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尼舍利子
相空點
各法

UDĀNAVARGA

Chapter XV

SMṚTIVARGA - Mindfulness

Frontispiece: the calligraphy in Sino-Vietnamese characters (Nôm) by Ven. Thich Huyên-Vi reads:

"Śāriputra! All dharmas have the nature of emptiness."

The seals engraved by Ven. Bhikkhu Dhammavīro, Thailand, convey the same meaning as the calligraphy.

1. He whose mind, owing to the effect of inhalation and exhalation, practises perfect meditation, well-ordered and just as the Buddha taught it, will illuminate the world like a moon freed from clouds.
2. The mindful Bhikṣu, who always directs his thought (through reflection), with a mastery of body and mind, whether he is standing, sitting or lying down, will obtain all the degrees of perfection and elude the sight of the king of death.
3. He who is always mindful of his body and is master of his sense-organs, that fully concentrated man will attain Nirvāṇa for himself.
4. He whose mindfulness is at all times and in all places directed at the body dwells in it (thinking): It has not been nor has not not been mine and it will not be nor will not not be mine - gradually advancing, he will in time come to cross over (the river) of desires.
5. The mindful man who reflects, perfectly wise, concentrated, satisfied and serene - by meditating on the Dharma, will pass beyond birth, old-age and suffering.
6. Practise mindfulness ceaselessly. The Bhikṣu who is zealous, wise, reflective, will pass beyond every fetter, birth and old-age, and will put an end to suffering.
7. You who are awake, listen to me; you who are asleep, wake up. It is better to be awake than asleep; those who are awake have no fear.
8. For him who is attached to wakefulness, who studies day and night, who yearns for deathlessness, all his defilements (āsrava) vanish.

9. There is (a real) gain for persons who have taken refuge in the Buddha, who day and night apply their mindfulness to the Buddha.
10. There is (a real) gain for persons who have taken refuge in the Dharma, who day and night always apply their mindfulness to the Dharma.
11. There is (a real) gain for persons who have taken refuge in the Sangha, who day and night always apply their mindfulness to the Sangha.
12. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, who day and night always apply their mindfulness to the Buddha.
13. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, who day and night apply their mindfulness to the Dharma.
14. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, who day and night apply their mindfulness to the Sangha.
15. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, who day and night apply their mindfulness to the body.
16. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, who day and night apply their mindfulness to morality.
17. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, who day and night apply their mindfulness to non-violence.
18. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in... [*amṛta*, deathlessness].
19. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in renunciation.
20. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in meditation (*dhyāna*).
21. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in solitude.
22. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in emptiness.

23. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in (the thought) of the unconditioned [SBW: read *animittā*, signlessness].
24. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in owning nothing.
25. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in concentration [SBW: read *bhāvanā*, mental cultivation].
26. Well awakened are those disciples of Gautama, whose minds day and night rejoice in (the thought of) Nirvāṇa.

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

THE TECHNICALISATION OF BUDDHISM:
FASCISM AND BUDDHISM IN ITALY
GIUSEPPE TUCCI - JULIUS EVOLA

Bhikkhu Nāṇajīvako

2

(1) Unfortunately, our analysis of Evola's 'Study on the Buddhist Asceticism' in the first chapter of *The Doctrine of Awakening* discovered that the two fundamental terms for 'thus proceeding' (*ta-thāgatam*) did not find their proper and unequivocal place in his otherwise clear conception and determination of noble characters designated by the underscored terms: *gotra-bhū* and the specific quality of Ethos in the deepest radical layer of its structure - *ālaya-viññānam*, corresponding with its karmically pre-established determination to the Greek idea of innate fertility - *hypokeimenon*. Instead of that, Evola's interpretation of the basic term 'asceticism' - throughout its 'varieties' - continues to prolong the (Buddhistically) 'wrong effort' - *micchā-vāyāmo* - of his pre-deliction for 'The Yoga of Power' (*Lo Yoga della potenza*), a kind of vulgar 'multi-purpose yoga', even quoting explicitly the notorious tantric interpretations by J. Woodroffe (A. Avalon). In his forceful short cuts by violence, Evola already maintains in the first chapter "on the varieties of 'asceticism'" (p.8): "In Buddhism, the elements of *sīla*, that is of 'right conduct', are considered purely as 'instruments of the mind': it is not a question of 'values' but of 'instruments', instruments of a *virtus* not in a moralistic sense but in the ancient sense of virile energy... when an asceticism is understood as a technique for the creation of a force that can be applied, in the first place, at any level." - For Evola, a pure asceticism is "one made up of techniques for developing an interior force, the use of which, to begin with, remains undetermined, like the use of the arms and machines produced by modern industrial techniques..." - Delimiting "ascetic reinforcement of the personality" so that "we could even conceive of an 'Asceticism of Evil', for the technical conditions", he points out the famous negative model of Nietzsche trying to outdo criti-

cally even his 'limitations': "Nietzsche himself, as we have already pointed out" - insists Evola already on p.6, referring to p.4 of the first chapter - "partly shared the modern widespread prejudice against asceticism: when dealing with his 'Superman' and when formulating the *Wille zur Macht*, did he not take into account various disciplines and forms of self-control which are clearly of an ascetic nature?"

Evola's 'exposition of a complete asceticism' is summed up by three propositions: "the first is the possibility of extracting easily from Buddhism the elements of an asceticism considered as an objective technique for the development of calm, of strength and of detached superiority, capable in themselves of being used in all directions. The second is that in Buddhism the asceticism has also superior signification of a path of spiritual realisation quite free from any mythology, whether religious, theological or ethical. The third reason, finally, is that the last stretch of such a path corresponds to the Supreme in a truly metaphysical concept of the universe, to a real transcendence well beyond a purely theistic concept"¹⁰.

May it suffice here to remind the reader of the first line of the *Karaṇīya metta-sutta*, the most popular Buddhist text containing moral instructions as a pre-requisite for any 'meditation' in general. In *metta-bhāvanā*, cultivation of universal love as friendliness for all living beings (*sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhittatā*), in the fourfold formula of *appamāṇa* ('boundless') or *brahma-vihāra* ('divine state') of mind, it corresponds to the first level of spiritual purification of *jhāna* - the state of contemplation subjectively corresponding to rational investigation of the same ethos of knowledge (*sa-vitakka sa-vicāra*):

Karaṇīyam atthakusalena - yaṃ taṃ santam padam abhisamecca
(This should be done in keeping with the moral aim by him who yearns to proceed on this peaceful way).

The peaceful progress (*santam padam*) on this 'path of purification' (*visuddhi-magga*) in its moral finality (*attha kusalaena*) can in no way and by no technical means be adapted or even reduced to a purely 'objective technique' as visualised by Evola. From the first chapter of his 'Principles' and varieties of 'asceticism' to the last chapter on 'The *Ariya* still gather on the Vulture's

Peak', Evola insists on degrading "what we may call a pure asceticism, that is to say, one made up of techniques for developing an interior force, the use of which, to begin with, remains undetermined. Like the use of the arms and machines produced by modern industrial techniques" and used also in their wrong effort (*micchā vāyāmo*) - *sicut historia docet* in our Kali-yuga of atomic blasts - "on the level of the temporal aspirations and struggles which absorb practically all the energies of modern Western man. Furthermore, we could even conceive of an 'Asceticism of Evil', for the technical conditions, as we may call them, needed to achieve any positive success in the direction of the 'evil' are not different in kind from those needed, for example, to attain sainthood"¹¹. Hindu mythology abounds indeed with such *upāya*, or skillful means, and Mahāyāna scriptures praise them occasionally as unavoidable in extreme existential situations (but most often for slandering prominent arahant disciples of the Buddha, such as Sāriputta and Ānanda). However, is there really no essential difference in the moral roots of such purposes of *karaṇīyam atthakusalena?* - Evola will persist in his efforts to negate such distinctions in specific essences of the ethos of knowledge. This will appear most obviously in his arguments against the Buddha's fundamental teaching of *anattā* or negation of any absolute Self. This teaching, the same as the consequent interpretation of *nibbānam* as *an-upādi-sesam*, or 'extinction without remainder'¹², forcibly reduced to the Vedantic model of the Absolute Being, will be discussed subsequently.

Symbolically, 'The Vulture's Peak of the Ariya' suggests the ominous analogy with the vulture as the emblem on the Fascist coat of arms and the highest peak of the Apennines, Gran Sasso d'Italia, where Mussolini was first captured and then liberated before the end of the War. Thus, 'riding on the tiger' from the Himalayas, across Olympus down to Europe, Evola's Ariyan ascetic arrived in his newly acquired technical garb on the horseback of Kandinsky's 'Blue Rider'.

This was the ultimate glorification, the climax in Evola's gradual extolling of the advantages of the Mahāyāna in Chapters VII-XII of the second part of the *Doctrine* dealing with 'Practice', from "Discrimination between the 'Powers'" (VII), culminating

(XI) in "Up to Zen" - the attainment of the heroic pinnacle of irrational absurdity in the religion of the samurai - the dialectical antithesis of the preceding astonishingly sober and detailed description of the reasonably cautious way of "The Four *Jhāna* - The 'Irradiant Contemplations'" in Ch.V. The tragic neo-Fascist anti-climax of the 'Blue Rider', who tried to change again his *vahana* (carriage) for a wild 'tiger-ride' and broke his neck in a Fascist secret mission to Vienna at the beginning of 1945, will be described nearly thirty years later by the invalid Evola in his second important book *Cavalcare la tigre*. Among his earlier writings on *mistica fascista*, the following titles reveal his lifelong Indo-Germanic obsession:

- *Imperialismo pagano* (1928; characterised as a 'violently anti-Christian' text);
- *L'uomo come potenza. I. Tantra nella loro metafisica e nei loro metodi di autorealizzazione magica* (c. 1930);
- *La leggenda del Graal e il mistero dell'Impero*;
- *Sul sacro nella tradizione romana* (c. 1934);
- 'Per la ricostruzione spirituale fascista' (article in *Diorama filosofico*);
- *La yoga della potenza* (1968);
- 'Razza e asceti' (1942);
- 'Stirpe e spiritualità' (1931);
- 'Razza e cultura' (1934);
- *Il Fascismo* (collected essays, 1970).

In these contexts Evola speaks of *sīla*, or ethical roots (*mūla*) of the way of purification, from his standpoint of 'technical' heteronomy in moral and religious obligations (*sīla-bbata-parāmāsa*), opposing to them, as much superior and more reliable for a noble nature, the aristocratic standards of his hereditary Roman *virtù* (which he aspires to regenerate in keeping with the Fascist model of his failed expectations). This ideal of static stabilisation in Evola's belief corresponded to the aim of Nietzsche's *Will to Power* and his *The Antichrist*. In Nietzsche's own words: "I recognize virtue in that it is in the Renaissance style - *virtù* - free from all moralist acid"¹³.

This could hardly be recognised as a valid interpretation of the Buddha's advice of ascetic renunciation (*paṭhāya*) of the whole world of disgust (*sabba-loke anabhīratī*)¹⁴. Even Nietzsche agreed

on this point more emphatically with the Buddha than with Evola's heroic rejection of a pessimist world-view. In Nietzsche's terms the statement that the Buddha "stands beyond good and evil" implies that "for the same reason, he does not ask his followers to fight those who think otherwise : there is nothing to which his doctrine is more opposed than the feeling of revenge, antipathy, resentment" (*Antichrist*, sect. 20). Evola speaks of "a technique which carries us far beyond the plane of the contradictions against which fought without hope, for example, the soul of Nietzsche and Dostoevski"¹⁵. Against such fighting 'without hope' Evola insists too often (there are no less than ten entries on 'Olympian element, spirit' in the Index to the *Doctrine*) on equating Himalayan māyāvic visions with the 'Olympian bearing of the spirit', far from the painful renunciation implied by the Buddha's first Noble Truth of *dukkha*. His 'Olympian and heroic vision of the world' is reduced to the historical 'Olympian-Romeric phase of the Aryo-Hellenic tradition' where his 'Olympian nucleus in ourselves' supersedes far and wide above the Buddha's too modest simile of the man 'searching for heart of wood... in a mighty plantain-trunk... but finding no pith inside. Much less would he find heart of wood' (S XXXV, IV, 3).

In his younger years, trying to formulate the 'Theory and Phenomenology of the Absolute Individual' (1924) on the model of the Hegelian 'absolute idealism', Evola had ultimately to abandon, under Fascist pressure, even that 'Idealism' 'after the manner of Hegel', and to revert to 'a restoration... of an entirely positive reality' in his books on the 'Man as Power' (*L'uomo come potenza*) and 'Essays on Magical Idealism' (*Saggi sull' idealismo magico*, 1934). After so much emphasis in the sequel to his writings on the 'Absolute', 'Self', 'Atma', 'I' (Italian 'Io' and 'IO', over thirty entries in the Index to *Doctrine*) and its 'Power', - it would be useless to look any further for anything like *an-upādi-sesa-nibbāna* as 'extinction without remainder'¹². Instead of this, what still remains on the obverse of the medal are the symptomatic references to '*nirvāṇa*, *nibbāna*' in the same Index.

(2) S. Radhakrishnan, in his *Indian Philosophy* (1923), insists on the presentation of Buddhism on the fundamental basis of its reintegration into the broader Brahmanic tradition at a higher

developed historical level. His most authoritative disciple, Professor T.R.V. Murti, specialised in Buddhist philosophy and, in his dissertation on *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (1955), undertook to reformulate a deeper tenet of neo-Hinduist trend in defence of his teacher's fundamental thesis. To that effect Murti transferred the weight of his own central conception to a later, but doubtless authentic, beginning of the history of independent Buddhist philosophy initiated by Nāgārjuna (second-third cent. A.C.).

The dialectical leap in Evola's *mistica fascista*, by which his thesis on the 'Absolute Self' was overthrown from the Hegelian idealism into the antithesis of 'Brahma's net' of 'Reality' of the same sacrosanct 'Absolute', could not be reduced to the same historical reason that may have induced the Mahāyānist dialecticism of Murti. However, it was the same trans-critical 'will for the unconditioned considered also as liberty and power'¹⁶ which brought them both to their equally absolutist decision. Murti commits himself to his dialectical reversal from the ideal to the real nature of the 'Absolute', confessing without the slightest critical caution his full support for the arbitrariness of another, no less disputable modern authority, that of his teacher Radhakrishnan, as 'unerringly' correct in the proposition: 'Buddha did not doubt the reality of Nirvāṇa (Absolute)¹⁷. His thesis on this point has often been characterised and resolutely criticised as an untenable doctrine of the 'negative absolute'¹⁸.

Evola's doctrine of the Absolute Self and the 'specific place of the Ariya' in the 'race of the spirit, which is at least as important as that of the body', has been expounded in his book *Sintesi di dottrina della razza* (Milan 1941). In the *Doctrine of Awakening* he consequently pleads that 'above all, one must rely on this strength to replace delight in craving (*kāma-sukham*) by delight in heroism (*vīra-sukham*)¹⁹. It follows that his absolute 'Reality of Nirvāṇa' is depicted with so much stronger colours than Murti's obedience to absolute faith:

"We have purposely made considerable use of the term 'Olympian' ... From the ancient Mediterranean 'Olympian' world, where opposition between region of being and region of becoming, between the cycle of generation and the super-world corresponds exactly to

the Indo-Aryan opposition between *saṃsāra* and *Nirvāṇa*, we derive our highest heritage, that which the modern world has forgotten but which still persisted in some measure amongst the Germanic and Romanic elements of the best of the Middle Ages. The Olympian view of life, to which every true ascetic value is intimately bound, is the highest, the most original and the most Aryan of the West. It holds the symbol of all that, in a higher sense, can be called classical and aristocratic... In the second place, asceticism as affirmation of pure transcendence... can ensure that the immobile is not overturned by the changeable, that forces of centrality, forces of the world of being are set up against forces of becoming..."²⁰.

In the Index to Evola's *Doctrine*, the word *abhidhamma* is recorded with only one reference in the penultimate chapter, centred already on the advantages of the Mahāyāna, 'Up to Zen': "... A second aspect of the degeneration of Buddhism is the philosophical one. Already the later part of the Pāli Canon, the *Abhidhamma*, often shows the same stereotyped, unalive and rationalistic profile that belongs chiefly to our own medieval scholasticism"²¹. In this connection there is no mention of the *khanika-vada* theory of momentariness and impermanence - *anicca* - of illusory aggregates of *saṅkhāra-kkhandā* (formations), the first of the three essential tenets of the Buddha's fundamental teaching. Earlier, when explaining "the overcoming of the belief in 'personality' *attānudiṭṭhi*, and in its persistency", which "is a sign of a form of 'ignorance'", Evola explains the principle of his 'determination of the vocations' in an extensive description of the preliminaries for 'Practice' and 'The Qualities of the Combatant' dealt with in Part II of the book:

"One places oneself at a distance until there is a feeling that one's own person is a simple instrument of expression, something contingent which in due course will dissolve and disappear in the *saṃsāric* current, without the super-mundane, Olympian nucleus in ourselves being in the slightest degree prejudiced"²².

(3) The shadow that all these reflections ultimately casts on Evola's judgement on *Nibbāna* is expressed in the chapter dedicated to its definition under his own fanciful designation with the

French term *The Nonpareil*, obviously to avoid the central conception of 'extinction'. For him it is 'a fact that is confirmed by the whole Ariyan asceticism, in its comprehensive significance' for which "we do not, therefore, propose to put forward a learned argument designed to confute the ideas of those who hold that *Nibbāna* is 'nothingness'. It could only occur to a chronic drunkard that the ending of intoxication was also the end of existence; so only someone who knew nothing but the state of thirst and of mania could think that the cessation of this state meant the end of all life, 'nothingness'."

Referring to the authority of A.B. Keith's *Buddhist Philosophy* (London 1923), Evola agrees that "it has been said with justice that... one must have always in mind the general Indo-Aryan concept which indicates that the extinguishing of the fire is not its annihilation, but its return to the invisible, pure, supersensible state in which it was before it manifested itself through a combustible..."²³.

Speaking of 'extinction' in another context, in one of the most detailed (and still, today, valuable) extensive analyses of the central and unavoidable importance of the *jhānas* and *samādhi*, Evola insinuates, however, shortly and most categorically his thesis of reduction to Vedānta: "*Turiya*, the unconditioned state of the *ātman* in the general Indo-Aryan tradition, would then correspond to the state of *nirvāṇa* in the Buddhist terminology"²⁴.

Murti sustains his and Radhakrishnan's reduction of the Buddha's teaching on nullity or nothingness - *suññā-vāda* (*śūnyatā*) - to the Upaniṣadic teaching of Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad* (II 3, 6; III 9, 26; IV 2, 4; IV 4, 22), as "a close parallel, as is pointed out by many scholars, (to) the Upaniṣadic way of defining Brahman as 'neti' 'neti', as what cannot be grasped by speech, thought or senses... Far from being unreal on this account, it is the sole reality, the soul of the universe"¹⁷. According to the standard formulation in this Upaniṣad, "This Self is not this, not this. He is incomprehensible for He is never comprehended. He is unattached for He does not attach himself. He is unfettered, He does not suffer, He is not injured" (Radhakrishnan's translation).

For the same argument Evola uses rather the Christian analogy: "As in the Carmelite symbolism of the ascent of the mountain, the path which does not become lost, which leads straight to the summit, is that to which are attributed the words: *nada, nada, nada* - 'nothing, nothing, nothing'²⁵. His conclusion in the last chapter 'The *Ariya* still gathered on the Vulture's Peak', admonishes that "Anyone who can lay hands on the Buddhist texts or the *Bhagavad-gītā* or the *Yoga* and *Vedānta* texts should be able calmly to close the doors on these modern publishers and commentators and adaptors, leaving himself only the serious task of study and achievement"²⁶. However, it remains established for Evola, and he confirms it in several references to these systems, that "the *Sāṃkhya* theory relating to the *puruṣa*, and the *Upaniṣad* and then *Vedānta* theory relating to the *ātmā*, have the same sense" as "*Bodhi*, absolute illumination" in Buddhism: "the *ātmā* or *puruṣa* is eternally present. It is not this that 'revolves', that 'acts', that strives, that advances"²⁷.

The Buddha's explicit answers to both positions, referring to *Sāṃkhya* dualism and to *Vedāntic* monism, standardised in two alternative 'views' (*diṭṭhi*) in *Saṃyutta* 35, suttas 23 and 92 - *Sabbasutta*, on the 'All', and *Dvayasutta*, on 'Duality' - sound extremely clear and counter such argumentation extended throughout millennia - just as fresh as if they were given to the present readers:

(S 35, 23) - And what, bhikkhus, is the all? It is eye and object, ear and sound, nose and scent, tongue and savour, body and tangible things, mind and mind-states (*mano ca dhammā ca*). That, bhikkhus, is called 'the all'. Whoso, bhikkhus, should say: 'Rejecting this all, I will proclaim another all,' - it would be mere talk on his part, and when questioned he could not make good his boast, and further would come to an ill pass. Why so? Because, bhikkhus, it would be beyond his capacity to encompass it (*avisayasim*).

(In S 35, 92, the word 'all' is replaced by 'duality' in the same context.)

(4) Still on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Evola's death his merits and demerits for the cause of Buddhism in Italy

were rediscussed no less than the actuality of an apologetic for his neo-Fascist activity. On the one side there was reconsidered the inauspicious circumstances in the 'climate of the Fascist era', on the other the weight he laid on the spurious 'ariyanity' of the Indo-Germanic provenance of his Sicilian nobility (turned separatist, by the way, at the end of the War). And these trends still remain interwoven in the perennial conflict with 'Christian Democracy'. Among Italian Buddhists (in their journal *Paramita*), some remain still completely and uncritically in Evola's favour, while others tend almost equally to disqualify his attempts to approach 'the doctrine of the Buddha'²⁸.

Why then still so much discussion? From an outsider's standpoint it seems to me that at least some problems thus raised cannot yet be dismissed as barren and sterile. Evola's central theses, embedded between two hard crusted covers, still contain in their middle part an essentially good and reliable core on points regarding which, in the meantime, several other more superficial, 'technically' streamlined, interpreters have missed their intrinsic essence. This must also have been the impression of H.E. Mussen, the English translator of *The Doctrine of Awakening* (published in London 1951). In 1949 he became a Buddhist monk - Bhikkhu Nāṇavira - at the Island Hermitage in Sri Lanka, where he died in 1965, not long before the arrival at the same hermitage of the author of the present survey, who read the same book at the same time and under similar war-circumstances in Italy where it appeared in 1943.

The first essential premise visualised under the pressure of those most unfavourable conditions for the European reawakening of Buddhism - prophesied already by Nietzsche¹⁴ whose strong and direct influence was often recognised by Evola - was on the first pages of Evola's book: the 'aristocratic - aryan' requisite and preliminary attainment of the initiatic ethos of *gotra-bhū*.

Evola did not formulate the explicit equation of his term 'aryan-ness' with the Pāli *gotra-bhū*. According to the Pāli Text Society's *Dictionary*, "there is no word in English for *gotta* (*Vedic gotra*, to go) - ancestry, lineage...". In M 142 (PTS ed., Vol. III, 256) there is a reference to *anāgatamadāhānaṃ gotrabhūno*, translatable as 'to those who have not brought to an end or stand-

still' - 'to erasure, abrasion, dissolution and disintegration (*parimaddhita*), their genealogical (*gotra*) dependence of their being (*bhū*) in the world'. According to Buddhadatta's *Dictionary*, a *gotrabhū* is 'one who destroys the lineage'. Nyānatiloka in his *Buddhist Dictionary* designates, with reference to Puggala-Paññatti 10, '*gotrabhū*: lit. who has entered the lineage (of the Noble Ones), i.e. the Matured One'. *Gotrabhū-citta*, 'Maturity-Moment' is 'immediately preceding the entering into an absorption (*jhāna*) or into of of the supermundane paths'. In Puggala-Paññatti 10, the 'Matured One' is described as 'He who is endowed with those things, immediately upon which follows the entrance into the noble path (*ariya-magga*)'. In the Commentary to this passage it is said: 'He who through perceiving Nirvāṇa leaves behind the whole multitude of worldlings (*puthujjanā*), the family of worldlings, the circle of worldlings, the designation of a worldling and enters into the multitude of the Noble Ones, the family of the Noble Ones, and reaches the designation of Noble One, such being is called a Mature One (*gotra-bhū*).'

How far does Evola's interpretation of 'Aryan-ness' correspond contextually to a comparatively authentic meaning of this apocalyptic premonition which may have also have predetermined the Mahāyānist alternative described on the turning-point from Ch.X - on 'The Void' - 'If the mind does not break' - to Ch.XI - 'Up to Zen'?

Evola's forboding of his personal Fascist tragedy is underlined in his quotation from the Prajñāpāramitā (I,35) in Ch.X:

"If, indeed, by this doctrine, by this exposition, the mind of one who aspires to illumination is not cast down, does not feel the abyss / does not sink /, does not feel anguish, if his spirit is not seized, if he is not as though with a broken back, is not alarmed, does not feel terror - then such a one is to be instructed in the fullness of transcendent knowledge."

(5) The second part of Evola's *Doctrine*, on the Practice of Buddhist Ascesis, whose Principles have been set forth in Part I, is centred in Chapters V-VI on 'the Four Jhāna' and the 'States Free from Form and the Extinction'. These chapters (pp.182-228)

contain mainly what has been designated above as the 'essentially good and reliable core... embedded between two hard crusted covers' technically reduced to serve as a pedestal without any concern about the original purpose of the ethical or even aesthetic function of the whole work 'that should be in keeping with the moral aim of him who yearns to proceed on this peaceful way'.

The teaching of the four *Jhāna* is preceded, in Ch.III of Part II, by an exposition of the threefold division of the eightfold path of training (*sikkhā*) in ascetic purification, under the title 'Rightness', leading to 'consolidation of the spirit' (p.148 ff).

The threefold division of the path consists of:

1. *adhi-sīla-sikkhā*, cultivation of transcendental morality by
2. *adhi-citta-sikkhā*, the ethos of knowledge to
3. *adhi-paññā-sikkhā*, the ripeness of liberating wisdom.

These three levels of the spiritually informed Path of Purification (*Visuddhi-magga*) correspond to the transcendental structure of *sīlā-samādhi-paññā*, explained in D 16 as follows:

"It is through not understanding, not penetrating noble morality... noble concentration... noble wisdom... noble deliverance that I, as well as you, have had for such a long time to pass through this round of rebirths."

Evola sums up the implicit meaning of the transcendental 'ought' in conformity with the aprioristic structure of Kantian Practical Reason: "Thus, by 'rightness' we must understand more than an accepted morality; it is rather as internal mode, a capacity for standing fast at all times without deviating or wavering, by eliminating every tinge of tortuousness... the 'virtues' are essentially so many duties to oneself which the re-awakened interior sensibility brings to light; but once they have been put into practice, they encourage, strengthen and establish a state of calm, of transparency of mind and of spirit, of balance and of 'justice', by which every other discipline or technique is made easier." - "And if this mastery is not to be an entirely psychological character, and therefore ephemeral, the ascetic must, in his earthly existence, have developed to a high degree both the contemplations that produce a superior calm (*samatha*) and the 'wisdom' that is closely connected with the will for the un-

conditioned which leads to change of heart and detachment, and which brings realisation of the non-substantiality of all that is saṃsāric (*vipassanā*)²⁹.

Evola's criticism of the 'ephemeral reduction of various ascetic disciplines' to 'an entirely psychological character' is directed primarily against its psychoanalyst interpretations. It was in the situation between the two Wars that he was justified, at the beginning of his *Doctrine*, in stating: "We need hardly discuss the low level to which asceticism has been brought by recent 'psycho-analytical' interpretations. In the West, then, a tight net of misunderstanding and prejudice has been drawn round asceticism"³⁰.

Speaking in terms of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (fifth cent. A.C.), the entity of *antarābhava* "has a pre- and inter-natal existence; nourished by 'desire' and carried by impulses fed by other lives, it seeks to manifest itself in a new existence." With reference to this "the doctrine in question is singularly in agreement with what 'psycho-analysis' - even with its various deformations and exaggerations - has presented to our modern eyes in the guise of theories of the *libido*..."³¹.

In further references, Evola insists particularly "to put us on our guard against the exclusively psycho-analytical and Freudian interpretation that, in dealing with sexual impulses and, in general, the *libido*, admits of no other action than either 'repression' - *Verdrängung* - which creates hysteria and neuroses, or alternatively 'transposition' and 'sublimation'. A high asceticism is neither one nor the other, and we must be very careful that during development we maintain a just balance and that the central force, spiritually virile and awakened and strengthened by the various disciplines, gradually absorbs the whole of the energies which call for expression once the road to animal generation is barred... How important it is to divert the basic energy of life from subjection to the saṃsāric law of craving and thirst, which is clearly dominant in the field of sex is clearly illustrated, moreover, by the Buddhist simile which states... this precept of *sīla*... A particular rule of *sīla*... is abstention from 'strong' or intoxicating substances..."³².

(To be concluded)

NOTES

- 10 *La Dottrina del Risveglio* (quoted in the sequel as *Dottrina*), pp.14-15.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p.6.
- 12 See *Extinction without Remainder* by Buddhadasa Bhikkhu, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Bodhi Leaves B 33.
- 13 *The Will to Power II*, 'Criticism of Religion', 4.
- 14 See Bhikkhu Nāṇajīvako, *Studies in Comparative Philosophy I*, 'The Philosophy of Disgust: Buddha and Nietzsche', Colombo 1983, p.132 ff.
- 15 *Dottrina*, pp.183-4.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p.99.
- 17 T.R.V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., London 1960, p.48.
- 18 See my paper 'Hegel and Indian Philosophy' in *Indian Philosophical Quarterly*, No.3, 1976, pp.307-10.
- 19 *Dottrina*, p.122.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp.295-6
- 21 *Ibid.*, p.278.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p.103. Underlinings are mine.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp.254-5.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p.227.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p.189.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p.298.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p.241.
- 28 Cf. *Paramita V*, No.17-19, Rome 1986.
- 29 *Dottrina*, pp.148 and 249. Underlinings are mine.
- 30 *Op. cit.*, p.4.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p.80.
- 32 *Ibid.*, pp.157-8.

ARTHUR WALEY, D.T. SUZUKI AND HU SHIH:
NEW LIGHT ON THE 'ZEN AND HISTORY' CONTROVERSY

T.H. Barrett

Many Western students of Zen are familiar with the controversy over the relationship between Zen and history associated with the names of Hu Shih (1891-1962) and D.T. Suzuki (1870-1966). The former, a champion of Chinese culture without personal religious convictions¹, published in 1953 an article on Zen in China specifically aimed at refuting the approach to this topic espoused by 'my learned friend, Dr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki'²; the latter in the same periodical published a spirited defence, a 'Reply to Hu Shih', suggesting that Hu's strictly historical approach failed to grasp the meaning of Zen³. Such a conflict between East Asian scholars already well known in the West as interpreters of East Asian civilisation prompted a further article reviewing the debate by Van Meter Ames, an American professor of philosophy, in the following year⁴, and in 1955 a final afterword by Arthur Waley (1889-1968), the famous British Orientalist, summing up the arguments, but giving greater credit to Hu than to Suzuki. In Waley's closing words, however, he was conciliatory:

'Suzuki need not feel he is a "sinner" (he actually uses this word) if he has sometimes dabbled in history, for apart from the mundane there is no transcendental. Still less need he ask Hu to join him in his *peccavi*, for if there were no Hus there would be no Suzukis'⁵.

A fitting conclusion, considering that it was he who had unwittingly started the controversy between Hu and Suzuki in the first place - and maybe the centenary year of Waley's birth is a fitting time to establish the point. For one must understand that the debate conducted at this time in English represented but the tip of an iceberg - Suzuki's 'Collected Works' in Japanese run to some thirty-two volumes, and even though the bulk of Hu Shih's equally impressive 'Collected Works' do not touch upon Zen at all, the anthology of his writings on this topic put together in 1975 by Yanagida Seizan, Japan's greatest authority on the history of Chinese Zen, still forms a very sub-

stantial tome⁶. In an introductory survey of the long dispute between Suzuki and Hu, Professor Yanagida quotes an essay on Hu Shih written in Japanese by Suzuki in 1948, which traces their mutual involvement in Zen studies back to 1927⁷. In this year Suzuki published his 'First Series' of *Essays in Zen Buddhism* through Luzac in London, and was surprised to be treated to a short, unsigned, but evidently well-informed review in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Particularly intriguing is its latter half:

'It is singularly unfortunate that Dr. Suzuki is unaware of Pelliot's researches, which go far to proving that Zen grew up as a movement within the Chinese Buddhist Church, and was not introduced from India. It is very pardonable (considering the distance between Tokyo and Paris) that he is also unfamiliar with the important Zen documents at the Bibliothèque Nationale, which also throw much new light on the early history of the sect'⁸.

Suzuki confessed that he was completely unable to think of anyone in Britain capable of such a review but, three or four years later, when he learned via a Korean scholar who was a mutual acquaintance that Hu possessed photostats of the *Lêng-chia shi-tzû chi*, an early Zen history preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, he realised that Hu had been in London and Paris in 1926: the review must have been his⁹. Hu had indeed been visiting London, Paris, Frankfurt and 'British universities' between early August and New Year's Eve, 1926, initially as part of Lord Willingdon's committee reviewing the use of the Boxer Indemnity Funds; he had also made important discoveries for rewriting the history of Zen in China both at the Bibliothèque Nationale and at the British Museum¹⁰, among the manuscripts removed by Pelliot and Sir Aurel Stein from a thousand-year old library discovered at Tun-huang in northwest China. But the review, for all that it did to prompt Suzuki's interest in (and eventual direct contact with) Hu, was not by him: it was, unless I am very much mistaken, by Waley.

Now when F.A. Johns published his *Bibliography of Waley's writings* in 1968, he knew that Waley made 'numerous contributions to the *Times Literary Supplement* between 1920 and 1958', but was

not allowed to check the files to remove the cloak of anonymity¹¹. In this case, however, a check is hardly necessary: by 1927 Waley was already the leading British authority on Zen¹², and, most significantly, had already written (besides a review of a work by M. Anesaki on Japanese religion)¹³ a lengthy and signed review of a book on Zen written in Germany by S. Ōhasama¹⁴. In this review, which appeared in 1925, we already find a discussion of the historicity of Bodhidharma, the figure traditionally seen as linking East Asian Zen with India, based on 'Pelliot's researches'¹⁵. These are in fact buried in a long article by the famous savant on Six Dynasties and T'ang painters which had appeared in 1923¹⁶. Here Pelliot even refers to materials on Bodhidharma among the Bibliothèque Nationale Tun-huang manuscripts¹⁷, though the references in the TLS book review may reflect Waley's early awareness of Hu Shih's finds as well. It may be that Hu, too, was aware of Pelliot's work - this would make his own 1927 essay on Bodhidharma (in Chinese) a shade less original than it has been considered so far¹⁸ - but the odds are on Waley as the reviewer in any case, as an established authority already in contact with the TLS.

In the autumn of 1974 my good friend John McRae was a student of Yanagida Seizan in Kyoto. He arranged that I should travel from Tokyo to visit Professor Yanagida, but I was asked if I could copy out the review from the holdings of the Diet Library, Tokyo, for inclusion in the then forthcoming volume of Hu's writings on Zen. In return I was received with great courtesy and generosity in the Professor's own home. The conversation naturally turned to the question of Zen and history, and Professor Yanagida, who has always himself displayed an impeccable historical sensitivity in treating the many bibliographical problems raised by the texts of early Chinese Zen, explained (drawing also on the writings of the great Japanese master, Hakuin, for comparison) that after all Hu Shih had got it wrong: the truths of Zen are more akin to the truths of literature than to those of history. It was a pity that Suzuki, on the other hand, had made his counter-arguments 'a little bit too interesting!'

I do not regret my part in securing the inclusion of Waley's review among Hu Shih's writings: after all, at the very least

it formed part of Suzuki's image of Hu. And if the 'Zen and history' controversy has itself its own history, perhaps, too, it has its own Zen.

But this story has just one more little twist in the tail. I drafted the foregoing account in September 1989, just before a visit to America which allowed me to meet again for the first time in many years John McRae and other scholars far more established in Zen studies than myself: I did not take my draft with me, because I had not had time to consult the second edition of the Johns bibliography which, I hoped, might contain more information. But I did announce my findings in America, and encountered a certain degree of reluctance to believe that when Hu and Suzuki eventually met they did not discuss the TLS review and settle the question of its authorship.

On my return I was able to consult the second edition of Johns, which announced that access had been granted to the TLS files, allowing a certain number of reviews to be attributed to Waley¹⁹. Yet the Suzuki review was not listed. Was I wrong? Or had Johns not bothered with short notices? On 29 November 1989 I wrote to the TLS, and on 4 December received a reply from Melanie Aspey, Group Records Manager, News International plc. The key sentence reads:

'I am pleased to confirm your belief that Arthur Waley reviewed a work by D.T. Suzuki on August 25 1927'.

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NOTES

¹ Hu's own beliefs were in fact published in English in the American magazine *Forum* 85.2 (February 1931), pp.114-22, under the title 'What I Believe': he was an admirer of early Chinese critics of Buddhism and also of Dewey's pragmatism.

² See p.3 of his 'Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method', in *Philosophy East and West* 3 (1953), pp.3-24.

- ³ 'Zen: a Reply to Hu Shih', *ib.*, pp.25-46
- ⁴ 'Zen and Pragmatism', *ib.* 4 (1954), pp.19-33.
- ⁵ See p.78 of Arthur Waley, 'History and Religion', *ib.* 5 (1955), pp.75-8.
- ⁶ Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Hu Shih Ch'an hsueh-an*, Taipei 1975.
- ⁷ *Hu Shih Ch'an hsueh-an*, pp.32-3, quoting Suzuki's *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, bekkā (i.e. supplement) 2 (Tokyo 1971), pp.351-2: this reprints on pp.351-6 Suzuki's 'Ko Seki sensei', first published in the literary magazine *Bungei Shunjū*, 26.7, in 1948.
- ⁸ *The Times Literary Supplement*, Thursday 25 August 1927, p.579; reprinted in *Hu Shih Ch'an hsueh-an*, p.724.
- ⁹ *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, bekkā 2, p.352.
- ¹⁰ See in Chinese p.8 of Hu Sung-p'ing, 'Hu Shih hsien-sheng nien-p'u chien-pien', *Ta-iu tsa-chih* 43.1 (July 1971), pp.1-33: this is much fuller than the chronology in *Hu Shih Ch'an hsueh-an*, pp.47-52.
- ¹¹ F.A. Johns, *A Bibliography of Arthur Waley* (New Brunswick 1968), p.139.
- ¹² See Ivan Morris, ed., *Madly Singing in the Mountains* (London 1970), pp.68, 314-23.
- ¹³ M. Anesaki, *Quelques pages sur l'histoire religieuse du Japon* (Paris 1921), reviewed in *JRAS* (January 1923), p.124.
- ¹⁴ Schüej Ōhasama, *Zen, der lebendige Buddhismus in Japan* (Stuttgart 1921), reviewed by Waley in *Artibus Asiae* 1 (1925), pp.237-39.
- ¹⁵ See the section on the 'Historicity of Bodhidharma' on pp. 238-9 of the review cited in the preceding note. Waley had much earlier acquired a professional interest in Bodhidharma through his work cataloguing paintings in the British Museum: see Morris, *Madly Singing in the Mountains*, p.41.
- ¹⁶ Paul Pelliot, 'Notes sur quelques artistes des Six Dynasties et des T'ang', *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923), pp.215-91.
- ¹⁷ See the references to manuscripts P.2460 and P.3181 in the footnote on p.255 of the article cited in the preceding note: these manuscripts were not taken up by Hu Shih in his studies.
- ¹⁸ This study, 'P'u-t'i-ta-mo k'ao', is reprinted in *Hu Shih Ch'an hsueh-an*, pp.53-62; it uses (aside from materials employed by Pelliot) other evidence preserved only in Japan. Pelliot himself was aware in 1923 that Matsumoto

Bunzaburō had already investigated the Bodhidharma story, but states that he had not secured a copy of Matsumoto's work. Neither have I, but in his *Daruma no kenkyū* (Tokyo 1942), preface, p.3, he states that even before the appearance of his first work on Bodhidharma in 1911 another Japanese scholar, Sakaino Tetsu, had started to re-examine the sources on Bodhidharma in an outline of Chinese Buddhist history published in 1907.

¹⁹ F.A. Johns, *A Bibliography of Arthur Waley* (second edition: London and Atlantic Heights, N.J., 1988), p.xii: Pp.110-13 show that Waley reviewed several books on Buddhism for the TLS from 1922 to 1927.

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Fascicule cinquième

Partie 12¹

2. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī, dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada. Alors le Tathāgata disait aux bhikṣu: Dans ce monde, je ne vois aucun moyen capable d'anéantir rapidement la haine comme la vie de pureté (*brahmacarya*). C'est pourquoi, ô bhikṣu, on doit pratiquer la patience dans ses actes, ses paroles et ses pensées. Ainsi, on doit s'y exercer. Alors ayant entendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

3. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī, dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada. Alors le Bhagavat, le Bienheureux disait aux bhikṣu: S'il y a quelqu'un qui vient en ce bas-monde², il est adoré par les dieux, les humains, les démons, les śramaṇa, les brāhmaṇa. Nul n'est comparable à lui. Il est le suprême champ de mérite, le plus vénérable. Qui est cette personne? C'est le Bhagavat, l'Arhat, le Samyak-Saṃbuddha. Quand il vient en ce bas-monde², il surpasse les dieux, les humains, les démons, les śramaṇa, les brāhmaṇa, il est très suprême. Nul ne peut se mesurer à lui. Premier en vertu, il mérite d'être vénéré. C'est pourquoi, ô bhikṣu, on doit toujours offrir ses services au Tathāgata. Ainsi, ô bhikṣu, on doit s'y exercer. Alors ayant entendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

4. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī, ... Alors le Tathāgata disait aux bhikṣu: Celui qui visite un malade, est considéré comme s'il m'a déjà rendu visite. Celui qui a visité un malade, est considéré comme s'il m'a rendu visite. Pourquoi? C'est parce que j'ai toujours envie de visiter les malades. Ô bhikṣu, parmi les dieux, les humains, les démons,

les śramaṇa, les brāhmaṇa, il n'y a pas de meilleur moyen de faire le bien que de visiter des malades. C'est cette manière de faire le bien qui pourrait obtenir de grands résultats, de grands mérites, de grande réputation, de la valeur aboutissant dans l'immortalité³. Comme il est dit, le Tathāgata, le Suprême Eveillé, a connu le meilleur moyen de faire du bien. Rien n'est meilleur que d'aller visiter les malades. Réellement cette manière permet d'acquérir de grands résultats, de grands mérites. Aujourd'hui, profitant de cette occasion, je vous conseille d'aller voir fréquemment les malades, comme si vous allez me rendre visite⁴. Pendant bien longtemps vous auriez du bonheur. Ainsi, ayant entendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

5. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī, ... Alors le Bhagavat disait aux bhikṣu: S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue l'Āraṇyaka⁵, c'est qu'il loue le Bouddha. Pourquoi? C'est parce que je loue toujours l'Āraṇyaka. S'il y a quelqu'un qui calomnie l'Āraṇyaka, c'est qu'il me calomnie. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue la mendicité, c'est qu'il loue le Bouddha. Pourquoi? C'est parce que le Bouddha loue toujours la mendicité. S'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme la mendicité, c'est qu'il blâme le Bouddha. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue le rien-que-s'asseoir⁶, c'est qu'il loue mon enseignement. Pourquoi? C'est parce que je loue toujours le rien-que-s'asseoir. Au contraire s'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme le rien-que-s'asseoir, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue le manger pris à la fois, c'est qu'il loue le Bouddha. Pourquoi? C'est parce que le Bouddha loue souvent le manger pris à la fois. S'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme le manger pris à la fois, il blâme le Bouddha. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue la manière de s'asseoir au pied d'un arbre, c'est qu'il loue le Bouddha. Pourquoi? C'est parce que je m'assieds le plus souvent au pied d'un arbre. S'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme cette manière de s'asseoir, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue la vie en plein air, c'est qu'il loue l'enseignement que j'ai souvent donné. Pourquoi? C'est parce que je fais souvent des louanges à ce sujet. Au contraire, s'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme cette vie en plein air, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue la solitude, c'est qu'il loue ce que je con-

seille. Pourquoi? C'est parce que je loue souvent la solitude. S'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme ce que je conseille, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue l'usage de l'habit à cinq pièces⁷, c'est qu'il loue ce que je conseille. Pourquoi? Parce que j'ai toujours conseillé de porter l'habit à cinq pièces. S'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme l'usage de l'habit à cinq pièces, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue l'usage de trois robes seulement, c'est qu'il loue ce que je conseille. Pourquoi? Parce que j'ai toujours fait des louanges de l'usage de trois robes seulement. Au contraire, s'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme ce que je conseille, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue le conseil de vivre dans un cimetière, c'est qu'il me loue. Pourquoi? Parce que j'ai souvent conseillé de vivre dans un cimetière. Au contraire, s'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme ce conseil, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue le conseil de prendre un seul repas par jour, c'est qu'il me loue. Pourquoi? Parce que j'ai souvent loué la prise d'un seul repas par jour. Au contraire, s'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme ce conseil de prendre un seul repas par jour, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue le seul repas du midi, c'est qu'il me loue. Pourquoi? Parce que j'ai souvent loué le seul repas du midi. S'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme la même chose, c'est qu'il me blâme. S'il y a quelqu'un qui loue la pratique du Dhūtaṅga, c'est qu'il me loue. Pourquoi? Parce que j'ai souvent loué ceux qui pratiquent cette vertu de Dhūtaṅga. Au contraire, s'il y a quelqu'un qui blâme cette vertu, c'est qu'il me blâme. Aujourd'hui je conseille tous les bhikṣu de faire comme le disciple Mahā-Kāśyapa, d'observer sans faille cette pratique. Parce que le disciple Mahā-Kāśyapa toutes les vertus ci-dessus. C'est pourquoi les bhikṣu doivent apprendre et appliquer sérieusement la doctrine. Ainsi, ayant entendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha, tous les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

6. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Rājagṛha, dans le jardin de Bambou, au [terrain de la Nourriture] des Écurieils, avec ses grands disciples au nombre de cinq cents. Alors le vénérable Mahā-Kāśyapa⁸, vivant dans un milieu solitaire, allait demander de la nourriture de maison en maison sans faire

distinction de riche ou pauvre. Il ne changeait point sa place de méditation. Il s'asseyait au pied d'un arbre paisible. Il portait l'habit à cinq pièces et faisait usage de trois robes seulement. Il faisait aussi la méditation dans un cimetière. Il ne prenait qu'un repas au midi par jour. Il pratiquait toujours l'ascétisme malgré son troisième âge. Alors après avoir pris son repas, il se rendait au pied d'un arbre pour méditer. Après la méditation, il se levait, arrangeait sa robe et se rendait chez le Tathāgata. En le voyant s'approcher, le Tathāgata lui disait: Bienvenu, Kāśyapa! Celui-ci s'avançait et se prosternait au pied du Tathāgata. Alors le Bhagavat lui disait: Kāśyapa, maintenant vous êtes avancé dans l'âge. Vous marchez péniblement. Vous ne devez pas aller quêmander la nourriture, il faut abandonner l'ascétisme... et prendre s'il le faut le train d'un bourgeois aisé et reprendre la vie d'un laïc. Le vénérable Kāśyapa répondait: Aujourd'hui, je m'excuse de ne pas suivre ces conseils du Tathāgata. Pourquoi? Parce que si je ne parvenais au stade de Bouddha, je deviendrais un Pratyekabouddha. Mais pour le devenir, il faut appliquer de tout son cœur la pratique d'Āraṇyaka, aller demander de la nourriture sans faire distinction des maisons pauvres ou riches, prendre toujours une place fixe, s'asseoir au pied d'un arbre ou dans un endroit solitaire, porter l'habit à cinq pièces, faire usage de trois robes seulement, demeurer dans un cimetière ou ne prendre qu'un repas par jour juste à midi ou bien pratiquer l'ascétisme [des autres pratiques] de Dhūtaṅga. Par conséquent, je n'ose pas abandonner le principe fondamental déjà pratiqué pour apprendre un autre. Le Tathāgata répondit: Bien, c'est très bien! Kāśyapa! Vous êtes très utile, car vous pouvez aider un nombre immensurable de gens. Il vous est possible d'aider même les dieux, les humains. Pourquoi? Parce que, ô Kāśyapa, si l'on pratique l'ascétisme de Dhūtaṅga dans ce monde, ma doctrine s'y perpétuera pendant bien longtemps. Si elle se perpétue dans ce monde, la voie céleste sera augmentée et les trois mauvaises voies seront diminuées. Les voies permettant l'accès au stade de Srotāpanna, de Sakṛdāgāmin et de Anāgāmin dureront dans ce monde. Ô bhikṣu! Pour pratiquer la religion vous devez suivre l'exemple du Vénérable Kāśyapa. C'est ainsi que vous devez vous exercer. Alors les bhikṣu, ayant en-

tendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha, étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

7. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada. Alors le Bhagavat disait aux bhikṣu: Jouir du confort est très dangereux. Cela vous empêche de devenir un Bouddha. Pourquoi? O bhikṣu! Devadatta est parmi les ignorants. Il conseille au prince Ajātaśatru de préparer cinq cents marmites d'aliments pour offrir au Saṃgha bouddhique et le prince n'en récuse pas. Ignorant qu'il est, Devadatta ne fait pas cette bêtise⁹. Mais chaque jour, le prince Ajātaśatru prépare cinq cents marmites d'aliments pour offrir au Saṃgha. [Le complot et les actes de mauvais dessein de Devadatta sont motivés par son désir ardent d'être le chef du Saṃgha.] C'est pourquoi Devadatta commet les cinq péchés graves¹⁰ et reçoit les pénitences du Mahāvīci. De par ce fait, on doit savoir que jouir du confort est dangereux, on ne peut pas devenir un Bouddha. S'il y a quelqu'un qui n'a pas encore le désir de jouir du confort, il faut s'en abstenir. Celui qui a ce désir, il faut s'en débarrasser. Ainsi les bhikṣu, ayant entendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha, étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

8. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Rājagṛha, sur la montagne Gr̥dhṛakūṭa, avec une grande assemblée de cinq cents bhikṣu. Alors Devadatta tentait de détruire le Saṃgha en le perturbant. Il tentait de détruire l'enseignement du Tathāgata. Il poussait Ajātaśatru à tuer le roi son père et il (Devadatta) tua un bhikṣuṇī qui était une Arhatī. Au milieu du Saṃgha il disait ceci: Où se trouve le mal, d'où vient le mal? Qui fait le mal? Qui en supporte le résultat? Je ne fais pas de mal mais j'en supporte la conséquence. - A ce moment, il y avait plusieurs bhikṣu qui se rendaient à la capitale Rājagṛha pour quêmander de la nourriture. Ils entendaient toutes les paroles de Devadatta qui s'exprimait ainsi devant le Saṃgha: Où se trouve le mal? D'où vient le mal? Qui fait le mal? Qui en supporte la conséquence? Quand les bhikṣu avaient terminé leur repas, rangé leur robe, leur bol d'aumône, remis leur natte sur l'épaule droite, ils se rendaient devant le Bhagavat, se prosternaient à ses pieds, puis venaient s'asseoir à son côté. Alors plusieurs d'entre

eux demandaient au Bienheureux: Devadatta, un ignorant parmi le Saṃgha, a souvent répété ceci: Pourquoi le malfaiteur ne reçoit-il pas de punitions et le bienfaiteur n'est pas récompensé? Tous ces gens ne reçoivent-ils pas de bonnes ni de mauvaises conséquences? Alors le Bhagavat répondit aux bhikṣu: Les bonnes et les mauvaises actions ont toutes leurs conséquences. Si Devadatta savait cela, il serait inquiet, attristé. La sueur, les larmes couleraient de haut en bas sur sa figure. Puisque Devadatta ne connaît pas la causalité, les bhikṣu devaient lui dire clairement que nul ne peut éviter les conséquences de ses actes. Les malfaiteurs recevront le malheur; les bienfaiteurs le bonheur. Alors le Bienheureux prononçait cette gāthā:

L'homme stupide comprendra s'il se met à penser que les mauvaises actions ne sont jamais récompensées.

Moi, je sais sûrement,

Que la causalité prendra nécessairement son jeu.

Ainsi les bhikṣu doivent éviter tout le mal, et faire le bien sans relâche. Alors, ayant entendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha, ils étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

9. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada. Alors le Bhagavat disait aux bhikṣu: Recevoir des dons et en tirer profit immérité¹¹ est très dur. Ce n'est pas facile. Il serait pénible aux profiteurs de parvenir à l'état de non-agir, c'est-à-dire de réaliser la sortie finale. Pourquoi? Parce que le profit a des conséquences sérieuses. C'est d'enlever d'abord la peau, ensuite de décharner les os, puis de pénétrer dans les moelles¹². Donc les bhikṣu doivent employer des moyens salvifiques pour savoir que le danger du profit est très sérieux. Si vous n'avez pas encore l'idée de tirer profit, il faut vous stopper. Si quelqu'un a déjà cette idée, il faut l'anéantir. Ainsi, les bhikṣu doivent faire attention à ce sujet ci-dessus. Alors, ayant entendu ces précieux conseils du Bouddha, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

10. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Bouddha résidait à Śrāvastī dans le bois de Jeta, au parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada. Alors le Bhagavat disait aux bhikṣu: Ceux qui profitent [sans le mériter] des autres

pour vivre le trouveront difficile de parvenir à l'état de non-agir, c'est-à-dire de réaliser la sortie finale. Pourquoi? Si le bhikṣu Lo che lo (利師羅) n'avait pas tiré profit des autres pour vivre, s'il n'avait pas commis d'innombrables tueries, il ne renaîtra pas dans l'enfer après sa mort. Alors le Bhagavat prononça cette gāthā ci-dessous:

Quand pour vivre, on tire des autres de grands profits [immérités],

On risque ainsi de perdre sa probité à l'égard d'autrui.

Ne cherchons donc pas la nourriture des plaisirs.

Li che lo par le succès de sa méditation

Puisse accéder jusqu'au palais de Śakra.

Mais maintenant tous ses pouvoirs magiques sont enlevés

Car il est condamné à l'enfer pour être un boucher.

Par conséquent, les bhikṣu obligés d'employer des moyens salvifiques doivent se rendre compte que tirer profit des autres est chose extrêmement délicate. Ainsi ils doivent approfondir la doctrine. Celui qui n'a pas encore l'idée de tirer profit immérité, il doit la maîtriser. Ne la laissez pas se produire. Celui qui par malheur a déjà cette idée, il doit par tous les moyens l'anéantir. Les bhikṣu doivent s'exercer à bien pratiquer la doctrine. Alors, ayant entendu ces paroles précieuses du Bouddha, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.'

NOTES

¹ Voir T2, 569b13 et suiv.

² Cf. BSR IV, 2, p.128, 20: 'celui qui vient en ce bas-monde' et *ibid.*, p.131 et suiv., n.5.

³ Lit. *amṛta-dharma-rasa*.

⁴ Cette section suit la veine du *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* III, 76; cf. É. Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti*, p.217. Ce passage de l'ÉA aurait pu inspiré l'auteur ou les auteurs du Nirdeśa. Cf. aussi *L'Enseignement*, chapitre IV, 'consolations au malade'.

⁵ C.a.d. 'celui qui vit dans le forêt, recherche la solitude, vit comme un ermite': cf. PTSDict. 76 (*araṇṇaka*). Quant aux *dhūta-guṇa*, voir BSR III, 2, p.141, n.4, Voir aussi Edgerton, *BHSDic.*, p.286.

⁶ Aussi, 'le siège solitaire' - peut-être une référence au 13e *dhūtaṅga*, c.a.d., dormir dans une position assise (sans jamais s'allonger).

⁷ Cf. BSR II, 1-2, p.46, n.22.

⁸ Au sujet de Mahā-Kāśyapa/Mahā-Kāśyapa, voir G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* II, p.476 et suiv.; É. Lamotte, *L'Enseignement*, p.149 et suiv., n.18.

Selon les sources dont nous disposons, le Bouddha a conseillé au Mahā-Kāśyapa agé de renoncer les pratiques *dhūtaṅga* extrêmes en faveur de la vie monastique normale. Mais il est assez étrange que, selon ce passage de l'ÉA, le Bouddha est donné comme ayant suggéré à Mahā-Kāśyapa un retour à la vie laïque. Parfois, comme nous savons d'après les *Nikāya*, le Bouddha employait de l'ironie. Peut-être ici aussi, le Bouddha se livre au badinage.

⁹ 'Cette bêtise' de fournir vraiment trop de nourriture au Saṅgha.

¹⁰ En vérité Devadatta n'a pu commis tous les cinq 'péchés graves', mais seulement trois. Cf. BSR V, 2, p.143 et suiv., n.3, 4.

¹¹ Tirer profit de (lit. 'se nourrir par moyen de profit' 利養): terme pré-joratif désignant la nourriture, les boissons, le habillements, les médicaments, toutes choses offertes par les donateurs au Saṅgha qui ne se respecte pas, qui ne se purifie pas.

¹² 'C'est d'enlever d'abord la peau.. les moelles' se réfère aux genres de punition dans leurs prochaines vies qui attendent les faux membres du Saṅgha qui s'enjoignent de tout le soutien des laïcs sans le mériter.

A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PĀLI DHAMMAPADA VERSES

Nissim Cohen

The purpose of this 'note' is twofold: first, to provide up-to-date material on the parallels to the Pāli Dhammapada (Dhp) and between the various Dharmapadas, as well as comments on their relative antiquity; second, to develop a thesis on the origin of the Dhp, hinted at elsewhere¹, and which is based on contextual and literary evidence. It may stimulate further investigations on this matter and, if carried out by more able researchers, the outcome may prove fruitful and our knowledge concerning the origin of the Pāli Dhp stanzas enriched.

1. The Dhp is, admittedly, the most widely translated and read of the canonical texts. Notwithstanding its popularity, the greater part of the research work done so far gravitates, with a few exceptions, towards the parallels to the Dhp and the similarities between the various extant Dharmapadas, to the exclusion of other linguistic and literary studies. One of the most outstanding contributions in the field of contemporary studies in recent years is the work published by Professor K. Mizuno²; more important still, his research has helped to resolve the question of the antiquity of the Dhp in relation to the Dharmapadas of other schools. My aim in this section is to produce complementary material, based on my own studies, and in a systemised manner to comment on the relative age of these texts.

Usually, editors and translators supply references to other texts. However, besides the inconvenience of being scattered throughout the texts, these references are sometimes incomplete and even misleading³. The author of this article has, in recent years, surveyed the Pāli canonical and non-canonical texts as well as Dharmapada texts for parallels to the Dhp, trying to discover and identify additional similarities or parallels. The outcome is presented here in the form of Tables I-III⁴.

To my knowledge, this is the most complete inventory of the Dhammapada's parallels so far published⁵. It will also be noted that the canonical texts have been divided into two groups, CANONICAL TEXTS-I (CT-I) comprising those texts whose final composi-

tion dates are considered, by certain scholars, to be earlier than or, in a few cases (Udāna, Itivuttaka?), contemporary with the Dhp. In CANONICAL TEXTS-II (CT-II) have been included texts which are, in all probability, later than Dhp.

A question that may arise in this connection is why the Jātakas have been listed as non-canonical. It is well known that there is still no consensus as to what should be considered as canonical in the Jātakas, and what as commentarial literature. As our concern here is to define the probable sources of the Dhp verses, it should suffice to mention that we have the testimony of the Jātakas proper which, in some cases, state clearly that the verses have been pointed out by the Buddha from the Dhp and not the other way round (for example, Ja I 76, 132; II 441; III 73, 333)⁶.

Let me now present some remarks related to the work of Prof. Mizuno and the editors of other Dharmapada texts on this topic. According to Mizuno, in the Pāli canonical texts there are altogether 137 gāthās (non-repetitive), and in the non-canonical texts, 59 in all⁷. It will be seen from the 'Table I-Summary: Sources and Parallels to the Pāli Dhammapada Verses' that I have found these numbers to be 123 and 60 respectively; however, as he does not give exact references, no further comment is possible here (incidentally, in his reckoning he does not include the Vimānavatthu). We see in the table that the total number of single Dhp stanzas traceable to the canonical texts are 110, if CT-I only is considered; this is about 26% of the total.

J. Brough, in his *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (GDhp), states that 'Of 350 Prakrit stanzas, between 225 and 230 are shared with the Dhammapada'⁸. This figure is higher by about 31% from that in Table I (177) and may be attributed, first, to the errors found in his identification and reckoning of the parallels as registered in Concordance II (p.287): about two dozen partial stanzas (one, two or three lines) have been considered as exact equivalents to Pāli Dhp; second, to the inclusion, in this reckoning, of fragmentary stanzas whose equivalence to the Dhp cannot be asserted. The manuscript of the GDhp contains quite a few fragmentary stanzas of one and, to a lesser extent, two lines.

similar to the Pāli Dhp. Further, Brough assumes (p.23), based on the proportions in the surviving Prakrit, the text to have shared between 350 and 360 verses with the Dhp. We may safely state that, in view of the former considerations, this figure could not be higher than 250.

In his translation of the Tibetan version of the Udānavarga⁹, Rockhill identified 306 parallels with Dhp (which, deducting the few errors found, becomes 297). I identified seven more. Brough, in his GDhp (p.23, n.1), noted just over 50 others which are not included in the tables of Rockhill - a figure that seems too high.

A Dharmapada text, in mixed Sanskrit, brought from Tibet and deposited at the Bihar Research Society of Patna, has been edited twice, more or less simultaneously: *The Patna Dharmapada* (PDhp) by G. Roth, and *The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dharmapada* (BHSDhp) by N.S. Shukla¹⁰. The former comprises 415 stanzas, the latter, 414; this is due to a difference in the method of arrangement of the verses adopted by the two editors. They mention that in the colophon of the manuscript the gāthās are referred to as being 502; a hint as to a possible explanation to account for this discrepancy may be had, perhaps, by a comparative study of Dhp and PDhp¹¹. Roth believes that '... PDhp is based on a Prakrit-Pāli version which is older than the existing Pāli Dhp. Besides, there are also other differences in the verses themselves and the sequence of their order which exclude the Pāli Dhp in its present form as the direct source of PDhp' (p.94). Shukla is of the opinion that the present version of the BHSDhp can have the distinction of being regarded as an earlier Dharmapada: '... The division found in the Pali text and other versions ... indicates that it was at a very late stage that these texts gained a streamlined form, and for this purpose they must have depended on one common base' (p.viii). I do not know whether the author carried out his intended study which would prove the anteriority of this text; meanwhile, Mizuno has given us a comparative study of the Dharmapadas, wherein this matter is discussed and an attempt made to prove the anteriority of the Pāli Dhp in relation to other Dharmapadas¹².

Another way of looking at this problem of anteriority, and one that could give us the chronology of compilation of these texts, would be to pick up a doctrinal issue and examine how it is tackled in them. As an example, let us take the case of the Arahant. The Dhp has an *Arahanta Vagga*, verses 90-99; the term is expressly mentioned only in stanza 98. PDhp has equivalent stanzas, not grouped together, but scattered throughout different chapters; its parallel verse 245 also mentions the term *arahanto*. Udānavarga has, instead, the term *ārya* (XXIX.18); in it we find only five out of ten stanzas. The GDhp has none of these stanzas. We may, therefore, try to establish the chronology of these texts, based on the historical evolution of the ideal of perfect man, which started with that of Arahantship, turned out to be an issue of controversy some time after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha, and ended with the emergence of the ideal of the Bodhisattva in Mahāyāna schools. The order would be: Dhp → PDhp (or PDhp → Dhp) → Ud → GDhp, which is slightly different from that given by Mizuno, viz. Dhp → PDhp → GDhp → Ud.

Further help for the establishment of the relative chronology of the Dharmapadas may be found in the *Buddha Vagga*, vv.179-196. GDhp has parallels to only two of them (182, 193); significantly enough, vv.188-192, which deal with the Threefold Refuge, are absent in it. There are no parallels to vv.195-6 in any of the Dharmapadas (on these, see later). We thus have confirmation of the chronology we tried to establish above¹³.

As to the parallels found in PDhp-BHSDhp, my comparative study of the texts shows these to total 285 - a figure different from that found in the references of both edited texts, due to some errors and omissions contained therein which will not be elaborated on here. Since the former text is very akin to Dhp, we would expect the divisional structure of the stanzas, which are parallels to Dhp, to be similarly related in its edited form - which is not always the case. For instance, PDhp 23-26 have, respectively, 6-4-4-4 pādas; rearrangement into 4-4-4-6 pādas would make 23 and 24 the exact parallels to Dhp 31, 327, and PDhp 26 a partial parallel to Dhp 27¹⁴.

The edition of BHS Dh contains two oddities worth mentioning: BHS Dh 247 and 260 contain seven and five pādas respectively - a unique instance in all the Dharmapadas. BHS Dh 204 is an extra stanza not found in PDhp - and yet both editors used the same manuscript. It remains to be mentioned that BHS Dh 203, 204 = Dh 131, 132, and that these two stanzas form a complete pair, that is are complementary in their contents¹⁵.

2. The view that the Dhammapada is an anthology of verses culled from various Buddhist texts has been prevalent since the last century¹⁶. No evidence whatsoever has been put forward to sustain this view except pointing to the parallels existing in the canonical texts, which, as we have just seen above, account for only about 26% of the verses. As to the rest of the missing parallels, the opinion has been expressed lately that '... the other two-thirds seems to have been collected from losing [sic] sūtras'¹⁷. Mizuno invokes, among other things, the testimony of Chinese authors (who expressed a view many centuries later than the events we are evaluating) as support for his opinion of 'losing sūtras'. (Curiously, a statistical argument against this thesis comes to mind: the above-mentioned 26% of stanzas are scattered throughout 25 volumes of texts in the PTS edition: with the same proportion of dispersion in view, the remaining 71% of stanzas would have to be scattered throughout 71 volumes of supposedly lost suttas - a mass of texts larger than the Tipiṭaka itself!).

I will try now to present some evidence which, I hope, will show that Dh is an original work, and that we have no need to look for its verses elsewhere. When we scrutinise the earlier and later texts of the Theravāda school, we ascertain that no tradition related to any 'lost' texts has been handed down; neither can it be inferred from the literature of other schools which are offshoots of the Sthaviras. Quite the contrary, the canonical as well as the extra-canonical accounts indicate that the whole of the Buddha's teachings as then known to his immediate disciples and remembered by them, has been rehearsed and recorded¹⁸. In the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptas (a branch of the Sarvāstivādins), in the passage about the First Council, among

the texts said to have been rehearsed a 'Dharmapada Sūtra' is mentioned¹⁹. Although it is unlikely that Dh existed at the time in its present form, nonetheless it does point to it as an independent work of equal status to other suttas (see later on).

The testimony of the Jātakas - that they drew on the stanzas of Dh - has already been mentioned above. It is worth noting that, in those instances at least, the verses have no equivalents in the canonical texts except in the Dh - additional evidence for the thesis proposed here. It is plausible to suppose that, should these verses have been found in other (later lost) suttas at the time, the compilers of the Ja would not have failed to indicate it. It may also be observed from the tables that other non-canonical texts include stanzas from Dh which have no parallels in the suttas. Another very significant fact is that about 234 stanzas, or 55% of the total, are not mentioned at all in any of the main texts of Pāli or Sanskrit literature.

A thorough analysis of Dh stanzas not found in the canonical texts (CT) would supply very instructive internal evidence as to their originality. Let me present a small sample of these:

- vv.1-2: *manomayā*. This term or expression is employed in the CT: (a) as an attribute of the form/nature of the devas, 'mind-made or 'made of/by mind' (M I 419; A III 122, etc.); b) as a psychic power acquired by the disciples of the Buddha as the result of meditational practices, whereby, among other things, the ability is imparted to create 'mind-made' forms or bodies (M II 17; A I 24, etc.) As a psychological term, corresponding to its meaning in the present verses ('consisting of mind, produced by mind, mind-made'), it is not found in the Tipiṭaka. To Brough this term 'seems only to imply a Vijñānavāda view', with which Mizuno agrees²⁰. It is significant enough that these verses appear in the Mahākarmavibhaṅga (Sarvāstivādin text), but not in the equivalent older Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta (M, No. 136). No less important is the fact that none of the approximately 12 stanzas in Dh in which the term *mana* appears is traceable to any canonical text. As we know, this term comes into prominence in the abhidhammic literature²¹.

- vv.19-20: *sahitam*. Generally translated as 'scripture', 'scriptural text', 'sacred text'; in this acceptance it is not found in CT-I²².
- v.25: *ogho*. In its literal sense of 'flood', it is unlikely to be found in CT, but appears in later texts (Vva 48, etc.).
- v.29: *abalassam*. 'Weak horse'. An expression that seems to be peculiar to Dhp (= *dubbalassam* DhA I, 262, both given in CPD and PTSD).
- v.30: *Maghavā*. A title of Sakka quite common in the Jātakas; but it is not met with in CT except indirectly when '... the Buddha says that Sakka, who visited him, and whose conversation is recorded in the Sakkapañha Sutta, was also known as Maghavā'²³.
- vv.44-5: *yamaloka*. This expression is not found in CT, but is quite frequent in commentarial literature (PvA 33, 107, etc.).
- v.47: *mahogho*. See the remarks to *ogho* above (examples: Vism 512; Vva 110, DhA II 274, etc.).
- v.70: *kusagga*, 'the point of a blade of grass'. Found in later literature (Vva 73; PvA 254, etc.).
- vv.97, 383: *akataññū*, 'knowing the uncreated/not made' (Nibbāna?) (Nd I 237). In this sense, it seems peculiar to Dhp.
- v.149: *alāpūn eva*, 'gourd'. Brough (p.226) says that 'the spelling with a -p- is probably a late pedantry.'
- vv.157-166: *ATTA VAGGA* 'On Self'. The stanzas of this chapter do not have parallels in CT-I.
- v.171: *rājarathūpamaṃ* (*rājaratha*). I could not find this term in CT-I.
- v.218: *anakkhāte*. Usually thought to designate Nibbāna, is translated as 'Undeclared', 'Ineffable', etc. We will meet this word in three places in Majjhima Nikāya (I 331; III 8, 15), always in its primary meaning of the regular verb 'to tell, show, point,' etc.) The above designation is, clearly, indicative of a later period. (The occurrences of this word in other canonical texts always reflect the regular meaning.)
- v.302: *addhagū*. Only in Thī 55 and Ja III 95. In S I 212 its form is *panthagū*.
- v.322: *Sindhava* (a thoroughbred horse). Unknown in CT; mentioned with some frequency in Ja (I 175; II 96; III 278, etc.).
- v.324: *Dhanapālako* (elephant's name). Only known to Ja (I

66; III 293, etc.). According to Ja No.533, the famous elephant Nālāgiri, after its conversion by the Buddha, came to be known as Dhanapālako (keeper of treasure).

- v.351: *bhavasalla*, '*acchiddi bhavasallāni*' ('who has cut the thorns of existence'). No other instance of this expression has been observed in CT. In Lalitavistara 550, the Buddha is called *mahāsalyaharta* 'the great remover of thorns'.

We could add to this short list the enigmatic vv.294-5 - they seem to be tinged with a non-Buddhist colour; they resist any elucidation, despite the fair effort of the Commentaries to untangle their complexities by ascribing a symbolic meaning to the words²⁴.

A more profound contextual study of Dhp, if carried out, could be expected to reveal additional clues to its originality. Another helpful source for the determination of the age of Dhp is its metrical structure. A.K. Warder, in his *Pāli Metre*, deals extensively with this subject²⁵. To sum up, '... Of the large collections we can say only that some of them contain a preponderance of older... or later (e.g. Dhp) texts... (p.6); 'Dhp verses represent quite a long period of composition, overlapping some of the... [canonical] texts...' (p.173). He calculates this to have occurred in the Mauryan Period, 300-200 B.C. (p. 225). The present writer has been working on a study of the Pāli metre in Dhp. Preliminary results indicate that the above time span could be stretched backwards, at least, one century more (fifth to third century B.C.). The hypothesis that a Dhammapada text might have existed at the time of the First Council should not be discarded. If so, it would have been a short anthology of verses that gradually expanded during the whole period of formation of the Canon itself, as reflected in its different metres and their variants and some linguistic peculiarities, before it received its final polished form as we have it now.

Indeed, it is possible to distinguish between three historical periods in the composition of Dhp: the earliest period is represented by a small kernel of stanzas which, probably, originates with the Buddha's time. It is characterised by ideas which con-

stituted early Buddhism, such as (1) the unsettled, eremetical life of a recluse (which prototype is the 'Rhinoceros' of Sn): 49, 90-92, 305, 395?; (2) emphasis on meditational and allied subjects: 209, 282, 372; (3) contempt for the body: 146, 148-50 (these develop the idea expressed in v.147, M II 64); (4) doctrinal issues: 273-5, 277-9; (5) self-reliance/efforts, Tathāgatas are only teachers, etc.: 158, 165, 166?, 276; (6) on the qualities of the (ideal) bhikkhu: 31, 360-1, 365-8; (7) association with virtuous ones: 207, 208, 375; (8) on the ideal of Nibbāna: 23, 75, 126, 369; (9) qualities of the followers of the Way: 57, 81-2, 296-301; (10) definition of a samaṇa, recluse: 391; (11) reverence to those who can make known the Dhamma: 391-2; (12) exhortations to laymen and bhikkhus: 53, 283; (13) utterances of the Buddha, made after his Enlightenment: 153-4, 353.

The intermediate (pre-Mauryan) period, to which appertain about two-thirds of the stanzas; this is the formative period of the co-called 'primitive' text on which drew all the Dharma-padas, including Dhp.

During the last (mid-Mauryan) period, additional stanzas (40-50?) were composed or incorporated into Dhp. During this same period occurred the first schism in the Sangha; and the final redaction of Dhp, in the form we have it now, probably took place around Asoka's time. Due to the pressure and influence of the rival sects, the Sthaviras (or Theravādins) made efforts to popularise the Buddhist teachings. Accordingly, there is nothing in these latest stanzas about the fundamental tenets of the Buddha's teaching; the emphasis is on morality in general, on the fruits of kamma based on bad or good actions, on happiness in this life and rebirth in heaven after death, echoes of the schismatic discussions, etc. Some of the themes, briefly, are: (1) on the states of woe and bliss, on heaven and death, on the fruits of kamma: 17-18, 127-8, 174, 219-20, 237-8, 319 (this last complementary to vv.316-18); (2) on good and bad behaviour: 62, 129, 137-40, 247-8, 270, 340, 349, 355, 360; (3) association with good friends: 78; (4) on the virtuous and wise: 95, 145 (cf. v.80), 347, 350-1; (5) on the fruit of a stream-winner, longing for Nibbāna: 178, 218; (6) echoes of the schismatic discussions, criticism or complaints of other sects' behaviour,

etc.: 164, 195-6, 254-8, 268-9; (7) on the difficulty of renunciation: 302; (8) on happiness and suffering: 202; (9) exhortations to bhikkhus: 343, 379, 381; (10) on the gift of Dhamma: 354 (one of Asoka's inscriptions reads: 'There is no gift that can equal the gift of Dharma')²⁶; (11) the stanza (324) already mentioned above on Dhanapālako. Due to their late composition, these stanzas, with a few exceptions, could not be expected to have parallels in canonical or non-canonical Pāli or Sanskrit literature.

The metre in the older stanzas is, approximately: *vatta*, normal (*paṭhyā*) - 66%; *vatta*, mixed - 30%; *tuṭṭhubha* - 4%. In the last-period stanzas, the metre is: *vatta* (*paṭhyā*) - 44%, *vatta*, mixed - 23%; *tuṭṭhubha* - 8% *vatta-tuṭṭhubha* - 2%; *mattāchandas* - 23%. (The existence of a large quantity of the new metre *mattāchandas* is very significant.)

Based on such contextual and literary evidence as above, I am induced to believe that the Pāli Dhammapada is an original work and not a mere collection of canonical verses. The author or authors made use of some stanzas, culled from the CT, as seemed appropriate to the objectives and themes of the text. It may be adduced, in favour of this proposition, that original anthologies were not a novelty at the time - Theragāthā and Therīgāthā are two such examples. As Dhp was a didactic and impersonal work, it had to maintain in anonymity the name(s) of the author(s) in line with canonical tradition²⁷. This point, obviously, will have to be investigated further; my aim here has been to draw the attention of other researchers to the problem of the Dhammapada's origin which has not yet received serious consideration.

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NOTES

¹ A few years ago, after I had drawn my conclusion concerning the second

part of this article, I came across this passage: 'This is an anthology which drew on the more original parts of the Sūtra and added further verses to it' (A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, rev. ed., Delhi 1980, p.279). I take it to imply the same idea and so do not lay claim to originality.

² K. Mizuno, 'Dharmapadas of Various Buddhist Schools' (*Studies in Pali and Buddhism*, ed. A.K. Narain, Delhi 1979) and 'A Comparative Study of Dharmapadas' (*Buddhist Studies in Honour of Hammalava Saddhātissa*, ed. G. Dhammapala et al., Nugegoda 1984). In these articles, additional bibliography is included.

³ I intend to prepare, in the future, a list of these errors and submit them to any publishers interested in correcting them in new editions.

⁴ A single Pāli text, Apadāna, was not available to me for verification as to the presence of Dhp verses. However, we would expect not more than one or two parallels in it.

⁵ To render the tabulated statistical data more complete, in addition to parallels of integral verses, parallels of partial stanzas found in the old canonical texts are also included: 4 and 5 pādas out of six-line stanzas; 2 and 3 pādas out of four-line stanzas.

⁶ There is evidence, however, to show that the composition of some of the verses of Ja extended over a long period, overlapping that of Dhp.

⁷ See 'Dharmapadas of Various Buddhist Schools', *op. cit.*, p.258.

⁸ J. Brough (ed.), *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962, p.20.

⁹ W.W. Rockhill (tr.), *Udānavarga*, London 1883, repr. Taipei 1972 and New Delhi 1982.

¹⁰ N.S. Shukla (ed.), *The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dharmapada*, Patna 1979; G. Roth (ed.), 'Text of the Patna Dharmapada' in *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen 1980.

¹¹ Unlike GDhp and Ud and considering that SDhp is, in form and text, very akin to Dhp, we perceive a lacuna where we would expect to find parallel stanzas. Vv 150-1, 185, 222-3, 260, 278, 297-8 are examples of this. It may indicate that, in reality, the original text contained a larger number of stanzas.

¹² See 'A Comparative Study of Dharmapadas', *op. cit.*

¹³ To make it clearer, two distinct historical layers may be detected in Ud: the older one, comprising about 300-350 stanzas, drew on the more 'primi-

tive' text of Dhp. It is this older layer - before it received additions, probably by the hand of Dharmatrāta - that I consider older than GDhp.

¹⁴ The same may be said of PDhp 37, 38; PDhp 63; PDhp 193, 194 and PDhp 325, 326, which, rearranged, would make them parallels to Dhp 393, 401; 375; 121, 122; and 166 respectively.

¹⁵ In all but one case, Shukla follows the same structural division of verses as that of Pāli Dhp. The exception is BHS Dh 63, 64 (4-6 → 6-4 would give BHS Dh 63 = Dhp 375 and BHS Dh 64 = Dhp 376 a-c).

¹⁶ T.W. Rhys Davids, *The History and Literature of Buddhism*, repr. Varanasi 1975, pp.32, 45-6. - B.C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, repr. Varanasi 1974, Vol.I, p.214. - M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, repr. New Delhi 1977, Vol.II, pp.83-4. - K. Mizuno, *op. cit.*, p.256, etc.

¹⁷ K. Mizuno, *op. cit.*, p.258. He was able to find no more than 20 additional gāthās in the Chinese sources (p.259); hence his conclusion on lost texts mentioned here.

¹⁸ 'In the Pali canon is recorded an interesting tradition in the form of two appendices to the *Vinaya-piṭaka* section (*Cullavagga*, *Khandhakas* XI and XII) to the effect that the canon received in this way, by united congregational recital... and the texts rectified were therefore the only definitive canon of Buddhism. Two famous occasions on which, not portions but excerpts merely, but the whole of its *Dhamma-vinaya* contents was rehearsed...' S Dutt, *The Buddha and Five After-Centuries*, repr. Calcutta 1978, p.100. The first rehearsal of the Tipitaka is dealt with in many books; see, for instance, A. K. Warder, *op. cit.*, p.201 ff.

¹⁹ The passage, in full, is given in E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, repr. London 1971, p.270.

²⁰ J. Brough, *op. cit.*, p.243; Mizuno, 'A Comparative Study of Dharmapadas', *op. cit.*, p.172.

²¹ This word (*manoṃajā*) poses a difficulty which seems unsurmountable: in no place, not even in later commentarial literature, could I find a single example of the use of this word in its present meaning. I am, therefore, inclined to accept the original word to have been *manojavā* (swift as thought), as in the other Dharmapadas. Contrary to the opinion of Mizuno, I do not consider this word 'illogical' within the context of the stanzas; in the words of Brough, 'This reading reflects the *ksanika* [momentary] nature of the dharmas...' (p.243).

²² Although I myself translated it as such in my version of Dhp, I am now convinced that the word should be rendered as in the suttas: to the point, coherently, consistently, sensibly.

²³ G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, repr. Pali Text Society, London 1974, Vol.II, p.406.

²⁴ Some scholars are of the opinion that Dhp has come to include some sayings which were originally not Buddhist at all. See, for instance, Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p.84, n.2.

²⁵ A.K. Warder, *Pali Metre*, London 1967.

²⁶ Rock Edict XI. For probable influence of Dhp on Asoka's behaviour, see E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, repr. Delhi 1969, pp.11 ff.

²⁷ The traditional view of the Sangha concerning the Dhp has been expressed by the late Narada Thera, in his preface to *The Dhammapada*, London 1972, p.ix. That the Dhp could have existed in its present form at the time of the First Council is far from probable, and does not tally with the evidence at our disposal.

TABLE I - SUMMARY: SOURCES AND PARALLELS TO THE PALI DHP VERSES

TEXTS	Dhammapada Stanzas			
	Complete Stanzas		Part.Stanz.	
	Repetitive Verses Considered ¹	Once-Counted ²	4&5 pādas	2&3 pādas
CANONICAL TEXTS - I				
Vinaya Piṭaka	9	9		1
Dīgha Nikāya	3	3		
Majjhima Nikāya	15	7	1	1
Samyutta Nikāya	26	24	2	7
Aṅguttara Nikāya	13	9	1	3
Udāna	5	4		4
Itivuttaka	7	4	1	4
Sutta Nipāta	32	28	1	4
Theragāthā	34	22	1	11
Therīgāthā	--	--		2
(TOTAL)	(144)	(110)	(7)	(37)
CANONICAL TEXTS - II				
Vimānavatthu	4	3		
Petavatthu	1?	-		
Mahāniddeśa	10	8		
Cūlaniddeśa	5	-		
Kathāvatthu	3	2		
(TOTAL)	(23)	(13)		
NON-CANONICAL TEXTS				
Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā	42	26		
Nettipakaraṇa	29	15		
Peṭakopadesa	16	9		
Milindapañha	10	5		
Commentary Books	6	1		
Visuddhimagga	10	4		
(TOTAL)	(113)	(60)		
OTHER DHARMAPADAS				
Gāndhārī Dhp	169 [177] ³			
Sanskrit (Patna) Dhp	285 ⁴			
Udānavarga	304 ⁵			

1 Included here are all the verses to be found in the texts, irrespective of whether they are mentioned in more than one text or not.

2 Registered by order of arrangement of canonical texts.

3 Source: *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, ed. by J.Brough, London 1962. Figure in brackets includes those fragmentary verses which, in all probability, were exact parallels to Pāli Dhp in their original form.

4 Based on G. Roth, 'Text of the Patna Dharmapada', in *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen 1980; and *The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dharmapada*, ed. N.S. Shukla, Patna 1979.

5 Source: *Udānavarga*, by Dharmatrāta (tr. W.W. Rockhill), repr. Taipei 1972.

TABLE II - SOURCES TO PALI DHAMMAPADA VERSES (complete stanzas) **

SOURCE	Dhp VERSES	SOURCE	Dhp VERSES	SOURCE	Dhp VERSES
CANONICAL TEXTS - I					
Vinaya Piṭaka		i.114	200	Sutta-Nipāta	
i.8	353	i.164	125	V 45	328
i.349	3-6	i.182	266-7	V 46 ¹⁰	329
i.350	328-30	i.233	98	V 257	285
iii.90	308	ii.284	387	V 420-46 ¹¹	396-472
		v.24 ⁶	87-9	V 661	306
				V 662	125
Dīgha Nikāya		Aṅguttara Nikāya		Theraṅgāthā	
ii.49-58	183-5	i.226	54-6	V 15, 633	370
		ii.8	230	V 17	325
Majjhima Nikāya		ii.29	230	V 19 ¹² , 877	80
i.171	353	ii.48	32	V 77	326
ii.64	147	iii.205 ⁷	246	V 92	93
ii.104	172-3, 382	iv.195	241-2	V 133-4	13-4
ii.185	26-7, 80	v.232	85-8	V 205-6 ¹⁵	94
iii.154	3-6, 328-30	v.233	89	V 275, 498	6
		v.253	85-9	V 277	312
Saṃyutta Nikāya		Udāna		V 323-4	51-2
i.3 ¹	378	p.12 ⁸	131-2	V 399-402	334-7
i.7	143	p.39	42	V 635-6	292-3
i.13	125	p.43	185	V 676-8	277-9
i.23	221	p.45	386	V 769, 1020	147
i.24	85			V 871-2	172-3
i.25 ^{2,3}	26-7, 221	Itivuttaka		V 873	382
i.49 ⁴	311-4	p.17-8	191	V 883-4 ¹⁴	26-7
i.57	66-8	p.18	176	V 969-70	9-18
i.71	151	p.40 ⁹	32	V 991-2	98-9
i.77 ⁵	345-6	p.42-3	306-8	V 993-4	76-7
i.83	201	p.82	364	V 1032	364
		p.90	308		

Notes: **Old canonical texts - original sources to Dhp verses.

Repetitive verses considered.

1. S i.3 (variation in *pāda* b) - 2. V 27: S i.25 (var.d) -
3. V 221: S 1.25 (var.d) - 4. Vv 312-14: S i.49 (different arrangement) - 5. V 346: S i.77 (var.c) - 6. V 87: S v.24 (var.b) - 7. A iii.205 (var.a) - 8. V 131: Ud p.12 (*pāda* 'a' is lacking in the PTS text; an editorial or typographical error/omission?) - 9. It p.40 (var.a) - 10. Sn V 46 (var.d) - 11. V 400: Sn V 624 (var.b) - 12. Thag V 19 (var.d) - 13. Thag V 205 (var.a.); V 206 (var.a,d) - 14. V 27: Thag V 884 (var.b.).

TABLE III - PARALLELS TO DHP IN CT-II, NON-CANONICAL TEXTS AND OTHER DHAMMAPADAS¹

Pāli Dhp	Canonical (CT-II) & Non-Canonical Texts	Gāndhārī Dhp	Sanskrit Dhp*	Udānavarga
1	Nett 129; DhsA 211	201 ³	1 ³	XXXI.23 ³
2	Nett 133; DhsA 211; Peṭ 24,163,165	202	2	.24
3	Ja III.212,488		5	XIV. 9
4	Ja III.212,488		6	.10
5	Ja III.212,488		253 [254]**	.11
6			254	
7		217	7	XXIX.15
8	Peṭ 64	218	8	.16
9	Ja II.198; V.50	192	94	. 7
10	Ja II.198; V.50	193	95	. 8
11		213	171	. 3
12		214	172	. 4
13	Vism 37	219	351	XXXI.12
14		220 ³	352	.14
15	Peṭ 7	205	3	XXVIII.33
16		206	4	.35
17				.37
18				.39
19		190	290	IV.22
20			291	.23
21	Ja V.99; Nett 34	115	14	. 1
22	Peṭ 102	116	15	. 2
23	Peṭ 102		16	. 3
24			28	
25		112	28	
26		111	29	. 5
27		117	17	
28	Mil 387	119	19	. 4
29		118 ³	18	
30		120		
31		74	23	
32	Mil 408	73	22	.30
33		136 ¹	342	XXXI. 8
34			343	. 2
35	Ja I.312		345	. 1
36			346	
37			344	
38			335	
39			347	
40	Peṭ 14		350	XXXI.35
41		153	349	1.36
42				XXXI.10
43				.11
44		301	131	XVIII. 1
45		302 ³	132	. 2
46		300 ¹	134	.18
47		294 ¹	128	.13
48			129 ³	.14
49	Ja I.349; Nett 184	292	127	. 7 ³
50		271 ³	310	. 8

Pāli Dhp	Canonical (CT-II) & Non-Canonical Texts	Gāndhārī Dhp	Sanskrit Dhp*	Udānavarga
51		290	125	XVIII. 6
52		291	126	
53		293	130	.11
54	Mil 333	295	121	VI.16
55	Mil 333		122	.17
56	Mil 333		123	.18
57		297	124	.19 ³
58		303	135	XVIII. 9
59		304 ³	136	.10
60			185	I.19
61	Ja III.73			XIV.15
62				I.20
63			184	XXV.22
64		233 ³	191	.13
65		234 ³	192	.14
66	Nett 131		174	IX.12
67	Nett 132		175	.13
68			176	.14
69				XXVIII.18
70			385-6,389	XXIV.19
71	Nett 161; Peṭ 48		107	IX.16
72			177	XIII. 2
73			178	. 3
74			179-180	. 4
75			180-181 ³	. 5
76	Nid 1.503	231	206	
77	Nid 1.503	230 ³	207	
78		224	348	XXV. 3
80				XVII.11
81	Mil 386	239	93	XXIX.52
82		225	275	XVII. 9
83		226 ³	80	
84		324 ³	326 ³	
85			261	XXIX.36
86			262	.37
87			263	
88			264 ³	
89			265	XXXI.39
90			86	
91			231	XVII. 1
92			87	XXIX.24
93			270	.25
94	Nett 162; Peṭ 48		89	
96			88	
97	Nid 1.237		333	
98			245	XXIX.18 ³
99			155	.17
100		306	376	XXIV. 1 ³
101		308		
102		309 ³	377	. 2 ³
103		305	378	XXIII. 3

Pāli Dhp	Canonical (CT-II) & Non-Canonical Texts	Gāndhārī Dhp	Sanskrit Dhp*	Udānavarga
104			319	XXIII. 4 ³
105			320	. 5 ³
106			379	
107		320	380	XXIV.17
108		321	381	.34
109		172		
110			390	. 3
111			391	. 5
112		316	392	. 4
113		317	393	. 6
114			395	. 9
115		318	394	.10
116	Ja IV.490?		96	XXVIII.23
117	Ja IV.490?	207	97	.21
118	Ja IV.490?	208	98	.22
119	Ja I.231		102	.19
120	Ja I.231		103	.20
121		209	193	XVII. 5
122		210	194	. 6
123			116	XXVIII.14
124			106	.15
125	Ja III.203; Pv II.9.9; Vism 301-2		115	. 9
126			274 ³	I.24
127	Mil 150 ³			IX. 5
128				I.26
129				V.19
130			202	V.20
131	Nett 33,130		203	XXX. 3
132	Nett 134		204 ⁴	. 4
133			197	XXVI. 3
134			199	. 5
135			200	I.17
136				IX.11
137				XXVIII.26
138				.27
139				.28
140				.29
141			195	XXXIII. 2
142	KvA 73	80 ³	196 ³	. 1
144				XIX. 1
146	Ja V.11		233	I. 4
147	Vv No.16			
148		142 ¹	259	.35
149		154-5		. 5
150		284 ³		XVI.22 ³
151	Ja V.483	160		I.29
152			209	
153	Ja I.76			XXXI. 6
154	Ja I.76			. 7
155	Peṭ 7		229	XVII. 3
156			230	. 4

Pāli Dhp	Canonical (CT-II) & Non-Canonical Texts	Gāndhārī Dhp	Sanskrit Dhp*	Udānavarga
157			312	V.16
158	Ja II.441, III.333	227	317	XXIII. 6
159			318	. 8
160			321	.20
161	Nett 183		307	XXVIII.12
162	Nett 183	330	306	XI.10
163		264	167	XXVIII.16
164		258	315	VIII. 7 ³
165	Nid I.32; Nid II.269; Kv 525,527		308	XXVIII.11
166			325	XXIII. 9
167		121 ³	31	IV. 8
168	Ja I.90, III.268	110	27	
169	Ja I.90	328	224	XXX. 5
170			258	XXVII.14
171				.16
172		122	20	XVI. 5
173				. 9
174				XXVII. 4
175			232	XVII. 2
176			297	IX. 1
177			293	X. 2
179	Ja I.79		276	XXIX.54
180	Ja I.79		277	.56
181			244	
182		263	334 ²	
183	Nett 43,81,171,186; Peṭ 54,91; Sp I.186 Sp I.186		357	XXVIII. 1 ³
184			239	XXVI. 2
185				XXXI.54
186	Ja II.313		145	II.17
187	Ja II.313		146	.18
188	Ja I.97		216	XXVII.28
189	Ja I.97		217	.29
190	Ja I.97		218	.30
191	Ja I.97			.31
192	Ja I.97		219	.32
193		173 ¹	79	XXX.29
194			68	.24
197		166	255	.48
198				.45
199		165	256	.44
200				.50
201		180 ³	81	. 1
203		163	75	XXVI. 7
204		162	76	. 6
205	Ja III.196			
206		175	69	XXX.27
207		176	70	XXV.24
208		177	71	.25
209		266 ³	173	
210			73	V. 5

Pāli Dhp	Canonical (CT-II) & Non-Canonical Texts	Gāndhārī Dhp	Sanskrit Dhp*	Udānavarga
211			74	V. 7
212			72	. 1
214				II. 3
215				. 2
217		322 ³		V.25
219	Vv 52.1			.21
220	Vv 52.2			.22
221		274	238	XX. 1 ³
222		275		.21
223	Vv No.15; Ja II.4	280		.18
224		281	292	.15
225			240	VII. 8
226			269	
227		237 ³	283 ³	
228		240 ²	284	XXIX.49 ²
229		241	286	.51
230		242	287	.51
231			279	
232			280	
233			281	
234			282	
235			161	
238				XVI. 3 ³
239	Kv 108,219		163	II.10
240	Nett 129		160	IX.19
241			157	
242			158	
243			159	
244		221	164	XXVII. 2
245		222	165	. 3
249			327	X.12
250			328	.13
251				XXIX.40
252		272	166	XXVII. 1
253			268	
259		114	32	IV.21
260		182		XI.11
261				.12
262		186	288	
264		188	235	.13
265			236	.14
266		67		XXXII.18
267		68 ³		.19 ³
268	Nid I.58,336;Nid II.230			
269	Nid I.58,336;Nid II.230			
271		65	271	
272		66	272	
273	Kv 600;Nett 188; Peṭ 56	109 ³	358	XII. 4
274	Peṭ 10 ³ ,52		360	.11 ³
276			359	. 9
277	Nett 6,167,175	106	373	. 5

Pāli Dhp	Canonical (CT-II) & Non-Canonical Texts	Gāndhārī Dhp	Sanskrit Dhp*	Udānavarga
278	Nett 6,167,175	107		XII. 6
279	Nett 6,167,175; Peṭ 44,52	108 ³	374	. 7
280		113	30	XXXI.32
281	Nett 183		278	VII.12
282			375 ³	
283			361 ³	XVIII. 3
284			362	XVIII. 4
285	Ja I.183; Nett 36	299	363	. 5
286			364	I.38
287			365	
288		261	366	.39
290		164	77	XXX.32
291		179 ¹	117	
292			266	
293	Nett 30		267	
294	Nett 165	12 ³	47	XXXIII.70
295				.71
296		100		XV.12
297		101		.13
298		102		.14
299		103	243	.18
300		104	241	.21
301		105	242	.22
303		323 ³	331	
304	Nid I.448; Nett 11			XXIX.19
305			313	
306	Ja II.416	269	114	VIII. 1
307			113	
308		331 ¹	295	IX. 2
309		270	210	IV.13
310			211	.14
311		215	296	XI. 4
312				. 3
313				. 2
314		337	100-101	
315			234	V.17
316		273	169 ²	XVI. 4 ²
317		273	169 ²	. 4
318			170	
320		329	215	XXIX.21
321	Nid I.243; Nid II.219		90	XIX. 6
322	Nid I.243; Nid II.219		91	. 7
323	Nid I.243		92	. 8
325	Nett 34,129			XXIX.13
326				XXXI. 5
327	Mil 379 ³	132 ³	24	IV.26
328	Ja III.488		9	XIV.13
329	Ja III.488		10	.14
330	Ja III.488		11	.16
331			65	
332			66	XXX.23

Pāli Dhp	Canonical (CT-II) & Non-Canonical Texts	Gāndhārī Dhp	Sanskrit Dhp*	Udānavarga
333				XXX.22
334			137	III. 5
335			138	.10
336			139	.11
337				.12
338	Nett 42		156	.18
339			237	XXXI.29
341			148	III.14
342			149	. 6
344			151	XXVII.26
345	Ja II.140; Nett 35,153; Peṭ 25,214	169	143	II. 5
346	Ja II.140; Nett 35,153	170	144	. 6
348		161	150	XXIX.59
349	Peṭ 60 ³			
350	Mil 391			
352			147	
354				XXVI.33 ³
356			152	XVI.15
357			153	.16
358			154	.17
359				.19
361	Peṭ 57	52	51	VII.11
362		53	52	XXXII. 8
363	Ja II.350	54	54	VIII.10
364		64	226	XXXII. 9
365		61	55	XIII. 7
366		62	56	XXXII. 1
367		79		
368		70 ³	59	.21
369		76	57	XXVI.12
370	Nett 170	78		
371		75		
372		58	62	XXXII.28 ³
373		55	60	.10
374		56	61	.11
375		59	63	. 7
377		298	133	XVIII.12
378			53	XXXII.27
380			322	XIX.16
382				XVI. 7
383		10	34	XXXIII.69
384		14	41 ³	
385		35 ¹	40	XXXIII.26
386			49	
387		50	39	XXXIII.82
				83
388		16		
389		11	46	.72
390		15 ³		
391	Nett 183	23	45	.18

Pāli Dhp	Canonical (CT-II) & Non-Canonical Texts	Gāndhārī Dhp	Sanskrit Dhp*	Udānavarga
392		3	35-36	XXXIII.75
393				.9
394	Ja I.481, III.85	2		.8 ³
396		17		.17
398		42 ³		
399		28		.20
400				.21
401	Sp I.273	21	38	.34
402		30 ³		
403		49 ³	48	.42
404	MiI 386	32	44	.22
405		18		
406		29		
407				.47
408		22	43	
409		19		.28
410				.49
412		46 ³		
413				.37
415		20		.44
417				.52
419		44 ³		.57
420		43 ³		.53 ³
421		34 ¹		
422		41 ¹		.59
423				.55

Notes: + Repetitive verses considered.

* Numbering of the stanzas follows that of BHS DhP. See next note.

** The verses of PDhp corresponding to BHS DhP.195 through 205 and BHS DhP.248 through 414, are one higher. As a reminder, only the first occurrence is given here.

¹ Fragmentary extant stanzas.

² Different arrangement of the stanzas.

³ Variation in one of the *pādas*.

⁴ Extra stanza in BHS DhP, not found in PDhp.

ON TRANSLATING THE DHAMMAPADA

K.R. Norman

The Dhammapada is one of the most, perhaps the most, popular of Theravādin Buddhist texts. As evidence of the popularity of texts of the same *genre* in ancient times we have extant, in part or whole, besides the Pāli version, a version in the Gāndhārī Prakrit perhaps belonging to the Dharmaguptaka school, sections of a Mahā-sāṅghika-Lokottaravādin version, a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit version (the so-called Patna Dharmapada), three versions of the Udānavarga in Sanskrit, a Tibetan version of the Udānavarga, and four Chinese versions. We can guess that a Dharmapada of some sort was probably included in the canons of all the sects of Buddhism which have disappeared.

There are various reasons for this popularity. There are those who have rated it among the masterpieces of Indian literature, although others have disagreed with this judgement. Some say that it can be regarded as the most succinct expression of the Buddha's teaching found in the Pāli Canon, and the chief spiritual testament of early Buddhism. It is (they say) a perfect compendium of the Buddha's teaching, comprising between its covers all the essential principles elaborated at length in the forty-odd volumes of the Pāli Canon.

If this is so, then it is perhaps strange that the Pali Text Society does not at present have an edition of the text in print, nor does it have a translation currently available. When John Brough, one of the greatest British Sanskrit scholars of this century, had just spent several years producing his study of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada, and had the whole Dhammapada-related literature at his fingertips, he was asked if he would produce a translation of the Dhammapada for the PTS. He replied: 'I cannot. It is too difficult.'

It is probable that many readers will find this hard to understand. After all, new translations of the Dhammapada appear almost every year, and there are by now probably forty or more in existence in English alone. What, they may well ask, is so difficult about it when so many translators seem to manage it? The thing to notice about most of these new renderings is that they

differ from other translations only in minor details, such as the word order in sentences, or the choice of words which are used to translate specific technical or semi-technical terms. No translator is ever satisfied with the words which his predecessors have used for such terms as *dhamma*, *āsava*, *nibbuta*, etc., and a translator sometimes believes that he has made a better translation because he has thought of a different word, without considering whether he has obtained a better grasp of the meaning of the phrase or the sentence as a whole. We can very often get some idea about translators of the Dhammapada from the way in which they render the word *dhamma* in the very first verse. We get a broad range of equivalents such as: 'ideas, things, mental states, phenomena of existence, (mental) natures, knowables'. An advertisement has recently appeared for a translation in which Dhammapada 1 is rendered as: 'Our life is shaped by our mind; we become what we think.'

The intention of the two new translations which have recently appeared¹ is to do more than this. They both aim at putting the Dhammapada into a framework and a background - Carter and Palihawadana (≅ C&P) into the framework of the Pāli commentarial tradition, and Kalupahana (= K) into the background of brahmanical Hindu thought contemporary with the Dhammapada.

Both these translations are to some extent inspired or, rather, stimulated by Brough's edition of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada², and their reaction to him and it is clearly visible. The reason for this is not hard to find. Brough believed that Buddhism had its own share of great art but he politely dissented with those who have rated [the Dhammapada] among the masterpieces of Indian literature (one wonders what he would have thought of the dust-jacket's statement 'ranks among the classics of the world's great religious literature'). He expressed his view that those who write in this way can hardly have made any serious comparison with great literature; nor could anyone with a sense of literary values describe the whole collection in terms scarcely merited by its best parts, if he had himself lived day and night close enough to those verses for long enough to arrive at an assessment of his own disencumbered of hearsay³. Brough was a poet in his own right, as his translations of Sanskrit poetry show, and his

view should not be disregarded lightly, for religious or other reasons, by those who, almost certainly, have not lived as close to the text as he did for several years while dealing with the Gāndhārī Dharmapada. On the other hand, it must be agreed that some of his preferences for particular readings, based upon poetic considerations, are purely subjective and are unlikely to be accepted by all.

Brough also shook his head sadly over those who despite all the discoveries of the last 100 years in Gilgit, Chinese Turkestan, and elsewhere, still thought that the Pāli version of the Dhammapada and other canonical texts were the oldest and best. Of his decision to place the verses of the Pāli Dhammapada alongside their parallels in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada he wrote: '... it must not lead anyone to assume that there is a special degree of kinship between our text and the Pāli, still less that the Pāli represents a norm from which other versions have deviated. Perhaps this last warning is superfluous, since any such theory has long been obsolete; but I am not sure that it is entirely extinct'⁴.

After a brief introduction, dealing with the Buddhist literary tradition in Sri Lanka, problems regarding the received text, and the arrangement of verses in this volume, C&P begin by giving a complete translation of the Dhammapada (pp.13-82). Despite the statement on the dust-jacket, this is not accompanied by the original Pāli of the text. Portions of the Commentary (excluding the narrative sections, which are already available in Burlingame's translation)⁵ are then translated (pp.87-416). For each verse (or verses, since the Commentary sometimes puts verses into groups of two or more) they repeat - a rather space-consuming exercise - the translation they have just given, and follow this with the original Pāli. The explanatory portion of the Commentary, which follows the verses in the original edition of the Commentary, is then translated. Throughout the compilation there are numbers in square brackets, which presumably refer to the pages of the edition of the Aṭṭhakathā which they are translating. I have searched through the book and cannot find any reference to the source volume, and am therefore unable to identify the edition. Their translation ends with very extensive notes (pp.417-512), a bibliography and an index. In the notes they explain where

they are following a reading other than that found in the PTS edition⁶, and they quote from two medieval Sinhalese commentaries upon the Dhammapada, which give help with the interpretation of Pāli terms. The earlier, at least, of these seems to have made use of old Sīhala commentaries, now lost.

Their translation of the Dhammapada verses is set out in short lines, approximating to the pāda structure of the Pāli original. The order of the English words often follows the Pāli order closely, which sometimes lends a somewhat archaic sound to the English, but their version is for the most part clear and straightforward, and one can see exactly how they are construing the Pāli. The translation of the Commentary contains many extracts from the Pāli original, and the English is expanded wherever necessary to make it intelligible, while the sequence of the comments is sometimes rearranged to make the translation read more smoothly. It is, however, not always clear why they translate the way they do. In 11 'essential' is contrasted with 'nonessential', but in 12 with 'superficial'. Only recourse to the Pāli reveals that 'nonessential' and 'superficial' are both *asāra*. In 56 they translate *sīlavataṃ* as a genitive singular, despite the gloss *sīlavan-tānaṃ*, which they translate correctly.

K begins with a very extensive (pp.1-75) introduction, in which he develops his theory that the Dhammapada was composed with the Bhagavadgītā in mind. It is clear that the Buddha's teaching was intended to be anti-brahmanical, with his rejection of the *ātman* and *varṇa* serving as the centre of his attack. Since the Bhagavadgītā is a brahmanical text, one would expect that work and the Dhammapada to be diametrically opposed about these and other teachings. I cannot, however, see any evidence of the precise parallelism of content and order in the two texts which one would look for if one wished to prove that the compilers of the Dhammapada actually chose and arranged the verses with the Bhagavadgītā in mind.

K then gives (pp.79-110) the text of the Dhammapada (using Fausbøll's second edition of 1900, but omitting Fausbøll's somewhat bizarre metrical emendations). He alludes to minor editorial changes he has made, giving suggestions made by Jayawickrama as his authority. The one instance he mentions, however, viz. the

reading of *noyāti* (presumably from *n' oyāti = na uyyāti*) in place of Fausbøll's *no yāti* [in 179], is actually to be found in the Aṭṭhakathā. His translation follows (pp.113-53), and the notes (pp.157-92) and an index of Pāli terms (pp.193-221) conclude the volume.

Despite the facts that C&P include all the grammatical comments from the Aṭṭhakathā and quote from two other commentaries, and their translation and that of K are both heavily annotated, these two translations of the Dhammapada (as I have already suggested) differ little from those already available. Although K states specifically (p.1x) that he thought that it was time for a new translation because the interpretation of the philosophy of the Dhammapada given by Radhakrishnan⁷ (= R) in his translation had survived too long, his debt to R is especially evident, with occasional pādas identical with his version. He sometimes agrees with R in interpreting the Pāli in a way which cannot be justified without comment, e.g. *viveke yattha dūramaṃ* (87) translated 'at a solitary freedom so hard to enjoy', (R: 'that retirement so hard to love'), which seems to assume that *viveke* is in agreement with *dūramaṃ*; and *dhīro ca sukhasaṃvāso* (207) translated as 'the amiable company of the sagacious ones' (R: 'association with the wise is... happiness'), which may be correct, but only if *dhīro* is taken as something other than a nominative singular. Where K differs from R in philosophical interpretation, it is more in the exegesis in the notes than in the actual translation.

He occasionally departs from R's translation, sometimes correcting his mistakes, e.g. *anivesano* in 40 correctly translated 'free from attachment' instead of R's 'attached to it', and *vivekam anubrūhaye* in 75 translated as 'cultivate detachment' in place of R's 'strive after wisdom'. Sometimes there is no apparent reason for his change, and as his command of English is not of the same standard as R's, the results are occasionally somewhat opaque. It is not immediately obvious what one is meant to understand by: 'Neither a mother nor a father nor other relatives will do that (whereby) a rightly directed thought will make him one superior to it' (43); or 'even unto one there nought is oneself' (62); or 'An ignorant man who is conceited as a wise one, he indeed, is called an ignoramus' (63); or 'taking upon this refuge'

(189, 192).

K's translation has other oddities, which are possibly based upon confusion of forms. He translates *vaṇṇagandham* in 49 as 'colorful' and we may suspect that he has confused it with *vaṇṇavantaṃ* in 51-52 which he renders in the same way. In 44-45 he translates *dharmapadaṃ sudesitaṃ* as 'the well-taught path of righteousness', presumably confusing *pada* with *patha*, although in the notes (p.164) he includes a reference to 'the well-taught verses of the doctrine'. In 168 he translates *uttīṭṭhe na ppamaḷḷeyya* ('one should stand up, one should not be careless') as 'let one not be indolent in (the gathering of) scraps (as alms)', which looks as though he has taken *uttīṭṭhe* to be *ucchiṭṭhe*, perhaps helped by R's misprint *utthiṭṭhe*. In 188 *bahuṃ ve saraṇaṃ yanti* is translated as 'Many are they... that resort as refuge...', which suggests that *bahuṃ* is being taken as a nominative plural.

Sometimes K improves on R, although it is not always clear that he knows how or why he is doing so. So in 74 he translates 'Let both householders and recluses know that this has been done by myself', where R and C&P have 'think', translating *maññantu*, which is also read by the Commentary. *Udānavarga XIII.5*, however, reads *jānīyur* 'let them know', and it seems preferable to divide the word *kata maññantu* as *kataṃ aññantu*, where the latter word is the third plural imperative from *ājānāti* 'know'. In 179 he translates *koci loke* as 'anywhere in the world', which is certainly correct, since *koci* stands for *kvaci*, whereas the Commentary (followed by R and C&P) takes it as a nominative singular. In his notes, however, K gives no hint that he is consciously departing from R's interpretation.

Similarly, he translates *vijessati* in 44 as 'will comprehend', i.e. the equivalent of *vijānissati* 'will know', instead of 'will conquer' as R and C&P take it. He does this, he says, at Jayawickrama's suggestion (although this is in fact the explanation given in the Commentary), because "'will conquer' makes no sense in the present context" although, as noted, other translators find this a satisfactory interpretation. C&P read *vijessati* in the Dhammapada itself but *vicessati* for the lemma in the Commentary, and they have a note pointing out that the various traditions are undecided about whether to read *-c-* or *-j-*. It is clear

that there is a pun intended on *vici-* in *pāda a* 'to distinguish, separate, understand' and *paci-* in *pāda d* 'to pluck'. The various readings have come into existence because the verse has at some stage been transmitted through (and possibly even composed in) a dialect which turned intervocalic consonants into *-y-*. When the Pāli redactors (or the redactors of the version upon which the Pāli Dhammapada is based) were faced with this verse they were uncertain about the correct forms to adopt in their own dialect. When translating the *pāda* about picking flowers there was no doubt - the verb there had to be *ci-*. In the first *pāda* the decision was not so easy. Although the verb *vici-* existed and made very good sense, and must indeed have been the form which the commentator had in mind when he gave his explanation, nevertheless (pace K) the idea of conquering the world and becoming a *jina* was also very possible. Hence the ambivalence of the tradition.

Sometimes we may suspect that a departure by K from R's interpretation is based upon a misunderstanding of the Pāli, e.g. in 34 *māradheyyam pahātave* is translated 'The dominion of Mara should be eliminated', which suggests that *pahātave* (an infinitive of purpose = 'to avoid the dominion of Mara') has been taken as though it were the future passive participle *pahātabbam*. C&P have a long note on this word (pp.435-6) which reveals that they were rather baffled by the inclusion of the form *pahātabbam* in the Commentary. They explain their efforts to reconcile this form with the infinitive which they correctly realise *pahātave* to be. Their confusion is hard to understand. The Commentary rightly explains *pahātave* by an alternative form of the infinitive (*pahātum*), but in the exegesis of the verse the sentence is changed to the passive construction and reworded so that the future passive participle is included. I do not think that the Commentary is trying to explain the infinitive by the future passive participle as C&P seem to believe, and I cannot accept their translation '[Fit] to discard [is] Māra's sway'.

The possibility of the word *amata* having the meaning 'immortality' has caused problems for both C&P and K. In his note on verse 21 K states: "*amata-padaṃ* has been translated by R as the 'abode of eternal life'. *Amata* (Sanskrit *amṛta*), being the goal

of the religious life, was assumed to be the avoidance of death, including death in this life, and the attainment of eternal rest in the future. Such a view of immortality seems incompatible with the rest of the teachings of the Buddha. ... *Amata* or immortality, therefore, could be taken only in the sense of absence of rebirth." A reader may well feel that, although K has made a good point here, 'absence of rebirth' is not the most obvious way to define 'immortality', and it would have been helpful if he had expanded his explanation.

The commentary on verse 27 explains that *nibbāna* is called *amata* because, as a result of not being born, it does not grow old and die. Such a statement makes no sense and must be incorrect, because *nibbāna* is the opposite of *samsāra*, and yet it could equally well be said that *samsāra* is not born, and therefore will not grow old and die. On the other hand, we cannot say that *samsāra* is born and will grow old and die. It is clear that the epithets must refer, not to *nibbāna*, but to the conditions which pertain in *nibbāna*, which must be the opposite of those which pertain in *samsāra*. In their translation C&P quote a later commentary upon the Dhammapada which seems to recognise this problem. It gives the information that *nibbāna* is called 'deathless' because it is free from old age and death and because it destroys old age and death for the noble ones who have attained it. Once we realise that these epithets must refer to the condition of those beings who have gained *nibbāna*, then we can see that the translation 'immortality' for *amata* gives the wrong impression, because it implies that such beings live for ever which, as K has made clear, is an untenable view. The correct translation must be 'where there is no death.'

Strangely, although K has this lengthy note about *amata* and C&P quote the explanation from one of the later commentaries, both translations nevertheless follow their predecessors. K translates the compound word *amata-padaṃ* in 21 as 'the path to immortality'; in 114 he renders *amataṃ padaṃ* as 'path of immortality'; in 374 he translates *amataṃ* as 'immortality'; in 411 he renders *amat' -ogadhaṃ* as 'immersed himself in immortality'. C&P translate: 'the path to the Deathless', 'the immortal state', 'ambrosia' and 'the Deathless' respectively. They are clearly following

others: Max Müller⁸ translated the same passages as: 'the path of immortality', 'the immortal place, 'the immortal' and 'the Immortal' respectively. Radhakrishnan translated: 'the path to eternal life', 'the deathless state', 'life eternal' and 'the eternal' respectively.

It is noteworthy that C&P sometimes follow a commonly accepted translation elsewhere too, even when the Commentary gives another explanation, and there is nothing which prevents them following it, e.g. in 175 they translate *nīyanti* as 'are led', although the presence of *yanti* twice in the first line shows clearly that we are dealing with a development of *nīyānti* 'they go forth', as the Commentary's explanation *nissaranti* ('they go out') shows. To translate as they do misses the whole point of the verse, which means 'Geese can go high in the sky; men can go in the sky by supernormal powers; but the wise (i.e. the followers of the Buddha) can go away from this world (i.e. attain *nibbāna*)'. K gets this right, but he gives no note about his interpretation, and it may be that he is merely following the Commentary (see above). C&P usually draw attention to anomalies in the Commentary, e.g. while translating *diso* in 42 as 'foe', they point out that the Commentary explains it as 'thief'. On the other hand they sometimes ignore such anomalies, e.g. in 166 they translate *sadatthapasuto* as 'intent on the true purpose', and make no comment upon the Commentary, which must have interpreted *sadattha* as *sa-d-attha* (< *sva* + *artha* with a sandhi -d-), since it explains this as 'engaged in one's own purpose' (*sake atthe*). K, on the other hand, devotes a long note to the verse, justifying his rejection of the Commentary's interpretation.

K's reaction to Brough leads him to make incorrect statements about him - referring to 82 he says (p.167) that Brough thinks that the occurrence of the word *dhammāni* in Jātaka V 221,27* is incorrect. Brough actually says 'the neuter plural occurs, and probably correctly...'⁹. On the same verse C&P take a more sober line, and agree that the plural is unusual (p.451). They are perhaps putting more trust in the Patna Dharmapada than is justified when they say its reading *dhammāni* *soccāna* decisively supports the Pāli reading. The Patna Dharmapada reading does nothing more than show that the reading, right or wrong, was already pre-

sent in the version upon which the Patna Dharmapada is based. Although it suits C&P here to be able to say that 'the Patna Dharmapada decisively supports the Pāli reading', I have not found anywhere in their translation a statement that 'the Patna Dharmapada here decisively refutes the Pāli reading'. Elsewhere, however, when the Patna Dharmapada, unknown to Brough when he made his edition, agrees with the Pāli against the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and the Udānavarga they are often content merely to state the fact. In one place, however, their reaction leads C&P to forget their Sanskrit - on p.421 they reject Brough's suggestion that *vahato* in 1 is the genitive of the word *vahatu* 'draught ox', on the grounds that the Udānavarga reads *vahataḥ* and the Patna Dharmapada reads *vahato*, 'both of which support the [traditional explanation in the] Pāli commentary'. In saying this they overlook the fact that Patna *vahato* (like Pāli *vahato*) is the expected development in the dialect of that text from Brough's conjectured *vahatoḥ*, while the Udānavarga *vahataḥ* represents the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit's redactor's 'translation' of the *vahato* which he received in his exemplar, and cannot be used as evidence one way or the other. Bizarrely, having objected to Brough's explanation, they adopt his translation: '... as a wheel the draught ox's foot'.

C&P quote extensively from Brough. They do not do this merely to reject his views, but are prepared to discuss variant traditions, e.g. *svākhyaṭa-dharma* as opposed to **samkhyāta-dhamma* in 70, although they do not consider **samskṛta-dharma* which, despite the note on p.447, would seem to be the only possible antecedent to the form *saṃkhata-dhamma* which they actually read in the verse. They seem, however, to be unacquainted with other literature about the Gāndhārī Dharmapada, and have a long note on *saṅkārabhūtesu* in 59, because they do not realise the possibility of separating *su* from *saṅkārabhūte* and taking it as a particle. They refer to Roth's edition of the Patna Dharmapada¹⁰ and Bernhard's edition of the Udānavarga¹¹, both unused by K, but neither their translation nor K's seems to owe anything to Luders' work¹². There is, for example, no hint of any knowledge of the existence in Pāli of an ablative singular in *-am*, and although C&P state that 'from a flower' would be a better translation for *puppham* in 49, and point to the existence of the ablative forms *puṣpā* and *puṣpād*

in the parallel texts, they do not suggest that *puppham* might be an ablative. Nor do the translators reveal any knowledge of an accusative plural in *-am* in Pāli, with the result that both translations take *kaṇham dhammaṃ* and *sukkaṃ* in 87 as singular ('a shady/shadowy *dhamma*... the bright'), whereas the Commentary on Saṃyutta-Nikāya V 24,21, where the verse recurs, makes it clear that it is referring to *akusala* and *kusala dhammas*. Patna Dharmapada 284 and Udānavarga XVI.14 both have plural forms in the parallel versions of the verse.

K seems to have interpreted Brough's statement, quoted above, as meaning that the Gāndhārī Dharmapada was 'more primitive' than the Dhammapada, although Brough quite clearly stated that the Udānavarga, Pāli Dhammapada and Gāndhārī Dharmapada 'show, simply on inspection, that no single one of them has a claim superior to the others to represent this section of a 'primitive' Buddhist canon'¹³. K seems to believe that Brough was the first person to have stated that the Pāli version was not necessarily superior to all others, which would suggest that he had not read Brough's introduction very carefully. He accuses Brough of exhibiting a 'prejudice which does not help towards a proper understanding of the different versions and their relative positions' (p.vii).

It must be stressed that all the versions of the Dhammapada we possess are translations of earlier versions, all going back ultimately to a corpus of verses, the core of which came into existence at a very early stage of Buddhism, possibly at the time of the Buddha, although it is very likely that additions were made to the corpus after that time. Even if we could date the versions we have, we should be dating only the translation of an earlier version. If we look at any one of this group of texts we will find that each one of them has some features which might reasonably be surmised to be, if not original, then at least close to the original, and yet at the same time each one has features which are manifestly incorrect or late. The relationship between Pāli Dhammapada, Patna Dharmapada, Gāndhārī Dharmapada and Udānavarga is very complicated, with patterns of equivalence between them varying from verse to verse, and sometimes even from pāda to pāda. The fact that any two or more

of them agree in some feature tells us only that in some way, in the history of the texts, they were dependent upon a common source for that particular feature. The number of verses each redactor selected, the numbers of vargas into which they were sorted and the way in which verses were apportioned to each varga, give us no information whatsoever about the date at which each selection was made.

To translate the Dhammapada one needs to be entirely without pre-conceived notions about which version is 'best'; one must be thoroughly acquainted with all the other versions; one must know about all the secondary literature which has been written about these, especially articles dealing with the relationship between them; one must be an expert in the grammar of Sanskrit, Pāli and other Middle Indo-Aryan languages; one must have a flair for seeing a point which other translators have not even realised presents a difficulty and for being able to solve the problem. Moreover, to translate the Dhammapada into English one must be able to write good, clear, unambiguous and idiomatic English. No wonder Brough said it was too difficult!

NOTES

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² John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962.

³ *Ibid.*, p.xvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.xvi.

⁵ E.W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vols.28-30, 1921, repr. PTS 1979.

⁶ H.C. Norman, *The commentary on the Dhammapada*, Vols 1-4, PTS 1906-14.

⁷ S. Radhakrishnan, *The Dhammapada*, Madras, OUP, 1950, repr. Delhi 1980.

⁸ Max Müller, *The Dhammapada*, Sacred Books of the East Vol.X, Oxford 1881, repr. Delhi 1980.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p.245.

¹⁰ G. Roth, 'Particular features of the language of the Ārya-Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins and their importance for early Buddhist tradition' in H. Bechert (ed.), *The Languages of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980, pp.78-135.

¹¹ P. Bernhard, *Udānavarga*, Göttingen 1965.

¹² H. Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, Berlin 1954.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p.xiv.

THE DHAMMAPADA - EAST AND WEST

Russell Webb

The factors that have contributed to this text's continuing popularity are: (i) its self-sufficiency as a guide to Buddhist thought and practice (i.e. it 'represents' the Sutta Piṭaka to a greater degree than any other text); (ii) its readability, and (iii) its relative concision.

It is interesting to recall the vast number of editions and translations that have been produced, especially since the text in question is, in many cases, the only complete canonical work that has appeared on a commercial basis.

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NEWS AND NOTES

Lamotte Symposium ✓

The first in what is hoped to be a series of conferences dedicated to the works of the late Etienne Lamotte was held in Belgium between 24-27 September 1989. It was organised jointly by the Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique de Louvain (-la-Neuve) and the Section d'Histoire et de Philologie Orientales de l'Université d'Etat de Liège. The opening reception and first two days' proceedings were held in the prestigious Palais des Académies (near the Royal Palace in central Brussels) and the last day was spent at Colonster Castle (now administered by the University of Liège and sited on a hill outside the city).

The main theme of the proceedings, 'History of Indian Buddhism', denoted the fact that the great master's magnum opus was now available in English so as to ensure a wider circulation, and the translator, Sara Boin-Webb, was present. Although each session was originally intended to fall under one or other category (viz. 'The Scriptural Tradition', 'The Early Buddhist Doctrine', 'Buddhology', 'Buddhist Schools and Languages', 'Buddhist Languages/Abhidharma Studies', 'Archaeological Discoveries', 'The Transition to Mahāyāna', 'On Mahāyāna Literature'), in the event each days' programme had to be rearranged with the advent of new speakers to compensate for those who dropped out (the latter included the entire contingent from India).

The first day opened with a consideration of 'The Value of the *Ta chih tu lun* for the Study of the Origins of Mahāyāna' by H. Durt (Inst. du Hōbōgirin, Kyoto), a former pupil of Lamotte: the latter had utilised this encyclopaedic text of Nāgārjuna to compose the *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse* (in the course of English translation). This was followed by the first talk from a member of the large Japanese contingent, K. Fujii (Tokohagakuen-Hamamatsu Univ.) entitled 'On the Ātman Theory in the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra'. Next, A. Pezzali (Bologna) described 'The Spiritual Progress to Reach Nirvāṇa according to Vasubandhu' whilst P.S. Jaini (Berkeley) examined the early textual references to the alleged 'Ignorance of the Arhat' and K. Bhattacharya (Paris) discussed the references to 'Anātman in Lamotte's Works'

(and stated that this doctrine was also to be found in the Brahma-sūtras). The afternoon session commenced with a survey 'On the Origination and Characteristics of Buddhist Nikāyas or Schools' by H. Bechert (Göttingen) who has already written extensively on this subject. J. Bronkhorst (Lausanne) then offered a comparative study of two polemical texts, 'Kathāvatthu and Vijñānakāya'. These were followed by three Japanese contributors: A. Hirakawa, 'The Meaning of Dharma' (based on Candrakīrti's Prasannapadā), J. Kato, 'Sūtravāda et Sautrāntika' (extracted from his *Etude sur les Sautrāntika*, Tokyo 1989) and S. Kawasaki 'On the Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts of Bhavya's Madhyama-Hṛdaya-Tarkajvālā (the Ninth Chapter)'.

The second day was mainly devoted to early textual and linguistic studies, beginning with a survey of 'The Development of the Pāli Tipiṭaka in the Light of Style and Language' by O.v. Hinüber (Freiburg). L. Sander (Berlin) examined 'The Earliest Manuscripts from Central Asia and the Sarvāstivāda Mission' (which has been pledged for publication in the forthcoming felicitation volume for D.M. MacKenzie), followed by K. Meisig (Münster) who spoke 'On the Precanonical Shape of the Kevaddha-Sutta as compared to the Kien-ku-king' (its equivalent in Chinese). Versions of the Aśokāvadāna were discussed by H. Matsumura (Göttingen) - 'On the Structure of the Aśoka Legend', whilst D. Seyfort Ruegg (Hamburg, who revealed that Lamotte had expressed interest in translating the Tathāgatagarbhasūtra) elucidated 'Ātman, paramātmān and tathāgatagarbha in Buddhist Sūtra and Sāstra', and F. Lottemoser (Mainz) surveyed 'Studies in the Sources of the Pāli Commentaries: the Satipaṭṭhānasutta-Vaṇṇanā'. In 'The Languages of Early Buddhism', K.R. Norman (Cambridge) in effect continued Lamotte's survey in the *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* by concentrating on new editions of the Dharmapada and Udānavarga and recent discoveries in the fields of Aśokan inscriptions and Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit. A. Tilakaratne (Hawaii) then discussed 'The Origin and Development of "Sacred Language" [= Pāli] in the Buddhist Tradition' [= Theravāda]. The final talks of the day were illustrated by slides with varying success (due to projectional difficulties): J. Pereira (New York) 'The Aesthetics of the Stūpa' (a very general survey covering most

Asian countries), M.L. Stewart (London) 'Which Nālandā did Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing identify?' (a theme discussed in greater detail in her published doctoral dissertation, *Nālandā Mahāvihāra. A Study of an Indian Pāla period Buddhist site and British historical archaeology, 1861-1938. Oxford 1989*) and J. Schotsmans (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels) 'Chattrā or Maṇḍala in Early Buddhism' (illustrated mainly from Gandhāran reliefs).

On the final (and very full day), N. Aramaki (Osaka) endeavoured to deliver the longest paper of the Symposium, a detailed analysis of 'The Development of the term 'Pātimokkha' in Early Buddhism'. He was followed by J.S. Strong (Bates College, Lewiston, Maine) who spoke on 'Buddha Bhakti and the Absence of the Blessed One' (citing Sanskrit, Pāli and Chinese textual examples); R.L. Fastiggi (St Edward's Univ., Austin, Texas), declaimed, from an imaginary pulpit, on 'The Deified Buddha of the Lotus Sūtra' and (naturally) its Christian parallels; R. Duquenne (EFEU, Kyoto) examined 'Buddhist Docetism' by comparing 'Śākyamuni and Vairocana'; C. Bautze-Picron (CNRS, Paris) very successfully illustrated 'Some Aspects of Mañjuśrī Iconography in India'; F. V. Tiso (ex-student of Prof. A. Wayman, currently residing in an Italian monastery) spoke on 'The Bodhisattva as a Buddhist Saint'; and Rhi-ki Young (Seoul) emphasised 'The Importance of "Comprehensive Understanding" - of the beginning of the Heart Sutra, and continued by referring to the final chapter of the *Histoire* (on Maitreya) and the meeting of Sudhana with Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra in the Gaṇḍavyūha.

A concluding session was also held at Colonster Castle where it was announced that:

1. The Symposium papers (where practicable) will be published in two volumes - comprising those (i) directly related to the *Histoire* and (ii) on early Mahāyāna Buddhism.
2. The *Histoire* will be updated and continued depending on the extent of active participation.
3. A Second Symposium would be held, probably between the next two conferences of the IABS (Paris 1991 and Belgium 1994).
4. A Japanese translation of the *Histoire* will appear in 1990.
5. A Chinese-Sanskrit Buddhist dictionary (originally mooted by the late J. Brough a decade ago) will also appear in Japanese

within the next two years. This could be translated into English if sufficient interest and support is forthcoming.

Credit for a highly enjoyable and successful conference goes to the Organizing Committee, headed by Prof. J. Ryckmans and including the President of the Institut Orientaliste, Prof. S. Van Riet, especially the hard-working secretarial team, Dr J.M. Verpoorten, Ph. Caes and W. Berger.

(Immediately following the Symposium a magnificent exhibition of Japanese Buddhist art was held for two months at the headquarters of the Lambert Bank in Brussels. A majority of the artefacts, which had never before left Japan, dated from the 7th to 16th centuries and featured in the French-Flemish brochure-catalogue.)

IABS Conference ✓

The 9th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies was held in Taipei, Taiwan (Republic of China) between 26-28 July 1989. This was sponsored by the Institute for Sino-Indian Buddhist Studies, and held in the National Library in the heart of the city. The facilities were excellent: well-lit lecture rooms or halls, with comfortable seating, wide tables and good acoustics. An army of grey-clad nuns worked hard to provide copies of the papers before each session.

Papers were presented in English by delegates from Belgium, France, Italy, West Germany, Sweden, U.S.A., Japan and India, and in parallel Chinese sessions by delegates from Taiwan. Subjects ranged from the early or formative period of Buddhism in India (J-U. Hartmann, K. Meisig), through the early Mahayana (T. Kubo), the Vajrayāna in India (A-M. Bonneux) and Tibet (R.R. Jackson, K. Sato), the various Japanese traditions (H-C. Shih, G. Takiwa), to Buddhism in the modern period (H. Bechert, first paper; J. Maquet) and contemporary ethical considerations (G.P. Redmond). On the whole the papers dealt with textual history or with philosophical interpretation; only a few dealt with archaeology (M. Gobalakichenane) or with history per se (Bechert, second paper). The papers given in Chinese also covered a wide

BOOK REVIEWS

History of Indian Buddhism, E. Lamotte, translated from the French by Sara Boin-Webb. Institut Orientaliste, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988. XXVI, 870 pp, plus 30 plates (No. XXIII on p.420), 5 maps and 7 plans. B.Fr 2175 (distrib. by Peeters Press, P.O. Box 41, 3000 Leuven, Belgium).

Though the ancient Buddhism of India is dead yet the corpse - the corpus of its religious texts is still quite extensive, even in Sanskrit and the related Prakrits. If the translations of these into Chinese are considered as well, then the volume of remaining Buddhist literature, a great deal of which perished with the onslaughts of Muslims in India, is vast indeed, so great that only a profoundly learned scholar will be able to work with such a large range of material. Such a scholar was the late Professor Étienne Lamotte and out of these Buddhist remains he has created a tome which, due to a good translation about which more will be said later, reads very well.

As the work is a history, of course it proceeds from a description of the pre-Buddhist background, the Buddha's life, the doctrine found in the Nikāya/Āgama and the Buddhist community both monastic and lay, to chapters dealing with Magadha, the Mauryan Empire, Śūngas and Yavanas and the Śaka-Pahlava period. In the course of this historical progression the author inserts some interesting discussions on such topics as the date of the Buddha, the various early Councils and the disappearance of the Good Law, drawing on both Pāli and Chinese sources. There is in fact an abundance here of information on the vanished sects of Indian Buddhism, all of which together formed the various strands and protuberances of the trunk of Buddhadharmā (the roots of which were the Buddha himself).

Nowadays, all we have left are some branches, some still in quite good health, and quite a lot of branchlets and twigs, all devoid of a trunk upon which to grow. A ghost of a tree! Some would claim, like orthodox Theravādins, that their branch was the main branch, the upward continuation of the trunk, or even that their doctrine was the trunk itself while all other Buddhist

teachings were divergent branches. Such an attitude cannot be sustained after reading this book. It becomes obvious that in fact Theravāda was one among many branches and not even the greatest among them. Its dominant position today may be accounted for by a series of historical accidents, not by any claim to the one true Dharma.

Just as with branches of a tree which grow away from the trunk, so that branchlets and twigs, though belonging to the same tree, are widely separated, so are Buddhists from various traditions now. A Theravādin Buddhist looks at the ritual of a Tibetan Buddhist and does not know what he is looking at. A Chinese Buddhist regards Theravādins as representatives of Hīnayāna together with all the vast myths that have collected round this word, though it is doubtful if the Buddha and his great disciples pictured in the Pāli texts could be called Hīnayānists. A Japanese Buddhist, say from one of the Zen lineages, finds the baroque ornamentation of Tibetan culture overwhelming... All these diverse groups have grown out into far separated twigs and can no longer, due to differences of language and culture, easily meet each other.

It was different when the Indian trunk was alive for, as the learned author remarks, the monks of all schools were in touch with each other and shared a common culture, even a common literary language, Sanskrit. So it is a question whether the Dharma can go on growing, twigs without a trunk. Modern attempts to revive Buddhism in India have achieved few results. The Maha Bodhi Society has only established a few centres, most of which are rests for Sinhalese pilgrims and make little impact on the mass of Indian people. The Tibetan centres in India are for Tibetans and occasionally for Westerners who will fit themselves in, not for Indians who regard this Buddhism as foreign. The Friends of the Western Buddhist Order is making efforts with some of the former outcaste people in Maharashtra who have been Buddhist since their leader, Dr Ambedkar, became a Buddhist over thirty years ago, but such work is limited to one community. Educated Indians, in the past often high-caste people, though they sometimes took an interest in the Buddha ('a good Hindu') or even in Buddhism to some extent, seldom committed themselves

to the Triple Gem. Why was this? Because Buddhist teachers in India were mostly scholars rather than meditators and practitioners. It is true that we now have one or two meditation centres in India, a fact that rights the balance to some extent. Still, scholarship, a matter for state-run universities, and practice done in meditation centres are far sundered. It is not easy to revive a whole culture, for that is what enlivening the tree-trunk would mean. It is not just a matter of reviving scholarship and meditation practice but of revivifying popular devotion, festivals and ceremonies so that the Dharma can enter into ordinary people's lives again.

Before the destruction of Indian Buddhism, which proceeded partly from a lack of good practice amongst Indian Buddhists, as well as economic, social and religious pressures from outside, Buddhists in India, though they may have held divergent views on various matters, still discussed these things with each other. Mahāyāna monks and perhaps nuns lived with their 'Hīnayāna' counterparts quite amicably and probably there was not the sharp dividing line illustrated in Mahāyāna texts leading now to 'I'm a Mahāyānist, you're a...' especially among 'western' Buddhist followers.

It all depends on where you draw the line at what is Buddhava-cana - the Buddha's words. Even the Pāli Canon is rather flexible in this matter, managing to include as it does discourses by contemporary disciples, discourses given after the Buddha's demise and, if we are to believe the words of the Pāli Commentaries, even the whole of the Abhidhamma including the Kathāvatthu, the skeleton of which was said to have been spoken by the Buddha. Other schools were even more flexible in this matter of a continuing 'revelation' and included the words of later Ācāryas such as Upagupta. The sūtras of the Mahāyāna merely extend this process and expand greatly upon some themes already present in the early Canon while using a great deal of colourful imagination as skilful means for teaching people.

The book under review, however, does not really enter the Mahāyāna period, dealing only but in great detail with the early Canons and Sects, Schools and Councils. It is a work that can

be recommended as no other volume contains quite the same mass of material so well organised. Of course, here and there, one may be aware of the fact that the author was not a Buddhist - in fact a Catholic priest - so that occasionally he makes really strange comments. As a sample of this: 'It (the Buddha's Law) does not seek to solve the enigmas which arise in the human mind, but is merely intended to make man cross the ocean of suffering' (p.41). No Buddhist would say such a thing! On the contrary, all the enigmas of the human mind are solved by the Dhamma, specifically through the enigmatic teachings of vipassanā and Nibbāna - no one going nowhere gaining nothing. As to the 'merely intended' this shows how little the author has cared to look into his own and others' *dukkha*. One wonders, in fact, how near to himself the author let Channa approach, especially with such statements as (p.49): 'Discussions of a metaphysical nature are, moreover, ferments of discord. On such problems, thinkers have the unpleasant habit of adopting definitive positions and go about repeating "This alone is true, all else is false" (Dīgha I, pp.187-8) and such intransigence provokes endless arguments.' Perhaps he remembered that certain ecclesiastical bodies in the West had such an 'unpleasant habit' which, alas, did not end for many people in 'endless arguments'. Such jarring sentences only crop up occasionally and cannot spoil our pleasure at the vast erudition displayed.

There are a few points to mention about the translation for which the translator is not to blame. The revisers of Boin-Webb's translation have even got her name reversed and consistently called her Webb-Boin, a little bit of masculine chauvinism perhaps. Her translations have also been altered for the worse, as where *dhyāna* has been altered from *absorption* to the strange word, *ecstasy*. One might say that some ecstasy is present in the first three *dhyānas* but this translation is inadequate for the fourth. Anyway, *ecstasy* is an unfortunate word to use in connection with Buddhist meditation where the emphasis is on mindfulness, not on indulgence even of a spiritual variety. The old but inadequate *Law* has replaced the translator's choice of *Dharma* or *Doctrine*, while *listener* (*śrāvaka*) has been changed to *hearer*. Quite a large number of mistakes are evident in the

Index of Technical Terms but since the translator had nothing to do with this, the fault lies elsewhere. She was not allowed to see the proofs and so could not catch many of the mistakes and misleading alterations which have crept in here and there.

The French version of this book has long been in print and it was a good decision by the editors to compile extensive bibliographical notes on works published in more recent times, thus bringing this excellent book more up to date.

Phra Khantipālo

Beginnings: The Pali Suttas. Samanera Bodhesako. The Wheel Nos. 313-315, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy 1984. IV, 87 pp.

Many scholars have tried to find an answer to the problem as to what was the original message of the Buddha and, ever since, the origins of Buddhism has been one of the vexed questions for students of Buddhism, necessitating textcritical and historical outlooks on the most ancient documents. Although historical considerations form the larger part of the present author's essay, they are, as he states, subservient to his primary concern about finding a satisfactory answer to the perennial questions regarding 'the human situation, and the inherent need to discover a method, a way, whereby we may resolve the dilemma of that situation' (p.1). The author is fully aware of the fact that historical inquiries into the origins of Buddhist texts cannot be a basis for really judging the suttas whose message would actually have to be put to the test of practice (*paṭipatti*). For him historical considerations are a preparatory step to ascertain which strata of textual tradition may serve as authentic root texts on which to base further steps of spiritual training.

Bodhesako has relied on the Pāli suttas and parts of the Mahā- and Cullavagga of the Vinayapiṭaka as his sources. Having looked on the 'syncretistic approach' with a critical eye, namely on the 'eclectic attitude' of helping oneself to spiritual teachings that include non-Buddhist as well as Buddhist, i.e. non-Theravāda traditions, he writes on p.9: 'The collection of discourses known as the Pali Suttas heartedly recommends itself to the concerned individual as being that guidance to the transcendental which

he seeks.' That the Pāli Canon has been handed down to us in its entirety - all students of Buddhism, all Buddhologists will thankfully agree - is a very happy circumstance and a truly invaluable source for our knowledge of early Buddhism. On p.6, however, Bodhesako writes in too optimistic a vein asserting, 'We know that the Pali Suttas... are acknowledged by all Buddhist schools to be the oldest record we have of the Buddha's Teaching.' According to him the 'crystalline approach' (p.10) to understand what is meant by 'right view' is realised through inquiring into the Pāli suttas. He does not seem to be aware of the fact that a considerable number of Buddhist Sanskrit texts (cf., for instance, the synoptical Sanskrit-Pāli editions by E. Waldschmidt) contain more or less close parallels to the Pāli versions. Moreover, one should not forget that vast collections of root texts also bearing on the 'crystalline approach', though lost in their ancient Indian forms, are preserved in Chinese and Tibetan.

In the sections 'Beginnings', 'The Venerable Ānanda', 'The Four Nikāyas', 'The First Council', 'Later Additions', 'The Fifth Nikāya', 'Conclusions' and 'Choosing a Standard', Bodhesako does his best to examine the Pāli scriptures. His attempt involves in this special context following the Middle Way by avoiding the extremes of fundamentalism on the one hand and of hypercriticism on the other. The message of the Kālāmasutta, A I 189ff (III.65), requires us to guard against the first extreme, faith or trust (*saddhīndriya*) at the level of spiritual training, scholarly soberness and objective cautiousness at the *pariyatti* (study of the texts) level to guard against the other. As for the second extreme, for instance, the author gives an interesting example from his own experience (pp.63-8) referring to the topic of the 'chirty-two marks of a great man' found in a number of discourses. Though the *mahāpurisalakkhaṇa* are in no way apt to meet the tastes of twentieth-century man, according to him it would be unsound to discard such suttas as being spurious or apocryphal, being oblivious of the Buddhist idea of 'skill in means' known to all Buddhist traditions.

The headings of the different sections of this booklet mentioned above may already indicate that the author interests himself in the stratification of his Pāli sources. The difficulty with

this essay is that it touches on problems of immense complexity, whereas it seems extremely difficult to deal with the subject in less than a hundred pages. The booklet can at best be regarded as an introductory essay - from an orthodox, yet to some extent critical, Theravādin point of view - towards a stratification of Pāli texts. Within contemporary Theravādin monastic circles, the author has certainly proved himself quite an independent thinker. It is a pity that in various places of the essay his apologetical remarks leave the reader with the impression that he must feel rather ill at ease with modern critical scholarship; he writes, for example, on p.60f.: '... there are still those who will insist that the four Nikāyas as we have them contain material that, though in the guise of earlier texts, are, in fact, later additions... Early and later Sanskrit Sūtras of Mahāyāna as well as Tibetan scriptures and other late traditions are full of this. Those who wish to defend these traditions have been known to assume quite gratuitously that since these other traditions are manifestly full of invented material that the Pali Suttas must also be... its proponents would need to offer a description of the evolution of the Pali Suttas demonstrating a reasonable and human sequence alternative to the one offered herein... but to our knowledge such a description has never even been offered.' But for all that, already in 1957 a comprehensive and hitherto unparalleled investigation into the stratification of the Nikāyas and Āgamas had been published: G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (reprint Delhi 1974).

In the book under review a number of self-evident misprints occur and also two mistranslations of Pāli words (pp.12, 15) which latter will easily be spotted by those who read Pāli.

Bhikkhu Pāsādika

Dhammapada. Chos kyī tshigs su bcad pa. Ed. and tr. by Chhi Med Rig Dzin Lama. (The Dalai Lama Tibeto-Indological Studies Series Vol.IV), Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath 1982. V + 432 pp. Hbk Rs 75, pbk Rs 55.

Dhammapada. (Tr. into Tibetan from the Pāli by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel; tr. into English from the Tibetan by Dharma Publishing

Staff). Dharma Publishing, Berkeley 1985. xii + 381 pp., including four drawings in the style of traditional Tibetan religious art and one specimen of Tibetan calligraphy. Pbk \$12.95.

The fact that these two Dhammapada (Dhp) editions have been brought out, respectively, by a Nyingmapa lama and by a Nyingma centre shows that Dhp is traditionally held to be one of the most authentic pan-Buddhist root-texts. Besides the Pāli original, the core of both publications is dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's Tibetan translation of Dhp. One of the purposes of both books is to pay tribute to and commemorate a work of perhaps the most outstanding of all modern translators of this text. A brief note on the life and works of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel is found in D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (London 1968; repr. Boulder 1980, p.245) where, however the Tibetan Dhp translation is not mentioned while the lotsava is credited with having translated the Kāmasūtra. Much more on the Rev. Chos-'phel, 'the great Tibetan scholar and historian', can be read in Samten Norboo's introduction to his translation of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's *The White Annals* (Dharamsala 1978). On p.11 of that work George Roerich is quoted, referring to the lotsava and his translation of Dhp: 'The translator is not only a Tibetan scholar of eminence but a distinguished poet as well, and his translation combines scholarly exactitude with a highly literary value' (quoted from the preface to the first and second edition of Dhp in Tibetan).

That dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's translation has, ever since its completion in the early 1940s, been regarded as a masterpiece of - in the truest sense of the word - a lotsava seems corroborated by several editions which this translation has seen. This is remarkable insofar as one would not expect a Tibetan version of Dhp to lend itself to publication so easily when compared e.g. with the several editions of Nārada Mahāthera's Pāli-cum-English translation. On the other hand, apart from the great literary merits of the Tibetan Dhp, the simple fact that no translation based on the Pāli Dhp recension of the Theravāda tradition is found in the vast Kanjur and Tanjur collections adds to the importance of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's work.

In the preface to the Berkeley edition of Dharma Publishing

(p.viii) reference is made to a Prakrit recension of Dhp discovered by R. Saṅkṛityāyana in Tibet which scholars regard as most likely predating the Pāli version. It is surmised (*ibid.*, p.ix) that dGe-'dun Chos-'phel almost certainly knew of the manuscript of the Prakrit Dhp and that he nevertheless preferred to base his translation upon the Pāli recension. This decision, so the reader is told, allowed the lotsava to follow the proven methods of his illustrious predecessors in not only successfully achieving technically accurate translations but also in conveying the meaning of texts 'as expressed through a living tradition'. In Sri Lanka, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel availed himself of the help of a master of the Pāli tradition. As he states in the colophon to his work, the text was translated 'at the feet of the great guide and elder, Reverend Dharmānanda, at the monastery of dPal Ral-gri'i ri-bo in Sri Lanka' (*ibid.*).

The Sarnath Dhp edition and translations by C.R. Lama (Chhi Med Rig Dzin Lama himself prefers this abbreviation of his name) include - apart from forewords in Tibetan and Hindi, a preface in English, a verse index and two lists of corrigenda and addenda - for each Dhp verse one polyglot page offering first the Pāli *gāthā* followed by its Sanskrit *chāyā* (reconstruction), the Tibetan version, a Hindi and finally an English translation. It was a good idea to add, below the English version of the *gāthā*, verses of the Sanskrit Udānavarga in Tibetan translation wherever they have been found to correspond to those of Dhp. On occasion C.R. Lama has provided footnotes in Tibetan with explanations concerning, *inter alia*, places and persons where and to whom Dhp verses are traditionally thought to have been uttered. 'The English translation,' C.R. Lama writes (p.ii), 'is a new one, though it incorporates many interpretations and insights from previous translations.' He also acknowledges having made much use of 'the very valuable guide to the Dharmapada in Hindi by Mahapandit Rahul Sankṛityayana' (*ibid.*). This Sarnath edition does in fact contain by and large, with very slight changes, Saṅkṛityāyana's Sanskrit *chāyā* of Dhp and Hindi translations as they appear in their first (Allahabad 1933) and second (Lucknow 1965) editions. In some places C.R. Lama amends Saṅkṛityāyana's Sanskrit text, e.g. on p.407: *attadaṇḍesu* (Dhp 406) =

attadaṇḍesu; in Saṅkṛityāyana's *chāyā* occurs *ātma...*(sic), whereas his Hindi version correctly has *daṇḍadhāriyam ke bīc*. Dhp 400 (C.R. Lama's ed., p.401): *anussadam* ('without haughtiness' - v.l.: *anussutam*, 'free from lust', PED 45); as regards this word, in C.R. Lama's edition none of the translations follows the Pāli, all of them being based instead on a variant reading found in the Udānavarga: *bahuśrutam* (Bernhard ed. XXXIII 19b), 'learned'.

Occasionally C.R. Lama has retained errors occurring in Saṅkṛityāyana's Sanskrit text, e.g. on p.424 (Dhp 423): for *jātik-khayaṃ* the Sanskrit *chāyā* has *jātikṣayaṃ*; cf. Udānavarga XXXIII 47c (*op. cit.*): *jātikṣayaṃ*. In about half a dozen places the translation of the Pāli *gāthās* into Sanskrit seems rather problematic. Just one example may suffice here. Dhp 344 (C.R. Lama's ed., p.345): for *yo nibbanatho vanādhimutto* ('he who is free from craving and yet intent upon the forest'), the Sanskrit reads *yo nirvāṇārthī vanādhimukto* which, after Saṅkṛityāyana's Hindi translation, is taken to mean 'he who, desiring nirvāṇa, is free from the forest (desire)'. The Tibetan, too, tallies with the Sanskrit and Hindi versions: *mya ṅan 'das 'dod nags tshal las/ thar nas...*; *adhimukta*, however, answering to *mos pa*, has the same meaning as its Pāli equivalent. Taking into account in the present work the close correspondence between the Sanskrit/Hindi and the Tibetan translations which sometimes deviate from the Pāli tradition, one cannot help thinking that dGe-'dun Chos-'phel must have been acquainted with Saṅkṛityāyana's Dhp. The latter writes in the preface to his edition that he has derived much help from Charu Chandra Bose's Pāli-cum-Sanskrit and Bengali edition of Dhp. The interpretation of *adhimukta* = 'free from', adopted by Saṅkṛityāyana, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel and C.R. Lama does, in fact, seem to derive from C.C. Bhoose's gloss in Sanskrit, *vanāt aranyāt adhimuktaḥ niṣkrāntaḥ, pakṣāntare vanena abhilāṣeṇa adhimuktaḥ vihināḥ* (cf. reprint by the Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta 1960, p.216) which patently differs from the interpretation given in the Dhp-Atthakathā or in other Buddhist contexts. Whilst, according to PED 362, *nibbāna* ('without forest, free from lust') could be regarded as a traditional explanation of *nibbāna*, the translation 'tree from', *thar nas* = *adhimukta* (*adhi - mukta/*

'above - set free') is a literalism which is not even upheld by Monier-Williams' mainly recording Sanskrit words in a non-Buddhist setting.

When glancing at the English translation of Dhp 344 offered in the Berkeley edition (p.171), the disadvantage of translating from a translation without consulting the root-text manifests itself: 'He escapes from misery, fleeing the woods of attachment - but look how the freeman runs back to the forest! Look how the prisoner returns to his cell!' The translators have overlooked that *'dod* (*arthin*) goes together with *mya ñan* '*das*, and *thar nas* does not answer to 'fleeing' (*'bros pa*). Translating direct from the Pāli, the *gāthā* could be rendered: 'Whoever, through free from craving, is [again] given to craving, who rid of desire again hankers after [objects of] desire - look at that person! Released he [again] runs after his fetters.'

As for the English translation of Dhp, C.R. Lama has relied heavily on Nārada. Thanks to the help of James Low, in many places Nārada's English has been modernised or improved, and therefore becomes more readable. Exceptions are perhaps Dhp 155, 156 (pp.155,6): 'Men who have not practiced celibacy, during youth have not gained wealth...'; 'celibacy' here for *brahmacariyam* is a platitude. 'Spiritual life' would be more to the point; for the simple 'wealth' one had better add '[spiritual] wealth'.

In the Sarnath edition the Tibetan text is by no means free from errors, either. In the Yamakavagga alone are found the following which have not been entered in the lists of corrigenda and addenda: p.9 (Dhp 9d), for *dur smrig* read *ñur smrig*; p.13 (Dhp 13c), for *da bñin* read *de bñin*; p.15 (Dhp 15a), for *phyi mar ñan* read *phyi mar mya ñan*. Leaving it at that in respect of errors, after having read C.R. Lama's preface, it has to be recognised that his pentaglot Dhp edition is the result of his noble aspiration to offer a veritable *dharmadāna*. Besides the general reader interested in multi-lingual editions of one of the foremost religious classics, a considerable number of university students of Buddhist studies will surely welcome this publication as a valuable study aid (the Dhp in Pāli and Tibetan is actually on the syllabus of many a North Indian academic institution). The

Berkeley edition, beautifully presented, might be credited with the same usefulness. Therein the student of Tibetan is compensated for the absence of the Pāli text and versions allied to it by a comprehensive appendix (pp.211-381) of carefully compiled Buddhist terms and a Tibetan-English word list.

Bhikkhu Pāsādika

Dhammapada (Dharma Publishing, Berkeley 1985) ✓

This is a somewhat eccentric book, a translation of the Pāli Dhammapada translated into Tibetan, which incurs a double possibility of mistakes creeping in. When the Pāli Dhammapada has been translated directly from Pāli into English so many times already, it seems strange to translate it again in a roundabout way from Tibetan. This process has not done the meaning much good, for while the translators (commendably anonymous) have certainly made a translation into good modern English, alas their meaning and that of the Pāli differ widely in many verses. One has only to open the book to the translation's beginning to read there in the first verse:

'All things have the nature of mind...'

This is hardly admissable as a translation of *mano-pubbaṅgamā dhammā*. Granted this is a very difficult line to render well into English, but *pubbaṅgama* gives the sense of 'preceding' or 'forerunning' and hence my old translation of 'Dhammas are fore-run by mind'. However, this still leaves the general reader up in the air with 'dhammas'. To render this with the vague English word 'things' is very far from satisfactory. 'Dhammas', if possible to render at all accurately, is in this sense 'what is knowable', so one would get something like 'Knowables are preceded by mind', or more directly, 'Mind precedes all knowables'.

It is easy to lose the meaning when there has been this double translation, as can be seen here: 'Cut down the trees, destroy the whole forest. From the forest danger arises. If you cut away the tree and the roots, O monks, you will pass from sorrow' (Dhp 283). Now here is the Buddha apparently counselling the deforestation of the world! And in this book there are no notes

to make the meaning clear, so that a reader who does not know Pāli could not appreciate that *vana* means both 'forest' and 'desire'. The Buddha here refers to the interior jungle of selfish desire which should be chopped down, but not to exterior trees.

One could go on quoting instances of this sort of thing and it is obvious that the method employed in the translation of this book is not the best. In the Preface we find an account of how this translation was made. First a Tibetan scholar, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel - it is not clear whether he was a monk - went to Sri Lanka and studied with 'Reverend Dharmānanda, at the monastery of dPal-gri'i ri-bo' (why not translate this back into Pāli/Sanskrit so that we know where it was!) and made the translation sitting at his teacher's feet. One wonders, (1) did the Venerable Dharmānanda know excellent English, or how did they communicate?; (2) did dGe-'dun Chos-'phel know Pāli well?; (3) how much did they rely on existing English translations?

This reviewer knows only a few words of Tibetan and so cannot judge how well the Tibetan translation has rendered the Pāli text. For the same reason he cannot comment on the ability of the translators who turned the Tibetan text into English, but somewhere in this convoluting process some meanings have been lost. One suspects that for Dharma Publishing's readers, who will be used to translations from Tibetan, the fact that the Dhammapada was rendered from Tibetan may have made it more appealing, perhaps even more holy?

The book's production is quite lavish, with printing in large, clear type on very good paper. Each page has wide margins and a double border. The translation into English appears opposite the Tibetan text, a help for students of Tibetan. The translation, however, only extends up to p.205 and after this is included a rather long and out-of-place list of Buddhist terms (pp.209-353) given in romanised Sanskrit, Tibetan script and English translation. A small Tibetan-English word list is more apposite as it refers to terms in the two translations published in this book. The book is thus swollen to almost twice its length, although strangely it has no explanatory notes on Dhammapada verses. As other and better translations directly from Pāli into English

are readily available, this work seems rather superfluous.

Phra Khantipālo

Ed. 'Rev. Dharmānanda' was Lunupokune Sri Dhammananda Nayaka Thera and Principal of the Vidyalankara Pirivena, Kelaniya, where dGe-'dun Chos-'phel studied during 1939-40. According to Ven. B. Anandamaitreya, the former 'had no knowledge of English'. Out of linguistic interest, Bhikkhu Pāsādika has translated dPal-gri'i ri-bo as Śrī Khadga-giri or -parvata (Skt) and Siri Khagga-giri/pabbata (Pāli).

For the only full account of the life and work of this Tibetan lay scholar, see Heather Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo: Gedun Chomphel* (Paris 1985).

The Dhammapada, translated with an Introduction by Eknath Easwaran. Arkana (Routledge & Kegan Paul), London 1987. 208 pp. £3.95, pbk.

We are told on the back cover that the translation is 'clear and contemporary', a claim that must be met by the actual rendering. Does it actually live up to this claim? Let us open the book at p.78 where the translation begins and see. The first words of the verse make the Buddha utter a platitude: 'Our life is shaped by our mind; we become what we think'. Who does not know that? But has it much connection with *mano pubbaṅgamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayā*? This is not an easy piece of Pāli to render into English, specially the first phrase. There is no such expression in the Pāli as 'our life', while mind (*mano*) is in the nominative, not accusative case. 'Dhamma' can hardly by the wildest stretch of imagination be translated 'our life'. Actually, the whole phrase, having meanings on many levels, means something like 'Mind precedes (all) dhammas', with the last word here meaning 'all that can be known and done'. As for 'we become what we think', this is in no way a translation of *manoseṭṭhā manomayā*, which is quite straightforwardly 'mind is chief, mind-made (are they)'. This cannot be called a 'clear' translation, having missed the point completely and put into the mouth of the Buddha some very second-rate words. A literal translation of these lines, however, is found in the Introduction (p.63).

Generally, it should not be called a translation at all, at best it qualifies as a patchy kind of paraphrase. Though the translator 'trained in one of the purest Sanskrit traditions in India', it seems he has little idea of Pāli and (like Radhakrishnan before him) has therefore no qualification to translate or interpret the Buddha's teachings.

Easwaran has, however, as in the long Introduction, changed Buddhist stories a good deal, perhaps to make them more acceptable to Westerners. The changes that he has wrought are mostly rather pleasing ones and certainly put the Buddha and his teaching in a good light.

There are other changes which are more questionable, as in the explanation of the four *dhyaṇa* (*jhāna*), particularly in his reference in the third to no-thought. The explanation at this point of no initial or discursive thought leading to *bodhi* (!) which is not to be equated with Zen no-mind but only with 'no-thought' - experienced on the threshold of the third *jhāna*, is particularly confused. Under the fourth *jhāna*, though, he has listed *Nirvāṇa* - possibly a Hindu way of classification but scarcely Buddhist. Perhaps it should be taken to mean that *Nirvāṇa* can be attained on the basis of the fourth *jhāna*. But then it can be attained by some on the basis of any of the *jhānas*. The author has not clearly grasped the differences between *samatha* (calm) and *vipassanā* (insight). It is true that the suttas show that with only calm reaching to the Cessation of Perception and Feeling, the final goal may be attained. Later commentators take no notice of this and say that insight can only arise on the basis of the fourth *jhāna*. Modern Burmese (Mahasi) practice has reduced this to the attainment of 'neighbourhood concentration' prior to the first *jhāna*, but Forest Teachers in N.E. Thailand have abandoned all these rigidities of position and just teach one how to practise from one day to the next.

Another feature of both the translator's Introduction and (in greater degree) of the chapter introductions (by Stephen Ruppenthal), is the inclusion of Mahāyāna terminology, an anachronism with such an ancient collection of verse as the Dhammapada. The translator has a reference to "what the Buddha calls 'store-

house consciousness'" equating it with Jung's collective unconsciousness. Certainly the most ancient texts (Sutta/Āgama) have no reference to this term being used by the Buddha, while equating it with Jung's notion is questionable.

The notes introducing chapters are even more Mahāyāna in flavour, reflecting the widespread influence of these kinds of Buddhism - Zen, Tibetan schools, Chinese or Korean Ch'an/Son - in America. Whether it is suitable, or necessary, to include such ideas of later scholastic Buddhism in a translation of these verses depends on one's point of view. To the reviewer, such things are intrusions and do not help explain the contents of the verses. For instance, Mr Ruppenthal treats us to a summary of the Trikāya doctrine of later Mahāyāna prefacing the chapter on the Buddha. To explain here about *Nirmāṇa*-, *Sambhoga*-, and *Dharmakāya* Buddhas, is quite un-called for as the verses of this chapter give no support to any such 'buddhology'. Surely such things will turn away many from the wisdom of these verses. Will they not say, 'So, Buddhism has unprovable dogmas just like other religions'? In fact, these chapter headings are an eclectic hotch-potch which must point to a lack of deep knowledge and understanding on the part of their writer.

One further point in his headings to Chapters 25-26. We are told that the monk and nun disciples of the Buddha: 'In an attempt to smash self-will and break the hold of sensory cravings... resorted to strangling the senses and breaking down not only self-will but the spirit (!) of the human being.' This does not sound like the Buddha's followers at all; surely it is the sound of a frightened American who has been stirred up by the Buddha's verses but is too attached to pleasures to renounce them or take ordination as a monk. As he later says, 'While it is unlikely that the extraordinary affluence of our age will reverse itself in a rush to renounce the world...', so it is unlikely that the writer will do so! Perhaps as an inhabitant of that extraordinarily affluent land he should take a look at, say, India. More *dukkha* is good for renunciation!

In conclusion, it may be said that the translation's claim to be 'contemporary' can be justified by the directness of the

language. Very often, though, this paucity of diction masks the fact that words and phrases in the original Pāli have not been translated.

Phra Khantipālo

News and Notes continued from page 179

range of subjects, from the early period of Buddhism in China to modern art and education.

Participants were ferried back and forth from the Grand Hotel - a massive 'imperial palace', set on a hill with a commanding view of the city - to the Library, which stands opposite the gigantic Chiang Kai Shek Memorial. Excellent vegetarian lunches were provided free of charge. A cultural show, with traditional Chinese music and dance, was held in the auditorium and a sumptuous farewell dinner, again vegetarian, was held at the Hotel. Excursions included a visit to the art collection of the Shan Tao Temple and to the National Palace Museum and its beautiful gardens. At the latter a special exhibition of 'Illustrated Buddhist Sūtras' displayed some masterpieces of calligraphy, iconography and ornamentation.

(Peter Skilling)

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