows how to be contented with little and is genuinely modest. O bhikṣus, you should be given to practising the Dharma, not to covetousness. The motivation (*vaśa*) for what I have said before is this very subject-matter (*nidāna*) [just related]. — When the Exalted One had given his discourse, he rose from his seat and went away.

At that time a large number of bhikṣus thought: What the Exalted One has set forth in brief is quintessential, but [he] refrained from continuing at great length. He rose from his seat and entered his quiet room. Now who in this multitude would in fact be capable of fully treating the subject-matter (lit.: *artha*) put in a nutshell? — Then it occurred to many a bhikṣu: It is Śāriputra of whom the Exalted One has a high opinion. All of us should go to his whereabouts. — At once a large number of bhikṣus went to Venerable Śāriputra's abode. [There they] exchanged respectful greetings (*vandana*) and sat down at one side. Thereafter they communicated to Śāriputra everything they had a chance to hear from the Exalted One. Then Venerable Śāriputra asked the bhikṣus: In what way are the Exalted One's disciples acquisitive and remiss in practising the Dharma, and how are they given to cultivating their Dharma practice instead of hankering after possessions? — We would come even from afar, replied the large number of bhikṣus to Śāriputra, to request an elucidation [so as to] practise accordingly. As Venerable Śāriputra is an authority, [he may kindly] expatiate for us on this subject-matter. — Listen attentively, said Śāriputra, and take heed. Let me expatiate upon it for your benefit. — Just so, replied the multitude of bhikṣus, and Śāriputra [began to] elucidate:

There are disciples of the Exalted One who do not practise in accordance with what they have learnt, viz. the cultivation (*sthāpana*) of tranquillity (*śamatha*)⁷ and recollection (*smṛti*), and many bhikṣus do not get rid (*pra-hā*) of those things which the Exalted One requires them to abandon. Prevalent in them are sloth (*kauśīdya*) and distraction (*vikṣiptasaṃjñā*); what they ought to do they are unwilling to do, and what they ought to refrain from they readily do. There are three cases (*sthāna*), reverend sirs (*bhadra*), which senior (*āyusmat*) bhikṣus [should be] ashamed of. Which are the three? There is the case which senior bhikṣus should be ashamed of [in that they], as the Exalted One's disciples, do not cultivate, as they always [should], the happiness of tranquillity. Senior bhikṣus do not get rid of those things which the Exalted One requires them to abandon — [that is the second case] they should be ashamed of. Prevalent in senior bhikṣus is distraction; recollection and one-pointedness of mind (*cittaikāgratā*) are [conspicuous by their] absence — [that is the third case] they should be ashamed of. You should know, reverend sirs, that there are three cases which bhikṣus of middle standing (*madhyama*) . . . newly ordained (*nava*; lit. 'of few years') bhikṣus should be ashamed of . . . [that is the third case] they should be ashamed of. That, reverend sirs, is what I have referred to as being acquisitive and remiss in practising the Dharma. —

The bhikṣus asked Śāriputra: How is a bhikṣu intent on the Dharma instead of hankering after possessions? — As far as that bhikṣu is concerned, said Śāriputra, while the Exalted One, the Tathāgata, abides in the happiness of tranquillity, [as his] disciple he also tries to abide in such a state. [He as well as other really

7 I.e. *jījing*; after Hackmann, p.57a.

serious] bhikṣus get rid of those things which the Exalted One requires them to abandon; they are neither slothful nor confused; what they ought to do they do, and what they ought to refrain from they actually do not do. You should know, reverend sirs, that there are three cases making for the excellent reputation of senior bhikṣus. Which three? While the Exalted One abides in the happiness of tranquillity, as his disciples they should also abide in such a state; [that is the first case] making for the excellent reputation of senior bhikṣus. Then those bhikṣus get rid of those things which the Exalted One requires them to abandon; [that is the second case] making for the excellent reputation of senior bhikṣus. Prevalent in them are steady heedfulness (*avikṣiptasamjñā*) and constant one-pointedness of mind; [that is the third case] making for the excellent reputation of senior bhikṣus. You should know, reverend sirs, that there are three cases making for the excellent reputation of bhikṣus of middle standing . . . and of newly ordained bhikṣus. Which are the three? While the Exalted One abides in the happiness of tranquillity, as his disciples they should also abide . . . making for the excellent reputation of bhikṣus of middle standing and of newly ordained bhikṣus.

Craving (*lobha*), you should know, reverend sirs, is evil (*doṣa*), a veritable disaster; the same holds good of aversion (*dveṣa*). In order to overcome desire and hatred there is the Middle Way, making for vision, making for insight-knowledge for the cessation of bondage (*bandhanopaśama*) and conducing to Nirvāṇa⁸. Avarice (*mātasarya*) and jealousy (*īrṣyā*) are evil

8 For a Sanskrit original, cf., for example, CPS II, p.140 (11.15): *madhyam(ā) pra(tipac ca)kṣuṣk(a)raṇi (j)ñ(āna)karaṇy upaśama(karaṇ)y . . . nirvāṇāya samvartate*.

and are an extremely heavy burden (*bhāra*). The mental defilements (*kleśa*) are [like] a destructive fire, conceit (*mada*) and arrogance (*māna*) are particularly deep-rooted (*sutarām*). Deceit (*māyā*), dishonesty, shamelessness (*āhrikyā*), unscrupulousness (*anapatrāpya*) and sensuous greed (*kāmarāga*) — it [seems next to] impossible to give them up; they surely get the better of [man]. Arrogance and excessive pride (*adhimāna*) are also insuperable. (T2, 589a) [So as to] overcome these two [kinds of] haughtiness [as well as the other defects of character] there is the Middle Way, making for vision . . . and conducing to Nirvāṇa. — What, Venerable Śāriputra, asked the bhikṣus, is the Middle Way, making for vision . . . and conducing to Nirvāṇa? — Reverend sirs, replied Śāriputra, you should know that this is the Noble Eightfold Path, viz., right views, right bodily action, right speech, right effort, right livelihood, right intention, right mindfulness and right concentration⁹. This is, reverend sirs, what is to be understood by the Middle Way, making for vision . . . and conducing to Nirvāṇa. — Having heard Venerable Śāriputra's words, the bhikṣus were pleased and applied themselves to practice.'

Additional Abbreviations

- CPD = *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. D. Andersen, H. Smith, H. Hendriksen, vol.I, Copenhagen, 1924-48, vol.II (fasc. 1ff.), Copenhagen 1960 ff.
CPS = E. Waldschmidt (ed.) *Das Catuspariṣatsūtra* (based)

9 This list corresponds to the enumeration at BSR 11, 2, p.165 (n.15) but for the fact that here 'right effort' precedes 'right livelihood'.

on Turfan MSS), Part I-III, Berlin 1952-62.
It = Itivuttaka, ed. E. Windisch, London 1889 (PTS).

Addendum to EĀ XVII

At BSR 11, 2 (1994), pp.162-3 (n.12), 'eighteen transformations' are referred to in the text without specification. These eighteen *pariṇāmas* are specified at Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten* (2nd ed.), Kyoto 1954, pp.2366-7, under *jūhachi hen*:

1. *kampana* (vibrating), 2. *jvalana* (flaming), 3. *spharāṇa* (suffusion), 4. *vidarśana* (manifestation), 5. *anyatī-bhāvakarāṇa* (sic) (changing completely), 6. *gamanāgamana* (going and coming), 7. *saṃkṣepa* (compressing), 8. *prathana* (extending), 9. *sarvarūpa-kārya-praveśana* (penetrating all [sorts of] forms), 10. *sabhāgato-pasaṃkrānti* (i.e. the ability to preach the Dharma, while taking on the appearance, speech etc. (lit. 'gone to the assembly') of noblemen, brahmins . . . celestial beings), 11. *āvibhāva* (sic) (appearing), 12. *tirobhāva* (disappearing), 13. *vaśīva-karāṇa* (acting freely or by having power), 14. *pararddhy-abhibhavana* (overpowering / controlling others by means of supernormal power), 15. *pratibhā-dāna* (imparting quickwittedness), 16. *smṛti-dāna* (imparting recollection), 17. *sukha-dāna* (imparting happiness), 18. *raśmi-pramokṣaṇa* (emitting rays of light).

The encyclopedia further explains the items such as, for instance, Nos. 7, 8, viz. as the ability to reduce, e.g., the Himālayas to an atom and, vice versa, to enlarge the latter to the former's dimensions. Given as sources of the list of the eighteen *pariṇāmas* are e.g. the Aśokarājavadāna (T50, No.2042) and some other works which do not belong to the earliest strata of Buddhist literature.

NEWS AND NOTES

Journal of Buddhist Ethics

'The world's first peer-reviewed hypermedia journal in Buddhism (and the UK's first such journal in any academic field)' was launched last year. 'Totally electronic and published both in plain text and hypermedia formats, it can be accessed via computer using a range of Internet tools such as the World Wide Web, Gopher and anonymous FTP'. The journal will publish articles and reviews on *vinaya* and jurisprudence, medical and philosophical ethics, human rights, ethics and psychology, ecology, animals and the environment, social and political philosophy, cross-cultural ethics, and interfaith dialogue on ethics.

Subscription to the journal is free and can be obtained by sending an e-mail request to *jbe-ed@psu.edu*. For further details send a stamped-addressed envelope to Dr Damien Keown, Dept of Historical and Cultural Studies, Goldsmiths College, London SE14 6NW. E-mail address: *hsaOldk@gold.ac*.

Joint editors are Dr Keown and Prof. Charles S. Prebish, Religious Studies Program, Pennsylvania State University (e-mail: *cspl@psuvm.psu.edu*). The latter also serves as editorial representative for BSR.

The first online conference in Buddhism will be held between 1 - 14 October on the subject of 'Buddhism and Human Rights'. Papers should be received by 31 August and must not exceed 5,000 words. All enquiries should be addressed to *jbe-ed@psu.edu*.

Seminars at the School of Oriental & African Studies

Prof. Richard Gombrich, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, delivered the Louis H. Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion for 1994 with the collective title 'How Buddhism Began: the

more than sixty thousand men and women and to eighty thousand gods the immaculate Dharma-eye opened, ridding them of all impurities. At that time, in the intoxicated elephant's body there arose winds [cutting like] a knife [which brought about] its death³¹; it was reborn in the palace of the four world-guardians. Having heard the Exalted One's words, the bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, all upāsakas and upāsikās, gods, *nāgas* and ogres were pleased and applied themselves to practice.'

31 See A III, 101, 19-20 (not A I. 101 as given in PTSD, 674, under *satthaka*): *satthakā vā me vātā kuppeyyum, tena me assa kālakiriya*; cf. also J III, 445, 26-8: *satthakavātā... jīvītapariyantikaṃ katvā ...* The translation at BSR 11, 2, p.166, 5, 'there arose a windy humour' should be corrected to 'there arose winds'.

Additional Abbreviations

- EncBuddh = G.P. Malalasekera et al. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 1 ff., Colombo 1961 ff.
 NidSa = C. Tripāthī (ed.), *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta* (based on Turfan MSS), Berlin 1962.
 PTSD = T.W. Rhys Davids, W. Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London 1921-5.

CORRECTIONS — EKOTTARĀGAMA XVIII (BSR 12, 1 (1995))

- p. 47, l. 15: for 'just a though' read 'just as though'.
 p. 47, n. 1: for *otappa* read *ottappa*.
 p. 48, n. 3: for *ottapañ* read *ottappañ*.
 p. 49, l. 20: for 'good and chattels; read 'goods. . .'.
 p. 50, l. 9: for *hareyyaum* read *hareyyum*, for *udkaṃ* read *udakaṃ*.
 p. 50, l. 15: for *miyamāno* read *mīyamāno*.
 p. 50, l. 18: for *Middle Length Sayings* (read . . . *Sayings I*.
 p. 51, l. 23: for 'Dhammadāyāsutta' read 'Dhammadāyādasutta'.
 p. 51, l. 31: after 'to give' insert 'on which latter *fā shī, shī shī* of

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OBITUARIES

Yehan Numata (12 April 1897 - 5 May 1994)

One of the most generous Buddhist philanthropists of this century has recently died at a ripe old age. In many ways a humble and devout follower of Jōdō Shinshū, he possessed a breadth of vision that impelled him 'to enable more people to understand the wonders of Buddhism'.

He was born the third son of a Shin temple family living in the mountains of Hiroshima Prefecture and was recommended to become a priest. However, following his school education he was given the opportunity to study in the USA. He sailed to California and lodged with a family in Hollywood, but two years of menial domestic chores combined with his studies took their toll and he contracted tuberculosis. Thanks, as he said, to daily recitation of the Nembutsu and adoption of a positive state of mind, he recovered his health, worked his way through college and graduated in economics and business studies from the University of California in 1928.

His mother had instilled into him that it was a natural duty to thank and serve the Buddha. To repay what he considered a debt of gratitude to the American people, he was instrumental in launching *The Pacific World* three years earlier. This bi-monthly periodical fostered an appreciation of Oriental culture in general and Buddhism in particular, and was sent to the major universities and libraries in the USA. After two years, financial constraints obliged Mr Numata to seek assistance in Japan where, with the support of Junjiro Takakusu, the former's periodical combined with the latter's magazine, *The Young East*, and appeared for a further two years.

In 1930, Mr Numata returned to Japan and pioneered the production of micrometers (which had hitherto been imported at

on Turfan MSS), Part I-III, Berlin 1952-62.
It = Itivuttaka, ed. E. Windisch, London 1889 (PTS).

Addendum to EĀ XVII

At BSR 11, 2 (1994), pp.162-3 (n.12), 'eighteen transformations' are referred to in the text without specification. These eighteen *pariṇāmas* are specified at Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten* (2nd ed.), Kyoto 1954, pp.2366-7, under *jūhachi hen*:

1. *kampana* (vibrating), 2. *jvalana* (flaming), 3. *spharāṇa* (suffusion), 4. *vidarśana* (manifestation), 5. *anyatī-bhāvakarāṇa* (sic) (changing completely), 6. *gamanāgamana* (going and coming), 7. *saṃkṣepa* (compressing), 8. *prathana* (extending), 9. *sarvarūpa-kārya-praveśana* (penetrating all [sorts of] forms), 10. *sabhāgato-pasaṃkrānti* (i.e. the ability to preach the Dharma, while taking on the appearance, speech etc. (lit. 'gone to the assembly') of noblemen, brahmins . . . celestial beings), 11. *āvibhāva* (sic) (appearing), 12. *tirobhāva* (disappearing), 13. *vaśīva-karāṇa* (acting freely or by having power), 14. *pararddhy-abhibhavana* (overpowering / controlling others by means of supernormal power), 15. *pratibhā-dāna* (imparting quickwittedness), 16. *smṛti-dāna* (imparting recollection), 17. *sukha-dāna* (imparting happiness), 18. *raśmi-pramokṣaṇa* (emitting rays of light).

The encyclopedia further explains the items such as, for instance, Nos. 7, 8, viz. as the ability to reduce, e.g., the Himālayas to an atom and, vice versa, to enlarge the latter to the former's dimensions. Given as sources of the list of the eighteen *pariṇāmas* are e.g. the Aśokarājāvādāna (T50, No.2042) and some other works which do not belong to the earliest strata of Buddhist literature.

NEWS AND NOTES

Journal of Buddhist Ethics

'The world's first peer-reviewed hypermedia journal in Buddhism (and the UK's first such journal in any academic field)' was launched last year. 'Totally electronic and published both in plain text and hypermedia formats, it can be accessed via computer using a range of Internet tools such as the World Wide Web, Gopher and anonymous FTP'. The journal will publish articles and reviews on *vinaya* and jurisprudence, medical and philosophical ethics, human rights, ethics and psychology, ecology, animals and the environment, social and political philosophy, cross-cultural ethics, and interfaith dialogue on ethics.

Subscription to the journal is free and can be obtained by sending an e-mail request to *jbe-ed@psu.edu*. For further details send a stamped-addressed envelope to Dr Damien Keown, Dept of Historical and Cultural Studies, Goldsmiths College, London SE14 6NW. E-mail address: *hsaOldk@gold.ac*.

Joint editors are Dr Keown and Prof. Charles S. Prebish, Religious Studies Program, Pennsylvania State University (e-mail: *cspl@psuvm.psu.edu*). The latter also serves as editorial representative for BSR.

The first online conference in Buddhism will be held between 1 - 14 October on the subject of 'Buddhism and Human Rights'. Papers should be received by 31 August and must not exceed 5,000 words. All enquiries should be addressed to *jbe-ed@psu.edu*.

Seminars at the School of Oriental & African Studies

Prof. Richard Gombrich, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, delivered the Louis H. Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion for 1994 with the collective title 'How Buddhism Began: the

Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings'. The transcript of the opening lecture and the four seminar papers will undoubtedly be published by SOAS in due course.

Prof. Sinichi Tsuda, Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai Visiting Professor for 1995, gave a series of ten lectures on 'The Thought of Early Buddhism and its Tantric Evolution'. He also conducted seminars on the Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra.

Tucci Centenary

To mark the centenary of the birth (and tenth anniversary of his death), the Italian state issued a series of postage stamps last year, commemorating their most outstanding Orientalist, Giuseppe Tucci.

In India, Tibet House (New Delhi) sponsored a one-day seminar on 13 September in collaboration with the Italian Embassy. Papers on various aspects of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism were presented and the programme included the recitation of Nāgārjuna's Paramārthastava in Sanskrit, Italian and Tibetan, the unveiling of a bronze bust of Tucci sculpted by S.R. Choudhury of Shantiniketan and the screening of a rare film, 'Tibet', produced by IsMEO, Rome.

OBITUARIES

Nyāṇaponika Mahāthera (20 July 1901 - 19 October 1994)

The distinguished German *ganthadhura* bhikkhu, Founder-Editor of the Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy (Sri Lanka), died peacefully at his nearby Forest Hermitage aged 93. He was the seniormost Theravādin-ordained Western Buddhist monk and on the last day had just completed his 57th *vassa*. His body was cremated in Kandy on 23 October and the ashes interred at the Island Hermitage, Dodanduwa.

Born as Siegmund Feniger in Hanau, Hesse, he started work as a bookseller in the Silesian town of Kattowitz (now Katowice, Poland) and, after studying the texts of his ancestral religion, Judaism, discovered books on Buddhism and considered himself a convert by the time he moved with his parents to Berlin in 1920. In the capital he moved in Buddhist circles and met Paul Dahlke and Martin Steinke (leaders of their own groups). Four years later the family moved to Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, Russia) where he made the acquaintance of Georg Krauskopf and between them formed a local Buddhist study group and were in contact with Helmut von Glasenapp who was lecturing at the University.

From Nyāṇadhāra (Conrad Nell), a senior pupil of Nyāṇatiloka, Feniger learnt of the monastic life which he resolved to follow in 1931. However, since his father had just died, for the sake of his mother he deferred this step for a further five years. Having ensured her safety in Vienna, he finally sailed from Marseilles and was met in Colombo by his compatriot and the seniormost Western bhikkhu, Nyāṇatiloka Mahāthera, who ordained him a sāmaṇera at the Island Hermitage. He was named Nyāṇaponika ('he who seeks understanding') and undertook to master Pāli in order to acquire a thorough

knowledge of the Tipiṭaka. A year later, in 1937, he received the *upasampadā* ordination. Between 1938-9 he lived near the upcountry town of Gampola, occasionally visiting his mother (for whom he had arranged passage following the Anschluss) in Colombo to instruct her in Dhamma.

As a German national he was interned for the duration of the Second World War, for the first two years at Diyatalawa where he helped prepare a German translation of the Sutta-Nipāta (published in Konstanz 1955, 1977). Thereafter, at Dehra Dun, India, he continued his studies and translations, notably the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (*Kompendium der Dingwelt*, Hamburg 1950) and Atthasālinī (currently in the press) and an anthology of texts on *Satipaṭṭhāna* (*Der Heilsweg buddhistischer Geistesschulung*, Konstanz 1950; repr. as *Kommentar zur Lehrrede von den Grundlagen der Achtsamkeit Satipaṭṭhāna*, 1973). In the same camp he met and became friendly with Lama Anagarika Govinda and, as a result, translated portions of the *Catuḥśataka*. He returned to Ceylon in 1946 (becoming a citizen in 1951) and, with his teacher, participated in the 6th Buddhist Council in Rangoon (1954-6). Whilst in Burma he undertook extended meditation tuition and practice under the renowned *vipassanā* teacher, Mahasi Sayadaw.

In 1952 Nyāṇaponika had moved to the highlands of Kandy and, until his death, lived in a house (the Forest Hermitage) situated in Udawatakelle, a one-time royal park. Here he cared for both his teacher (Nyāṇatiloka) and one of the oldest German pupils, Vappo, until their death. In 1958 he was instrumental in founding the Buddhist Publication Society and served as chief editor of *The Wheel and Bodhi Leaves* series which provides approximately ninety countries with Buddhist literature in the English language. Every aspect of the Theravāda tradition is encompassed in these unique serial publications and their editor

ensured that all translations were accurate and exegetical material authoritative. A high standard in content and presentation was maintained and won the respect of those seeking serious treatment of a subject not adequately addressed by commercial publishers. On the occasion of the Society's 25th anniversary in 1982 he compiled, from this literature, *The Road to Inner Freedom. A Survey of the Buddha's Teaching*.

He gave active help to many Germans (and other Westerners) who sought to lead the monastic life in Sri Lanka and his home became a well-known place to which people flocked in search of knowledge. In 1970 he visited Germany for the first time since his departure and, two years later, Switzerland and England. In recognition of his outstanding contribution to Buddhist scholarship he was made an honorary member of the Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft in 1978, and awarded two honorary doctorates — from the Buddhist and Pali University of Sri Lanka and the University of Peradeniya in 1987 and 1990 respectively. In 1993 the Amarapura Nikāya (into which fraternity he had been ordained) conferred on him the title Amarapura Mahā Mahopādhyāya Sāsana Sobhana ('Great Mentor of the Amarapura Nikāya, Ornament of the Teaching').

His vast output of writings include original translations from the Pāli Canon and seminal commentaries and exegetical works, all in English and German (with retranslations into other European languages by devoted lay disciples). See list at end.

No less than three felicitation volumes were published in his honour: *Des Geistes Gleichmass*, ed. Kurt Onkel (Konstanz 1976), which includes a short biography by Hellmuth Hecker; *Zur Erkenntnis Geneigt* (Konstanz 1986), which includes Hecker, 'Vierzehn Tage mit Nyāṇaponika' and Mirko Frýba, 'Über das Mönchsleben' (an interview at the Forest Hermitage in 1979); *'nicht derselbe und nicht ein anderer'*, ed. Detlef Kantowsky

(Konstanz 1991), reviewed in the previous issue of BSR.

Selected Bibliography of Nyānaponika's Works

Translations:

Berichtigungen zu K.E. Neumanns Übersetzung der 1. Lehrrede der 'Mittleren Sammlungen': 'Urari' (Konstanz 1950); M 7 and 8 — *The Simile of the Cloth and the Discourse on Effacement* (BPS 1964); M 22 — *The Discourse on the Snake Simile* (1962); M 28 — *The Greater Discourse on the Elephant-Footprint Simile* (1961); (with Nārada and Mahinda Theras) M 147 in *Advice to Rāhula* (1961); S V iv 2 (Vedāna-Samyutta) *Contemplation of Feeling* (1963) tr. as 'Die Betrachtung des Gefühls. Die Gruppe der Reden über die Gefühle' (*Buddhistische Monatsblätter* XXXII, Hamburg 1986); S XVII- XXXIV — *Lehrreden aus der Systematischen Sammlung des Pāli-Kanons* 3 (Hamburg 1967); *Āṅguttara Nikāya: an Anthology* I, II, III (BPS 1970/4/6; an extract in tr., *Die Rede an die Kalamer*, Bodhi-Blätter 14, Kreuzlingen 1982); *Uruga Sutta — The Worn-out Skint* (BPS 1977; tr. for *Wissen und Wandel* XXIII, Hamburg 1977).

Anthologies with introductory essays:

Die einzige Weg (incl. S XLVI 6, XLVII — most texts, L II 1, 8-10 — Konstanz 1956, 1980), tr. as *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation* (Colombo 1954, rev. ed. London 1962, New York 1979, BPS 1992); *Anatta and Nibbāna* (BPS 1959, repr. in *Pathways of Buddhist Thought*, London 1971); *Buddhism and the God-Idea* (BPS 1962); *The Five Mental Hindrances* (*The Buddhist*, YMBA, Colombo, March 1946, offprint Colombo 1947, BPS 1961); *The Four Nutriments of Life* (BPS 1967), tr. as 'Die vier Nahrungen des Lebens' (*Be. Monatsblätter* XXIX, 1983); *The Life of Sāriputta* (BPS 1966, tr. for *Wissen und Wan-*

del XIV, 1968); *The Roots of Good and Evil* (BPS 1978, repr. in *The Road to Inner Freedom*, BPS 1982), tr. as *Die Wurzeln von Gut und Böse* (Konstanz 1981); *Im Lichte des Dhamma* (*ib.*, 1989).

Specific studies:

Abhidhamma Studies (based mainly on the Dhammasaṅgāṇī and its Commentary, the Atthasālinī — Dodanduwa 1949, BPS 1965), *Geistestraining durch Achtsamkeit. Die buddhistische Satipaṭṭhāna-Methode* (Konstanz 1970, 1984), *The Threefold Refuge* (Colombo 1949; BPS 1965), tr. as *Die dreifache Zuflucht* (Bodhi-Blätter 1, Dicken 1975); *The Four Sublime States*† (Colombo 1940; rev. ed. 1958 — tr. from 'Die vier Erhabenen Weilungen', *Die Einsicht* I, 1, Zürich 1948); *Protection through Satipaṭṭhāna*† (BPS 1957), tr. as 'Schutz durch rechte Achtsamkeit' (*Be. Monatsblätter* XV, 1969); 'Devotion in Buddhism I' in *Devotion in Buddhism* (BPS 1960); *The Power of Mindfulness*† (BPS 1968); 'Is Unselfish Joy Practicable?' in *Mudītā* (BPS 1971); *The City of the Mind*† (BPS 1974), tr. as *Die Stadt des Geistes* (Bodhi-Blätter 4, 1977); 'Reflections on Kamma and its Fruit' in *Kamma and its Fruit* (BPS 1975); *Buddhismus. Weg zur Leid-Freiheit*. Ein Grundriss der Buddha-Lehre (BPS 1981).

Items marked † were reprinted, in whole or in part, in *The Vision of Dhamma*. The Buddhist Writings of Nyānaponika Thera (London 1986, BPS 1994). He also contributed a large number of articles to German Buddhist periodicals.

Richard Othon Meisezahl (16 August 1906 - 27 April 1992)

With the death of Dr Meisezahl Indo-Tibetan and Buddhist studies in Germany sustained the loss of a conscientious research worker and prolific writer.

Born in Weissenburg, Alsace, he was brought up in Cologne

and initially worked in a bank in Paris (1927-8) whilst studying the ancient and medieval languages of India, together with Tibetan. It was at this time that he met his future wife, Alice Caulfield-Devereux. He evinced a personal interest in Buddhism and attended the (3rd) European Buddhist Congress in Paris 1937. That same year, in its edition of 3rd October, the *Kölnische Zeitung* published his essay on the 'Bardo Thödol. Geheimnisse des Tibetischen Totenbuches'.

Called up in 1940, his war service was cut short by ill-health, so his formal Indological studies began in 1943 when he enrolled at Bonn University. Due to his earlier tuition in Paris, he was permitted to submit (and have accepted) his doctoral thesis, 'Der Buddhavamsa und seine Textgeschichte', at the end of the following year. Although he served as an assistant in the Orientalisches Seminar, the austere post-war economic situation obliged him to resign and seek more remunerative employment in government financial administration, a position he held from 1947 until early retirement in 1965.

Dr Meisezahl remained in contact with Bonn University, particularly the Orientalisches Seminar, later with the Indologisches Seminar when it split off from the former, and then with the Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens when it was founded in 1964. He delivered lectures on a voluntary basis and, in 1970, became an associated member of the Sonderforschungsbereich 'Zentralasien' ('Special Research Unit for Central Asian Affairs'), which had been founded in 1968 by the above-mentioned Seminars plus the Sinologisches Seminar of Bonn University. He continued his investigations which hitherto had been conducted in his spare time. These were concerned primarily with revealing the contents of Indo-Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs that lay

hidden in European libraries and museums. Beginning with 'Tibetica der Pelliot und Stein Tun-huang Mss.I (Fonds Pelliot tibétain 56, no.3)' (*Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 27, Wiesbaden 1955), Meisezahl contributed over fifty such research pieces. His only full-length works comprise *Geist und Ikonographie des Vajrayāna-Buddhismus* (St. Augustin 1980), (ed.) *Die grosse Geschichte des tibetischen Buddhismus nach alter Tradition, rñin ma'i chos 'byun chen-mo* (*ibid.* 1985). For many years he worked on a catalogue of the Cone Tanjur, but only descriptions of the *Bstod tsogs* (hymns) section and a large portion of the *Rgyud* (Tantra) section were found in manuscript form among the papers he left.

To mark Dr Meisezahl's 80th birthday, Helmut Eimer edited a *Festschrift* entitled *Vicitrakusumāñjali* (Bonn 1986), and has also published a full obituary with bibliography in *Oriens* 34 (1994).

Heinz (-Adolf) Mode (1913 - 6 June 1992)

Prof. Dr Mode, who held the Chair of Oriental Archaeology at the University of Halle for many years, passed away after a prolonged illness.

Born in Berlin of Jewish parentage, he went to Ceylon in 1932 to study Pāli under G.P. Malalasekera at Colombo University. After two years he transferred to Visva-Bharati University (Shantiniketan) where Rabindranath Tagore taught him Bengali and imparted a deep affection for all aspects of Indian culture. Returning to Germany in 1935, he read the History of Art, Archaeology and Ethnology under Otto Fischer et al. at Berlin and obtained his doctorate from Basle for a study of *Die Skulptur Ceylons* (published 1942). Six years later, in 1948, he was invited to lecture at Halle where the Chair of Oriental Ar-

chaeology was created for him. In 1966 he founded the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für buddhistische Forschungen (usually referred to as the 'Buddhist Centre') and initiated a cultural journal in German and English, *Buddhist Yearly*, which featured research articles on, *inter alii*, Buddhist Mss preserved in German university libraries.

Between Buddha Jayanti Year (1956) and 1984 he used to visit India and Ceylon almost every year, often staying at the headquarters of The Maha Bodhi Society in Calcutta. He attended numerous seminars and delivered papers on various aspects of Indian religion and philosophy, art and culture, highlighting the German Indological tradition.

Full-length studies include *Indische Frühkulturen und ihre Beziehungen zum Westen* (Basle 1944), *Das frühe Indien* (Stuttgart 1956, 1963), *Die buddhistische Plastik auf Ceylon* (Leipzig 1963), (ed.) *Sri Lanka. 2500 Jahre Reisen nach Ceylon*. Aus Legenden, Märchen, historischer Überlieferung und Bericht (Leipzig and Weimar 1977) and *Kunst in Süd- und Südostasien* (Dresden 1979). A majority of his published papers concentrated on promoting Buddhist and Indological studies in the then 'German Democratic Republic'.

BOOK REVIEWS

Difficult Beginnings. Three Works on the Bodhisattva Path. Candragomin. Translated, with commentary by Mark Tatz. Shambhala, Boston and London 1985. \$22.50. 121 pp.

This volume contains the first English translation of three short works by Candragomin, a seventh-century Indian philosopher and poet, regarded in the Indo-Tibetan tradition as an exemplar of the bodhisattva ideal. Credited by tradition with the composition of 432 works on a wide range of subjects including 'logic, poetry, drama, grammar, astrology, medicine . . . and philosophy', he fully justifies Tatz's characterisation of him as a 'renaissance man' (p.8 f.). Candragomin lived for a number of years at Nālandā where his support for the Yogācāra form of Buddhism led him into rivalry with Candrakīrti, the great exponent of Madhyamika. While certain of Candragomin's writings show a sectarian bias, however, others are edifying works which address the universal theme of the difficulty of putting teachings into practice in daily life.

The last and longest of the three works translated here, the fifty verses entitled 'Praise in Confession', is a work of the latter genre, and consists of a frank admission of failure and perplexity. If I cultivate love, the poet laments, I become attached (v.4) and if I counteract attachment with evenmindedness I become uncompassionate (v.5). If I cultivate compassion it leads to great sorrow, and if I cultivate gladness, he continues, it leads to excitement (v.6). Many will be reassured that even Candragomin found things difficult! The commentary by Buddhaśānti on these fifty verses occupies just over half the book, which slightly unbalances the collection.

The second item by Candragomin is 'Twenty Verses on the

Bodhisattva Vow', to which Tatz provides his own commentary, helpfully listing related primary and secondary sources. The verses provide a mnemonic to the 'Chapter on Ethics' of the Bodhisattvabhūmi and have been used in Tibet 'as a study aid and as a basis for the exposition of the bodhisattva vow' (p.13). The root text introduces two problematic concepts into Mahāyāna ethics, namely that basic moral precepts may be violated by a bodhisattva, and that there is no fault in any deed done with compassion. In a subsequent work (his translation of Tsong-kha-pa's commentary on the root text), Tatz provides further information about how these ideas were interpreted in the Tibetan tradition.

The first and shortest of the three works is 'Candragomin's Resolve'. In these eleven short verses the poet 'resolves upon a good series of rebirths in contact with the Dharma, the pursuit of scholarship, practice, cultivation of virtue and of the arts and, in general, fulfillment of the ten bodhisattva perfections for the sake of others' (p.12). An Introduction provides textual information about the passages translated, a summary of their contents, and a brief account of Candragomin's life and work as recorded by the historian Tāranātha.

This book provides a short but important reminder that Buddhism is first and foremost a practical way of life in which aspiration, vow and honest self-appraisal are the cornerstones of religious progress. One of the most interesting points about Candragomin was that he was a layman, yet one who successfully integrated the religious and secular dimensions of life. As his work becomes more widely known through translations of this kind, he will become an icon for Buddhism in the West.

Damien Keown

The Udāna and The Udāna Commentary. Peter Masefield. (Sacred Books of the Buddhists XLII, XLIII, XLV) Pali Text Society, Oxford 1994, 1994, 1995. ix, 203; xvi, 566; vi, 605 pp. £17.95; £24.95; £24.95.

As part of the celebration of the centenary of the Pali Text Society, which occurred in 1981, the Council of the Society agreed to start a Commentary translation series, since this was a big gap in the PTS's List of Issues.

Publication No. 1 in the series was I.B. Horner's translation of the Commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa, which was already in progress when the idea of a series was first suggested. It was published in 1978 under the title of *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*. A translation of the Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā by U Ba Kyaw was the next accepted for publication, but it was found to need a certain amount of editorial work before it could go to the printer. It eventually appeared in 1980 as *Peta-Stories*, translated by U Ba Kyaw, and edited and annotated by Peter Masefield. Dr Masefield then produced a translation of the Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā (*Vimāna-Stories*), which was published in 1989.

The familiarity which he had now gained with Dhammapāla's commentarial style made it inevitable that the next work Masefield would tackle would be another Dhammapāla commentary, and he decided upon the Udāna-aṭṭhakathā. This has now appeared in two volumes under the title *The Udāna Commentary*. While producing this, Masefield found that there were certain inconsistencies in his translation. For example, every Pāli canonical text starts with the words *evam me sutam*, normally translated as 'Thus have I heard', and tradition explains that these words were uttered by the Thera Ānanda at the first *saṅgīti*, when he was reciting the canonical texts, as he had personally heard them delivered. The commentary upon this

phrase, however, explains the words in the form in which they occur in Pāli 'Thus by me (it was) heard'. If the usual translation of the phrase is retained for the lemma, and this is followed by the literal translation of the comment upon it, the result is something like: 'In the phrase «Thus have I heard», «by me» is in the instrumental case', which makes little sense.

Masefield therefore decided to make a translation of the Udāna in which all the words and phrases were translated in accordance with the way in which they are explained in the Commentary. This results, of course, for the most part in a literal, word-for-word translation which, although it will be of great help to those trying to understand the original Pāli text of the Udāna, scarcely reads as English. Those wishing to read the Udāna for pleasure, without worrying too much about the relationship between the Pāli original and the English translation, might be better advised to read the old translation by F.L. Woodward (*Udāna: Verses of Uplift & Itivuttaka: As it was Said*, SBB VIII, London 1935) or the more recent translation by John D. Ireland (*The Udāna: Inspired Utterances of the Buddha*, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy 1990). Masefield's translation can, however, be recommended to those who wish to gain a better understanding of the Pāli original for, read in conjunction with the translation of the Commentary, it makes excellent sense.

These translations of the Udāna and the Commentary are accompanied by extensive notes, mainly devoted to the justification of the choice of text to be translated, but also explaining the reasons for the translation adopted and drawing attention to words omitted from the standard dictionaries or wrongly translated there.

K.R. Norman

Hundert Strophen von der Lebensklugheit: Nāgārjunas Prajñāśataka Tibetisch und Deutsch, Eingeleitet, herausgegeben und übersetzt. Michael Hahn. (*Indica et Tibetica* 18) Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Bonn 1990. 124 pp. No price given.

The philosopher Nāgārjuna is known to Buddhist tradition also as a master of the art of kingly counsel and worldly wisdom. The word *prajñā* denotes both the basic concept in Buddhist philosophy of discriminative understanding, which in the set of *pāramitās* becomes the perfection of discriminative understanding (*prajñāpāramitā*), and worldly wisdom as in the title *Prajñāśataka* (PŚ). To Nāgārjuna are also ascribed the *Ratnāvalī*, a work combining philosophy and counsel addressed to a king, and the *Suhrllekha*, or Friendly Letter also supposed to have been intended for a king.

In his introduction to this volume Professor Hahn briefly discusses the ascription to Nāgārjuna of the *Ratnāvalī* (which he is inclined to accept, p.19), the *Suhrllekha* (which he regards as an early work composed when Nāgārjuna had not yet developed his philosophy, p.18), and the *Prajñādaṇḍa* (the attribution of which to Nāgārjuna he doubts, p.14, n.4) as well as of the *Prajñāśataka*, passing under review arguments both for and against its ascription to the author of the *Madhyamakakārikās* (pp.20-2).

The Sanskrit original of the *Prajñāśataka* being unavailable (except for some quotations of separate stanzas), the Tibetan translation known as the *Šes rab brgya pa* is here edited on the basis of a double textual tradition, one found in the Nītiśāstra section of the bsTan 'gyur and the other in the Jo bo'i chos chuñ collection (except in the Co ne edition) which has revealed itself as a superior tradition in the case of other works (p.65). A German translation is printed facing the Tibetan text. This part of the book is followed by a chapter containing a commentary on the readings of the *Šes rab brgya pa* and a chapter com-

prising a philological commentary. Here Hahn has discussed most of the verses of the PŚ and given any Sanskrit originals or parallels that have been found of the stanzas. Hahn states (p.28) that there exists no 'paracanonical' tradition of the Tibetan version of the PŚ. There do exist, however, Dunhuang manuscripts bearing this title which have not been used by him (see for example BL [IOL] Stein Nos 617.2 and 618; BN Pelliot Nos 66 and 787-9). Hahn does not explain why he has not used these old and important witnesses; but since he has several times speculated in his critical notes on what the original readings of the Tibetan translation may have been (see e.g. pp.25-6, 65-6), the Dunhuang materials should have been consulted because as textual witnesses they are of course much older than the relatively late bsTan 'gyur editions on which Hahn's text of the Tibetan version of the PŚ is based.

In the introduction (pp.11-12, 25-7), attention is rightly drawn to the fact that the language of the earlier Tibetan translations is still imperfectly known; this applies in particular to a text like the PŚ as an example of an early eighth century translation and because of its subject matter. Hahn has therefore included a comprehensive Tibetan-German glossary of the PŚ, indicating wherever possible either the Sanskrit original or a Sanskrit equivalent attested in another text.

In the initial salutation (probably by the translators) *gžon nur gyur pa* is rendered by 'zum Jüngling geworden'; this expression, corresponding to the Skt *kumārabhūta*, has in fact multiple connotations of a religious nature and at least a reference to the remarks on this epithet of Mañjuśrī by É. Lamotte (*T'oung Pao* 48 (1960), p.14) would no doubt have been of use to many readers. In the colophon, *chos dbyiñs kun tu 'gro ba'i don* is translated 'der Sinn des Wandels in den Dharmasphären'; in fact, reference is here being made to Nāgārjuna's

understanding of the sense that the *dharmadhātu* or Dharmaelement is omnipresent (probably *sarvatraga*) (the colophon to the rendering by the same translators in BN Pelliot 787 speaks instead of Nāgārjuna's having achieved highest understanding in the system of the *satyadvaya*). In verses 33 and 61, *gtsug lag* is rendered by 'Wissenschaft'; it may be noted that this word and the term *mi chos* (*mi yi chos* in verse 98) have been examined at some length in recent Tibetological literature (in particular by A. Macdonald-Spanien and R.A. Stein) and a reference to their discussions would have been welcome; *gtsug lag* may refer in particular to polity or the art of government (cf. *khriims*, etc.), and *mi chos* to the worldly *dharmā* or custom among men (cf. the second meaning of *prajñā* noted above that is attested in the PŚ). The word *klañ ka* (verse 65), rendered 'rüdes Verhalten', may translate Skt *upālabha* 'reproach, criticism, censure' and *avatāra* '(weak) point subject to criticism'.

It is good to see gnomic literature which occupies such an important place in India (and in Tibet) receiving detailed attention and to learn from Prof. Hahn's introduction that he is planning a number of further publications on it.

D. Seyfort Ruegg

Die Ratnāvalītikā des Ajitamitra. Edited and explained by Yukihiro Okada. (*Indica et Tibetica* 19) Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Bonn 1990. xxxv, 198 pp. No price given.

The *Ratnāvalī-Tīkā* (RĀṬ) ascribed in the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur to Mi pham bñes gñen (= Ajitamitra) is the only known commentary of Indian origin on the *Ratnāvalī* attributed to Nāgārjuna. This work is extant solely in a Tibetan translation, and it is therefore appropriate that Dr Okada has published an edition of this Tibetan version based on the bsTan 'gyur editions of

Beijing, sNar than, sDe dge and Co ne as well as on what Okada has described as a 'paracanonial' tradition (p.xxiv) without, however, specifying what edition has in fact been used (perhaps it is the one printed at Lhasa, at the Žol par khañ). On p.xxiv ff, under the siglum Z, Okada has usefully collected variant readings from this paracanonial edition which was not taken into account in Hahn's 1982 edition of the *Ratnāvalī*. Reference has, in addition, been made by Okada to readings found in the commentary on the RĀ by rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364-1432); this is especially appropriate since this commentary goes back to a time several centuries prior to any of the available printed editions of the bsTan 'gyur and contains readings that need to be noted in a critical edition fully worthy of this name.

Okada's introduction deals with the RĀṬ, its author, its translators into Tibetan, and the literary and grammatical structure of this commentary. This last part, of perhaps rather limited value especially since Ajitmitra's work is unavailable in the original, is typical of much thesis-work, the present publication being in fact it's author's 1985 doctoral dissertation. A valuable feature of the introduction is, on the other hand, the tables (p.xxv ff) in which Okada has charted how readings are related to each other in the Tibetan versions of the RĀ and RĀṬ in the textual traditions of NP, DC and rGyal tshab's commentary.

The edition of the RĀṬ is followed by miscellaneous critical and explanatory notes of rather mixed quality, some being quite cursory. Thus the remarks on the question of the (Sātavāhana?) king bDe spyod, to whom Nāgārjuna addressed the RĀ according to the RĀṬ, cannot be dealt with adequately by the brief references on pp.xi, 152; much has been written (and speculated) on this point, and the question of course bears

on the dating of Nāgārjuna (a selected bibliography on the subject has been given in the present reviewer's *History of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhist philosophy in India* [Wiesbaden 1981], notes 59 and 11). On p.154, 'weil des Resultat mit der Ursache verbunden ist' is too imprecise for *kāraṇe kāryopacāratvāt* meaning because of the metonymy whereby the cause is spoken of as its effect (lit. 'because of metonymical transfer on the cause of the effect'). On pp.162 and 172, the *mu bži* (*catuṣkoṭi[kā]*) are the well-known four extreme (i.e. one-sided) positions which Buddhist Middle Way philosophy eschews ('vier Grenzen' is altogether too vague a translation). As for the alternative readings *ci ste/ji ste*, it is hardly possible to say one is better than the other (p.163), even though in most later texts the form *ci ste* has become standard. On p.164 for 'saṃyadrṣṭi' read *samyagdrṣṭi*. On p.167 *žar la 'oñs pa* means 'occasional(ly), accessor(ily), secondar(ily)' (Skt *prasaṅgena, prasaṅgāt*), not 'unerwünschte Folgerung' (a quite distinct meaning of *prasaṅga*). For *steg chos* in RĀ(Ṭ) ii.66, compare the expression *sgeg 'chos* with which the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* explains *steg pa* (p.1104a: *steg pa: (rñiñ) sgeg pa dañ rol pa'am sgeg 'chos*), the reference to playful or artful contrivance (in language) being perhaps related to Paramārtha's interpretation (cited by Okada on p.176). On p.181, *sems byuñ = caitta* would mean 'mental factor' (not 'Geistesobjekt'); but in Okada's own edition the RĀṬ actually reads *sems 'byuñ ba*, so that there is in fact no allusion here to *caitta*. In RĀ v. 100 discussed on p.188, *dogs pa med pa* (in the RĀṬ) and *re ba med pa* (in the RĀ) are equally possible renderings for Skt *nirākāṅkṣā, (ā)kāṅkṣā*, meaning in the usage of Buddhist texts both 'hope, wish' (Tib. *re ba*) and 'doubt, hesitation' (Tib. *dogs pa*). The translation *dogs pa med pa* in the RĀṬ evidently conveys the (in the context appropriate) meaning of 'without hesitation, doubt' (rather than

Okada's 'Furcht-losigkeit'); see Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v. (*ā*)*kāṅkṣati*, *kāṅkṣā* and, now, also the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* III, 1, under *kaṅkha*^o, *kaṅkhā*, etc.

In such a work the absence of an index is regrettable. But this book will be welcomed as a critical edition of an interesting work now unavailable in the original Sanskrit.

D. Seyfort Ruegg

Meditation. The Buddhist Way of Tranquillity and Insight. Kamalashila. Windhorse Publications, Glasgow 1992. 288 pp. £11.99.

The author of this book, a meditation teacher and long-standing member of the Western Buddhist Order, was inspired to write it, he tells us, because he felt the 'need for a comprehensive introduction to Buddhist meditation' (p.1) and wanted to provide 'an introduction to the basic meditation practices of Buddhism and the ideas underlying them, and a reference manual to help meditators deepen their commitment to practising the Buddhist Path' (p.2).

This he does with impressive thoroughness. Drawing on his experience as a teacher, he dispenses much advice on the practical aspects of meditation: first steps; suitable environment; practice at home; retreats; posture with exercises for developing suppleness of limbs (in considerable details and with appropriate photographs); how to practise and how to keep track of one's progress, including the promotion of 'creative working habits', establishment of a 'setting-up routine' (identified as PIPER, acronym of Posture-Introspection-Purpose-Enthusiasm-Resolve), application of 'four working principles', use of 'meditation worksheets' (on which you may tick off not less than 25 specified items) and of 'journal type diaries', etc. There is also a fairly

elaborate 'imaginary example of you practising the Mindfulness of Breathing meditation', four pages long, to give the reader 'a more tangible sense of what it is like to work in meditation' (p.161).

Thus summarised, one may well feel that Kamalashila's book sounds more like a motor car workshop manual or one of those 'Learn How to Use your Laptop Computer' handbooks than a book on meditation. A feeling reinforced by the author's predilection for summarising information in tabular form. Indeed, some of that technological spirit does inform the book, with the consequence that, at times, one tends to become overwhelmed by details and there is, I feel, a danger of not seeing the wood for the trees.

It is, of course, all too common in our technological society for people to feel that a subject presented in technical or scientific sounding language must, by this very fact, be sound, respectable and good for you. And Kamalashila is, after all, out to show his readers that meditation is indeed all of these things. In all fairness, however, there is much more to his book than this. The genuine, and very sensible desire to ensure that people are not put off trying to meditate by avoidable material or mental problems goes hand in hand with a keen awareness of the fact that technique, though vitally important to the successful pursuit of any complex activity, is far from enough.

There is need for motivation, and there is need for understanding. Kamalashila neglects neither. Throughout the book, there are frequent reminders of the inherently energetic and enthusiastic nature of meditation, and of the need for 'awareness, positivity and purpose' (p.120) in practising it. As for understanding, a considerable part of the text is devoted to the presentation of basic principles and teachings, and to the discussion of the two types of Buddhist meditation, i.e. tranquillity

(*samatha*) and insight (*vipassanā*).

The essentials of the Buddha's teaching are adequately conveyed, and the central importance of the mental training that we (rather inadequately) call meditation is eloquently highlighted. The distinction between the *jhānas* or absorptive states of tranquillity meditation (which the author persists in calling 'dhyanas', in spite of his own introductory note, in the frontispiece, to the effect that 'Buddhist technical terms are in Pali unless otherwise indicated') and the practice of insight is also made, e.g. 'samatha practices . . . cultivate mental integration and mental health, as manifested in qualities like concentration, calm and positive emotion . . . Specifically, samatha refers to any meditation practice aimed at developing higher states of consciousness', while insight meditation 'is directed towards wisdom or insight. The aim of vipassana is to gain insight into things as they really are' (p.88).

At this point, however, I start having difficulties with this book. Not as regards the basic distinction between *samatha* and *vipassanā*, which is made clearly enough, but as regards the relative weight given by the author to the two practices and, more particularly, as regards his version of the nature and mode of action of *vipassanā*.

Let us take the lesser objection first. Kamalashila devotes a considerable (I would say disproportionate) amount of space to tranquillity meditation, and strongly insists that 'the ideal way of practising vipassana is first to develop as full an experience of the dhyanas as possible' (p.91). Now this is certainly in accordance with the age-old monastic tradition of associating both techniques for the simple reason that a mind concentrated and calmed by *samatha* is made thereby fitter for the thorough pursuit of insight. However, unlike the monks of old (or even of today), the lay persons whom Kamalashila is addressing do not

have unlimited opportunities for meditation. It can therefore be counterproductive to encourage them to spend a lot of time and effort trying to achieve as many as possible of the eight increasingly rarified levels of *jhānic* absorption, and there is always the risk of them getting 'hooked' on these highly satisfactory, but still mundane, experiences. Also, there is simply no need to get into extraordinary advanced states of concentration and tranquillity before proceeding to the practice of insight¹. Kamalashila recognised this when he declares that 'vipassana meditation must be practised either in access concentration or the first dhyana' (p.89). Unfortunately, he is saying the right thing for the wrong reason, and here we come to the main problem with the author's presentation of *vipassanā*.

You need to be in access or first *jhāna* and not beyond, says Kamalashila, because the operation of *vipassanā* is, essentially, an exercise in thinking: 'we use our thoughts in vipassana practice' (p.89, author's own underlining). Throughout the book, the terminology used stresses that *vipassanā* meditation is an exercise of the ratiocinative, discursive faculty of the mind², and a whole chapter is devoted to 'Reflection'. This is extremely misleading, as it reinforces the common misconception that 'meditation' is a matter of 'thinking about' certain things rather than paying 'bare attention' (*sati*, mindfulness) to them in order

1 On this important, and often misunderstood issue, see the excellent book by a leading authority, Henepola Gunaratana, *The Path of Serenity and Insight*, reviewed in BSR 5, 1, 1988, pp.69-74.

2 With phrases such as: 'vipassana reflection' (p.176), 'the method of insight meditation is "reflection within tranquillity"' (177), 'reflection is its [i.e. insight's] central core' (187), 'vipassana can be developed. . . by reflecting on the conditioned nature [of the meditation subject]' (225), 'discursive reflection' (226), etc.

to achieve a state of choiceless awareness³. Now Kamalashila knows well enough, of course, what insight is not, i.e. that it is not something that can be achieved through purely intellectual exertion, as shown, for instance, by his references to the value of 'thought-free awareness' (p.50) and the statement that 'an improved intellectual understanding . . . is not insight' (p.99). But when it comes to saying what insight is, he simply does not seem to be able to get away from the conception that the process of insight is all the same brought about by reflecting, i.e. by thinking, as part of the perceptual act of meditation. He qualifies this — in order, no doubt, to overcome the sensed contradiction — by pointing to one kind of intellectual activity characteristic of the first *jhāna*, i.e. *vitakka* (initial thought) and maintaining that the thinking used for the development of insight is of this sort: a kind of non-thinking thought. Let us quote a whole important paragraph:

'This kind of thinking is more akin to initial thought ("thinking of") than applied thought ("thinking about"). In dhyana our mind is so receptive that we hardly need to do any "thinking about". In a concentrated state, we may only have to think *of* impermanence for a short while, and a great richness of meaning will reveal itself. We may simply lay the thought or image of impermanence within our receptive mind, and remain with the experience as it unfolds further' (p.89).

The trouble with this is that 'thinking of' something is still a manifestation (the first step, in fact) of *papañca*, that 'prolific

3 For a comprehensive and lucid treatment of this issue, see Nyanaponika, *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation*.

conceptualising tendency of the mind⁴ that the mindfulness exercise of bare attention is precisely intended to overcome⁵. And the conceptually guided choice of subject matter implied in acts such as 'to think of impermanence' and 'laying the thought or image of impermanence' in one's mind seems hardly compatible with the choiceless awareness of whatever is present in the body or mind at any given time that is the essence of *vipassanā*: 'In the seen will be merely what is seen; in the heard will be merely what is heard; in the sensed will be merely what is sensed; in the cognised will be merely what is cognised. In this way you should train yourself⁶.

This is not to say that reflection is not important. Clearly, one has to reflect, at the appropriate time, on what is happening and what one is doing. In fact, this is, under the name of 'reviewing' (*paccavekkhāna*), an essential part of the process of developing insight. However, as the term 'reviewing' makes clear, the all-important point is that reflection takes place after, and not instead of, the choiceless observation of physical and mental events that alone affords access to the experience of insight. The purpose of reviewing is to consolidate the understanding of the experience and to pave the way for further stages of insight, but reflection can never replace direct experience.

It may be a matter of formulation rather than substance (the author's way of putting things is not always free from

4 See Bhikkhu Nāṇananda, *Concept and Reality* (Buddhist Publication Society (BPS), Kandy 1971), p.5.

5 As can be seen from the instructions of the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, most clearly in connection with the first two of the four foundations of mindfulness: contemplation of the body and of sensations.

6 *The Udāna*, tr. J.D. Ireland, BPS, Kandy 1990, p.20.

imprecision)⁷ but I find that the proper position of reflection, and the primary importance of choiceless awareness, in the whole process of *vipassanā* simply do not come across at all clearly. The consequence is that confusion on this vital issue vitiates what would otherwise have been, on the whole, a definitely helpful book. As it is, I have to conclude that Kamalashila's *Meditation*, while being a useful source of ideas on practical arrangements, and a good introduction to the practice of tranquillity, fails to convey the essence of the pursuit of insight and is thus, unfortunately, more likely to mislead, rather than help, the reader seeking for enlightenment.

Amadeo Solé-Leris

Maitreya, The Future Buddha. Ed. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988. xiv, 304 pp. £25, \$39.50.

The present volume of twelve essays arose from a series of year-long activities convened at Princeton in the early eighties around themes related to the figure of Maitreya as the next Buddha-to-be that culminated in a conference from which the majority of the papers are published here in revised form. Although the bulk of the articles treat of East Asian materials, the

7 E.g., a typical example of p.3: 'Chi-I taught in the sixth century CE, on T'ien-t'ai mountain in China, when Buddhist methods of human development like meditation were just beginning to gain popularity'. Buddhist meditation had been practised assiduously in many parts of India and South East Asia for something like ten centuries before that! To be precise Kamalashila should have added something like 'in that country' at the end of the sentence. Here the reader can supply the missing phrase, but elsewhere, when dealing with more abstruse matters, such looseness can be very misleading.

volume is comprehensive enough in scope to become the standard, if not the sole full-length work in Buddhist studies to focus exclusively on Maitreya.

After a brief introduction by one of the volume's editors, the first section of the book, 'Maitreya and the History of Religions', opens with two chapters, 'The Many Faces of Maitreya' (by Joseph M. Kitagawa) and 'The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth' (by Jan Nattier). Nattier's chapter offers a typology of the Maitreya myth through a selection of certain key variables that are more or less discernible in all variations of the myth. Identified, in particular, as the key element of the myth is the motif of an eventual encounter between Maitreya and the aspiring believer. Differences in this basic motif with regard to where and when the encounter is envisioned as taking place give in turn four primary 'types' of the myth: here/after, there/after, there/now, here/now.

The second section of the volume, 'The Core Tradition and its Subsequent Variation', is divided into three sub-sections, with one chapter covering the section on 'Maitreya in South Asia', four on 'Maitreya in China, Korea, and Vietnam', and five chapters included in 'Maitreya in Japan'. Being the sole chapter to focus on the core tradition in South Asia, Padmanabh S. Jaini's 'Stages in the Bodhisattva Career of the Tathāgata Maitreya' is a lengthy and comprehensive survey of the literary references to Maitreya to be found in Pāli, non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna canonical and non-canonical materials. In comparison, there is one paragraph devoted to Maitreya in the Pāli canonical literature, while there are as many as eleven references to Maitreya in the Mahāvastu. Considering other factors, such as Maitreya's inferiority to other figures in the Mahāyāna literature, most notably Mañjuśrī in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, as well as a reference to Maitreya's birth from a non-Mahāyāna family of

the south in the Gaṇḍavyūha, Jaini suggests that the Mahā-sāṅghikas were responsible for introducing into Mahāyāna the idea of Maitreya's succession as the next Buddha. A further point of significance is Jaini's insight that both Buddhist canonical literature and śramanic texts in general express anticipation of a new Tathāgata. There is no necessity, then, to look to foreign influence for the conception of Maitreya as the future Buddha.

In 'Wōnhyo on Maitreya Visualization', Alan Sponberg addresses the Maitreya practices of the canonical tradition in early pre T'ang China as illuminated by two textual passages in the Korean monk Wōnhyo's commentary 'Doctrinal Essentials of the Sūtra on Maitreya's Rebirth Above' [in Tuṣita Heaven]. Amidst a discussion of several distinct practices, attention is given to Wōnhyo's emphasis on visualisation (*kuan*) and his linking of this technique to *buddhānusmṛti*. This reveals, in Sponberg's view, that the roots of the seventh-century orthodox Maitreya cult lie in an older visualisation tradition, whose primary characteristic was the elaboration of a specific visualisation technique. This is seen to disclose in turn the distinctiveness of the Maitreya cult in China in contrast to the exclusive devotion to one religious figure characteristic of the Pure Land tradition. While the orthodox Maitreya cult may not have elicited a devotion excluding all other religious figures, it may be mentioned, however, that Pure Land masters, such as T'an-luan, did regard detailed visualisation as a key component of Pure Land practice.

Surveying the complex role that Maitreya has assumed in Korea through the limited number of textual and artistic sources available, Lewis Lancaster's chapter on 'Maitreya in Korea' emphasises the assimilation and adaptation of the Maitreya tradition by popular lay religion, wherein the diverse range of Maitreya's iconographic forms receive the greatest attention,

especially among women.

'Types of Maitreya Belief in Japan' (by Miyata Noburu) begins the section on 'Maitreya in Japan' with a consideration of the relation of folk religious beliefs to the Maitreya cult. Two chapters on Maitreya iconography follow. In chapter eight on 'The Pensive Prince of Chūgūji' Christine M. Guth offers a careful reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding the creation of the statue of a meditating bodhisattva which is the main image housed in the Chūgūji nunnery adjacent to Hōryūji. The bodhisattva, whose identity has been problematic, sits pensively on an elevated seat, in what is known as the *hanka shiyui-zō* posture, with his head resting gingerly on the fingers of his right hand while his right leg is crossed over the left knee. In the development of early Japanese sculpture the Chūgūji statue is situated by comparing and contrasting iconographic variations in details of attire and style with other figures of the *hanka shiyui* type placed to the seventh and eighth centuries. Drawing upon archaeological evidence and literary sources as well, Guth identifies the statue as Maitreya and places its creation to the mid-to-late seventh century. Stylistically, the Chūgūji statue is seen to incorporate two iconographic styles; one derived from the Tori school, the other from the Kōryūji Maitreya.

Following Guth's article is another lucid and well-documented discussion of Buddhist iconography by Karen L. Brock, 'Awaiting Maitreya at Kasagi'. Giving an exposition of this towering cliff-face carving, Brock illustrates how the robe transmission narrative of the Kasagi Maitreya points to drawings in particular as an iconographic model. Shifts in iconographic detail in eighth-century Japan are traced mainly to the arrival of drawings, paintings and sculpture with Chien-chen from China in 753. The narrative detail of the carving is further linked to similar narrative representations of Mahākāśyapa

presenting the robe of succession to Maitreya found in the Tun-huang desert cave-chapel sites and the Yü-lin cave sites in north-western China. What emerges is an idea of how specific narratives involving Maitreya were instrumental in the transmission of a core tradition from Central Asia to Japan.

In closing the volume of essays, 'Mt. Fuji as the Realm of Miroku' (by Martin Colcutt) reveals the limited role played by Maitreya in the eighteenth-century Fujikō, while Helen Hardacre's chapter 'Maitreya in Modern Japan' discloses the contemporary significance of Maitreya in a Japanese lay Buddhist group, the Reiyūkai Kyodan. For the pilgrim to 'Maitreya Mountain' (Mirokusan) in Reiyūkai, *shugyō* or spiritual cultivation, embodied primarily through sūtra recitation inclusive of the group's own Maitreya sūtra, overshadows the visibility of Maitreya as a key player in the salvific process.

A lengthy epilogue by Alan Sponberg rounds off the volume with a series of valuable methodological points for further research. Overall, the present study delimits the shape of Maitreya's character and role within the Buddhist tradition in a balanced way, stressing equally a core tradition and its variation in a diverse range of social settings.

Daren J. Hill

The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla. Martin J. Boord. (Buddhica Britannica, Series Continua IV) The Institute of Buddhist Studies, Tring 1993. xiii, 271 pp. £21.00.

Many academics have added to our knowledge of specific issues within Buddhism. Others — the fortunate few — have been in a position to increase Western academic understanding exponentially by revealing hitherto unknown *genres* of literature or by opening up new fields of study. Csoma de Kőrös managed

the latter by producing the first Kanjur analysis; Conze's revelations of the Prajñāpāramitā literature, Nebesky-Wojkowitz's summaries of Rnying-ma *sadhāna* literature and Snellgrove's monumental *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism* are further outstanding examples. *The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla* (the author's doctoral dissertation at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) belongs to this illustrious group. The book itself may be described as a kind of *vidyottama-tantra*, a detailed discussion of all topics connected with the Vajrakīla cult. It is and will remain the standard Western language source for this topic.

Part One (The Northern Treasures) sets the scene with a history based on three Tibetan sources. The initial concealment and later rediscovery of these *gter ma* texts is the prime focus of these accounts. The continuity and survival into the present of the Byang gter tradition confirms the vitality of the Vajrakīla cycle and emphasises the relevance of this study for a proper understanding of a significant component of Tibetan religious life.

Part Two deals with the history, mythology and iconography of the *kīla* [*Ed.* 'ritual dagger']. The Vedic and architectural antecedents of the *kīla* are discussed, followed by short accounts of *vetāla* (ghoul) rites, early Mahāyāna *kīla dhāraṇīs* and rites of boundary protection in the 'lower' tantras and the *anuttara-yoga* tantras. Chapter Three concerns the iconography of the deified *kīla* and summarises the mythology of Vajrakīla which involves a replaying of the conquest of Rudra by the tantric Buddhas. The nature of Vajrakīla is well revealed by the *stotra* presented and translated on pp.81-7. An account of his retinue (pp.88-91) completes the section. Chapter Four discusses the history of the cycle according to several chronicles (*lo rygus*) and other sources. The headings used are: the revelations

of Mahāyoga; the apportionment of the *sadhānas*; the *ācārya* Padmasambhava; the *kīla* Vidyottama-tantra (the spurious 100,000 verse source treatise as obtained by Padmasambhava); the *mahottarakīla* cycle (telling of the scorpion-guru who imparted *kīla* teachings to Padmasambhava); iconic scorpions and *kīlas*; the transmission of the Vajrakīla cycle to Tibet; and later lineages of practice. As a general observation, this reviewer feels that the full implications of the Oḍḍiyāna - India opposition in Buddhist tantric history are not sufficiently appreciated in this work and elsewhere. Tibetan religious histories — including those discussed in this chapter — tend to treat Oḍḍiyāna as an integral part of India despite the different religious background and the resultant peculiarities of tantric evolution there.

Part Three concerns the particular Vajrakīla rituals of the Byang gter tradition. The first chapter of this part (Chapter Five according to the consecutive enumeration preferred in the book) starts with valuable summaries of the Cittaguhyakāya-tantra and Śrīvajrakīlapotrihala (*sic*)-tantra, both of which were revealed by Rig 'dzin rgod ldem from the original Byang gter casket. Chapter Six, on Rites of Empowerment, is based on two texts dealing with empowerments of the multicoloured and black forms of the deity respectively. Perhaps the most crucial practice of the preparatory stage (*utpattikrama*) is that of *sadhāna* (the basic yogic grimoire of the deity), thus the accounts of the *sadhāna* texts Phu pa thugs kyi 'phrin las (black) and Che mchog gi 'phrin las (multicoloured) in Chapter Seven are required reading for any practitioner unable to access the Tibetan versions.

In Chapter Eight ('Gaining the Power of the Deity') practices of the completed stage (*sampannakrama*) of the cycle are given to enable the disciple's full yogic assimilation to the deity

prior to performing rites in fulfilment of his tantric vows. These involve the coercing of various spirits and the destruction of enemies. Rites of scattering (*zor*), burning (*sreg*) and suppressing (*mnan*) are the subject of Chapter Ten. Longevity rites for the devotee and rites to make good deficiencies (basically *sacchā* rites) are discussed in the final two chapters. Great detail at most points characterises all these sections. The mantras are well reconstructed in Sanskrit and enough ritual information is present to enable practical application for the initiate.

Appendix I lists three Btang gter Vajrakīla text collections and Appendix II contains the edited Tibetan text of the brief Black Razor Tantra. The latter has a few shortcomings. Not the least of these stems from the inability of certain word processors to deal adequately with a critical apparatus. Using footnotes for this purpose is an inelegant and clumsy solution. The apparatus is also overloaded with variant spellings and unresolved ligatures (e.g. *bcdomns* = *bcom ldan 'das*) neither of which belong in an apparatus (it used to be practice to resolve ligatures by italicisation in the main text).

This, however, is a minor issue which in no way detracts from the enormous value of this book. Throughout, the author's scholarly objectivity cannot conceal his deep practical understanding of the Vajrakīla cycle and its associated rituals. There is every reason for all those interested in Buddhist Tantra to be grateful to the author for revealing so much of his own considerable knowledge of this enticing and complex topic. It is certain that some readers of this work will, much in the manner of the Fifth Dalai Lama, find themselves sneaking away from their Gsar ma gurus to partake of these Rnying ma riches.

Bulcsu Siklós

Wegzeichen. Gespräche über buddhistische Praxis mit: Nyanaponika Mahathera, Karl-Heinz Gottmann, Gesshin Prabhasa Dharma, Ayya Khema, Paul Köppler, Genro Sejun Koudela, Sylvia Wetzel, Mirko Frýba, Jampa Tsedroen, Christa Bentenrieder. Ed. Detlef Kantowsky. University of Konstanz, Forschungsprojekt 'Buddhistischer Modernismus', Forschungsberichte 4, Konstanz 1991. 235 pp. Rev. ed., Ulmer Kultur-anthropologische Schriften 2, 1994, 272 pp. DM 19.

The book under review has a particularly relevant theme on which several committed Buddhists express their views based on their own experience in conversations conducted by Prof. Kantowsky on different occasions and sometimes during several sessions. Each record of a conversation is preceded by a life-sketch and a photograph of the person interviewed and by a description of the circumstances under which it took place. All are very open and sometimes highly personal, which was probably due to the fact that the editor has known each participant for some time, for some of them arranged guest appearances at the university and has a tie of friendship with a few of them. A sociologist to begin with, the editor studied the phenomenon of Hindu pilgrimage in India, the Sarvodaya movement in Sri Lanka and Gandhi's thought; since 1974 he has been involved in the study of Buddhist ways and practices, particularly as they are being applied in the Western context. He has also published an introductory book on Buddhism.

It appears that the editor took care to include the three main schools of Buddhism with an equal opportunity given to their male and female representatives, but close acquaintance leading to the possibility of going into personal questions of their practice and its effect on their lives was his main concern. The result is a fascinating collection of accounts of diverse approaches and results of efforts of the participants from which

everybody can draw some benefit: the sociologist, or psychologist, some data for his scholarly studies, the Buddhist follower examples for his own practice, both positive and negative, and every reader interested in Buddhism some insight into ways it works for Westerners who have embraced its teaching and are trying to apply it. The accounts provided may not be very deep or enlightening, but they are, as the title of the book suggests, signposts on the different paths chosen by the participants in these intimate conversations.

Karel Werner

Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde: Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Professor Dr. Heinz Bechert. Herausgegeben von Reinhold Grünendahl, Jens-Uwe Hartman, Petra Kieffer-Pülz. (*Indica et Tibetica* 22) Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Bonn 1993. 326 pp., 1 photograph, 4 tables. DM 64.00.

Though this volume was produced to commemorate the sixtieth birthday (on 26 June 1992) of Professor Bechert, it is not intended as the normal kind of Festschrift. For that, a wide range of the honorand's colleagues are invited to contribute. This book, the editors explain in their foreword, is intended rather to demonstrate the range of scholarly activity at the institute over which Prof. Bechert presides in Göttingen; most of the contributors are working at the institute and the others have close academic connections with it. As a cross-section of work in progress, the fourteen articles are impressive.

By the same token, this is a volume for specialists. When they aim to reach a wide audience, German Indologists nowadays often publish in English. All but three of these articles, including all those discussed below, are in German. Moreover,

most of the articles reflect the kind of work for which Göttingen has been famous since the days of Prof. Waldschmidt: decipherment and publication of manuscripts, cataloguing, minute analysis of languages and scripts, and similar contributions to the long-term enterprise of setting Sanskrit and Buddhist codicology on a sound footing and, in particular, making available the materials found early in this century at Turfan.

Just as almost all of Prof. Bechert's work has been on the Buddhism of South and Southeast Asia, the only article here which is not on Buddhist material is that by Grünendahl on classifying manuscripts (and versions) of the Mahābhārata. This is also one of the longest pieces of connected prose in the book for, of the six articles which run to twenty pages or more, three consist largely of primary text. Readers of this journal are likely to be most interested in the other two long articles, those by Kieffer-Pülz and Hüsken.

Petra Kieffer-Pülz examines the quotations from the *Andhaka-aṭṭhakathā* in the Samantapāsādikā, Buddhaghosa's great commentary on the Vinaya. She cites, translates and discusses each of the nineteen references, and is able to reach some convincing conclusions (pp.174-5). She shows that this lost commentary was almost certainly composed in Pāli, not in a South Indian language as some scholars have posited. On the other hand, Prof. K.R. Norman went too far in writing that there is no evidence that the commentary was composed in South India: the inference that it comes from Andhra is based on more than its name. It sprang from a tradition other than that of the Mahā Vihāra in Anuradhapura, where Buddhaghosa worked, and since some of the points on which he disagreed with it concern ordination it is possible that the two traditions regarded each other's ordinations as invalid.

Ute Hüsken writes on 'The Legend of the Establishment of

the Buddhist Order of Nuns in the Theravādin *Vinaya-Piṭaka*'. In recent years the fashion for feminism has directed a lot of attention at this story in the *Cullavagga* of the Vinaya Khanda, and much of Hüsken's article goes over well-known material without appearing to add anything new. Moreover, her second footnote, in which she offers a translation of a relevant passage from the Samantapāsādikā, casts doubt on her mastery of Pāli grammar. She goes on, nevertheless, to make a notable contribution. The Buddha, according to the story, allowed ordination to women only on condition that they undertook forever to observe eight *garudhammā* (Vin. II, 255). (Hüsken, in accordance with tradition, translates *garudhammā* 'wichtige Regeln', i.e. 'important rules'. My own view is that the term means 'rules of hierarchy'; but this is not the place to discuss this relatively minor point.) All eight of these rules concern the subordination of nuns to monks. Seven of them correspond (four of them word for word) to rules in the nuns' monastic code (*bhikkhunī-pātimokkha*). All seven are in the *pācittiya* sections of that code, which means to confess an offence against them is at the same time to expiate it. However, the eighth of these rules (number 5 in the Pāli order) states that an offence against one of the other seven entails a procedure called *mānatta* which is normally applied to offences of the second-gravest category, the *saṅghādisesa*. In other words, we have here a flat contradiction in the monastic legal system (pp.159-60).

Since we know that there were nuns in the time of the Buddha, it seems fair to deduce that the Buddha must have agreed to the foundation of the Order of Nuns. Either he laid down the eight rules of hierarchy as the text has it, taking a severe view of their infringement, and then as the *vinaya* developed the offences were re-classified as less grave; or a later redactor extracted from that code the rules which expressed the

subordination of nuns to monks, put them in a special category, and gave them more weight — ascribing his views, naturally, to the Buddha. The latter possibility seems the more plausible. I am also impressed by another point that Hüsken makes (pp.160-2): that the sixth rule of hierarchy concerns the *sikkhamānā*, a status peculiar to women — apparently an alternative to being a novice (*sāmaṇerī*). As Hüsken says, this status could not have existed before the Order of Nuns was founded, and yet it is here alluded to without explanation. She does not refer to this point in her conclusion; but I think it buttresses her argument that the *garudhammā* are 'a later insertion in the *Vinaya*' (p.170), so that one may doubt whether the Buddha himself demanded so complete a subordination of nuns to monks (p.169). However, one need not speak of 'insertion' if one accepts Frauwallner's view that the *Vinaya Khandhaka* was composed as a single work after the Second Council. The *Khandhaka* would simply be a significantly later document than the *pātimokkha* (which is not to deny the likelihood of additions or other changes to either).

Hüsken is not the first to have cast doubt on the historical authenticity of this episode. For instance, Mohan Wijayaratna, in his book *Les Moniales Bouddhistes* (Paris 1991), considers the whole anecdote 'symbolic' (p.32), a kind of legal fiction (p.29). He points out, *inter alia*, that otherwise the Buddha did not legislate *a priori* or make preconditions; he laid down rules only in response to circumstances. I would go further than Hüsken, and suggest that her findings, like Wijayaratna's, cast doubt on the historical accuracy of other details in the same passage, and in particular on the Buddha's having said that the existence of the Order of Nuns would considerably shorten the life of Buddhism on earth. I am aware that these conclusions may look suspiciously trendy, but they seem to me well-founded.

Two shorter contributions should be mentioned because of their topics. Heinz Braun surveys the contents of the Burmese Pāli manuscripts in Europe and the U.S.A.: *vinaya* texts are the commonest, and it is surprising to find only a single copy of the *Dhammapada*. Anjana Das writes on Theravāda Buddhism in Bangladesh as a minority religion. This is a fascinating topic, but her article is somewhat slight, and the curious will wish to turn to Bechert's publication, to which she refers.

One of the most valuable, as well as accessible, parts of the book is a bibliography, nearly fifty pages long, of the honorand's publications, including full reference to reviews of his books. As the editors say, he is evidently still at the height of his powers, and in that sense it is pleasant to reflect that this part of the book is already out of date.

Richard Gombrich

Können und Vertrauen. Das Toyil-Heilritual von Sri Lanka als kultureigene Psychotherapie. Beatrice Vogt Frýba. (Ethnologische Schriften Zürich 11), Verlag Rieger, Chur/Zürich 1991. Sw.Fr.54. 284 pp., illustrated.

This publication, enviably produced with the support of the Ethnological Museum and the Ethnological Department of the University of Zürich, was submitted and accepted as a Ph.D thesis by the Philosophical Faculty of that university and found worth publishing in this prestigious series. The author, originally a psychotherapist in Berne, spent three years (1985-88) in Sri Lanka researching her topic and has been lecturing, since 1989, at the University of Zürich in the field of 'ethnopsychology'.

Being familiar with the psychotherapeutic methods of psychodrama as promoted by J.L. Moreno, which are now well established in clinical psychology, she recognised, during her

earlier visits to the island, features in the Sri Lankan healing rituals which were similar to the procedures of psychodrama. At the same time she was also fully aware of the fact that these rituals were understood by their performers against a background of a system of psychology which forms an integral part of the Buddhist view of life and that, when explaining their healing methods, the performers were using terms derived from its later form in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Thus it was obvious to her that the healing rituals within the Buddhist culture of Sri Lanka could be seen as also having a certain value or a legitimate place within the Dhamma as the Buddhist path of emancipation.

In order to get to understand the workings of the healing processes from inside, the author became a disciple of a local healer whose Tovil healing ritual best reminded her of the procedures used in psychodrama when it is applied as a form of methodical psychotherapy. The ritual involved impersonating demons believed to be the causes of the patient's troubles to be healed, in the context of a whole night of dancing, drumming and singing in the circle of the family and of the whole village community, with role playing in which all of them participated. She was initiated into and took part in all these activities as the healer's assistant and experienced them also as a subject when a ritual was performed during her pregnancy to ensure its good outcome.

In presenting her experiences and the results of her research work, the author has adopted a systematic approach which mirrors the chronology of her own gradual penetration into the Tovil ritual, her understanding of its conceptual background and the way in which it worked for the individuals to be healed and for the community taking part in it. When analysing and explaining it, she tries to do so from the point of view of the

healer who, of course, would not be acquainted with the conceptual framework of Western psychology, so she has attempted to use the psychological perspective of the system of *abhidhamma* on the assumption that the healer's world picture coincides with it, since both his views and the abhidhammic tradition stem from or are congenial to the same cultural background.

The first picture of the Tovil ritual is presented to the reader in the form of a popular folk tale which is full of miraculous events, but which lends itself to symbolical interpretations as depicting experiences in the mind of the patient during the healing process. Then, after a survey of healing methods currently used in Sri Lanka which include, besides Tovil rituals, Western therapy, Ayurveda (often practised by Buddhist monks), Buddhist *pirit* procedures and other systems, and a chapter on her meetings with various healers, among them even the rather rare phenomenon of a Buddhist monk practising Tovil rituals, the author sets out to present a picture of what she called 'culture-based psychology' (*kultureigene Psychologie*) derived from the concepts, ideas and images which are used by the healers and which overlap overwhelmingly, on a certain level, with the Buddhist canonical teachings on the nature of human personality, on suffering and its causes, on the way these causes can be removed (by purification), etc. Even healing with the help of recitation of Buddhist canonical texts finds its justification in them, at least by implication; but it is certainly spelled out in the Milindapañha.

One chapter is then dedicated to correlating relevant concepts of Western psychology with those concepts of the previously outlined 'culture-based psychology' which lend themselves to such a procedure, in order to clarify the relation between a healing ritual and psychotherapy on the level of

Western psychological understanding. This is where the author's thesis about the affinity between healing ritual and psychodrama gets its theoretical justification, while being illustrated by her descriptions of actual settings of practical procedures as used in the two techniques.

In the chapter on the cultural context of the Tovil healing ritual, we learn something about its historical and social background as it can be derived partly from Western research into Sri Lankan village life, the historical chronicles of the Mahāvamsa and Dīpavamsa and especially from oral tradition as reflected in poetical form in the mythological stories recited during the rituals. The author understands the function of myths and stories as serving the purpose of forming an ideal world picture for a given cultural group which incorporates its past history and justifies its social structure. The effectiveness of myths is reiterated during the ritual when they find resonance in the minds of participants and strengthen their influence on their lives without necessarily being taken in on the level of conceptual understanding. But they contain a virtual psychocosmology which means that there is felt to be a firm link between mental and cosmic processes. Myths thus represent for the healer specific categories for the diagnosis of the patient's states of mind as reflected in his behaviour. Although the world of these myths is inhabited by various classes of deities and demonic beings shared with non-Buddhist traditions, it remains Buddhist in outlook; the psychocosmic affinity between these beings and men is made even more obvious by the belief in rebirth, according to which everybody has gone, in the course of their saṃsāric wanderings, through all those higher and lower forms of existence before, while the Buddha is clearly seen as a being apart; once he was like the others, but now he is liberated from this process of Saṃsāra. This is fully understood even by

villagers who seem, on the surface, to be worshipping him as followers of other religions worship their God. A further connection of the healing process with the Buddhist outlook is given by the perception of the Buddha's role as a spiritual teacher and healer of suffering as being paralleled by the role of the Tovil healer. Consequently, the Tovil healing ritual can also be viewed as a didactic procedure.

The Buddhist context of the Sri Lankan healing ritual is no doubt a controversial question, especially from the point of view of the 'pure form of Buddhism' as outlined particularly in some Western works which tried to extract the 'rational' core from the early Buddhist sources. This type of 'reformed' Buddhism, in some respects considerably removed from its living forms as practised by wide circles of population in Buddhist countries, also found favour with some Sinhalese intellectuals. Although the author does not deny these obvious differences as they seem to emerge with the rather complex Buddhist tradition when doctrinal formulations are confronted with folk forms of practice and rituals and their mythical background, she leaves them aside and focuses instead, in a brief chapter about this controversy, on the spirit behind the said folk elements and finds it in harmony with the basic Buddhist understanding of the life processes. The Tovil healing rituals are, to her, a form of Buddhist psychotherapy, comparable, on a different level and with a limited aim, to the process of Buddhist meditation (which itself is viewed and used on a different level in some Western circles as an efficient form of psychotherapy, having, as such, an equally limited aim). As such, these rituals cannot be regarded as a kind of 'magic trick', but testify to a realistic healing skill, even though it is of necessity dependent on the personal capabilities and moral qualities of the healer. These in turn influence the degree of confidence in his healing performance which he in-

spires in his clients, and thereby also the outcome of the healing process (quite in keeping with Buddhist attitudes to the teacher, even to the Buddha himself, who urged his disciples not to have faith in him, but rather to have confidence in the efficacy of the methods of liberation which he was offering them).

After a chapter on Tovil and other, local rituals in the Kandy highlands, the author describes, in one chapter and in fascinating detail, three cases histories, and in another chapter the skilful performances in ritual healing by her teacher Upasena Gurunnanse who comes across, also in the last chapter describing his personal and professional ethics, as a highly integrated personality. This can also be seen from the Appendix, which is an interview with him conducted by the author's ex-husband, Mirko Frýba (a psychologist who has now returned to his native Czech Republic). In it one learns a great deal about Gurunnanse's theoretical or 'doctrinal' views or, perhaps better expressed, his concrete ideas (which he would regard as his 'knowledge') about the terrestrial and cosmic as well as the visible and invisible processes going on during the healing procedures and the beings participating in them.

The book is written in a lucid style throughout, and despite the author's obvious sympathies with Buddhist thought in general and the Tovil healing rituals in particular, it is an example of an immaculate, unbiased approach to a research project in a field which has previously been distorted by pre-conceived positivistic ideas. Her work is a most valuable contribution to scholarship and of utmost interest to students of religious studies and of religions from whatever angle (anthropological, psychological, etc.), and not least also to Buddhist scholars as well as Buddhist followers of all persuasions. A translation of this book into English is much to be desired.

Karel Werner

Psychotherapy, Meditation and Health: A Cognitive-Behavioural Perspective. Edited by Maurits G.T. Kwee. East-West Publications, The Hague 1990. 319 pp. £18.95.

This is a collection of the edited proceedings of the first International Conference on Psychotherapy, Meditation and Health, held in the Netherlands in March 1990, and two complementary chapters by the editor.

Both conference and book must herald the dawning of a new era in the West in time to combat the health crisis in the year 2000 predicted by the World Health Organisation. The book is a synthesis of decades of work by key experts from diverse backgrounds, and is a rich source-book for any psychotherapist, counsellor, clinical psychologist and psychiatrist in the West who is bold enough to look beyond the reductionist positivist stance to Eastern religion and philosophy for approaches and formulas for mental and physical well-being. As a clinical psychologist trained in a cognitive-behavioural tradition with more than a passing interest in the wisdom of the East, I have been waiting for a resource such as this to link the two spheres. I had to read every page and had to have periods between sections perhaps for assimilation of the material to my work. This is probably why it took such a long time to write this review!

The conference itself must have been a mind-blowing event with the diversity and depth of the presentations. The editor of this volume has done an excellent job not only in putting it together but also in focussing the reader to each section with a succinct introduction.

The area covered by this book is so wide that it is difficult to comment on specific aspects without this review becoming too lengthy. Overall there is a curious balance between reviews of empirical studies of Buddhist meditation and health, links between Buddhism and the current practice of behaviour

therapy, practical guides to meditation, a paper on immunology, and personal and mystical explorations. An open-minded reader with no prior knowledge of Eastern religions will find the text an excellent introduction to many areas, including Buddhist meditation (among which are what I consider two of the best introductions to Vipassanā by Guy Claxton and the editor), Sufism, Rajneeshism and Chi-Kung.

I strongly recommend this book to any health-care professional or anyone interested in alternative approaches to health and well-being

Shamil Wanigaratne

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