

The Sutta Nipāta: Five Suttas of Popular Character¹

I.

PARĀBHAVA SUTTA

THE Parābhava Sutta and the four other suttas which are discussed here belong to a stratum of popular Buddhism, and they emphasise the practical side of Buddhism, laying down secular advice. The Parābhava Sutta is presented as a dialogue between a deity and the Buddha wherein the causes for men's downfall are enumerated by the Buddha (*parā* + $\sqrt{bhū}$: defeat). Though there is no deep philosophy underlying this sutta its advice is based on high ethical principles. The vices and evils denounced by Buddhist and contemporary Indian society are portrayed here as in the Vasala Sutta. It not only reflects the attitude of the age towards social evils such as the lack of filial piety, disrespect for elders and virtuous men, miserliness, arrogance, addiction to wine, women and gambling and general unchastity, but also serves as an index to what was considered wrong in man's dealings with other men right down the ages in Indian society. These very sentiments are expressed and repeated over and over in numerous other works of Indian Literature, especially the Dharmasāstras and Dharmasūtras, and the sutta is characteristically Indian but not merely Buddhistic. The highly ethical basis underlying the sutta runs through the whole poem. The Mahāmaṅgala Sutta which lays down in the form of "Blessings" the good qualities one should practise is more Buddhistic in its values than this sutta, though the two poems taken together are complementary to each other as they are based on the same ethical principles. The fact that this poem was meant for the common man is seen clearly from the last *ṣāḍa* of the concluding stanza, which speaks of a *sivam lokam* as opposed to *sivam padam*, the synonym for *Nibbāna*. The word *ariya* (Sn. 115c) has a wider application than the normal Buddhist term.

The language of the sutta is generally archaic. The noteworthy peculiarities are:—the historical infinitive *puṭṭhum* (Sn. 91c), the historical ppr. gen. sg. *parābhavato* in the refrain, the adjectival form *-vijāno* (Sn. 92ab), the word *bhavam* ("worthy"—Sn. 92a) used as in (Skr. *bhavān*), the primary adjective *dessī* ($\sqrt{dviṣ}$ —Sn. 92d), the verb *roceti* (Sn. 94c) formed after verbs of Class X, the agent noun *anutthātā* (Sn. 96b), the dialectical form *pahu* in the phrase *pahu santo* (being able or capable of *pra* + $\sqrt{bhū}$, Sn. 98c, cp. *pahuta* Sn. 102a, etc. and in frequent use in the Canon, specially in cpds.), the shorter

1. Extract from "A Critical Analysis of the Pāli Sutta Nipāta Illustrating its Gradual Growth", London University Thesis, 1947.

form *saṃ-* in the cpd. *saññātiṃ* (Sn. 104c, cp. Skr. *svaṃ*—besides *svaka*, P. *saka*, also cp. *sehi*—Sn. 108a ; *saṃ* and *sehi* are poetical forms rather than dialectical variations), the contracted dialectical form *ṭso* (Sn. 110a ; vide Geiger § 30.3), the contracted form *issā* (Sn. 110c), the verb *supāti* (Sn. 110c, cp. *supina*—Sn. 360, etc.) and the uncontracted verb of Class X, *paṭṭhayati* (Sn. 114c). All these forms show that the language of the sutta is rather old. It is also evident that there is an abundance of pure poetical forms as distinct from the normal Canonical idiom and that the diction of the whole sutta is highly poetic. The poetical forms of interest are :—*dhammadessī* (Sn. 92d), *kodhapāññāṇo* (Sn. 96c), *timbarutthaniṃ* (Sn. 110b), etc. The verb interposed between the substantive and the adjective, e.g. *lokaṃ bhajate sivaṃ* (Sn. 115d), *khattiye jāyate kule* (Sn. 114b) etc., the disjunctive employed between the substantive and the adjective e.g. *purisaṃ vā' pi tādisaṃ* (Sn. 112b) or even the position of the demonstrative adjective in the refrain of the stanzas attributed to the Bhagavā, i.e. *paṭhamo so parābhavo*, etc. are all characteristic of the poetic language.

The **style** of the sutta is neither heavy nor ornate. Though the stanzas are highly antithetical, their style is swift and vigorous. Poetical devices such as simile, metaphor or pun are few, and in fact there is only one metaphor in the whole poem; i.e. Sn. 110b. No definite inference can be drawn from the **metre** of this poem. The 25 stanzas are in *Anuṣṭubh Śloka*. There is *anacrusis* in Sn. 91c and *even* quarters of the *Vipulā*-type are found at Sn. 91a, 102a, 110ac, 112a and 114c.² The vigorous *Śloka* metre is best adapted to narrative or dialogue ballads. **Doctrinal Developments** here are almost negligible, but the word *anutthātā* reminds one of the positive concept *utthānaviriya*, a term of early doctrinal import. All the available evidence from language, style and metre suggests an early date for the sutta. The archaic language rich in historical forms, both verbal and nominal and containing dialectical variations, the free and easy style and the old poetic diction unmarred by any artificial poetic devices are in full accord with its early origin.

External Evidence may yield some data regarding a relative date. The comprehensive code of Moral Law promulgated by Asoka has a great deal in common with the Parābhava, Vasala and Maṅgala Suttas. Although Mookerji³ is emphatic that Asoka's "Dharma" was not Buddhism, but his own ethical philosophy, the strange similarity of ideas in his code of ethics and in these suttas is conclusive evidence of the connection between the two. Seeing how far he is influenced by Buddhism and Buddhist Literature the inference that he based his code on suttas such as these or similar literature

2. Helmer Smith, SnA. 640-641.

3. Rādhakumud Mookerji, *Asoka*, p. 68, Gaekwad Lectures, 1928.

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is quite justifiable. The fact that Asoka not only is acquainted with the ideas here, but also inculcates them is proof of the popularity of secular ethics of this type.

II.

VASALA SUTTA

The position of the Vasala Sutta in the vagga immediately after the Parābhava Sutta leads one to the natural inference that an attempt has been made at an arrangement of the suttas according to their subject-matter. Such instances are quite frequent in the Canon. The two suttas, Parābhava and Vasala agree with each other in subject-matter, style, language and metre while the two differ in details regarding the outward form. Vasala Sutta falls into the "*Ākhyāna*"-class, though Parābhava Sutta cannot be strictly called so. The *gāthās* of the former can form an independent sutta without the brahmin being introduced to it at all, but the latter is a pure dialogue, like the Kasibhāradvāja Sutta. In contents the two suttas agree very closely. Lack of filial affections is deplored in identical words (Sn. 98, 124) and so is deception practised on brahmins and holy men (Sn. 100, 129). The four major evils of killing, stealing, falsehood and adultery are condemned in Sn. 117-123 (Vasala). Falsehood is referred to in Sn. 100 and adultery in Sn. 108 (Parābhava). Both poems deal with anger (Sn. 96, 116, 133), pride and arrogance (Sn. 104, 132), miserliness and lack of hospitality (Sn. 102, 128, 130) and various other social evils. The same subject is dealt with in identical words in two instances (quoted above—Sn. 98, 124; 100, 129). The Vasala Sutta deals more fully and in a more comprehensive manner with most of the subjects taken up in the Parābhava Sutta; and mentions more vices and evil practices than the latter. Though both suttas are true to the spirit of early Indian ethics, Vasala Sutta goes a step further in emphasising that one's own actions alone qualify one for condemnation and not one's birth (*jāti*). The *gāthā*,

Na jaccā vasalo hoti, na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo

kammanā vasalo hoti, kammanā hoti brāhmaṇo.

(Not by birth does one become an out-caste or a brahmin, but by one's action one becomes an out-caste or a brahmin) occurs twice in the sutta, and an illustrative anecdote is appended. The *gāthā* clearly conveys the Buddhist attitude to caste and the note struck here is truly Buddhistic.

The sutta itself can be divided into four parts:—

- I. The prose introduction—the prelude to the sutta.
- II. The body of the sutta (Sn. 116-136) containing the aphoristic sayings dealing with the various vices and evil practices.
- III. The short dissertation on *kamma* (action) including the colourful illustration of Mātanga.

IV. Aggikabhāradvāja's confession of faith in prose, forming the conclusion of the sutta.

Observations :

The sutta can retain its characteristics and form a coherent whole without parts I, III and IV and yet be called Vasala Sutta. Sn. 136 appears as a crescendo and concluding verse of the sutta. This is further strengthened by Sn. 135 which, in addition to its extra *pūdas* sums up the categories of *vasalas* in its last line,

Ete kho vasalā vuttā, mayā vo ye pakāsitā

(These whom I have declared unto you are *vasalas*). This summing up may be compared with Sn. 269, the concluding *gāthā* of Mahāmaṅgala Sutta. In both instances the refrain occurs up to the *gāthā* immediately preceding the respective stanzas, and thus Sn. 135 provides a suitable conclusion to the sutta. The next stanza too, which in a dramatic manner breaks down the age-old barrier of caste and attributes baseness to base actions rather than to birth, probably belonged to the original sutta. The illustration (*nidassana*) that follows appears as a separate sutta or as a separate section appended to the sutta at a subsequent date. The position of these six stanzas at the end of the sutta makes this suggestion very plausible. The repetition of Sn. 136 at Sn. 142 is merely for the purpose of emphasising this essentially Buddhist aphorism. It also provides a suitable climax to the enhanced sutta.

There is no doubt that the episode of Mātāṅga is borrowed from popular tradition. The story of Mātāṅga occurs in the Anusāsānika-parvan of the Mahābhārata (Mbh. XIII, 3, 198 ff.), but it differs considerably in details from that in Sn. Both Sn. and Mbh. agree on his lowly birth (*Caṇḍālayonyāṃ jāto*, Mbh. XIII, 3, 198). The outline of the legend in Mbh. is:—"Mātāṅga, son of a brāhmaṇī was informed by a she-ass that he was in reality a *caṇḍāla*, and in vain tried by way of penance to become a brahmin; at last he succeeded in becoming Candodeva".⁴ The existence of a parallel legend in Mbh. need not necessarily imply that either was based on the other. The probability is that both versions go back to an earlier tradition (probably oral) and the two as they are, represent parallel developments. (Also cp. Mātāṅga Jātaka).

On the other hand, the position of Sn. 124 and 129 seems different. The topic under discussion in Sn. 125 is cruelty by word or deed to one's own kith and kin. It seems probable that the connected idea of not supporting one's aged parents has been transported here, and the stanza borrowed wholesale. Similarly, Sn. 129 appears as an interpolation. The stanza that immediately precedes it (Sn. 128) denounces the action of the person who does not return hospitality to his erstwhile host; and the stanza that follows it (Sn. 130) condemns the person who, instead of feeding them abuses brahmins or *samaṇas*

4. s.v. Sørensen, Index to the Names in *Mahābhārata*.

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who come to his door at meal-time. Both these stanzas deal with the feeding of guests or mendicants, but Sn. 129 speaks of the deception practised on mendicants, religious or otherwise, by uttering falsehood. Although Sn. 129 disturbs the logical trend of the two stanzas on either side of it, the occurrence of the phrase, *yo brāhmaṇaṃ vā samaṇaṃ vā* in Sn. 130 seems to have been considered sufficient reason to introduce Sn. 129 which incidentally begins with the same phrase. The inference that Sn. 124 and 129 are interpolations implies that the Parābhava Sutta is earlier than the Vasala Sutta. This need not necessarily be so. The only legitimate conclusion is that the final redaction of the latter took place after the composition of the former. The position of these two stanzas in the two suttas sheds some light on this point. In the Parābhava Sutta, these two stanzas dealing with similar topics, occur as consecutive answers given by the Bhagavā, whereas in the Vasala Sutta they are separated by four other stanzas, two of which (i.e. Sn. 126, 127) deal with a different topic altogether.

The similarity of ideas in the two poems does not call for particular attention on account of the fact that they deal with practically the same subject. Language, style, metre and syntax too do not help in determining the age of the two poems in relation to each other. It is solely on the data provided by these two stanzas and the occurrence of the illustrative episode of Mātaṅga, (when the sutta proper could end at Sn. 135ef where the categories of *vasalas* are summed up, or at Sn. 136 which provides a fitting climax) it can be said that the sutta may have undergone a change at the hands of a subsequent editor. The stanzas Sn. 137-142 appear as a subsequent addition made by a later editor. It is quite probable that the earliest form of this sutta did not include these six stanzas, Sn. 124 and 129, nor perhaps the prose sections. Judging from internal and external evidence the earliest versions of both suttas appear contemporary.

As stated earlier the **language** of the *gāthās* is quite similar to that of the Parābhava Sutta. There are old historical forms like the opt. 3 sg. *jaññā* (Sn. 116d-134d), the denominative *maṃāyitaṃ* (Sn. 119b), shorter inst. sg. *theyyā* (Sn. 119c—Vedic *steya* nt.), the ppr. pass. *cujjamāno* (Sn. 120b), the contracted verb *ādeti* (Sn. 121c) besides *ādiyati* (Sn. 119c), the absolutive *bhuvāna* (Sn. 128b—also poetical), the ppr. medial of the desiderative *nijigim-sāno* (Sn. 131c), the pronom. adj. inst. sg. *sena* (Skr. *svena*, cp. *saṃ* Sn. 104c, *sehi* Sn. 108a, 132c), the inst. sgg. *jaccā* (Sn. 136ab, 142ab), *duggaccā* (Sn. 141d), *kammanā* (Sn. 136cd, 142cd) and *aminā* (Sn. 137a cp. also *amunā*) and 3 pl. A. pada *upadissare* (Sn. 140d). Besides the poetical forms like *bhuvāna*, *upadissare*, *sena*, etc. there occur in this sutta as in the previous one many cpds. e.g. *pāpamakkhī* (Sn. 116b), *viṇṇaditthi* (Sn. 116c), *paṭicchannakam-manto* (Sn. 127c), etc. The sutta preserves the old Pāli idiom, e.g. *pāṇe dayā*. (Sn. 117c), *yaṃ paresaṃ maṃāyitaṃ* (Sn. 119b), etc. Often the same idiom,

is seen to occur in Canonical prose, e.g. *attahetu*, *parahetu*, *dhanahetu* . . . (Sn. 122ab), *kincikkhakamyatā* (Sn. 121a, cp. *lābhakamyatā*). There is an irregular acc. sg. of the ppr. *vajataṃ* (Sn. 121b, v.l. *vajantaṃ vide* Geiger, § 130; the Comy. explains it as *gacchantam*—SnA. 179). There is also an abundance of Vedic enclitics like *ve* and *ha-ve* (*vai* and *ha vai*). All these characteristics of old Pāli and the general diction of the poem which is archaic suggest an early date for the sutta.

The **Style** and **metre** of the poem are similar to those of the Parābhava Sutta. The metrical irregularities are few; i.e. *odd* quarters at Sn. 118a, 121a and 123c and an *even pāda* at Sn. 124c.⁵ Evidence from language, style and metre shows that the two poems are contemporary, though on careful examination some parts of the Vasala Sutta appear to be younger than the Parābhava Sutta.

No **doctrinal developments** as such are noticeable in the sutta. However, in spirit it is more Buddhistic than the former. The four major evils of killing, stealing, adultery and falsehood have already been noticed to occur in Sn. 117-123, in same order as the first four precepts, in addition to the other allied misdeeds as highway robbery and plunder. In spite of the popular nature of the sutta the occurrence of the two terms, *ditṭheva dhamme* and *sampārāye* (Sn. 141ab) suggests some development in Buddhistic ideas; but these terms are of no great value as they are equally common in early Indian Literature. The words *vipannaditṭhi* (Sn. 116c), *moha* (Sn. 131b), *arahā* and *anarahā* (Sn. 135ab) are not used in their specialized meaning as found in Buddhism. It is significant that Sn. 134b speaks of the *sāvakas* and not of the *Saṅgha*, and it is probable that this sutta is quite distinct from monastic Buddhism. The phrase *khattiyā brāhmanā* in Sn. 138, like the Canonical phrase *samaṇa-brāhmanā*, unconsciously suggests the order of precedence as the Buddhists conceived it,⁶ though the sutta itself repudiates the stigma attached to low birth. The mention of *devayāna*, the path leading to the *devas* in Sn. 139 shows to some extent how far the sutta echoes the then-current Indian thought. It is clear that the goal aimed at is *brahmaloka*. The earlier Upaniṣads⁷ mention the two paths by which a departed soul proceeds to enjoy the fruits of his actions. They are the *devayāna* or the *arcirmārga*, the path of light leading to the plane of Brahmā or *satyaloka* and the *pitryāna* or the *dhūmamārga*, the path of darkness leading to the region of the moon or *cāndraloka*. When Indian thought evolved and gradually established the identity of Self with Brahman, *devayāna* became the path leading to the union with the Highest.⁸ It is not clear what stage of development in Indian

5. Helmer Smith, *ibid.*

6. The sequence *Khattiyā, Brāhmanā, Vessā, Suddā* occurs many times in M. and D.

7. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 2, 2; IV. 11, etc.

8. Also *vide* Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 252-255.

thought Sn. 139 reflects, yet the final goal mentioned is *brahmaloka*. Perhaps *sivam lokam* (the world of happiness at Sn. 115) also refers to the same state.⁹ The Commentator rightly interprets it as *devalokam* (SnA. 173). Both these references show that these poems are not doctrinal dissertations but suttas meant for the inculcation of popular ethics.

All the available **external evidence** too shows that the sutta belongs to the realm of popular ethics. It contains ideas common with the Epics and other Sanskrit literature. Sn. 122 may be compared with Manu. VIII, 13 ; Sn. 128 with Mbh. XIII, 126 ; 27 ; and Taittirīyaśikṣāvallī 11, 2 ; and Sn. 135 with Manu. X, 12 ; 16 and 26, etc. The observations made with reference to the Parābhava Sutta that Asoka's moral code apply here too. The *gīthās* appear to be very old in the light of internal evidence and the testimony from the Edicts suggests that they should be at least pre-Asokan.

III.

MAHĀMAṄGALA SUTTA.

It has already been stated that the Mahāmaṅgala Sutta (also known as Maṅgala Sutta) is complementary to the Parābhava Sutta. Both suttas contain a short prose introduction with identical words, and a *devatū* is introduced as the Buddha's interlocutor. The only difference in form, between the two suttas is that the Maṅgala Sutta unlike the other, is not a proper dialogue, for, the *devatū* is represented as asking only one question to which the Buddha gives an uninterrupted reply. The two suttas categorically state the various factors which lead to one's downfall and which are considered as blessings respectively, and conclude didactically summing up the enumeration. A regular feature in the poems is the refrain which is a feature in the greater part of the Vasala Sutta. The sutta lays emphasis on good living and gives practical advice. It is essentially didactic like the gnomic poetry of the Sanskrit literature. The word *maṅgala* conveyed to the brahmins anything that was considered as auspicious. In every society, whether past or present, Occidental or Oriental, there are certain beliefs and superstitions to which people attach some importance in varying degrees. *Maṅgala* to a brahmanical society in ancient India represented all the sights and sounds, actions, ritual and ceremonies which they deemed holy or auspicious. In this sutta Buddha is seen giving a new value to the term *maṅgala* employing it to stress the importance of a righteous living. The sutta does not attempt to teach anything new, but inculcates in a different form the ethical principles already known to the Indians. There is no deep philosophy underlying the sutta, yet it has to some extent a Buddhist background. The items *kālena dhamma-savanaṃ* (Sn. 265c, listening to the *dhamma* at the proper time) *kālena dhamma-sākkacchā* (Sn. 266c, religious discussions at the proper time), *samaññaṇaṃ ca*

9. As stated earlier, this term cannot refer to *nibbāna* as there is no mention of a "*nibbāna-loka*" anywhere in the Canon. It is either *nibbāna-pada* or *nibbāna-dhātu*.

dassanaṃ (Sn. 266b, paying homage to the monks), *ariyasaccāna dassanaṃ* (Sn. 267b, an insight into the *ariyan* -noble- truths) and *nibbānasacchikiriyā* (Sn. 267b, the realization of *nibbāna*) are decidedly of Buddhistic application though *dhammacariyā* (Sn. 263a, living in accordance with the *dhamma*), *aṭṭhamādo ca dhammesu* (Sn. 264c, perseverance in doing good deeds) and *paṭirūpadesaṅgā* (Sn. 260a, living in a suitable region) are capable of being given a wider interpretation than suggested by the Commentator (Pj. I. 123-157). The perfect balance of mind under all conflicting circumstances (Sn. 268) is again a characteristically Buddhist concept. The sutta thus is essentially Buddhistic although it deals with popular ethics.

This sutta occurs *verbatim* in the Khuddaka-pāṭha and the Paritta-pāṭha¹⁰. It is also one of the *Tun-sūtraya* (the Three Suttas, the other two being Ratana and Metta Suttas), used at *Pirit* ceremonies; which shows that the sutta has enjoyed great popularity from comparatively early times (when Khp. was compiled), up to the present day.¹¹ There is a *jātaka* known as Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka (No. 453) which the Commentator (J. IV. 72-73) associates with the Maṅgala Sutta and quotes the opening *pāda* of the *devatā*'s question mentioning that the total number of *maṅgalas* enumerated in the sutta is 38; but it has no connection whatsoever with the present sutta, and it is in reality a dissertation on happiness in accordance with Brahmanical ideas of life rather than Buddhistic principles.

There are no specific linguistic forms in the sutta that may be classed as very ancient, nor are there signs of lateness in the language. It is the normal Gāthā-Pāli idiom with the usual poetic diction. The stanzas are highly rhythmical and melodious. There is no involved syntax and the language is simple. The few linguistic forms which call for attention are:—*acintayum* (Sn. 258b) the historical Aorist 3 pl., *soṭṭhānaṃ* (Sn. 258c) acc. sg. of *soṭṭhāna* nt. cp. Skr. *svastyayana*, *sovacassatā* (Sn. 266a) abstract of the secondary form from *su-vacas* and the usage of *dassanaṃ* (Sn. 266b, 267b) in its literal and applied meanings of visiting to pay homage and insight into

10. The Paritta-pāṭha is a collection of suttas varying in number from 28 to 32, taken from various parts of the Canon. It is known in Ceylon as the Pirit-pota (the Book of Pirit). Also *vide* Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 80.

11. Khp. as a collection cannot be of very early date. From the negative evidence that no mention of it is made in the Canon or in Miln. it may be inferred that it came into being sometime later, though argument from silence is not always very satisfactory evidence. On the other hand, Miln. mentions Sn. by name (*vide* U.C.R. Vol. VII, 3), and it is quite probable that the author of Miln. knew Sn. as it exists to-day. Miln. 349 mentions *Khuddaka-bhāṅgakā*, but this is no evidence for the existence of Khp. It only refers to a collection of minor pieces, probably the greater part of what is now known as Khuddaka Nikāya, just in the same way as *Dīgha* or *Majjhima-bhāṅgakā* referred to the reciters of long or medium sized suttas which were invariably included in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas respectively. Thus, the earliest collection in which Maṅgala Sutta was included is probably Sn. though it may have existed earlier as an individual sutta.

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(vision of), respectively. The phrases *mātāpitu-upaṭṭhānam* (Sn. 262a), *ariyasaccāna-dassanam* (Sn. 267b) and *sabbattha-m-a-parājitā* (Sn. 269b) betray the flexibility of *sandhi* in Pāli, specially in metrical exigencies. The **metre** of the poem is *Anuṣṭubh Śloka*, and the few metrical irregularities are: one instance of *anacrusis* at Sn. 260a and two instances of *even* quarters at Sn. 260c and 265c. The sutta contains a few special Buddhistic terms in addition to those that are in common with contemporary Indian religious systems. *Ariyasaccāna-dassanam* (Sn. 267b) is a definite reference to the Noble Truths of Buddhism, and *nibbānasacchikiriyā* (Sn. 267c) is the attainment consequent on the obtaining of an insight into the *Ariyan* Truths. Other concepts such as *tapo* (ascetic practices) *brahmacariyā* (celibacy) at Sn. 267a, *attasammāpaṇidhi* (a thorough development of personality—Sn. 260c), *khanti* (forbearance—Sn. 266a) etc. are of general Indian origin and therefore are of no special importance.

External Evidence consists mainly of a comparison with the Moral Law of Asoka promulgated in the Edicts. Asoka's *dharmā*, like the sayings in the three suttas, Vasala, Parābhava and Maṅgala, is not any religious system peculiar to one sect or school, but contains practical and doctrinal advice embracing the various relations of life. However, a close comparison shows that Asoka had drawn his material from a literature very similar to these suttas. From his acquaintance with certain parts of the Canon i.e. the seven Dharmaparyāyas some of which have been traced to Sn. (*vide* U.C.R., Vol. VI, 4) it may be inferred that he was equally acquainted with these suttas. The following table¹² shows to what extent the contents of these suttas can be compared with Asoka's *dharmā* :—

<i>Asoka :</i>	<i>Sutta Nipāta :</i>
1. Obedience to (a) elders R.E. IV, ¹³ (<i>anupratī paṭīpaṭi</i>) P.E. VII, (b) teachers R.E. XIII, P.E. VII.	Sn. 259b, <i>paṇḍitānaṃ ca sevānā</i> .
2. Respect (a) of pupils— <i>antevāsī</i> —towards their <i>gurūs</i> M.R.E. II, (b) towards <i>gurūs</i> R.E. IX.	Sn. 259c, <i>phūjā ca phūjaneyyānaṃ</i> . 265a, <i>gāravo</i> .
3. Proper treatment towards (a) ascetics, both <i>brāhmaṇa</i> and <i>samaṇa</i> R.E. IV, P.E. VII; (b) relations M.R.E. II, R.E. IV, XIII.	Sn. 100, 129, 130. Sn. 98-124, 102, 104c, 125.
4. Charity (<i>dānaṃ</i>) R.E. III, VII, VIII, IX, XI.	Sn. 263a, 102c.
5. Abstention from slaughter of and violence towards living beings, R.E. III, IV, XI, P.E. VII, R.E. IX, IV, P.E. VIII, R.E. XIII, M.R.E. II, cp. R.E. III, IV, IX, XI, XIII and P.E. VII.	Sn. 117-118.

¹². This table is based on Rādhakumud Mookerji's analysis of the Moral Law of Asoka in his Gaekwad Lectures, pp. 69 ff.

¹³. R.E. : Rock Edict, P.E. : Pillar Edict, M.R.E. : Minor Rock Edict.

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6. Kindness (*dayā*) P.E. II, VII. Cp. Metta Sutta, Sn. 143-153.
7. Truthfulness (*satyaṃ*) M.R.E. II, P.E. II, VII. Sn. 122c, 100c, 129c.
8. Gentleness (*mārdavaṃ*) R.E. XIII, P.E. VII. Sn. 143d.
9. Gratitude (*kṛtajñatā*) R.E. VII. Sn. 265b.
10. Attachment to *dharma* (Asokan morality), R.E. XIII. Sn. 92c, 263a, 264c, 265c, 266c.
11. Purity of heart (*bhāva sūddhi*) R.E. VII. Sn. 260c, cp. *yakkhassa sūddhi* Sn. 478, 876.

Of the requisite qualities mentioned in P.E. I for the attainment of happiness in this world and the next, *dharma-kāmatā* occupies the first place (No. 10 in Table). *Suśrūṣī* (obedience), No. 1 in table *bhaya* (fear to do wrong—cp. *ottaḥpa* in Pāli, Sn. 133c, etc.), and *utsāha* (effort—cp. *uttāhāna-viriya*, see *anuttāhātā*, Sn. 96b) are three others. In R.E. XIII Asoka summarises his 'Dharma' as 1. *Akṣati* (non-injury—cp. Sn. 117-118) 2. *saṃyama* (restraint, quite frequent in the *Muni-Ballads* of Sn. cp. Sn. 264, etc.) 3. *samacaraṇaṃ* (impartiality) and *mārdavaṃ* (gentleness; No. 8 in table). On these and numerous other points (enumerated by Mookerji, *Asoka*, pp. 69-78) Asoka's "Dharma" bears a strong resemblance to the ideology of these suttas. Although one may not be quite certain of the existence of Sn. as a collection in Asoka's time, there is no doubt that many of the suttas constituting Sn. were anterior to Asoka. It has already been noticed that Asoka had been influenced by a literature quite similar to these popular ethics. The internal evidence reveals that the suttas are old, and that they preserve definite characteristics of the poetic language which probably preceded the standardised Canonical Pāli prose. It is thus highly probable that these suttas were known to Asoka.

IV.

METTA SUTTA

The Metta Sutta, another member of the triad of Suttas, is also found in Khp. as No. 9. The Commentator's introduction which is historically of a lower level of interpretation states that the sutta was preached by the Buddha as a topic of meditation to monks and to serve the purpose of a *paritta* to ward off dangers arising from evil spirits (Pj. I. 231-232). There is no doubt that the sutta provided a useful topic of meditation for both monks and laymen, and in subsequent years, even as early as the Commentarial epoch, or perhaps earlier, it was used as a *paritta*. Its inclusion in Khp., a handbook of popular Buddhism, indicates that this sutta, like its two companion suttas, was very popular from comparatively early times. The sutta inculcates the practice of *mettā* (amity, or love to all beings). The theme is an early tenet of Buddhism and the idea corresponds to *dayā* of the Sanskrit epics and other allied literature. Even before the four *Brahma-vihāras* were fixed and

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standardised the term *mettā* is to be met with in association with such concepts as *upekkhā*, *karuṇā*, *vimutti* and *muditā* (Sn. 73). The theme is developed from various aspects in the sutta :—(a) Wishing happiness and well-being to all creatures irrespective of their size or form or stage of growth (*bhūtā vā sambhavesī vā* : creatures come into being or in their embryonic state, Sn. 147c). (b) The negative aspect of the absence of ill-will towards them (Sn. 148). (c) The development of boundless thoughts of love, as deep as maternal affection to all creatures (Sn. 149). (d) The diffusion of unobstructed thoughts of loving kindness in all directions at all times (Sn. 149-150). It is extolled as the *brahma-vihāra*—the highest abiding¹⁴ (Sn. 151). The 10 opening lines of the sutta are of an introductory nature. They describe the *atthakusala*—he who is bent on his welfare. Though *santam padam*—tranquilled state (Sn. 143)—need not necessarily always signify *nibbāna*, the qualifying remark that the *atthakusala* should be detached from family life (Sn. 144d) suggests that the poem was primarily meant for the monks. A descriptive classification of creatures is made at Sn. 146 and another mutually exhaustive and more precise division at Sn. 147c.¹⁵ The development of a mental attitude (*mānasam bhāvayati*, cp. Sn. 149d, 150b) consisting of the thoughts of love is the keynote of the poem and it concludes with an exhortation to make an end of birth (Sn. 152d).

As far as **linguistic evidence** goes what has been said of the other suttas applies here too. There is ellipsis in the opening stanza of the sutta (Sn. 143). The form *additthā* at Sn. 147a has *-dd-* either *metri causa* or as a consonantal doubling after the negative prefix ; cp. *appasāda*. The indefinite adverb *katthacinam* (Sn. 148b) contains a contamination of two indefinite suffixes *cid* and *cana*. There are two forms with the contraction of the final *-āya > -ā* viz. *vyārosanā* and *paṭighasaññā* : (Sn. 148c). The regular form *niya* for Vedic *nija* (also P. *nija*) through Prakrit *nia* (*vide* Geiger §36) occurs. Besides these there are other forms *sayāno* (Sn. 151b) historical ppr. medial, the affirmative particle *jātu* (Sn. 152d) which is practically confined to poetry, Vedic forms as *āyusā* (Sn. 149b) and a wealth of optative forms illustrative of various types used in Pāli ; viz. 3 sg. *assa* (Sn. 143d), 3 sg. *samācare* (Sn. 145a), *anurakkhe* (Sn. 149b), *bhāvaye* (Sn. 149d, 150b), medial 3 sg. *nikubbetha* (Sn. 148a)

14. Mrs. Rhys Davids (in "What was the Original Gospel of Buddhism?") thinks that this line preserves "a metrical legacy" of the disciples of an unknown Brahmin teacher, and sees God in the epithet *brahma*. She translates Sn. 151d as,

"God have they here this living called".

15. It is significant that the classification into the four types *jalābuja*, *aṇḍaja*, *saṃsedaja* and *opapātika* (viviparous, oviparous, moisture-born and of spontaneous birth), a division known to be in use comparatively early in India, does not occur here. It may perhaps indicate that the Buddhist writers had not yet adapted it in their works during the time of these suttas, though the classification occurs in prose sections of the Canon (D. III. 250, M. I. 73, S. III. 240, etc.).

iccheyya (Sn. 148d), *adittheyya* (Sn. 151c) and 3 pl. *upaddaveyyum* (Sn. 145b). There also occurs an inorganic sandhi at Sn. 151d, viz. *idha-m-āhu*.

The **style** of the sutta is free and easy to a great extent, and the ideas are expressed lucidly. The sutta being didactic, the greater part of it is explanatory and injunctive. Though it contains two long lists (Sn. 143c-144d, 146t-147d) no laboured effect is produced, as there is an easy flow of words along with its rhythmic effect. There is only one simile in the whole poem (Sn. 149ab) and it appears quite apt, as it emphasises the central theme. The poem is written in a **metre** described as "*Āryā (Gīti)*", by Helmer Smith.¹⁶ Yet the metre here is not the proper classical *Gīti* or any of its sub-types including *Āryā*. Normally the syllabic instants of the first and third *pādas* of the *Gīti* metres are limited to 12, whereas the other two *pādas* vary from 15 to 18. None of these 10 stanzas corresponds to any of the varieties of the classical *Gīti* metre, and at best what is found here is a very free modification of the *Āryā-Gīti*. The syllabic instants of the Metta Sutta vary from 11, 17, 13, 17 in Sn. 152 to 16, 17, 15, 18 in Sn. 147. In two instances the number of *mātrās* (syllabic instants) in a full stanza is less than 60, in two 60 (the prescribed number in Sanskrit poetics) and in the other six over 60. However it is worth noting that this metre stands "between the more archaic technique of the *śloka-tristubh* and the *jagatīs*, *atijagatīs*, etc. of the late-canonical and semi-canonical compositions".¹⁷

Doctrinal developments.—In its tone and outlook the sutta bears signs of antiquity. The term *atthakusala* (Sn. 143a) probably refers to the *attha* (weal) pertaining to both this world and the next. The emphasis on a life which is beyond the censure of the wise (Sn. 145ab) may suggest that the *attha* was primarily connected with this world. The Commentator, however, interprets *santam padam* (Sn. 143b) as *nibbāna* (Pj. I. 236) merely because the term is used as a synonym for the latter. Yet, the state of mental tranquillity referred to here is capable of a more general interpretation. This is further supported by Sn. 143cd-145ab, which do not apply to one who has attained *nibbāna*: and therefore *attha* should be interpreted as benefit here on earth rather than well-being after death or even *paramattha* the *summum bonum*.

The ideal envisaged in Sn. 144 is that of the ascetic or the *muni*. This certainly reflects early material. The next two lines which allude to public opinion are not wholly inconsistent with the *Muni*-ideal, though as a rule the *muni* is not influenced by the outside world (cp. Sn. 213b, 214b, etc.). This difference in attitude does not imply a later phase of development, nor does it indicate any real departure from the ideal in early Buddhism. The probability is that the sutta was meant for a wider circle than ascetics alone, and the authority of the *viññū* had to be reckoned with in preparing one's self for

16. Op. cit. (SnA. 637).

17. *Ibid.* Helmer Smith.

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the tranquil-state of mind which would be the basis for the contemplation (*mānasam bhāveti*) on *mettā*. The concept of *mettā* is suggested to be of pre-Buddhistic origin,¹⁸ but Buddhism and its senior contemporary religion Jainism were responsible for the widespread movement of not only non-injury to living things, but the actual practice of amity towards them. The phrase *mānasam bhāveti* (develop a frame of mind; cp. *manīṣā* Rv. X. 129) is not in frequent use in the language, and the word *mānasa* used absolutely is semi-technical in character (s.v., P.T.S.). Neither the concept *mettā* nor the term *mānasa* yields any conclusive data. The two words *diṭṭhi* and *dassana* (Sn. 152) are used as mutually contradictory terms from the earliest times;¹⁹ they are diametrically opposed to each other in their semantic development though they are derivatives from the same root (*dr̥ṣ*). There is hardly an instance of *diṭṭhi* being qualified as *sammā* or *micchā* in all the 45 occurrences of the word in Sn. The term *diṭṭhi* embraces all philosophical views and speculations which were (perhaps later) designated as *micchādiṭṭhi*, while *dassana* is a more precise concept signifying insight. The latter has no bearing on the question of the difference between *sammādiṭṭhi* and *micchādiṭṭhi*.

External evidence.—The only form of external evidence available is the occurrence of similar or parallel ideas in other works. The idea *mettā* occurs frequently in the Canon in the list of *Brahmavihāras*, and also singly in various other contexts; e.g. *mettā ceto-vimutti* at D. I. 251, S. II. 265, A. IV. 150, It. 20, etc., *mettā-sahagatena cetasā* at D. I. 250, etc., S. V. 115, A. I. 138, etc., *mettaṃ cittaṃ* at D. I. 167, III. 237, Sn. 507, Vin. II. 110, A. II. 72, ThI. Th2, etc. and *mettā-bhāvanā* at Miln. 199. At S. I. 75 Pasenadi Kosala declares to Mallikā that the dearest thing to a person is his own self. At the end of the conversation they go to the Buddha who advises them

*Sabbā disānupariḡamma cetasā
n'ev'ajjhagamā piyataram attanū kvaci,
evaṃ piyo puthu attā pasesam
tasmā na hiṃse param attakāmo.*

(Having mentally surveyed all directions I have not found anywhere, anything so dear to me as my own self. So is it to the others that each one's self is dear. Therefore let him who loves his own self not bring harm upon another). Cp. Sn. 705, Dh. 129, 130. Here the standard of judgment in refraining from injury to others is one's love for one's own self. The same idea is reflected

18. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*

19. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her translation of Khp. in the Minor Anthologies considers this stanza late for reasons she adduces in her introduction.

in Yajñavalkya's advice to Maitreyī in Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (Bṛh. II. 4: IV. 5) cp. Bhg. VI. 32 which conveys the same idea. A passage occurring at Mbh. XI. 7, 1

*Na hy ātmānam priyataraṃ kiñcid bhūteṣu niścitam :
aniṣṭaṃ sarva-bhūtānāṃ maraṇaṃ nāma Bhārata :
tasmāt sarveṣu bhūteṣu dayā kāryā viṣcītā.*

(Undoubtedly there is nothing so dear to beings as their own selves: indeed, death is most unpleasant to all creatures, O son of Bharata. Therefore let the wise man extend kindness to all creatures) is quite similar to the passage at S. I. 75.

In all these instances the reason adduced for one to refrain from harming others is the love one bears to one's self. On the other hand in the Metta Sutta the practice of *mettā* is not prompted by any such motives. It is *mettā* for its own sake. It is not possible to ascertain which idea was earlier. Though the concept *mettā* occurs frequently in early Canonical works *mettā bhāvanā* is scarcely mentioned. As a term *mettā bhāvanā* may be of later growth, yet the idea seems old. The creation of an active mental force (*mānaṣaṃ*) consisting of thoughts of love is fundamentally the same as *mettā bhāvanā*, and is perhaps the predecessor of the latter term.²⁰

V.

RATANA SUTTA

The popular character of this poem is seen in the opening lines, *yānīdha bhūtāni* etc. The *bhūtas* (spirits) are addressed and their goodwill (*sumanas*) is invoked. They are requested to extend thoughts of friendliness (*mettaṃ karotha*) to the human race. The naïvity and the simplicity of the two opening stanzas are reminiscent of the Vedic hymns. This is specially true of,

*divā ca ratto ca haranti ye baḷiṃ
tasmā hi ne rakkhatha appamattā*

(who bring you oblations day and night: therefore protect them arduously). Every word of these two stanzas is full of meaning and of echoes. Although these beings are invoked for protection, the central theme is the exaltation of the *Three Ratanas*, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. One may see in this sutta a synthesis of popular cults and Buddhism, yet the synthesis is very remote, far from being complete. There is no real adaptation of Buddhism to popular cults and ritual, but on the contrary popular Buddhism has taken for granted a prevalent cult. However, with time there sets in a change and

20. Miss I. B. Horner in her Review of *Woven Cadences* (Hibbert Journal, October 1945) points out that the formula *uddhaṃ adho ca tiriyaṃ* is found only at Sn. 150 in connection with *mettā*. However, it is found in other passages without any reference to *mettā*; e.g. 537, 1055, 1068, etc.

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this sutta along with many others becomes a *paritta* (a ward-rune) and thereby part and parcel of every-day Buddhism. Its inclusion in the "Three Suttas", the Piritpota and the Khp. has already been mentioned.

The invocation of blessings in the sutta is in the form of a *saccakriyā* (asseveration by truth) viz. *etena saccena suvatthi hotu*. A remarkable feature of the poem is the evidence of a growth of a complete Buddhist doxology. The term *Tathāgata*, an epithet often applied to the Buddha is extended to both the Dhamma and Saṅgha.²¹ Seven of the 12 stanzas Sn. 224-235 devoted to the Three *Ratanas* are in praise of the third "Jewel," the Saṅgha. This may probably indicate a conscious effort on the part of the Saṅgha to assert its importance. The members of the Saṅgha are spoken of as the disciples of the *Sugata* who are worthy of offerings (*te dakkhiṇeyyā sugatassa sāvaka*—Sn. 227c). They are the recipients of *dāna* or *yañña* in Brahmanic terminology,²² and as such form an important factor for man's acquisition of merit (*anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassa*). It is obvious that the sutta reflects a time when there had come into existence an organised coenobitic Saṅgha as opposed to forest dwelling anchorites—*munayo*. The invitation extended to the *bhūtas* to join in the worship of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha (who are honoured by gods and men—*devamanussaḥpūjita*) not only betrays the popular nature of the sutta, but shows that its composition had taken place when worship formed an essential factor in the religion.

The sutta can be divided into three parts, viz. I. Sn. 222-223, II. Sn. 224-235 and III. Sn. 236-238. Part I forms the introduction which consists of an invitation to the *bhūtas* whose *mettā* is invoked. These are the only stanzas of the poem which resemble the Vedic hymns closely. As in the Vedic hymns (*a*) the opening lines form the invocation (Sn. 222ab), (*b*) a request is made for their goodwill (Sn. 222cd), (*c*) their *mettā* is solicited (223b), (*d*) they are reminded of services rendered to them (Sn. 223c) and finally (*e*) their protection is sought. Part II can be further divided into (*a*) Sn. 224-226 (*b*) Sn. 227-235. (*a*) Sn. 226 marks the final stanza said to have been uttered by the Buddha according to one tradition quoted by the Commentator, *Apare pana vadanti : ādito pañc' eva gāthā bhagavatā vuttā, sesā parittakaraṇasamaye Ānandattherenā ti*. (Others maintain that only the five opening stanzas, viz.

21. The three formulas used in the Buddhist daily prayer in praise of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, viz. *Iti 'pi so bhagavā -pe- svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo -pe- and supāṭiḥpanno bhagavato sāvakaṣaṅgho -pe-* respectively, culled from the Canon (e.g. D. II. 93 ff., III. 5, A. I. 207 ff., II. 56 ff., IV. 406 ff., etc.) may be compared with this. Also cp.

*Ye ca Buddhā (dhammā, saṅghā) atīṭi ca,
ye ca Buddhā (dhammā, saṅghā) anāgatā,
paccuḥpannā ca ye Buddhā (dhammā, saṅghā),
ahaṃ vandāmi sabbadā.*

22. Cp. Nd2. 523, *yañño vuccati deyyadhammo* and Sn. 569d, *saṅgho ve yajataṃ mukhaṃ*.

Sn. 222-226, were uttered by the Blessed One, and the rest by the Elder Ānanda on the occasion of the *paritta*-recital.—Pj. I. 165). It is interesting to note that up to this point Saṅgha is not mentioned and it is noteworthy that the only other references to an organised Saṅgha in Sn. are at 519d and 1015b (the latter in the late prologue to the Pārāyana).²³ Although there may be the possibility of some truth underlying this tradition, Sn. 222-226, by themselves, do not form a satisfactory unit as a sutta. On the other hand if Sn. 223 is rejected as a late stanza, since the stanzas corresponding to it in the Mahāvastu version occur somewhat later in the sutta (i.e. vv. 15-16; Mvastu. I. 294), it would be possible to infer that Sn. 227 marks the last stanza of a complete unit, thus partly agreeing with the tradition mentioned above. (b) Seven (i.e. Sn. 227-232, 235) of the nine stanzas in this group are devoted to describe the Saṅgha: and it is apparent from the over-emphasis laid on the Saṅgha that this section was one of the so-called "monastic fabrications". There are nine consecutive stanzas in Mvastu. (Viz. vv. 6-14; Mvastu. I. 291-294) with the refrain, *idam pi saṅghe ratanam praṇītaṃ*, etc. Of the other two stanzas, Sn. 233 and 234, the former roughly corresponds to v. 15 in Mvastu. (I. 294) which runs,

*Gṛiṣmānamāse prathame Caitrasmin
vane fragulmā yatha puṣpitāgrā
vāteritā te surabhiṃ pravānti /
evaṃvidhaṃ dhyāyino Buddhaṃputrāḥ
śīlenuṣetā surabhiṃ pravānti /
idam pi saṅghe ratanam praṇītaṃ
etena satyena suvasti bhotu
manuṣyato vā amanuṣyato vā //*

The latter (Sn. 234) has no parallel in Mvastu. From this disparity it may be surmised that the BSk. version was based on a different recension of the sutta which perhaps was earlier than or contemporaneous with the Pāli. The better arrangement of the expanded version in Mvastu. perhaps indicates that as a sūtra, it is younger than the version preserved in Sn. Part III which consists of the concluding stanzas is attributed neither to the Buddha nor to Ānanda, by the Comy. and tradition, but to Sakka. The last two verses are mere repetitions of Sn. 236 with Dhamma and Saṅgha substituted for Buddha in line c. It has already been observed that these three stanzas show the development of a complete doxology in Buddhist worship. All the three stanzas are found in a condensed form in the concluding verse in Mvastu. (I. 295).

On purely **linguistic evidence** the sutta appears old; but its contents and developments in ideology and doctrine show that it cannot be as old as

23. There are other references to *nāgasaṅgha* at Sn. 421b and *samaṇasaṅgha* at Sn. 550c in the more general sense of "multitude" as in *devasaṅgha* at Sn. 680c.

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the earliest suttas of Sn. Many of the archaic and dialectical forms found in the sutta have no exact parallels in Mvastu. This is clear evidence that the recension from which the sūtra in Mvastu. was compiled had lost sight of such old forms, and found them too obscure to restore the equivalent Sanskritised forms. The phrase *divā ca ratto ca* (Sn. 223c), though stereotyped, is old; and the younger Pāli would prefer *divā ca rattiyā ca* (both inst.) or *divaṃ ca rattim ca* (both acc.) as in Mvastu. *divaṃ ca rātrim ca*. The adverb of place *huraṃ* (Sn. 224a, cp. Th I. 10, Sn. 486c, 470c, etc.) goes back to the dialect of the Brāhmaṇas.²⁴ Even though the phrase *sataṃ pasatthā* (Sn. 227a) is neither irregular nor particularly archaic Mvastu. has *sadā praśastā*. It is quite probable that the recension that Mvastu. followed contained the idea *sadā* and not *satām*. In Mvastu. the cpd. *suppayuttā* (Sn. 228a) is replaced by *yukṭayogī* (cp. *yogayukto munir* Bhg. V. 6), and *laddhā mudhā* by a totally different idea, *vimuktacittā*. Though *mudhā* is met with in Classical Skr. it is an old form. The form *catubbhī* is historical and old (Mvastu. *caturbhī*). The archaic particle *su* (cp. Skr. *svīd*) at Sn. 231b in the phrase *tayas su dhammā* is lost in Mvastu. (*trayo 'sya*); so is *uda* (cp. Vedic *uta*) at Sn. 232b replaced by *atha*. The enclitic *no* in the phrase *na no samaṃ atthi* is perhaps dialectical (Mvastu. *taṃ*). Similarly pronouns *ye* and *ne* at Sn. 223cd are not only lost in Mvastu. but the corresponding lines there,

divaṃ ca rātrim ca haranti vo balim
tasmāddhi naṃ rakṣatha apramattā (Mvastu. I. 294)

are grammatically wrong. The old Māgadhī nom. sg. in *-e* at Sn. 233a cannot be traced in Mvastu. which has the plural instead. The cpd. *paramaṃ hitāya* is an old *aluk*-samāsa which has puzzled even the Commentator who explains the nasal as *metri causa* (Pj. I. 192). If that was so *paramā* (*-ā* contraction for *-āya*) which would suit the context better and has the same metrical value is to be expected here.

The **style** of the sutta is simple and the verses are quite vigorous. There are a few similes used, e.g. the *inda-khīla*²⁵ at Sn. 229ab, the forest-grove in summer at Sn. 233ab, etc. Metaphor is not infrequent, e.g. *khīṇabījā* at Sn. 235; etc. The heaping up of the attributes of the Buddha at Sn. 225a, 234ab may be a sign of a more developed style. The language is essentially the poetic diction.

24. A. V. *huruk* > Brāh. *huras* > P. *huraṃ* (with *-aṃ* the standard adverbial termination formed after the acc. sg. of nt. nouns). Cp. *hurāhuraṃ* at Dh. 334, ThI. 339, etc. Mvastu. has *parasmin* in place of *huraṃ*.

25. S.v. P.T.S. "The post, stake or column of Indra, at or before the city gate; also a large slab of stone let into the ground at the entrance of a house". Pj. I. 185: *Nagara-dvāravivinivāraṇattham ummarābhantare attha vā dasa vā hatthe pathaviṇ khaṇitvā ākoṭitassa sāvādārumayatthambhass' etaṃ adhivacanam*.

The **metre** of the poem is *Triṣṭubh*, but there are numerous metrical irregularities such as 17 *Jagatīpādas*, one instance of a *pāda* with caesura after the seventh syllable not being reckoned (Sn. 223a) and a contaminated *pāda* (Sn. 235b) enumerated by Helmer Smith.²⁶

There are many points of **doctrinal importance** in this sutta. It is not possible to specify any of them as old or young, but certain trends are noticeable. Both old and more developed concepts lie side by side. *Mettā* has already been discussed (Sn. 223b). The categorical statement that Buddha, Dhamma and the "uninterrupted *samādhi*" are unique (Sn. 224c, 225c, 226c) shows signs of a developed lore. There is an elaborate theory almost amounting to a dogma discussed in Sn. 227-232. These verses are quite valuable in tracing the Arahant-ideal in Buddhism.²⁷ Most of what is stated here is found in the older parts of the Canon; yet there appears a slight departure in the method of presentation. The basic tenet of the *ariyasaccāni* occurs at Sn. 229d and 230a. The eight *puṅgalas* (individuals) culminating with the *Arahant* are mentioned (Sn. 227ab) and there is a probable link with *yoga* in the phrase *suppayuttā* (Sn. 228a,—in perfect control). It is emphasised that these *puṅgalas* will not enter an eighth existence (Sn. 230d). Further evidence for the development of the concept *Arahant* is to be seen in Sn. 231 where it is stated that the individual (belonging to one of these eight categories) has abandoned *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* "heresy of individuality", *vicikicchā* "perplexity" and *sīlabbataparāmāsa* "the observance of diverse vows and ascetic practices". These three concepts represent a somewhat developed phase. As opposed to *vicikicchā* is *saddhā* which signifies a religious aspect rather than a moral relation. The "contagion" of various *sīlas* and *vatas* may perhaps refer to various types of Brahmanical and other ritual. There also occurs a minor dogma (not found in *Mvastu*.) at Sn. 231ef. If these two lines do not belong to a later stratum than the rest of the poem, the term *abhiññānāni* may also indicate general lateness. The six grievous offences include the five *ānantarika kammās* and *aññasatthār'uddesa* (positing another teacher—cp. *micchādiṭṭhi*). The latter was probably added to the earlier list of five with the arising of a growing rivalry between the Saṅgha and the members of other sects. Further attributes of the *Arahant* occur at Sn. 232. Although *Arahants* are mentioned in the earlier part of the Canon and *arahatta* is a familiar concept, the sutta definitely reveals a development in the theory of the *Arahant*. The centre of gravity has already shifted from the *muni* to the "perfect being". This is the outcome of a widespread monastic organisation as opposed to the "lonely wanderers" of the older ballads.

26. *Op. cit.* (Sn.A. 683 ff.)

27. *Vide* Miss I. B. Horner, *Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*.

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External evidence.—A parallel version of this sutta occurs at Mvastu. I. 290 ff. As stated earlier the two versions in Pāli and BSk. may be traced to a common source with different recensions rather than one being based on the other. The evidence discussed above shows that the sūtra in Mvastu. is relatively younger than the Pāli. Though doctrinally the Pāli version depicts a comparatively developed phase of Buddhism, linguistic and external evidence debars one from assigning a very late date.²⁸ A passage found at Divy. 340 throws considerable light on both versions of the sutta. It runs ; *Āyusmatū Saṅgharakṣiteṇa Naḡaropamaṃ sūtraṃ upanikṣiptaṃ gāthāṃ ca bhāṣate,*

*Yāniha bhūtāni samāgatāni
sthitāni bhūmyāṃ athavāntarīkṣe /
kurvantu mātṛiṃ satataṃ prajāsu,
divā ca rātrau ca carantu dharmāṃ //*

The Naḡarūpama Sutta at A. IV. 106 ff. has no connection whatsoever with the verse quoted, nor with Mvastu. I. 290 ff. The stanza may be compared with v. 15 of the sūtra in Mvastu. (I. 294), lines ab of v. 2 (Mvastu. I. 290) and Sn. 222ab, 223bc. The same idea is found at Brh. I. 4, 29 and IV. 3, 43. It is not very probable that Divy. 340 quotes from Mvastu. or Pāli. On the other hand, it may perhaps be attributed to some source which may have been connected with the original version of the sutta. The other probability is that the opening verses of the Ratana Sutta and the corresponding *gāthās* of Mvastu. have drawn upon this stanza, which may have originally belonged to some other section, which in all probability was the Naḡaropama Sūtra mentioned in Divy. (and not the sutta bearing that name at A. IV. 106 ff.). This sutta seems to have consisted of general advice given in the form of an address made to the *bhūtas*, for, the second line inculcates the practice of *maitrī* and *dharmacaryā*. There is another reference to the Triad of *Ratanas* at Divy. 481, in the form of a salutation (*namo ratnatrayāya*), which merely shows that a conception of such a triad was familiar to the editor of that section of Divy.

Indirect evidence.—Internal evidence and all available external evidence show that the sutta is comparatively late. It is also found to be decidedly later than the *Muni*-Ballads of Sn. It has been observed earlier (U.C.R. VI. 1) that subsequent additions are normally made to Canonical works by appending them either at the head of a section or at the end of it. Ratana Sutta is clearly an addition made to the Culla Vagga, after a *vagga* as such had been formed. Evidence of this nature is not helpful in determining dates of suttas, but on the other hand, it is an invaluable source of information in tracing the growth of the various works. It is also useful as a confirmatory test to what has already been discovered from other sources.

²⁸. The Mvastu. version, however, is decidedly later than the Pāli poem.

Conclusion.—The supposition that the opening stanzas of the sutta in Sn. are based on a sutta which is now lost leads to the natural inference that the Ratana Sutta is of a rather composite nature, being built up of various elements, at different periods. Though there is no conclusive evidence forthcoming to establish this tradition, a comparison of the two versions of the sutta in Pāli and BSk. and an analysis of its contents have shown that this is true to some extent. Generally speaking, parts I and III (*supra*) have been observed to be on a different level from the rest of the poem; and parts IIa and IIb on two separate levels. Doctrinal evidence has shown that the two additional *phādas* Sn. 231gh are considerably late; and similarly the short stanza Sn. 234 which gives a categorical list of attributes of the Buddha appears to be later than the longer stanzas occurring immediately before and after it.

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