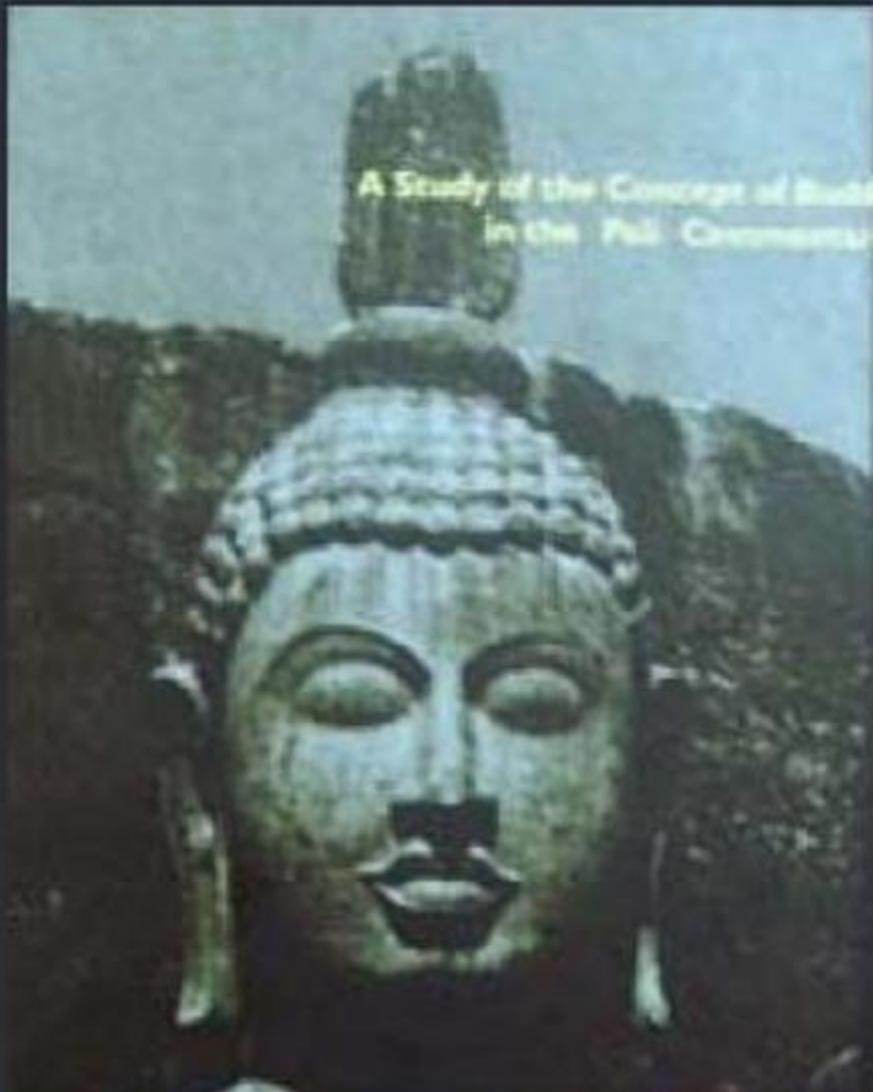


BUDDHA IN THERAVADA BUDDHISM

*A Study of the Concept of Buddha
in the Pali Commentaries*



TOSHIICHI ENDO

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TOSHIICHI ENDO

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FOREWORD

The Pali Commentarial literature as an independent source material is still a much neglected area of study. Its use is more towards the supplementary nature for the exegesis and clarification of words and phrases found in the Tripiṭaka as may have been the case throughout its history because of its literary nature. Taken independently, however, it also provides a vast store of information to know the development of Theravada Buddhism reflected in the Tripiṭaka. Here lies another area of importance in the study of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature.

A pioneering work was made more than 50 years ago by Dr.E.W.Adikaram who examined the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā in their original sources and the nature of their contents. More recently, some scholars have taken to the study of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā extensively and comprehensively. Among them are Dr. Friedgard Lottermoser of Germany (1982) and Dr. Sodo Mori of Japan (1984) who have expanded the scope of the Aṭṭhakathā study by examining not only the original sources of the commentaries, but also their contents from different angles. Along these fruitful studies, time seems to be ripe for scholars to pay attention now to the contents of the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature more closely. Dr.T.Endo's work presented here will certainly fill a desideratum.

Dr. Endo's primary task, as he states, is to present the data and information embodied in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā concerning the Buddha-concept as much and as systematically as possible. He begins with a brief examination of the Buddha-concept found in the pre-commentarial literature as a prelude to his main themes both of the Buddha-concept and the Bodhisatta-concept from Chapter II onwards. Findings presented in his work clearly indicate that the Buddha-

concept in the Aṭṭhakathā literature forms in itself an important and dynamic force to reckon with for the establishment of what we later regard as Theravada Buddhism reflected in the commentarial and subsequent literature. He discusses in the second chapter some ideas and notions introduced within the commentarial literature for the first time in the Pali tradition. Special mention must be made in this connection of the Eighteen Qualities of a Buddha (*aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā*), a classification of the omniscient ones (*sabbbaññū*) and the explanations of compassion (*karuṇā*) in the commentaries. The author has skilfully demonstrated a well-balanced approach to the development of the Buddha-concept in these areas with the maximum data possible without becoming apologetic, but with sympathy. Pursuing further the development of the Buddha-concept in the commentaries, he next deals with the physical attributes of Buddha in the third chapter. Here again he shows that the commentators attempted to portray the Buddha or Buddhas in a more superhuman form with the increased number of physical attributes. The chapters four to six deal with commentarial exegeses of the Nine Virtues of a Buddha (Chapter IV), definitions of Tathāgata (Chapter V) and what common features and differences all Buddhas have among them (Chapter VI). The author examines the doctrine of Bodhisatta in different aspects in the last three chapters. He brings to our notice that the commentaries, particularly those of Dhammapāla, give three types of bodhisattas; namely *mahābodhisatta*, *paccekabodhisatta* and *sāvakabodhisatta*. This classification of bodhisattas plays a vital role even in the doctrine of perfections (*pāramitā*). The general thinking that the term 'bodhisatta' exclusively denotes a being destined to attain Buddhahood is thus denied in Dhammapāla's commentaries. The perfections (*pāramitā*) are practised not only by Buddhas-to-be (*mahābodhisattas*), but also by anyone who can be designated as 'sāvakabodhisatta'. The author has also brought to our attention that Dhammapāla occupies a special place in the commentarial literature as he seems to have been much

influenced by other non-Theravada sources. The author, however, believes that Dhammapāla did not merely introduce them into Theravada Buddhism, but he first digested them and then incorporated into it so that his comments fall well within the framework of the Theravada tradition in the end.

Dr. Endo's work has set an example of how the Aṭṭhakathā literature can be studied in its entirety as a source material even for a single topic like the Buddha-concept. His work becomes all the more useful in that he has made a comprehensive study of secondary Japanese sources not available to the average student and has made a synthesis of material scattered in various primary sources and has traced the historical development of the concept systematically. The strength of his study is his thoroughness and scientific approach in presenting the data and information embodied in the Aṭṭhakathā. Contribution made by Dr. Endo towards the understanding of Theravada Buddhism will certainly be appreciated by many.

N.A.Jayawickrama

September 1997

PREFACE

This book is a revised and slightly expanded version of my doctoral thesis submitted to the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka in 1995. Researches on the Buddha in the Theravāda tradition have so far been confined mostly to the materials available in the Pāli Tripiṭaka. They are mainly centred around the Buddha's biography. In this connection two main streams of thought have emerged to date. One school of thought has attempted to dismantle supposedly late elements associated with the life of the Buddha in the Pāli Canon and endeavoured to arrive at a true picture of the historical Buddha without the garb of myths surrounding his personality. Researches have shown that the Buddha was a human *par excellence* and superhuman qualities that later sources often ascribe to him are minimal in the early portions of the Canon. The second school of thought takes the Pāli Canon in its entirety and compile a life of the Buddha accordingly. A merit of this approach lies in that the Buddha could emerge as actually portrayed by the Buddhists themselves who were responsible not only for maintaining the unbroken transmission of scriptures, but also for spreading Buddhism as a living religion. In this sense this method can certainly yield results which generate more religious sentiments and ethical values. Buddhism has exercised its influence upon the people of Theravāda countries, perhaps, much greater than of Mahāyāna countries as an ethical and spiritual foundation in its long history. It has been a dynamic religion with numerous historical developments adapting itself to changing environments from time to time. The image of the founder of Buddhism, Gotama Buddha, also changed in space and time. It is here where a desideratum of pursuing Buddhology in subsequent literary periods in Theravāda Buddhism is felt. The Venerable H.Ñāṇāvāsa attempted to streamline the development of the concept of Buddha in Pāli literature beginning from the Nikāyas up to about the Tīkāś in his doctoral thesis in 1964. Owing to the nature of his research, however, some of his comments and conclusions are too hasty and untenable.

The present work is therefore aimed at filling this vacuum. Its main focus is on the task of presenting data and information concerning the Buddha-concept embodied in the Pāli commentaries as much and as systematically as possible and the work must be viewed as a sequence to the canonical concept of Buddha. Major sources on which the work is based are the entire Pāli commentaries and the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa. The guiding principle of this work is a classification the commentaries often have with regard to the personality of Buddha: he is said to be endowed with two kinds of power (*bala*) representing both spiritual and physical aspects of Buddhahood. They are 'ñāṇa-bala' (knowledge power) and 'kāya-bala' (physical power). In addition, some important epithets are discussed. Further, the Bodhisatta-concept is included in this book as an integral part of the Buddha-concept in the commentaries. Limitations of the present work are that the questions of 'How' and 'Why' the Buddha-concept further developed in the commentaries are left unanswered for the most part, because they constitute another study involving a much wider approach to the problem with an extensive preparation and comparison. It is therefore hoped that future studies will be undertaken to assess possible interactions and influences between the Theravāda and non-Theravāda schools in forming the commentarial development of the Buddha-concept.

I would like to extend my appreciation and thanks to several people whose constant encouragement and help sustained me in completing the present work. First, my heartfelt gratitude goes to Dr. Mahinda Paliawadana, Professor Emeritus, University of Sri Jayawardhanapura and Prof. W.S.Karunatilake of the University of Kelaniya, under whose supervision this work was undertaken and completed. They were generous with their time and encouraged me throughout. They offered many valuable suggestions and improvements for which I am ever grateful to them. Thanks are also due to Professor Y.Karunadasa, Director of the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya, for his guidance. I am indebted to Mr.K.Narampanawa who helped me collect much needed data particularly at the initial stage of my study. I must also thank Professors Chandra Wikramagama, L.de Silva and

Ven.Dr.K.Dhammajoti, the examiners of my dissertation, and members on the interview board for the oral examination.

I am indebted to Professor Hajime Nakamura, Professor Emeritus, University of Tokyo, and Founder Director of the Eastern Institute in Japan. It was some twenty odd years ago that I had the privilege of meeting him and sought the first lessons in Buddhist and Indian studies at his feet. Since then, he has been a source of inspiration to me. He was so kind and caring for those who sought his advice and guidance. I recall with great appreciation that he never failed in answering queries, however trifling they may be. I was also fortunate that my study in Sri Lanka was sponsored by the Eastern Institute for five long years through his good offices. I offer my sincere gratitude to him.

Professor Sodo Mori of Aichigakuin University, Japan is another scholar who inspired me tremendously through his profound knowledge of the Pāli commentaries. Without his monumental work on the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā, this book would not have seen the light of day. He was ever kind to spare his time whenever I needed his advice. I offer him my most sincere thanks.

A special word of thanks goes to Professor N.A.Jayawickrama for writing the foreword. I am greatly indebted to him for his kindness. My appreciation also goes to numerous people who extended their help and guidance to me during my long stay in Sri Lanka. Among them are Ven.Dr.Mapalagama Wipulasara, Vihārādhīpati of the Ratmalana Pirivena, who was kind enough to give me all the assistance needed particularly at the initial stage of my stay in Sri Lanka. Since my acquaintance with him in 1975, he has been so generous with his caring and kindness. Special words of thanks and appreciation must go to Ven.Dr.K.Anuruddha who spent his time ungrudgingly to teach us Pāli; to Prof.W.S.Karunatilake who with his thoroughness of the subject and pleasant personality benefited me most in reading some of the Sinhala classics with him. It is my great pleasure to be associated with him both academically and personally; to my teachers

at the University of Kelaniya where I studied Buddhism as an undergraduate; to Professor J.Dhirasekera, now the Venerable Dhammavihari and the late Professor L.P.N.Perera, both former directors of the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies; and to many other people whose names are too numerous to mention here.

Last but not the least, I offer my gratitude to Mr.Hironaga Suzuki who gave me much encouragement with his generosity to pursue my studies in Sri Lanka. To my beloved parents, I dedicate this work. My wife Prema deserves a word of praise for her patience and understanding. I also thank Ven' Wimalajothi of the Buddhist Cultural Center, Nedimala, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka for the excellent manner in which the printing of this book was carried out.

Toshiichi Endo

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aṅguttara Nikāya
AA	Aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūranī)
Ap	Apadāna
ApA	Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā (Visuddhajanavilāsini)
Bv	Buddhavaṃsa
BvA	Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā (Maduratthavilāsini)
CNd	Culla-Niddesa
Cp	Cariyāpiṭaka
CpA	Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā
CSmp	Chinese Samantapāsādikā
D	Dīgha Nikāya
DA	Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsini)
DAT	Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā-tīkā (Līnatthavaṇṇanā)
Dhp	Dhammapada
DhpA	Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā
Dhs	Dhammasaṅgaṇī
DhsA	Dhammasaṅgaṇī-aṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī)
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
IBK	Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu (Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies)
It	Itivuttaka
ItA	Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā
J	Jātaka
JA	Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā
Khpa	Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā
Kv	Kathāvatthu
KvA	Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā

M	Majjhima Nikāya
MA	Majjhima-aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanī)
Miln	Milindapañha
MilnT	Milinda-ṭīkā
MNd	Mahā-Niddesa
Nd	Niddesa
NdA	Niddesa-aṭṭhakathā (Saddhammapajjotikā)
PED	Pāli-English Dictionary
PTS	Pāli Text Society
Pṭṣ	Paṭisambhidāmagga
PṭṣA	Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā (Saddhammapakkāsini)
Pug	Puggalapaññatti
PugA	Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā
Pv	Petavatthu
PvA	Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā
S	Samyutta Nikāya
SA	Samyutta-aṭṭhakathā (Sāratthappakkāsini)
SDA	Sīhala Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā
Sn	Suttanipāta
SnA	Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā
Taisho	Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo (Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka)
Thag	Theragāthā
ThagA	Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā
Thīg	Therīgāthā
ThīgA	Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā
Ud	Udāna
UdA	Udāna-aṭṭhakathā
VA	Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā)
Vibh	Vibhaṅga

VibhA Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā (Sammohavinodanī)

Vim Vimuttimagga

Vin Vinaya

Vism Visuddhimagga

VismṬ Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā (Paramatthamañjūsā)

Vv Vimānavatthu

VvA Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

The Spiritual and Physical Attributes of the Buddha in the Pre-commentarial Pāli Literature

1. Gotama Buddha and His Biography

Gotama Siddhattha was born a Sākya prince to Suddhodana as his father and Mahāmāyā as the mother. He led a luxurious life as a child. Not satisfied with the material comfort, he renounced the world at the age of twenty-nine in quest of an answer to the human suffering. He practised severe austerities for six years. But realising their futility and adopting instead the Middle Way, he finally attained Buddhahood at the age of thirty-five. Since then, he continued propagating his doctrines for the next forty-five years until his death at the age of eighty.¹ During this period as Buddha, he not only exemplified his teachings, but also endeavoured to show people the way leading to the emancipation from the cycle of births and to the attainment of the supreme bliss of Nibbāna. The life of the Buddha is therefore the exemplar of the Dhamma he preached. The Buddha once said: "One who sees the Dhamma sees me. One who sees me sees the Dhamma." (*Yo dhammam passati so mam passati. Yo mam passati so dhammam passati*).²

The canonical texts, unfortunately, do not present a systematic biography of the Buddha. The disciples during and immediately after the time of the Buddha did not apparently feel a need of compiling the Master's biography, perhaps because everyone at that time was familiar with it and was admonished repeatedly by the Buddha himself that the Dhamma be first emulated. The Buddha in the course

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of giving discourses or prescribing disciplinary rules for bhikkhus, however, refers occasionally to his personal life. Through the process of gleaning such scattered references in the Canon his life became known to us, though to a limited extent.³ F. Masutani thinks that the Buddhists had a separate but unofficial tradition of collecting events and anecdotes associated with the life of the Buddha from the earliest times, for instance, in verses (*gāthā*). But this tradition (he calls it the hypothesis of a third collection besides the Sutta and the Vinaya) was never recited at the First Buddhist Council.⁴ Literary evidence shows that attempts were made only several centuries after the demise of the Buddha to compile a systematic and consistent biography of the Buddha including the genealogy of the Sākya clan⁵ based on scattered data found in the canonical texts as well as on the materials, perhaps, copied from other sources with the interaction among Buddhists and non-Buddhists. Such attempts appear to have envisaged two results: to familiarise the life of the Teacher, Gotama Buddha, to those who knew little or nothing about him in person; and to exalt the Master by way of adding extraordinary happenings supposedly associated with his life. Its culmination can be seen in works like the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*,⁶ a text long considered as the standard biography of the Buddha in Therāvada Buddhism.

The *Buddhavaṃsa*, one of the late canonical texts, is unique in the study of the biography of the Buddha for three reasons. First, it contains probes into the past existences of Gotama Buddha from the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha from whom the ascetic Sumedha received a definite assurance (*niyata-vivaraṇa*). He made a resolve (*abhinīhāra*) in front of him to become a Bodhisatta. Since then, by fulfilling the perfections (*pārami*) for an immeasurable length of time, he finally attained Buddhahood; second, the number of past Buddhas is twenty-four⁷ as against the six previous Buddhas mentioned in the Canon;⁸ and third, it gives a list of ten perfections (*pārami*) that must be fulfilled by Gotama Bodhisatta for the attainment of Buddhahood.⁹ All these concepts associated with the career of Gotama Bodhisatta never find their mention in the Canon before the *Buddhavaṃsa* except for the fact that the Buddha sometimes refers to himself as Bodhisatta before

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his enlightenment¹⁰ and the Jātaka gives his former existences. Later canonical texts such as the Buddhavaṃsa, the Cariyāpiṭaka in which some perfections (*pāramī*) are detailed, etc., seem therefore to have been meant to unravel a long career of Gotama Bodhisatta. This is a markedly late development in the Canon, which is suggestive of a direction to which the Buddhological development steered its course in subsequent times. Then the question arises as to where they came from? This is the puzzle many scholars have tried to disentangle. E.J.Thomas is inclined to believe that the Bodhisattva doctrine in Theravāda was introduced from another school. He further comments: "The Buddhavaṃsa existed in a Sanskrit form, and it is probable that the doctrine in this developed form was introduced along with this work."¹¹ After comparing the stories of Maṅgalā Buddha depicted in the Buddhavaṃsa and the Mahāvastu, the Venerable Nāṇāvāsa points out a striking resemblance in phraseology between the two versions.¹² These circumstantial findings may suggest a possibility that there existed a common source from which both traditions, Pāli and Sanskrit, derived the materials. In this context, Masutani's hypothesis referred to above may be a possibility worth exploring.

Gleaning data concerning the life of the Buddha scattered in the early Pāli texts requires a careful approach. It is particularly true as scholarship has not yet reached a consensus with regard to the stratification of the Pāli Canon considered to be the earliest available source material as a whole. In other words, the study of the Buddha's biography even within the Pāli tradition involves the ascertainment of the philological development of texts from which material is drawn.¹³

Two types of methodology have emerged up to date concerning the study of the Buddha's biography. One is a group of scholars, including some Japanese, who have made attempts to construct a life of the Buddha based on the earliest available sources. They employ the methodology of carefully examining the sources in the light of comparative studies and other external material, such as

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relevant epigraphical, archaeological and other data which may shed light on the formation and development of the Buddhist texts.¹⁴ These are in fact preconditions for a study of the life of Gotama Buddha. Such a methodology will certainly bring out the personality of Gotama Buddha portrayed in the earliest available sources. The underlying purpose of this approach is no doubt to discard and dismantle imaginary elements as much as possible, so that Gotama Buddha would emerge as essentially a human being closer to his times without any garb of myths.

On the other hand, some attempts have also been made to construct a life of the Buddha from the fragments scattered in various sources without regard to their textual stratification. Scholars are aware that this methodology, even if dealing with the Nikāyas, will invariably involve myths surrounding the life of Gotama Buddha.¹⁵ This approach, however, is significant in that findings possess more religious and ethical value.

2. The Person of Gotama Buddha

Through a comparative study, it has been convincingly brought out that the Buddha in early sources is depicted simply as one of religious mendicants. He was a mere colleague to those who too carried out the same daunting task of practices along with him in order to lead a higher religious life. He was addressed '*mārisa*' by a brahmin youth and some mendicants,¹⁶ or was simply called '*Gotama*',¹⁷ the term used even by the Buddha's own disciples.¹⁸

Epithets given to the Buddha provide a good glimpse into the historical development of his personality. Prof. Nakamura says that such epithets as *isi*, *muni*, *nāga*, *yakkha*, *kevalin*, *ganin*, *mahāvīra* or *vīra*, *cakkhumant*, etc., are equally applicable to other mendicants and there is no distinction between the Buddha and others as far as these epithets are concerned. He further states that the *gāthās* in which they are included would have been composed not later than the time of the king Asoka. He concludes by saying that the Buddha would

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have been respected as the founder of a religion, but faith in miracles or supernatural powers was not particularly emphasized in the oldest stratum of the Buddhist texts.¹⁹

In early strata of the canonical texts, the ideal man who has accomplished his training or religious life is often referred to as a true *brāhmaṇa*.²⁰ Commenting on the significance of the term employed in early Buddhism, Prof. Nakamura writes that in the earliest phase of the establishment of Buddhism, the brahmins were extremely respected and the Buddhists were compelled to employ its terminology (for their own sake) as they also accepted its social reality.²¹

The religious life in ancient India rested upon austere practices and pure conduct. The Buddha emphasized their importance to his followers. For instance, 'One becomes a brahmin as a result of self-restraint (*tapena*), wholesome living (*brahmacariyena*), control of senses (*saṃyamena*) and self-control (*damena*). This is the essence of Brahmin'.²² 'Patience is forbearance and is the highest austerity' (*khantī paramaṃ tapo titikkhā*).²³ These show that religious austerity (*tapas*) was praised in early Buddhism. While giving some parallels between Buddhism and Upaniṣad and other Indian traditions before the time of Buddhism, Prof. Nakamura says that the practice of austerities was given prominence in ancient Indian society and Buddhism too in early times placed emphasis on it.²⁴ However, the Buddhist practice of austerities was not so rigid and severe as in Jainism.²⁵ Subsequently, this concept of austerities in Buddhism came to be negated and replaced by the idea of the Middle Way in Monastic Buddhism. In short, the very idea of austerities, once regarded as the way to the true brāhmaṇaship, which Gotama also followed to extremes,²⁶ came to be thought as something unwarranted in Buddhism. Prof. Nakamura believes that other religions such as Jainism and the Ājīvikas accused the Buddhists of such lenient austerities (as compared with theirs) as a sign of negligence, and as a result, there arose a necessity for the Buddhists to defend themselves. This would have led to the intentional preaching of the Middle Way,

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and the legend that the Buddha abandoned and denounced austerities was positively advocated.²⁷ LB Horner also remarks that until Gotama began to teach the doctrine of the Middle Way, in which he denounces austerities, public opinion had been much swayed and influenced by the exhibition of self-inflicted torture done in the name of holiness.²⁸ It appears, nevertheless, that the question of austerities became a centre of focus once again by the time of the compilation of the Milindapañha as the thera Nāgasena too stresses the importance of their practice repeatedly.²⁹

The above examples demonstrate the extent of some Buddhist ideas undergoing several developmental stages even within the Canon. They are not without relation to the expansion of the Saṅgha. The Buddha-concept is no exception. In the earliest phase of Buddhism, the Buddha exemplified by leading a virtuous and austere life to other mendicants who merely thought him to be one of them. They could see and listen to the Buddha in person. When the community of such mendicants became larger, the Saṅgha came to be physically divided into small groups for the convenience of movement and the leader of such a group would have been chosen from among eminent persons in that group. The Buddhist monastic development began to provide opportunities for non-Buddhists to form the opinion that the leader of the Saṅgha was not the Buddha but someone else. One instance of this misrepresentation can be seen in the *Isibhāsiyāṃ*, a Jaina source, which claims Sāriputta to be the leader of the Buddhist community.³⁰

Early Buddhist sources persistently depict Gotama Buddha as an ideal human being. He was a lover of silence (*munī*)³¹ and led a simple life uncharacteristic of any supernormal being. He was respected by all who followed him not only because he was the teacher, but also because he was a human being *par excellence*. This sentiment is shared by many as can be gathered from such epithets and attributes given only to the Buddha as *purisuttama*,³² *isisattama*,³³ *sabbasattānaṃ uttama*,³⁴ *appaṭipuggala*,³⁵ *devamanussa settha*,³⁶ *sadevakassa lokassa agga*,³⁷ etc.

THE BACKGROUND

Such was the early concept of a sage and the Buddha was also regarded as one of them. This is well brought out in a study of the development of the notion of "*buddha*" (as a term) by Prof. Nakamura who classifies it into six phases, which can be used as a yardstick for our present study:³⁸

- (1) In early Jainism as reflected in the *Isibhāsiyāim*, all sages irrespective of their faiths were called '*buddhas*'. Uddālaka, Yājñavalkya, Mahāvīra, Sāriputta, etc., are all *buddhas*.
- (2) Emphasis is laid on the fact that Sāriputta was the only *buddha* (in the eyes of the Jains).
- (3) In the old *gāthās* of the *Pārāyaṇa* vagga of the *Suttanipāta*, no mention of the word '*buddha*' is found. That is to say, the Buddha's disciples at this time did not specially think of Sākyamuni as a *buddha*. Neither did they aspire to be called *buddhas*.
- (4) The next phase was the time when those who should be respected in general were called *buddhas*, *isi* (sages) or *brāhmaṇas*.
- (5) As time went on, however, '*buddha*' came to be thought as a specially eminent person and was used as an epithet for such a person.
- (6) Finally, '*buddha*' was used for no one but Sākyamuni (or anyone equal to him). This tendency persists prominently in the new strata of *gāthās* of the *Suttanipāta* and is more decisive in its prose parts.

History reveals that the portrayal of the Master gathered momentum more towards docetism as time advanced. We must therefore keep this general tendency in mind when discussing the concept of Buddha in our present study.

Another field of study with regard to the concept of Buddha, obviously based on the above two broad streams of thought, is the question whether the Buddha is the equivalent of or exceeds an arahant. The development of the concept of Buddha plays a decisive role in this as well. In the earliest sources, the Buddha is presented more closely to the arahant in terms of attainments. The sole difference

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between them is often described that the Buddha is the discoverer/shower of the ancient path (*maggakkhāyī*),³⁹ while disciples are the followers of that path. Due, perhaps, to such a broad generalization of the personality of the Buddha depicted in early sources in the Canon, some scholars in recent years have tried to show so-called "indistinguishable"⁴⁰ nature between the Buddha and the arahant in their attainments through the methodology of examining the language of expressions.⁴¹ Nathan Katz says in the introduction to his work that his study is, "an analysis of the language of talking about the arahant."⁴² T.Namikawa in his study has also shown that some of the expressions used for the Buddha are equally applicable to the arahants such as Sāriputta, etc., but some are not. He points out that words like *cakkhumant*, *lokanātha*, *sugata*, *appaṭipuggala*, *ādiccabandhu*, etc., are used only for the Buddha even in the *gāthās* of texts like the Suttanipāta, Sagāthavagga of the Saṃyutta Nikāya, Dhammapada, Theragāthā and Therīgāthā which are considered to belong to the old stratum of the Canon.⁴³ On the above grounds, however, can it be said that the Buddha and arahants are the same in their attainments? If the question is raised on the premise of what is said of an arahant, then both have qualities and attainments required for an arahant. For the Buddha too was an arahant. But, if the question is whether or not any arahant has the same depth of knowledge of the world as the Buddha is supposed to possess, then the answer is in the negative.

While struggling to find a solution to the problem of human suffering, Gotama Siddhattha took to the then available training of varied nature. We cannot adequately imagine the mental struggle and physical strain he had to undergo during the six years of austerities. Hallucination of varied degree would have captured weak moments of Siddhattha. It is therefore not difficult to imagine, and cannot indeed be far from the truth either, that the knowledge Siddhattha acquired through the practice of austerities would have been much deeper and more extensive than the knowledge that was required for the attainment of arahantship by anyone. He came to possess the knowledge to distinguish what was necessary from what

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was not for the attainment of Nibbāna. The sixty-two views (*ditthi*) elaborated in the Brahmajāla suttanta,⁴⁴ for example, are clear testimony to his profound knowledge (*ñāṇa*) outside the Nibbānic experience. Why did the Buddha express no opinion on the well known *avyākata* questions?⁴⁵ Because, he realized and understood that they do not constitute the requirements for the attainment of Nibbāna. The Buddha further illustrates vastness of his knowledge in the following manner: One day, he picks up a handful of leaves in a wood of *siṃsapa* trees and tells bhikkhus that things the Buddha has known by direct knowledge are like *siṃsapa* trees in the forest, whereas what he has taught to bhikkhus is like the leaves in his hands.⁴⁶ This episode tells us in no uncertain term that the Buddha revealed only a fraction of his knowledge to others, because he knew that that much was sufficient for anyone to attain Nibbāna. De Silva also makes this point that the Buddha is far superior to other arahants regarding knowledge about extra-nibbāna oriented matters.⁴⁷ The first four Nikāyas taken as a whole are in fact full of such distinction between the Buddha and the arahant. The oft-cited example of this sort is the nine virtues or attributes of the Buddha as a set. 'Sabbāññū' is another epithet attributed only to the Buddha. Another attempt to distinguish the Buddha from other arahants is the classification of arahants into various types with different levels of attainment. The Vaṅgīsaṭṭha Saṃyutta, for instance, shows that of a group of five hundred arahants, sixty are with '*chaḷabhiññā*' (six higher knowledges); another sixty with '*tevijjā*' (three knowledges); still another sixty with '*ubhatobhāgavimutti*' (liberation in both); and the rest are arahants with '*paññāvimutti*' (liberation through wisdom).⁴⁸ The last two types of arahants are referred to in the Kitāgiri sutta as well.⁴⁹ The Vinaya Cullavagga also classifies saints into six categories and the last three refer to *arahā*, *tevijjā* and *chaḷabhiññā* who are completely emancipated ones.⁵⁰ Such a categorization is aimed at the differentiation in the levels of attainment among arahants and the Buddha is undoubtedly at the apex of them. When the arahant concept came to the fore as the most important and formidable teaching of early Monastic Buddhism, this is one way of showing the difference between the Buddha and other arahants. The Buddhists or mendi-

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cants in early phases of development, according to a study by Prof. Nakamura, appear to have conceived only three ranks of persons according to their spiritual advancement: (1) beings (*satta*); (2) those who do not return to the domain of desire (*anāgāmin*); and (3) those who are gone beyond (*pāramgata*).⁵¹ This suggests that Buddhism had a somewhat unsophisticated beginning concerning the religious ideal of a man. As time went on, however, disciples began to attribute more qualities to the Buddha to characterize him to be a unique person. This is far from arrogance or self-conceit on the part of the disciples to dare to attribute additional qualities to their Master, but they considered it to be the most effective method and sincere gesture to pay respect and homage to him. Such a sentiment of the disciples is one of the reasons, perhaps the most compelling one, why the Buddha became more apotheosised and exalted along the passage of time.

It must be admitted that most of the data (which constitute in fact the major portions of the Canon), on which we attempt to analyse the Buddha-concept, belong to the last phase of its development according to Prof. Nakamura's classification (i.e. No.6). This can be understood since, by the time the Canon was put to writing, Buddhism had already undergone several phases of development. What we have today in the Canon is a mixture of old and new materials. A strict and clear methodology of the stratification of sources is therefore indispensable to be first formulated before coming to any conclusion with regard to a study of the development of the Buddha-concept or Buddhology in general. If one does not follow this and the sources quoted for any conclusion are mixed up haphazardly, then such a conclusion would not be convincing but more likely be misleading. One does not isolate a few phrases in the major portions of the Canon simply because one assumes without any reservation that they represent the old strata within the Canon as done by some scholars.⁵² Importantly, sources one quotes must be clearly demarcated as to whether they belong to old strata or new ones. However, methods of the stratification of canonical texts themselves as done by some scholars in the past must be re-examined for their validity with caution.

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Since it constitutes a separate study, we leave it for future investigation. In our study we use the terminology 'the canonical concept of the Buddha' to basically mean what is said of the Buddha in Theravāda Buddhism of the Pāli Canon as a whole for the following two reasons: (1) Scholarship up to date has not yet reached a consensus regarding the philological development of the canonical texts, except for a few instances where some texts or sections of texts are considered to be older than others, such as the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana* vaggas of the *Suttanipāta*, the *Dhammapada*, the *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā*, the *Sagātha-vagga* of the *Samyutta Nikāya*, etc., being regarded as some of the oldest texts in the Canon.⁵³ (2) Such a strict textual analysis will not change main arguments of the development of the concept of Buddha in our present study, as our immediate concern is to find out how far the Buddha-concept developed in the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā* literature.

3. The Beginnings of the Buddha's Apotheosis

When the Buddha's apotheosis began in the Theravāda tradition is difficult to determine. The canonical texts do not provide any immediate clue to the problem because of their nature of being a mixture of old and new materials. Even the *gāthās* within the Canon, which some scholars claim to be early in composition in general, cannot be regarded as a yardstick for the purpose. The rise of Buddhology is considered to be of a gradual growth and belongs to a late stage of development in the Canon. G.C.Pande writes: 'The most far reaching theological trend was the apotheosis of Buddha. The idea of a Being incomparably superior to all creatures, including gods, and from time to time incarnating, actually or apparently, according to a fixed norm (*Dhammatā*) solely out of compassion, is without a previous parallel. It is quite foreign to the earliest texts and must have developed gradually.'⁵⁴ One may, however, say that there are traces of apotheosis of the Buddha from reasonably early times. When the teachings of the Buddha spread gradually among the masses at least along the river Ganges in India and the Saṅgha became institutionalised, it is easily imaginable that Gotama the Teacher became

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naturally a focus of attention. Good reputation (*kittisadda*) about him spread not only among the converts of Buddhism, but also among some of the religious teachers and philosophers of the day. The brahmin Brahmāyu once asked his pupil Uttara to go to the Buddha and verify what people said about him was true or not.⁵⁵ Further, kings and merchants of the caliber of Bimbisāra, Pasenadi Kosala, Anāthapīṇḍika, Visākḥā, etc., announcing to become the Buddha's followers would have elevated his status as teacher.⁵⁶ When the Master could not be seen in person by some people, there arose naturally a desire among them to find out the identity of the Buddha. It was in these historical backdrops that the Buddha's disciples, while, for instance, preaching the Dhamma, would have related rather in a eulogistic manner; and perhaps on the request of the audiences themselves, who the Teacher was, what qualities he possessed, his parents, place of birth, etc., to the listeners. Apotheosis of the Master, therefore, must have had a simple beginning evolved primarily out of a sheer necessity, on the one hand, and human trait to pay respect and honour to one's teacher, on the other. Moreover, the Buddha became more apotheosised as time advanced, because to the Buddhists he was the teacher who realised, understood and lived the Dhamma and who could guide people in the correct path leading to the emancipation from 'dukkha'.

Canonical texts amply testify this. For instance, some of the isolated epithets and attributes ascribed to the Buddha in the early portions of the Canon were later on put together to form stereotype formulas. The best example of this is the nine virtues or attributes of the Buddha, the formula which in mediaeval times in Sri Lanka came to be known as the Buddha's *Navaguṇa*. The Bhikkhus responsible for the oral transmission of the Buddha's teachings gradually added new materials to suit the occasions. This explains why some statements ascribed to the Buddha in the Canon sound sometimes uncharacteristic of a humble and unassuming person like the Buddha. For instance, according to the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, it is reported that soon after his attainment of Buddhahood, he proclaims to Upaka whom he met on his way to meet the five bhikkhus at Isipatana thus: "I am the one who is worthy of being revered in this world; I am the

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supreme teacher; I am the only one who has attained the most perfect enlightenment." (*aham hi arahaṇe loke, aham satthā anuttaro, eko' mhi sammāsambuddho.*)⁵⁷ Although this seems to be a later ascription to the Buddha by the disciples; the assumption arrived at by the use of the word '*sammāsambuddha*', which term came about somewhat later in the Buddhist Canon,⁵⁸ - and it also shows the image of a teacher disciples wished to project, it amply demonstrates that disciples were concerned about more dignified state of Buddhahood. Further, when questioned as to who he was by a brahmin named Doṇa after seeing the Buddha's footprints, Gotama Buddha declares that he is not a *deva*, nor a *gandhabba*, nor a *yakkha*, nor a human, but a Buddha.⁵⁹ Such instances suggest that Buddhological development was in the making within the Canon itself, which becomes clear when compared with the early notion of the Buddha's personality. People respected and paid homage to the Buddha as a human who reached perfection in virtues and wisdom attainable by humans. The thera Udayi states that people pay homage to a human who attained Buddhahood... (*manussabhūtaṃ sambuddhaṃ ... namassanti*)⁶⁰ The Buddha in early phases was conceived of as a human. But he has now lost the human personality (*manussabhūta*) and declares himself to be a Buddha; the appellation applicable to anyone who is awakened or enlightened in the early strata of the Canon. It is the notion of "*buddha*" which now comes to the fore and is pursued for definition. In passing, the Buddha's assertion to the brahmin Doṇa may be interpreted to mean that he is no more subjected to rebirth like anyone of those who are still bound by the root causes of existence. Whatever the reason may be, the circumstances that led to the rise of a question of this nature are multifarious. It is primarily a result of attributing various qualities to the Buddha especially after his demise; whereby projecting the image of a superhuman in him. It appears to be a natural course of development as Buddhism expanded its sway far and wide by making influential personages its patrons. Among disciples, there seems to have arisen the question of who this Buddha was. Was he a human or a superhuman? This may be considered a turning point of the development of the Buddha-concept. Doṇa's

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questions and the Buddha's answers recorded in the Aṅguttara Nikāya amply demonstrate the circumstances that gave rise to the shift of thought among the Buddhists not far from the time of the Buddha himself. The Buddha-concept is a direct expansion of this thought and the Buddhists themselves had to formulate answers to it.

Externally, on the other hand, the Buddha's apotheosis can be surmised as a reaction and protection against different faiths in India. Both Cūla and Mahā Vīyūha suttas of the Suttanipāta amply testify that (philosophical) arguments among various religious groups were a common practice during the time of the Buddha in India. In these discourses the Buddha cautions his disciples not to enter into dispute, because it does not in any way lead to the realisation of Nibbāna.⁶¹ Such circumstantial evidence seen in the Canon certainly makes us believe that arguments and disputes must have played an important role, at least for argument sake, in deciding which philosophical system is superior to others among people of different faiths. It is therefore natural that the Buddhists had to argue by way of apotheosising that their Master was far superior to his counterparts of other religions. By attributing supernormal qualities to the Buddha; whereby asserting that his teachings were superior to others, the Buddhists must have also tried to gain security and identity as Buddhists against other religions; a claim to justify for them to be called the followers of the Buddha. Apotheosis of the Buddha by later disciples can therefore be considered a form of protection and perpetuation of the Dhamma against external threats posed by different religions; probably escalated after the demise of the Master.

The identity of "Buddha" thus became a focal point of clarification and discussion in the Monastic Buddhism, perhaps, even during the life time of the Buddha and it naturally became escalated after his *parinibbāna*. The direction into which the development of the Buddha-concept took its course in the Theravāda tradition is two-fold: (1) the Buddha-concept in relation to Gotama Buddha and (2) the generalization of Buddhahood which, among others, includes the multiplicity of Buddhas. The former is manifested particularly in the

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biographical sketch of Gotama and legends were gathered around him. Particulars of Gotama Buddha are made into universals, which fact is a point of transit to universal Buddhahood beyond time and space. The latter is the concept relating to the increase of past Buddhas seen as, for instance, in the Buddhavaṃsa and the Apadāna. It also includes the career of a Bodhisatta and the teaching of perfections (*pāramī* or *pāramitā*), etc. It culminates in the teachings of 'dhammatā' (general nature) and 'vemattā' (differences) among Buddhas. Both are of course interrelated with each other. Further, all these notions become distinct in the Pāli commentaries.

Attributes of the Buddha can be classified into various categories depending on what aspect of the personality of the Buddha is emphasized. The commentaries often divide the Buddha's power (*bala*) into two broad types as 'ñāṇabala' (knowledge power) and 'kāyabala' (physical power),³² summarizing the identity of the Buddha: the former representing all the aspects of his spiritual attainment, particularly wisdom (*paññā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) associated with Buddhahood, and the latter physical strength, and physical endowments in general. We make use of this classification in our present study with a view to evaluating how far the person of the Buddha came to be exalted and apotheosized in course of time up to the Aṭṭhakathā period. Before that, the Buddha-concept in the pre-commentarial literature will be briefly dealt with for the purpose of providing a foundation for a clear understanding of its subsequent developments using the same scheme of classification as in the commentaries. However, we limit the scope of our historical survey to the major areas of the Buddha-concept.

4. Spiritual Attainments of the Buddha in the Pre-commentarial Literature

4-a. Early Canonical Texts (the Four Nikāyas)

A. The Nine Virtues or Titles (*Navagaṇa*)³⁴

Perhaps, the sum total of the Buddha's personality in the Canon can be found in the formula of the Nine Virtues or Titles, which is often

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cited in the following manner: '*Iti pi so Bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathī sattā devamanussānaṃ buddho Bhagavā ti.*'⁶⁴ This formula conveys almost all the aspects of religio-ethical and intellectual perfection, compassion shown to all beings, highest knowledge attainable, leadership, etc. of the Buddha; thus showing the entire nature and function of Buddhahood.

The set of nine virtues of the Buddha in subsequent times came to form the topic for meditation called the *Buddhānussati*, one of the *kammaṭṭhānas* (objects or topics of meditation) in Theravāda Buddhism. The recollection on the virtues of the Buddha according to the *Vatthūpama sutta*⁶⁵ and *Visākhuposatha sutta*⁶⁶ is said to serve two purposes: the purification of the mind and the induction of insight. Further, the *Dhajagga sutta* says that should any fear arise in the mind of a monk, he should recall to mind the excellences of the Buddha.⁶⁷ These instances recorded in the Canon show that by the close of the four *Nikāyas*, the concept of Buddha was a fairly developed ideology and constituted an important part in the life of a Buddhist.

Taken individually, terms like *arahant*, *buddha*, *Bhagavant*, etc., are undoubtedly of early origin. *Arahant* is used, for instance, for the notion of 'worthy persons for offerings' (*pūjārahā*).⁶⁸ The concept of *arahant* (Skt. *arhat*) is pre-Buddhistic and was accepted by many religious groups in ancient India.⁶⁹ The word *buddha* was used before and during the time of the Buddha. It is used for 'sage' in Jainism. *Sāriputta* is called a *buddha*.⁷⁰ *Sambuddha* had a similar historical development,⁷¹ and later the word *sammāsambuddha* was formulated. *Bhagavā* is used in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* [IV,5,1] as well as in the *Mahābhārata* [XII,242,23] as a respectful address to the teacher by pupils. This meaning was inherited in Buddhism. The founder of Jainism, *Mahāvīra*, too is addressed as *Bhagavat*.⁷² *Vijjācaraṇasampanna*⁷³ was employed from the earliest time in Buddhism. The *Bhagavadgīta* [V,18] also describes the ideal *brāhmaṇa* as '*vidyāvinayasampanna brāhmaṇa*'.⁷⁴ The term

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purisadamma-sārathī is a coined word replacing 'assa-' (horse) with 'purisa-' [sometimes with 'nara-': Thag 1111] Thus, the word *assadammasārathī* is found at A ii 112. Prof. Nakamura concludes that various titles were thus systematized into a summary form and a formula of ten titles of the Buddha came into existence at a later stage.⁷⁵ The nine virtues of the Buddha are discussed in the commentarial literature far more in detail than in the Canon. Suffice it to say for the moment that the personality of the Buddha depicted in the Canon is no doubt the basis for a later development of the Buddha-concept.

B. *Tevijjā* and *Abhiññā*

The *tevijjā* (*tisso vijjā*) refers in the early phase of Buddhism to the three kinds of Veda scriptures.⁷⁶ Later on, it came to mean *pubbenivāsānussati-ñāṇa*, *dibba-cakkhu* and *āsavakkhaya-ñāṇa* as the standard definition in Buddhism. This Buddhist notion of *tevijjā* seems to have come into use at a fairly early time as some early suttas mention it.⁷⁷ The Buddha is often referred to as *tevijja* in the Canon.⁷⁸ The *chaḷabhiññā* as a list comprising six higher knowledges in Buddhism, on the other hand, seems to have come later than the notion of *tevijjā*. The list appears at the end of the Dīgha Nikāya.⁷⁹ The PED states that it stands there in a sort of index of principal subjects appended at the end of the Dīgha, and belongs therefore to the very close of the Nikāya period. But it is based on older material.⁸⁰

In the canonical texts individual items in the *chaḷabhiññā* (higher knowledges) are separately referred to at early stages and, subsequently, they formed into a stereotype.⁸¹ The six *abhiññā* are as follows:⁸²

1. *Iddhividhā* (magical powers)
2. *Dibba-sota* (divine ear or clairvoyance)
3. *Cetopariya-ñāṇa* or *paracittavija-ñāṇa*
(penetration of the mind of others)

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4. *Pubbenivāsānussati* (remembrance of former existences)
5. *Dibba-cakkhu* (divine eye)
6. *Āsavakkhaya* (extinction of all cankers)

The last three *abhiññā* (i.e. 4,5 & 6) are collectively designated as *tevijjā*. What makes one attain arahantship is the knowledge of *āsavakkhaya* in the above list. It is called *lokuttara* (supramundane), while the rest are *lokiya* (mundane) which are attainable through the utmost perfection in mental concentration (*samādhi*).⁸³

The first *abhiññā* mentioned in the list of six is *iddhividhā* (psychic powers). The notion of *iddhi* is pre-Buddhistic and common to all schools of thought in India.⁸⁴ Types of miracles prevalent at that time are found in the canonical texts. They include miracles such as; projecting mind-made images of oneself; becoming invisible; passing through solid things; penetrating solid ground; walking on water; flying through the air; touching sun and moon; ascending into the highest heavens.⁸⁵ The Buddha is also reported to have used miracles or wonders on various occasions. The most important occasion was when he confronted with Uruvela Kassapa. The Vinaya Mahāvagga relates this incident at length.⁸⁶ While admitting the difficulty to conjecture what this competition of miracles meant, Prof. Nakamura says that those brahmins, probably the worshipers of the fire god *Agni*, had given up its rites as a result of the confrontation with the Buddha. This fact would suggest that Buddhism defeated the Brahmanic sacrifices and went on spreading.⁸⁷ The Buddha was indeed thought by others (i.e. Jains) to be one endowed with magical powers (*māyāvī*) who could entice followers of different religions through magic (*māyā*).⁸⁸ In some instances, however, he reproached his disciples for the use of miracles.⁸⁹ What the Buddha means here is the misuse or abuse of such a power for worldly gains. Although such is the nature of miraculous powers referred to in the canonical texts, *iddhi* in general seems to occupy an important place in Buddhism. The canonical texts, for instance, often talk of the four bases of psychic powers (*iddhipāda*).⁹⁰ They are said to be conducive to Nibbāna;⁹¹ to the complete destruction of *dukkha*;⁹² or they are

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the path leading to the unconditioned.⁹³ The real import of miracles must, however, be sought in their proper application for the preaching of the Dhamma. Nathan Katz observes that they (discourses on *iddhi* in the Canon) all involve either the teaching of Dhamma or the expression of religious sentiment.⁹⁴ The Kevaddha sutta clearly states that the wonder of education (*anusāsani-pāṭihāriya*) is the thing that the Buddha values.⁹⁵ Kogen Mizuno also writes that the five *abhiññā*, unlike *āsavakkhaya-ñāṇa* which is the fundamental doctrine or the ultimate aim in Buddhism, were necessary and supplementary knowledge for the Buddhists as educationists.⁹⁶

Miracles are sometimes expressed as *pāṭihāriya* or *pāṭihīra* which is said to consist of (1) *iddhi-pāṭihāriya* (the wonder of psychic power), (2) *ādesanā-pāṭihāriya* (the wonder of mind-reading), and (3) *anusāsani-pāṭihāriya* (the wonder of education or giving instruction).⁹⁷ These are abilities arising from the attainment of *ubhatobhāgavimutti* with *chaḷabhiññā*, but at varied degrees. In order to exalt the Buddha and consider him as different from the rest of his disciples, later canonical and post-canonical texts added to the list *yamaka-pāṭihāriya* (the twin miracles), which is said to be the province of the Buddha alone.⁹⁸

C. *Dasabala* or *Tathāgatabala* (Ten Powers)

The apotheosis or exaltation of the Buddha started in early texts in the Canon itself. The arahants with *chaḷabhiññā* developed all the items mentioned above. But when the depth of their *abhiññā* is compared with that of the Buddha, it becomes clear that the Buddha is described as being far superior to any other arahants. Since some of *abhiññā* are included in yet another classification of knowledge of the Buddha known as the *tathāgatabala* (powers of the Tathāgata), we will now give below those ten powers. Mention must be made that the concept of *dasabala* (ten powers) attributed to the Buddha is a later development in the Canon. The Buddha was regarded as possessing a kind of power. This probably was a result of a religious sentiment shared by many to eulogize a person of high moral and intellectual quality. He is called '*balappatta*' (one who

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has attained power).⁹⁹ Later, his spiritual attainments became classified into groups, and on its way to the last stage of development in the Canon, this seems to have had an intermediate phase where only six powers of the Buddha are mentioned.¹⁰⁰ The Mahāsīhanāda sutta¹⁰¹ gives the ten *tathāgatabalas* as follows.¹⁰²

(1) He knows realistically a possibility as a possibility and an impossibility as an impossibility (*thānañ ca thānato atthānañ ca atthanato yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*).

(2) He knows realistically the causally connected results of all actions whether they belong to the past, present or future (*atītānāgatapacc-uppannānaṃ kamunasamādānānaṃ thānaso hetuso vipākam yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*).

(3) He knows realistically the courses of action leading to all states of existence (*sabbatthagāminiṃ paṭipadaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*).

(4) He knows realistically all worlds composed of various and diverse elements (*anekadhātunoānādhātu-lokaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*).

(5) He knows realistically the various spiritual propensities or dispositions of human beings (*sattānaṃ nānādhimuttikataṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*).

(6) He knows realistically the maturity levels of the spiritual faculties of various human beings (*parasattānaṃ parapuggalānaṃ indriyaparopariyattaṃ Yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*).

(7) He knows realistically the attainment of superconscious meditational levels such as *jhāna*, *vimokkha*, *samādhi* and *samāpatti* together with the defilements and purities associated with them and the means of rising from these superconscious states (*jhāna-vimokkha-samādhi-samāpattīnaṃ saṅkilesaṃ vodānaṃ vuṭṭhānaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*).

(8) He has retrocognitive powers extending up to several (many)¹⁰³ aeons with ability to recall details regarding past existences (...*anekampi saṃvaṭṭavivattakappe...*, so *tato cuto idhūpapanno ti iti sākāraṃ sa-uddesaṃ anekavihitam pubbenivāsaṃ anussarati*).

(9) He has clairvoyant powers with the ability to see beings dying and being reborn subsequently in high or low states according to their own kamma (*dibbena cakkhunā viśuddhena atikkantamānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne, hīne*

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paṇīte...yathākammūpage satte pajānāti).

(10) He has attained *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti* having destroyed all mental defilements in this very life (*āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭhe vā dhamme sayama abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati*).¹⁰⁴

A list of ten powers of the arahant is found in the *Āṅuttara Nikāya*.¹⁰⁵ For the purpose of comparison and clear understanding of the difference between the two, we quote here the ten powers of the arahant:

- (1) An arahant sees all component things as impermanent.
- (2) He sees all sense pleasures as a pit of burning embers.
- (3) His mind is inclined towards seclusion and renunciation.
- (4) He has practiced the four stations of mindfulness.
- (5) He has practiced the four-fold right exertion (*sammappadhāna*).
- (6) He has practiced the four bases of psychic powers (*iddhipāda*).
- (7) He has developed the five spiritual faculties (*indriya*).
- (8) He has developed the five spiritual powers (*bala*).
- (9) He has developed the seven factors of enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*).
- (10) He has cultivated the noble eight-fold path (*aṭṭhaṅgika magga*).¹⁰⁶

Of the ten powers of the arahant listed above, Nos. (4) - (10) constitute the thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment (*bodhipakkhiyadhammā*).¹⁰⁷

The canonical texts at the same time have various lists of powers (*bala*) of the arahant numbering seven,¹⁰⁸ five,¹⁰⁹ or just one.¹¹⁰ This again suggests that such powers were collected and subsequently made into a group of ten. After comparing the two lists of powers of the Buddha and the arahant, Nathan Katz concludes that every item of the *tathāgatabala* can be found in the list of powers of an arahant and says: "Our analysis of these canonical lists, then, supports our thesis of the significant identity of the Buddha and the arahant."¹¹¹ He overlooks a very important aspect in his analysis. If he relies for his conclusion on the sources which apparently incorporate doctrinal points of late development in the Canon (mainly the four *Nikāyas* in

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this case), he should have been more impartial to quote other sources as well which would negate and contradict his own conclusion. De Silva points out in comparison with the powers of retrocognitive and clairvoyant abilities of the arahant (i.e. (8) and (9) of the *tathāgatabala*) that the Buddha, according to the Aggivacchagotta sutta,¹¹² seems to have unlimited retrocognitive and clairvoyant abilities as he says that he can see as far as he wishes to see (*yāvad eva ākaṅkhāmi*).¹¹³ Further, with regard to (5) and (6) in the list, she concludes that though arahants with *chalaḥhiññā* are said to have the ability of thought-reading, nowhere is it stated in the Pāli Canon that arahants have the ability to read the spiritual propensities and the maturity levels of spiritual faculties of other individuals.¹¹⁴ In this case several suttas are found in the Canon where only the Buddha is said to be capable of teaching the Dhamma for the benefit of the listener.¹¹⁵ Finally, she remarks that as for the first, this special power of knowing a possibility as a possibility and an impossibility as an impossibility is never mentioned as a knowledge of the arahant. As the greatest teacher, the Buddha's ability to probe into the deepest recesses and potentialities of the human mind, as Lily de Silva puts it (regarding (5) & (6) in the above list), comes as a quite distinct spiritual attainment of the Buddha. Because of this ability, he is acclaimed as the incomparable tamer of men (*anuttaro purisadammasārathi*) or the teacher of gods and men (*satthā devamanussānaṃ*). He knows that what he preaches will definitely lead one beyond the yonder shore of saṃsāra.

To sum up our discussions, let us refer to the Mahā-Sakuludāyi sutta. This sutta gives five reasons why disciples of the Buddha revere, respect, honour and esteem the Buddha. The Buddha is endowed with: (1) higher morality (*adhisīla*), (2) surpassing knowledge-and-vision (*ñānadassana*) and (3) higher wisdom (*adhipaññā*). He instructs and teaches his disciples in the (4) Four Noble Truths (*ariyasaccāni*) and (5) thirty-seven factors of enlightenment (*bodhipakkhiya-dhammā*); eight deliverances (*vimokkhā*); eight spheres of mastery (*abhibhāyatanā*); ten spheres of the devices (*kaṣiṇāyatanā*); four trances (*jhānāni*); and six higher knowledges

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(*abhiññā*).¹¹⁶ Three aspects of the Buddha's personality emerge from these: first, the Buddha is a teacher who understands what is right and what is not to instruct disciples; second, he himself is of high moral standard; and third, he is endowed with surpassing knowledge. These are indeed the areas which later works elaborate to a great extent.

D. *Sabbaññū* (Omniscient One) and *Sabbaññutā* (Omniscience)

When the Buddha's knowledge is discussed, the canonical texts attribute to him such qualities as all-knowing (*sabbaññū* or *sabbavidū*), all-seeing (*sabbadassāvī*), or knower of the world (*lokavidū*), etc. The Buddha's knowledge is one of the favourite areas of exaltation and expansion. It is in this area that quite a number of new attributes emerged subsequently.

In the four Nikāyas, the term *sabbaññū* or *sabbaññutā* is discussed at several places in relation to the kind of omniscience claimed by Nigaṇṭhanātha-putta.¹¹⁷ According to the Tevijjā-Vacchagotta sutta,¹¹⁸ Nigaṇṭhanātha-putta's claim of omniscience is understood as the knowledge that is continually and permanently present while walking, standing still, asleep, or awake. This is the kind of knowledge that the Buddha denied. Instead, the Buddha claims to be a *tevijja*. K.N.Jayatileke, after examining passages in the Nikāyas with regard to the claim of omniscience attributed to the Buddha, also says that the Buddha should be regarded not as one who is omniscient all the time, but as one who has 'a three-fold knowledge' which even others can develop.¹¹⁹ The Buddha further says that there is neither a recluse nor a brahmin who at one and the same time can know all, can see all - this situation does not arise.¹²⁰ Based on this, K.N.Jayatileke agrees that the Buddha in the Nikāyas does not deny omniscience in the sense of knowing everything but not all at once.¹²¹ De Silva suggests that while the Buddha rejected the epithet *sabbaññū* in the sense it was understood by Nigaṇṭhanātha-putta, the term 'sabba' (everything) in *sabbavidū* and *sabbaññū* means the five sense faculties and their corresponding sense objects, plus the sense faculty of the mind and

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corresponding mental phenomena.¹²²

In passing, mention must be made of *Buddha-visaya* (the range of a Buddha), which is regarded as one of the four things that cannot be thought about (*na cintetabbāni*) according to the Aṅguttara Nikāya.¹²³ The Manorathapūranī explains its meaning as the incident (*pavatti*) and potency (*ānubhāva*) of such qualities as omniscience of Buddhas.¹²⁴ As will be discussed later, this concept of 'unthinkable' (*acinteyya* or *acintiya*) plays an important role in describing the Buddha-concept in the Aṭṭhakathā literature.

E. *Cakkhu* (Eye)

The Buddha is sometimes referred to as one who has 'eye' (*cakkhumant*),¹²⁵ or the eye of all round knowledge (*samantacakkhu*),¹²⁶ etc. The notion that one is endowed with 'eye' (*cakkhumant*) is not always associated with the Buddha alone. Even ordinary mendicants are also referred to as *cakkhumant* in early texts.¹²⁷ However, the apotheosis of the Buddha resulted in the stereotype of expressions. The Buddha came to be described as possessing five kinds of eye (*pañca-cakkhu*) in later texts in the Canon. They include: (1) *māṃsacakkhu* (the eye of flesh), (2) *dibbacakkhu* (the divine eye), (3) *paññācakkhu* (the eye of wisdom), (4) *buddhacakkhu* (the Buddha-eye), and (5) *samantacakkhu* (the eye of all round knowledge or omniscience).¹²⁸ These are found individually or in sets at several places in the Canon. The Buddhists later put them together to form a set of five.¹²⁹ Such references to the set of five seem to begin from the late canonical texts particularly the Paṭisambhidāmagga and the Niddesa, as will be discussed later.

F. *Catu-vesārajja* (Four Confidences)

The Mahāsīhanāda sutta gives four confidences (*cattāri-vesārajjāni*) as another aspect of the Buddha's spiritual attainments.¹³⁰ The text says that, endowed with the four confidences, the Buddha claims, as in the ten *tathāgatābala*, the leader's place (*āsabhatthāna*)

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roars his lion's roar in assemblies and sets rolling the Brahma-wheel (...*āsabhaṭṭhānaṃ paṭijānāti, parisāsu sīhanādaṃ nadati, brahmacakkaṃ pavatteti*). The four confidences are as follows:¹³¹

The Buddha has the absolute confidence and abides therein that no human, nor *deva*, nor *Māra*, nor *Brahmā*, nor anyone in the world can accuse him:

(1) of being not fully enlightened (*Sammāsambuddhassa te paṭijānato ime dhammā anabhisambuddhā*)

(2) of not being completely free from all defilements (*khīṇāsavassa te paṭijānato ime āsavā aparikkhīṇā*)

(3) that the things declared by him as stumbling-blocks or dangers do not in fact constitute stumbling-blocks or dangers (*Ye kho pana te antarāyikā dhammā vuttā te paṭisevato nālaṃ antarāyāya*)

(4) that the purpose for which the Dhamma is taught, i.e., the destruction of 'dukkha', is not achieved by one who follows it (*yassa kho pana te atthāya dhammo desito so na niyyāti takkarassa sammā dukkhakkhayāya*).

The text further states that because of these four confidences, the Buddha approaches the eight assemblies (*aṭṭha-parisā*) comprising humans and non-humans and enters them, but yet no fear, nor nervousness would come upon him (*tatra vata maṃ bhayaṃ vā sārājjaṃ vā okkamissatīti nimittaṃ etaṃ Sāriputta na samanupassāmi*).¹³²

4-b. The Late Canonical Texts (the Khuddaka Nikāya)¹⁰⁴ and the Abhidhamma

In some of the late texts of the Khuddaka Nikāya, we witness a much more developed concept of the Buddha compared with the four Nikāyas, particularly in describing the Buddha's knowledge. One may wonder why such a sudden change came about in the Theravāda tradition. It is in fact much closer to the Aṭṭhakathās in its descriptions and interpretations than to the four Nikāyas. The

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Paṭisambhidāmagga and the Mahā and Culla Niddesas are of particular interest to us in the development of the Buddha's knowledge. Further, the Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, for the first time in the Theravāda school, introduces the Bodhisatta concept together with the doctrine of ten perfections (*pāramī*)¹³⁴ in the truly technical sense. The Buddhavaṃsa traces past lives of Gotama Buddha as Bodhisatta to the very beginning when he, for the first time, aspired under the feet of Dīpaṅkara Buddha to become a Buddha in a distant future. Since then, the Bodhisatta practised the *pāramītas* under different past Buddhas who appeared in this world from time to time. The number of previous Buddhas was increased from the canonical reference of seven to twenty-five, and further to twenty-eight, including Gotama Buddha. The Apadāna is said to have thirty-five Buddhas, a further development in the lineage of Buddhas.¹³⁵

A study of the historical evolution of the Khuddaka Nikāya is wrapped up in difficulties as some of the texts kept on gathering additions and interpolations even after the Aṭṭhakathā period. A notable example is the Buddhavaṃsa whose last two chapters are said to have been added after its Aṭṭhakathā was written.¹³⁶ The Apadāna is another text of great uncertainty in its formation as we have it today. The fact that it contains a greater number of previous Buddhas than the Buddhavaṃsa, speaks of its late origin.

A historical and doctrinal evaluation of the Paṭisambhidāmagga and the Niddesa (Mahā & Culla) in the Theravāda tradition was assessed more than fifty years ago by Kogen Mizuno. In his article¹³⁷ he places these two texts in the history of the formation of Buddhist Pāli texts in a period not far from the king Asoka. They occupy a literal position between the Āgamas and the Abhidhamma texts and are closer in composition to the early Abhidhamma texts.¹³⁸ As for the content of the Paṭisambhidāmagga, the text gives at the outset seventy-three kinds of knowledge as topics (*mātikā*) for elaboration that follows. They are roughly divided into two categories: sixty-seven of them common to all and six possessed only by a Buddha

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(..., *imesaṃ tesattatīnaṃ nāṇānaṃ sattasaṭṭhī nāṇāni sāvakaśādhāraṇāni, cha nāṇāni asādhāraṇāni sāvakehī ti*).¹³⁹ The six knowledges not shared by disciples (*asādhāraṇa-nāṇa*) include:

- (1) *indriyaparopariyatte nāṇa* (knowledge of the maturity levels of spiritual faculties)
- (2) *sattānaṃ āsayānusaye nāṇa* (knowledge of the disposition of beings)
- (3) *yamakapāṭihīre nāṇa* (knowledge of the Twin Miracle)
- (4) *mahāk aruṇāsamāpattiyā nāṇa* (knowledge of the attainment of great compassion)
- (5) *sabbaññutañāṇa* (omniscient knowledge)
- (6) *anāvaraṇa-nāṇa* (unobstructed knowledge)

For our present study, the notion of *asādhāraṇa-nāṇa* is important. They centre around two aspects of the nature of Buddhahood: one is the spiritual attainments of a Buddha and the other is the function of a Buddha (i.e. the reason for which a Buddha appears in this world). We will, therefore, discuss them in a brief manner with a view to finding out how far the Buddha came to be distinguished from other arahants. However, the text (i.e. Pts) elsewhere includes all these knowledges under the heading of omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññutañāṇa*) of the Tathāgata.¹⁴⁰ They are as follows:

(1) Tathāgata knows without remainder all conditioned and unconditioned things (*sabbaṃ saṅkhataṃ asaṅkhataṃ anavasesaṃ jānāti ti sabbaññutañāṇaṃ*).

(2-4) He knows everything concerning the past, future and present (*atītaṃ..., anāgataṃ..., paccuppannaṃ sabbaṃ jānāti ti sabbaññutañāṇaṃ*).

(5-10) He knows everything about the organ of vision (*cakkhu*) and its objects (*rūpa*), the organ of hearing and its objects (*sadda*), the organs of smell, taste, touch and the mind-organ and their objects (*cakkhuñ c'eva rūpā..., sotañ c'eva saddā... pe ... ghāṇāñ c'eva gandhā ca ... pe ... jivhā c'eva rasā ca, kāyo c'eva phoṭṭhabbā ca, mano c'eva dhammā ca evaṃ taṃ sabbaṃ jānāmi ti ...*)

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(11) He knows everything as far as the various aspects of impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and non-self are concerned (*yāvatañ aniccatham dukkhattham anattattham tam sabbam jānāti ti ...*)

(12-17) He knows everything about *vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra, viññāna, cakkhu* and *jarā-marāṇa* as far as various aspects of impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and non-self are concerned (*yāvatañ vedanāya... pe... saññāya... pe ... saṅkhārāvaṃ ... pe ... viññānaṃ ... pe... cakkhussa ... pe... jarāmarāṇassa aniccatham dukkhattham anattattham, tam sabbam jānāti ti ...*)

(18-22) He knows everything concerning higher knowledge and its various aspects (*abhiññāya abhiññāṭṭham*), full understanding and its various aspects (*pariññāya pariññāṭṭham*), abandoning and its various aspects (*pahānāya pahānaṭṭham*), meditation and its various aspects (*bhāvanāya bhāvanaṭṭham*), realization and its various aspects (*sacchikiriya sacchikiriyaṭṭham*)...

(23-25) He knows everything concerning the aggregates and their various aspects (*khandhānaṃ khandhaṭṭham*), the elements and their various aspects (*dhātūnaṃ dhātuṭṭham*), the sense fields and their various aspects (*āyatanaṃ āyatanaṭṭham*)...

(26-27) He knows everything concerning the conditioned and its various aspects (*saṅkhatānaṃ saṅkhataṭṭham*), the unconditioned and its various aspects (*asaṅkhatānaṃ asaṅkhataṭṭham*)...

(28-30) He knows everything concerning good things (*kusale dhamme*), bad things (*akusale dhamme*), and neutral things (*avyākate dhamme*)...

(31-34) He knows everything concerning dhammas belonging to *kāmaloka, rūpaloka, arūpaloka* and those which are unincorporated (*apariyāpanna*)...

(35-38) He knows everything concerning the Four Noble Truths and their various aspects...

(39-42) He knows everything concerning the Four Analytical Knowledges and their various aspects...

(43) He knows everything concerning the maturity levels of spiritual faculties of others (*indriyaparopariyatte ñāṇam*)...

(44) He knows everything concerning the disposition of beings (*sattānaṃ āsayānusaya ñāṇam*)...

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(45) He knows everything concerning the Twin Miracle (*yamaka pāṭihire nāṇam*)...

(46) He knows everything concerning the attainment of great compassion (*mahākaruṇāsamāpattiyā nāṇam*)...

(47) He knows everything that has been seen, heard, sensed, thought, attained, sought and searched by the minds of those who inhabit the entire world of gods and men (*yāvataṅ sadevakassa lokassa samāraḥassa sabrahmakassa sassamaṇabrahmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya diṭṭham sutam mutam viññātam pattam pariyesitam anuvicaritam manasā sabbam jānāti*...)

The Paṭisambhidāmagga¹⁴¹ further states that the Buddha is 'all-seeing' (*samanta-cakkhu*),¹⁴² the classification of which is similar to his omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññuta-nāṇa*) with slight variations. It includes the following:

(1-4) the knowledges of the Four Noble Truths separately.

(5-8) the Four Analytical knowledges separately.

(9) the knowledge of the maturity levels of spiritual faculties (*indriyaparopariyatte nāṇam*).

(10) the knowledge of the disposition of beings (*sattānaṃ āsayānusaye nāṇam*).

(11) the knowledge of the Twin Miracle (*yamakapāṭihire nāṇam*)

(12) the knowledge of the attainment of great compassion (*mahākaruṇāsamāpattiyā nāṇam*).

(13) the omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññuta-nāṇam*).

(14) the unobstructed knowledge (*anāvaraṇa-nāṇam*).

All these are considered as the knowledge of a Buddha (*Buddhañāṇa*). The eight knowledges (out of fourteen) are common to disciples and the last six are not shared by them (*imesaṃ cuddasannaṃ Buddhañāṇānaṃ aṭṭha nāṇāni sāvakasādhāraṇāni chañāṇāni asādhāraṇāni sāvakehi*).¹⁴³

A comparison between the two lists above reveals the following (A - the list of *sabbaññuta-nāṇa* of a Buddha. B - the list of

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samanta-cakkhu of a Buddha):

- B - (1-4) = A - (35-38)
- B - (5-8) = A - (39-42)
- B - (9) = A - (43)
- B - (10) = A - (44)
- B - (11) = A - (45)
- B - (12) = A - (46)
- B - (13) = A - (1-47) *
- B - (14) = A - (1-47) #

Notes:

* All are classed as *sabbaññūta-ñāṇa* in A.

Every item is modified by the expression *anāvaraṇa-ñāṇa* in A.

Nos. 9-14 in B correspond to the six *asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa* in the Chapter on *Mātikā*¹⁴⁴ and Nos. 9-13 in B are separately expounded and called the knowledge of the Tathāgata.¹⁴⁵ The *samanta-cakkhu* in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is treated as a part of *sabbaññūta-ñāṇa* of the Tathāgata. At the same time *sabbaññūta-ñāṇa* is included in the exposition of *samanta-cakkhu*. What then is the relation between *sabbaññūta-ñāṇa* and *anāvaraṇa-ñāṇa*? Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli says that they are not different from each other, but supplement each other.¹⁴⁶ What emerges from our above survey is that the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* distinguishes six kinds of knowledge of a Buddha not shared by disciples (*asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa*). This is another step further in the exaltation of the Buddha. However, it must be admitted that some items are also found in the earlier lists of the ten *tathāgatabalas*. For example, A - (43) = B - (9), i.e. *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* is the same as No.6 and A - (44) = B - (10), i.e. *sattānaṃ āsayānusaya-ñāṇa* appears contextually similar to No.5 of the ten *tathāgatabalas* respectively. The remaining four seem to be new additions in the late canonical texts, or at least, they can be said to be areas of further development.

The word *samanta-cakkhu* is not a new invention appearing for the first time in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It is rather an old usage

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found even in early strata of the Canon. The Suttanipāṭa, for instance, often uses it as a respectful form of address for Gotama Buddha.¹⁴⁷ Its usage in the text is simply to show discerning ability of a person worthy of respect.¹⁴⁸ A new development in some of the Khuddaka Nikāya texts is an Abhidhammic connotation attached to the term. It is used there to denote the sum total of the Buddha's knowledge. Therefore, the other kinds of *cakkhu* are included in it. Various notions in connection with the visual superiority of human, divine and intellectual spheres came to be collected together and a set of five such 'eyes' (*cakkhu*) was formulated in texts like the Niddesa¹⁴⁹ in the Khuddaka Nikāya. It is in this Nikāya that they are minutely discussed and explained.

Another departure from the four Nikāyas is the knowledge concerning the future (*anāgataṃ sabbaṃ jānāti ti sabbaññutaññāṇaṃ*, i.e. A - (3)). An implication of this knowledge in early canonical texts may be sought in the knowledge of divine eye (*dibba-cakkhu*). But there it is the knowledge centred on disappearance and reappearance of beings according to their actions (*kamma*). A similar one is the second power (*bala*) of the Tathāgata [See No.2 in the ten *tathāgatabalas* mentioned above]. It is explained as *cutūpapāta-ñāṇa* or *yathākammūpaga-ñāṇa*.¹⁵⁰ Emphasis in this instance is no doubt on the causal relations between actions (*kamma*) and their legitimate consequences (*vipāka*). However, if the mechanism of causal relations is extended beyond the time limit of present, a possibility exists that this knowledge can be extended to the future. This can be inferred from the expression that the Buddha can see as far as he wishes to see (probably both backward and forward in time) (*ahaṃ ... yāvad eva ākañkhāmi*),¹⁵¹ which is said in connection with both the *pubbenivāsānussati-ñāṇa* and *dibba-cakkhu* of the ten *tathāgatabalas*.¹⁵² The fact that the Buddha came to be credited with the knowledge of 'knowing everything concerning the future' (*anāgataṃ sabbaṃ jānāti*) in the Paṭisambhidāmagga, is a result of further exaltation of the Buddha to differentiate him from the disciples. This aspect of the Buddha's knowledge is further developed and incorporated in the concept of the Eighteen Qualities of the Buddha

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(*aṭṭhārasa-buddhadhammā*) in the Aṭṭhakathā literature.

Yet another development in the Paṭisambhidāmagga is a classification of 'power' (*bala*). It gives sixty-eight powers (*aṭṭhasaṭṭhī balāni*).¹⁵³ In them are mentioned, among others, the ten *khīṇāsava-bala*, ten *iddhi-bala* and ten *tathāgatabala*. A perusal of the ten *khīṇāsavabala*¹⁵⁴ and ten *tathagāthabala*¹⁵⁵ reveals that they are identical with the lists found in the early canonical texts referred to earlier. The ten *iddhi-bala*,¹⁵⁶ on the other hand, appear to be a new classification adopted in the later canonical texts. They are:

- (1) *adhiṭṭhāna iddhi* (psychic potency of resolute determination)
- (2) *vikubbanā iddhi* (psychic potency of transformation)
- (3) *manomayā iddhi* (psychic potency of mind-made [body])
- (4) *ñānavipphārā iddhi* (psychic potency by the intervention of knowledge)
- (5) *samādhivipphārā iddhi* (psychic potency by the intervention of concentration)
- (6) *ariyā iddhi* (psychic potency of ariyans)
- (7) *kammavipākajā iddhi* (psychic potency born of the fruition of kamma)
- (8) *puññavato iddhi* (psychic potency of the meritorious)
- (9) *vijjāmayā iddhi* (psychic potency consisting in lore)
- (10) *tattha tattha sammāpayogapaccayā ijghanatṭhena iddhi* (psychic potency in the sense of succeeding due to right exertion [applied] here or there)¹⁵⁷

In short, the Buddha came to be given the epithet of *sabbaññū* in the late texts of the Khuddaka Nikāya far removed from its usage found in the four Nikāyas. This aspect of the Buddha's knowledge is undoubtedly in conformity with a general trend among the Buddhists of later times to distinguish the Buddha from disciples. In the same line of development, we observe that the five kinds of eye (*cakkhu*) as a set began to be mobilized for the exaltation of the Buddha, and particularly, his *samanta-cakkhu* is given a prominent place. Although two different terms *sabbaññū* and *samanta-cakkhu* are employed as

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seen above their function is nothing but to show the same aspects of the Buddha's wisdom. Similarly, the Buddha became credited with the Twin Miracle (*yamakapāṭihīra*); the miracle capable of being performed only by the Buddha. Thus, the gap between him and the disciples became much wider in spectrum as time advanced.

A similar result can be achieved and is envisaged by attributing numerous epithets to the Buddha. Some newly coined epithets appear for the first time, particularly in the late texts of the Khuddaka Nikāya. Epithets and qualities denoting the Buddha's wisdom are, *anantañāna* (limitless knowledge), etc. His superiority over all the creatures, human or divine, is expressed in such epithets as *devadeva*, *devātideva*, *brahmadeva*, etc.¹⁵⁸

Although the concept of unthinkable or unimaginable (*acinteyya* or *acintiya*) is first seen in the canonical texts,¹⁵⁹ the Khuddaka Nikāya continues to develop it. For instance, Buddhas are said to be unthinkable (*acintiya*).¹⁶⁰ The word *buddhakkhetta* (field of a Buddha) is probably a late terminology found in the Apadāna.¹⁶¹ The concepts of *khetta* (field) and *visaya* (range or sphere) are elaborated to a great extent by the commentators in the Aṭṭhakathā literature.

Another development of the Buddha-concept in the Khuddaka Nikāya can be seen in the further emphasis on compassion (*karuṇā*) of the Buddha. One of the six *asādhāraṇa-nāna* deals specifically with this (i.e., *mahākaruṇāsamāpatti-nāna*). It plays a pivotal role in the function of a Buddha together with the Bodhisatta-concept. Parables in the Pāli Canon sometimes refer to the Buddha as a caravan leader or a good herdsman.¹⁶² The Khuddaka Nikāya highlights this characteristic of Buddhahood more than before. For instance, expressions such as '*tāremi janataṃ bahuṃ*',¹⁶³ '*Satthā ti satthā Bhagavā satthavāho. Yathā satthavāho satthe kantāraṃ tāreti...*',¹⁶⁴ and epithets like *lokatarāna*,¹⁶⁵ etc., are a clear indication of the shift of emphasis regarding the Buddha's *karuṇā*.

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In the Abhidhamma literature, the same degree of enthusiasm about the Buddha-concept persists as in the late Khuddaka Nikāya texts. The Vibhaṅga, for instance, deals with a classification of knowledge (*ñāṇavibhaṅga*) in the Chapter Sixteen in which the ten *tathāgatabalas* are discussed in detail.¹⁶⁶ An interesting feature at this stage of the development of the Buddha-concept in the Abhidhamma is a classification of human types in the Puggalapaññatti. The text indeed provides a hierarchy of individuals with varied attainments. We come across in it a clear definition of another type of Buddha named 'pacceka-buddha'.¹⁶⁷ The difference in the definitions between *sammāsambuddha* and *paccekabuddha* is that the former attains omniscience (*sabbaññutā*) and the mastery over the fruits (*phalesu ca vasībhāvaṃ*), while the latter does not (*na ca tatha sabbaññutaṃ pāpuṅhāti na ca phalesu vasībhāvaṃ*).¹⁶⁸ An underlying objective in giving *sabbaññutā* as one of the two criteria for determining whether one is a *sammāsambuddha* or a *paccekabuddha* is obviously because of the compassionate nature of Buddhahood. A Buddha is motivated by compassion for the world to preach his teachings. This aspect of compassion in *sabbaññutā* is the key-factor that prompted the Buddhists to draw a clear-cut demarcation between *sammāsambuddha* and *paccekabuddha*. Once such a distinction is made, it is a matter for later Buddhists to widen it further. By so doing, their aim is to make the Buddha (or Buddhas) appear much more superior to *paccekabuddhas*. This tendency persists through the Milindapañha to the Aṭṭhakathā literature.

The Kathāvatthu provides another opportunity to have a glimpse into the development of the Buddha-concept in the Theravāda tradition. Here, we see a desperate attempt by the Theravādins to go back to the traditional interpretation of the Buddha-concept as seen in the Canon. We refer briefly to a few points of controversy which will help understand the development of the Buddha-concept under consideration.¹⁶⁹ The disputes concerning the Buddha directly are as follows:

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- (1) The ordinary speech (*voḥāra*) of the Buddha is supramundane. Kv II 10 [Andhakas]
- (2) The powers of the Buddha are the same as those of disciples. Kv III 1, 2 [Andhakas]
- (3) The Buddha and his enlightenment (the interpretation of *bodhi* or enlightenment). Kv IV 6 [Uttarapathakas]
- (4) Gifts to the Buddha will not bring reward. Kv XVII 10.
- (5) He never lived in this world. Kv XVIII 1 [Vetulyakas]
- (6) He preached through a created figure. Kv XVIII 2. [Vetulyakas]
- (7) He felt no compassion. Kv XVIII 3. [Uttarapathakas]
- (8) Everything of him was fragrant. Kv XVIII 4. [Andhakas and Uttarapathakas]
- (9) His supernatural powers (*iddhī*) (a Buddha or a disciple has the power of supernormally performing what he intends). Kv XXI 4. [Andhakas]
- (10) Buddhas are different from each other. Kv XXI 5. [Andhakas]
- (11) Buddhas persist in all directions. Kv XXI 6. [Mahāsaṅgikas]

Notes:

* Names within [] are the proponents identified in the Aṭṭhakathā.

A perusal of these propositions suggests that the non-Theravāda schools mentioned above had a general tendency to regard the Buddha as more than a human. Docetism is quite clear. S.N.Dube also remarks that almost all these theses are in the nature of elevating the concept of Buddha and making it far more sublime than the early belief in a human Buddha.¹⁷⁰ From the Theravāda point of view, the Buddha is still essentially a human. To the Theravādins, the Buddha was a real person who actually lived in this world, accepted gifts and preached his doctrine through compassion to the world [see Nos. 1, 4-7 above]. While admitting that there were in the past, and will be in the future, many Buddhas, the Theravādins maintain that no difference is observed in their enlightenment, omniscient knowledge and vision, etc. The differences among them are only in respect of body (*saṁsāra*), length of life (*āyū*) and radiance (*paḥhā*) [see No. 10]. They, however, uphold that the Buddha's powers are different from

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those of the disciple [see No.2]. This is a continuation from the canonical texts. The Theravāda position seems therefore that, while differences became more and wider between the arahant and the Buddha as time progressed, human qualities of the Buddha were preserved unchanged. This holds good even in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. It is in fact a marked characteristic of the concept of Buddha in the Theravāda tradition, though admittedly docetic tendency kept increasing as time advanced. And how the Theravādins reconciled this growing gap between the two is a matter that must be addressed separately.

4-c. The Post Canonical Texts.

The Milindapañha discusses several aspects of the Buddha-concept.¹⁷¹ Only notable ones are briefly discussed below:

(1) The text places emphasis on the universality of Buddhas. In other words, generalization of Buddhahood is quite clear. The thera Nāgasena, for instance, states that there are no differences among Buddhas and they are all equal in the Buddha qualities (*sabbe pi buddhā buddhadhammehi samasamā*).¹⁷² The realization of the same truth by all Buddhas gives a sense of universality of the teachings of Buddhism. All Buddhas are in fact the same in physical beauty, in goodness of character, in power of contemplation and of reasoning, in emancipation, in the insight arising from the knowledge of emancipation, in the four confidences (*catu-vesārajja*), in the ten powers (*dasabala*) of a Tathāgata, in the six knowledges not shared by others (*cha-asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa*), in the fourteen knowledges of a Buddha, in the eighteen qualities of a Buddha - in short, in all the qualities of a Buddha.¹⁷³ A noteworthy development in the Milindapañha, as we can see from the above, is the introduction of the notion of eighteen qualities of a Buddha (*aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā*), which is found nowhere in the Canon.

(2) Miln also maintains that one Buddha is enough in the world at a time.¹⁷⁴ This position like what is discussed at Kv XXI 6

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persists throughout the history of Theravāda Buddhism. Nāgasena argues as to why one Buddha is enough at a time and says that it is because of the greatness of virtues of the all-knowing Buddhas.¹⁷⁵

(3) Religiously speaking, Miln demonstrates the importance of the act of homage to and faith in the Buddha. The king Milinda claims: 'Your people say, Nāgasena, that though a man should have lived a hundred years an evil life, yet if, at the moment of death, thoughts of the Buddha should enter his mind, he will be reborn among the gods'¹⁷⁶ (*yo vassasataṃ akusalaṃ kareyya maraṇakāle ca ekaṃ Buddhagataṃ satiṃ paṭilabheyya so deveṣu uppajjeyyāti*).¹⁷⁷ Nāgasena answers by way of a simile that good deeds (i.e. thinking of the Buddha at one's death-bed) are like a boat.

(4) Nāgasena places emphasis on the *sabbaññuta-nāṇa* of the Buddha in contrast to the king Milinda who approaches this problem from basically a human point of view. Since the *sabbaññuta-nāṇa* of a Buddha is one of the major topics discussed in the Aṭṭhakathā literature, we give below a somewhat detailed analysis based on the material found in the Milindapañha.¹⁷⁸

Interestingly, terms like *sabbaññū*, *sabbadassāvī*,¹⁷⁹ and *sabbaññuta-nāṇa*¹⁸⁰ are referred to in a brief manner in the early portion of the text (i.e. up to page 90 of the PTS edition). One such reference is where the king Milinda asks a question as to whether the Buddha was all-knowing and all-seeing, and if so, 'how is it that he laid down the rules of training for disciples gradually?' Here the Buddha's all-knowing and all-seeing cognitive faculty is questioned in terms of his knowledge of the future. Nāgasena in answering the question compares the Buddha to a physician who prescribes medicine only when the patient is ill.¹⁸¹ He further maintains that omniscient knowledge was attained by the Buddha at the time of his Enlightenment.¹⁸² Some detailed discussions on this subject are seen in the later additions to the text. This suggests that the exaltation of the Buddha progressed further in course of time. It became more conspicuous during and after the period of the Mauryan Empire, according to a study by Prof. Nakamura.¹⁸³ This was in consonance

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with the gradual development of Buddhology among the Buddhists.

The thera Nāgasena, on the one hand, follows the canonical stand in explaining *sabbaññū* when he reiterates that the knowledge-and-vision was not constantly and continuously possessed by the Buddha.¹⁸⁴ He further states that the Buddha's omniscient knowledge is dependent on his mind's advertence to the object, and whatever it pleases (him to know), he knows by adverting to it (*āvajjanapaṭibaddhaṃ Bhagavato sabbaññutaññāṇaṃ, āvajjitvā yadicchakaṃ jānātī ti*).¹⁸⁵ This definition of the Buddha's *sabbaññutaññāna* is indeed to become the standard one in the commentaries.

A growing tendency to distinguish the Buddha from disciples is also detected in a classification of the seven kinds of mentality (*sattavidhā cittā*) of the following classes of individuals: *puṭhujjana*, *sotāpanna*, *sakadāgāmī*, *anāgāmī*, *arahat*, *paccekabuddha* and *sammāsambuddha*. The text mentions that arahants are utterly purified in the planes of disciples (*sāvakabhūmisu parisuddhā*), *paccekabuddhas* in their own planes and *sammāsambuddhas* are regarded as possessing the highest planes of all. The mentality of *paccekabuddhas*..., their minds utterly purified and spotless in their own range, (*paccekabuddhas*) arise buoyantly, proceed buoyantly in regard to their own range, but arise with difficulty, proceed sluggishly as regards the planes of omniscient Buddhas. For what reason? Because of utter purification in their own range and because of greatness of the range of omniscient Buddhas (*parisuddhattā sakavisayassa mahantattā sabbaññūbuddhavisayassa*).¹⁸⁶ Here we see a clear hierarchy of individuals with the Buddha at the top.

However, Nāgasena's explanation could not satisfy the king Milinda, who pursued his query on the definition of omniscience as the knowledge of everything continuously present. Nāgasena, while stating that because of the purity and quickness of the Buddha's mind the Lord could show the Twin Miracle (*yamakapāṭihīra*); thus illustrating the quickness of the Buddha's ability to advert his mind by certain similes.¹⁸⁷ What is interesting to note here is Nāgasena's

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statement: 'the mere fact of non-advertence on the part of Buddhas does not make them non-omniscient' (*āvajjanavikalāmattakena na tāvatā buddhā Bhagavanto asabbaññuno nāma [na] hontī ti*).¹⁸⁸ It may be recalled that in a previous instance Nāgasena observed that the Buddha's omniscient knowledge was dependent upon adverting his mind to any object he wished to know. However, the argument adduced by him here suggests that the Buddha is after all omniscient, even when he does not advert his mind. This is precisely what the king Milinda had in mind when he raised the issue. It is a new departure from the canonical use of the term *sabbaññū*. Buddhism does not deny the possibility of omniscience one can possess outright, as K.N.Jayatilleke says. What is denied in Buddhism is to know all at once, all the time.¹⁸⁹ But Nāgasena's assertion comes much closer to the implication that the Buddha knows everything all the time, but does not reveal it.

Furthermore, the king Milinda questions from different viewpoints about the Buddha's omniscience. He refers, for instance, to the fact that the Buddha is said to have taught the Dhamma from super-knowledge and not from what was not super-knowledge. Moreover, the Buddha is said to have instructed the monks: 'Ānanda, after my passing away, let the Order, if it so desires, abolish the lesser and minor rules of training.' The king Milinda goes on to say that, if one of the above two statements is correct, the other is wrong. Here again, he approaches the Buddha's omniscient knowledge as one that is continuously and constantly present to him and that he can even see into the future with this knowledge. In reply to this question, Nāgasena says that the Buddha examined the disposition of monks and concluded: 'The sons of the Buddha, for complete freedom from anguish and in their great respect for the Dhamma, would preserve even more than a hundred and fifty rules of training - how then should they let go of the rules of training that had been laid down originally?'¹⁹⁰

A similar question is posed in another place where the king asks as to why the Buddha did not settle the rules of training by laying

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them down in their entirety, if he was omniscient. The answer given is that the Buddha, though he could have done it if so desired, did not wish to lay down rules of training in full and all at once, because people would be frightened of rules and regulations to go forth in his dispensation.¹⁹¹ All these answers of Nāgasena are sought to be focussed on the fact that the faculty of omniscience is ever present in the mind of the Buddha. It also implies that nobody can revoke what has been established by the Buddha, nor is it possible to retract the course of actions taken by him, because the Buddha is the supreme authority. Nāgasena, in fact, specifically states that one of the four special qualities in a Tathāgata which are not to be obstructed by anyone, is that no one is able to pose an obstacle or danger (*antarāya*) to the Jewel of Knowledge (*ñāṇaratana*) which is the Lord's omniscience.¹⁹² The extent to which the Buddha came to be exalted in the Milindapañha can be understood, if this statement is compared with an observation made in the Majjhima Nikāya. It says that one of the four conditions which are not satisfactory (*anassāsika*) for the Brahma-faring (*brahmacariya*) is to take one's teacher to be omniscient and accept his teaching on that basis.¹⁹³

(5) The Milindapañha employs a number of epithets for the Buddha.¹⁹⁴ They include such epithets as *agga* or *aggapurisa*,¹⁹⁵ *naravarapavara jinavaravasabha*,¹⁹⁶ *agga, jetṭha, setṭhā, viṣiṭṭha uttama, pavara, asama, asamasama, appaṭima, appaṭibhāga appaṭipuggala*, etc.,¹⁹⁷ and *sabbaññū* or *sabbaññutā*.¹⁹⁸ Some of them as we notice, are found in the canonical texts as well. Among numerous epithets used in the text, our attention is drawn to one significant epithet called *devātideva* (god of gods); the absence of its use, except in a couple of places in the Khuddaka Nikāya (see below for references), is a clear indication of the fact that it began to gain popularity from the time of the Milindapañha.

The term *devātideva* is believed to have a historical link with the word *rājātirāja* (king of kings). The appellation of *rājātirāja* is said to have been used as far back as the sixth century B.C. in Persia as evidenced in the Behistun Inscriptions of King Darayavaush

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(Dareios; Darius, 521-486 B.C.)¹⁹⁹ Further, it is also stated in the Kālakācāryakathā of the Jains that after the collapse of the Mauryan Empire, Kālaka, in order to save his own sister, went to Sagakūla where provincial lords were called *sāhis*, while their ruler was known as *sāhānusāhi* (lord of lords). Kālaka, after coming to know that ninety-six such *sāhis* were not on good terms with the *sāhānusāhi*, instigated them to march to Hindugadeśa (Hindukadeśa), which they did until they came to Surathavisae where the ninety-six *sāhis* ruled their own lands separately. Subsequently, one *sāhi* was chosen as 'rāyātūyā' (=rājātīrāja) and, thus, the Saka Empire was established.²⁰⁰ Some of the later Saka kings are also said to have had the title of 'king of kings'.²⁰¹ Further down in time, the king Kaṇiṣika (c. second century A.D.) is said to have used this title as well.²⁰² Prof. Nakamura remarks that the appellation 'great king' (*mahāraja*) was of Indian origin, whereas *rājātīrāja* was borrowed from Iran where it had its origin.²⁰³ Iwamatsu is of the opinion that the formation of the term *devātideva* including its attendant connotations was made based on the concept of *rājātīrāja*, which was of Iranian origin. And the term subsequently found its way into Buddhism.²⁰⁴ He further states that when the alien races (the Sakas and Kuṣāṇas) who had political sway in North-western India around the beginning of the Christian era, encountered Buddhism for the first time, they came to conceive the Buddha of Buddhism as 'god of gods' or 'god who is superior to and capable of leading gods' based on their own notion of 'king of kings'. This notion or its expression was transferred to an Indian language and the word *devātideva* was formed in Sanskrit and adopted in Buddhism gradually. He ascribes the transfer of its notion, formation and adoption (in Buddhism) to a probable period between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D.²⁰⁵

We are not going to dispute the relationship between the word *rājātīrāja* with its attendant connotations including its historicity and the word *devātideva*. But that the period of transfer of the notion of *rājātīrāja*, which led, according to Iwamatsu, to the formation and adoption of the word *devātideva* in Buddhism, was not before the first century B.C., is a question to be readdressed carefully. For a

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term similar to *rājātirāja* (and indeed the formation of the word is the same) occurs in one of the earliest texts of the Pāli Canon. In the Sela sutta of the Suttanipāta, we find the Buddha being requested by Sela to be 'the king of kings' (*rājābhirāja*) to rule mankind.²⁰⁶

The word *rājābhirāja* or *rājādhirāja*²⁰⁷ seems to have a close affinity with the term *rājātirāja*. The PED states: 'We find a close relationship between the prefixes *ati*, *adhi* and *abhi* interchanging dialectically so that Pāli *adhi* often represents Sanskrit *ati* or *abhi*'.²⁰⁸ If that is so, it can be concluded that *rājābhirāja* (or *rājādhirāja*) is another form of *rājātirāja*. The three terms denote the idea of 'king of kings'. Moreover, should this be accepted, then the word *rājātirāja*, *rājābhirāja* or *rājādhirāja*, together with its attendant concepts must have been known to the Buddhists at a fairly early stage; at least before the time of the compilation of the Suttanipāta or the Theragāthā, unless the word *rājābhirāja* mentioned in the Sela sutta is proved to be a later interpolation. It is generally believed that the *gāthās* in the Suttanipāta were composed before the time of the king Asoka (c. 268-232 B.C.)²⁰⁹ If so, the Buddhists must have known the notion of 'king of kings' (*rājātirāja*) much before the first century B.C. as suggested by Iwamatsu. In other words, the formation of the word *devātideva* with its attendant concepts would not be necessarily the result of a direct contact with the Sakas or the Kuṣāṇas. For, the Buddhists had known it much earlier than the time of the Saka Empire. Similarly, the notion of *rājātirāja* may have come from Iran, but the Buddhists borrowed or copied not only its notion, but also the word itself from very early days in the history of Buddhism. On the other hand, the fact that the term is found only in the Sela sutta repeated in the Suttanipāta, Theragāthā and Majjhima Nikāya, suggests that it was not at all a popular epithet of the Buddha. And it may be possible, as Iwamatsu suggests, that the notion of 'king of kings' transformed into the form of *devātideva* in Buddhism, became popular and a widely accepted epithet of the Buddha because of the influence of the Sakas and Kuṣāṇas.

In the Milindapañha the term *devātideva* occurs often, though

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it is not unknown to other works like the *Vimānavatthu*,²¹⁰ *Cullaniddesa*²¹¹ and *Apadāna*.²¹² It is used often in the following phrase: '*Bhāsitaṃ p'etaṃ mahārāja Bhagavatā devātidevena...*' (This, O King, was also said by the Lord, God of gods...)²¹³ As pointed out by Horner²¹⁴ and Iwamatsu,²¹⁵ the term *devātideva*, except for a few instances, is used usually in conjunction with the epithet *Bhagavā*. When such quotations are cited in the early portion of the text (i.e., up to page 89 of the PTS edition), the word *devātideva* is not used: e.g. '*Bhāsitaṃ p'etaṃ mahārāja Bhagavatā...*'²¹⁶ This use of the word *devātideva* in the text clearly indicates that it was not fully accepted as an established and popular epithet of the Buddha at the time of the original formation of the *Milindapañha*. In other words, it gained popularity as a standard epithet for the Buddha only in the so-called Pāli recension (i.e. in the late strata of the text).

The antecedent history of the term *devātideva* may be traced to the Pāli Canon itself. We find similar ideas expressed in different terms. The Buddha is referred to as *atideva*.²¹⁷ He is also called *devadeva*.²¹⁸ These show that the Buddha was regarded as a supreme god or as one who is above gods. This concept has its ground in the fact that the Buddha is the teacher of both gods and men (*sathā devamanussānaṃ*). He is also the greatest of all gods and men (*devamanussasettha*).²¹⁹ It represents an important stage in the process of the exaltation of the Buddha. It can therefore be maintained that even at an early stage, the Buddhists were acquainted with the idea of regarding the Buddha as one superior to gods or above gods. This suggests that the Buddhists were familiar with the notion of regarding one as superior even to gods nurtured in the Indian society. The word *devātideva* was therefore conceptually not new to them, though the formation of the term may have been borrowed from elsewhere, as suggested by Iwamatsu.

Besides the word *devātideva*, it is interesting to note that the *Milindapañha* employs the word *atidevadeva* (*deva* above *devas*)²²⁰ to describe the Buddha. This term occurs only twice in the text. On the other hand, the word *devātideva*, out of many references in the

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text, is found only twice before its introduction.²²¹ The term is formed by prefixing 'atī' to 'devadeva' which is a fairly old usage as seen in the Theragāthā. It suggests that the word *atidevadeva* represents an intermediary stage in the transition from words like *atideva* and *devadeva* to *devātideva*. However, it is also not unlikely that both words *atidevadeva* and *devātideva* may have been in use simultaneously. There are at least two reasons to support the above contention: (1) both words *atideva* and *devadeva* occur in one of the earliest texts of the Pāli Canon. (2) the word *atidevadeva* is found only twice in the Milindapañha and its occurrence except in two instances (i.e., MiIn 111 & 137) is earlier than that of *devātideva*. The Buddhists had used the words *atideva*, *devadeva*, and even *atidevadeva* to describe the Buddha as one above gods, but they seem to have considered those terms inadequate and the final choice was made by the Buddhists or at least by the compiler(s) of the Milindapañha particularly of the late strata of the text to adopt the word *devātideva* as the most suitable epithet to eulogize the Buddha.

5. Physical Endowments of the Buddha

The canonical texts contain some descriptions about the physical appearance of the Buddha. The brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa, who has not seen the Buddha before, but later confirms that what people described him was true and accurate, tells about his appearance in the following manner: 'Indeed, the *samaṇa* Gotama is handsome, good-looking, inspiring trust, gifted with lotus-like complexion, in complexion similar to the Brahmā, radiant like the Brahmā. He is of no mean appearance... His voice is cultivated and so is his way of expressing himself, which is urbane, elegant, clear and precise.'²²² Such descriptions about the Buddha indicate that he was a person who could command respect from others even appearance-wise. The Brahmāyu sutta²²³ gives probably the most comprehensive descriptions of the Buddha's demeanour and manner in conducting himself in daily routines: He walks setting out with his right foot first; walks neither too quickly nor too slowly; When he walks, only the lower part of his body oscillates, and he walks with no bodily

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effort; When he turns to look, he does so with his whole body; He does not walk looking around; He looks a plough-yoke's length before him. When he enters indoor, he does not lower his body or bend it forward or backward; He turns round neither too far from his seat nor too near it; He does not lean on the seat with his hand; He does not throw his body down on to the seat; etc. When seated, he does not fidget with his hands nor with his feet; He does not sit with his knees crossed nor with his ankles crossed; He is not afraid; He does not shiver or tremble; He is not nervous; etc. The sutta goes on describing his conducts with regard to receiving of water, handling of alms bowl, acceptance of meals, his robes, manner of preaching to the audience; etc. Further, the Buddha is often said to be endowed with golden coloured skin (*suvaṇṇa-vaṇṇa*).²²⁴ Some of these physical characteristics are incorporated into the thirty-two physical marks of a Great Man (*dvattimsa-mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*).

5-a Thirty-two Bodily Characteristics of a Great Man (*dvattimsa-mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*)

The concept of Great Man (*mahāpurisa*) is pre-Buddhistic and early Buddhism does not subscribe this idea to the physical characteristics only. *Mahāpurisa* in early Buddhism is a person of high spiritual advancement and can be equated with a worthy person (*arahant*). For example, the Buddha speaks of a great man (*mahāpurisa*) in the following manner in reply to the question posed by the brahmin youth Tissa Metteyya: 'He who is free from agitation, whose actions are pure and good in sensual pleasures; is void of craving; never loses mindfulness; becomes calm and extinguished. He who understands the alternatives without being stuck in the thinking between them. Him I call a great man.'²²⁵ The Buddha on another occasion tells Sāriputta that a great man (*mahāpurisa*) is so named on account of the emancipation of the mind.²²⁶ However, as time progressed, *mahāpurisa* came to be a person with specific number of physical marks and would be destined to become either a universal monarch (*cakkavatti*) or a Buddha.²²⁷ These two individuals are said to be endowed with the thirty-two bodily marks which distinguish

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them from ordinary beings. The Lakkhaṇa suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya²²⁸ can be cited as the best example of the Buddhist interpretation of this concept. It states in no uncertain terms that the physical marks of these two individuals are due to the good deeds done in the past and can only be maintained in the present life by goodness. This interpretation signifies ethical correlations between morally commendable deeds and the bodily marks. The thirty-two bodily marks of a Great Man are as follows:²²⁹

1. He has feet with a level tread.
2. On the soles of his feet wheels appear with a thousand spokes, with rims and hubs, in every way complete.
3. He has projecting heels.
4. He has long fingers.
5. He has soft and tender hands and feet.
6. He has fingers and toes evenly spaced.
7. His ankles are over the exact middle of the tread.
8. His legs are shapely like those of antelopes.
9. While standing without stooping, he can touch and rub his knees with both hands at once.
10. His privities are within a sheath.
11. He has a golden complexion.
12. The texture of his skin is that no dust or dirt can lodge on it.
13. His body hair grows singly, one only in each pore.
14. Each hair is straight, blue-black and curling to the right at its tip.
15. His body frame is straight.
16. His body has seven convex surfaces.
17. The upper part of his body is well built like that of a lion.
18. He has no hollow between his shoulder blades.
19. He has the symmetrical proportions of a banyan tree, his stretch being the same as his height.
20. The curve of his shoulders is symmetrical.
21. He has an exquisite, acutely sensitive sense of taste.
22. His jaws are like those of a lion.
23. He has forty teeth.
24. He has even teeth.

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25. There are no interstices between his teeth.
26. His teeth are sparkling white.
27. His tongue is long and flexible.
28. His voice is like that of the Brahmā and is mellifluous
like the Karavīka bird's.
29. His eyes are intensely blue.
30. His eyelashes are long and shapely like those of a cow.
31. Between his eyebrows grows soft white hair like cotton-down.
32. His head is shaped like a royal turban.

In addition to the above thirty-two physical marks, late canonical texts like the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Apadāna* speak of the Buddha's minor bodily marks (*anuvyañjana*). The *Buddhavaṃsa* refers only to the term *anubyañjana*²³⁰ while the *Apadāna* talks of eighty of them (*asīti-anubyañjana*).²³¹ However, it is apparent that the canonical texts are unaware on the whole of such physical marks attributed to the Buddha and these two references cited above, though in existence in actuality, cannot be taken to strongly suggest the antiquity of the concept in the Canon, particularly in terms of their number as eighty. In the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition, it is usually the practice that these eighty minor marks are counted as the major constituents of the physical endowments of a Buddha along with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man. It could be possible that the Theravāda Pāli tradition borrowed the notion from it. But, the date of its introduction in the Pāli tradition can only be determined if the dates of the composition of the above two texts are fixed beyond any reasonable doubt.

BUDDHAIN THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM

**THE BUDDHA-CONCEPT
IN THE COMMENTARIES**

BUDDHA IN THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM

CHAPTER II

BUDDHA'S SPIRITUAL ATTAINMENTS

1. Buddha's Knowledge in General

The Buddhist apologists would insist that the enlightenment (*bodhi*) Siddhattha attained should include anything and everything concerning his spiritual attainments. Various ideas and notions supposed to have been introduced in subsequent times are not a development but a clarification of his knowledge. He attained the perfect and full enlightenment, which is all inclusive. Therefore, there is no justification in saying that later Buddhists *developed* or *invented* new ideas and notions for the sake of his glorification. Such a move is nothing but desecration to the Buddha. The Buddhists of this calibre fail to realise and understand the very important fact that Buddhism in its long history developed into numerous branches of diversity within its framework. They could coexist with one another because of tolerance, an important ingredient of the Buddhist religion. Interaction and influence among different branches of Buddhist thought, and possibly with other religious faiths as well, were one of the causes that gave rise to diverse interpretations of the Buddhist teachings including the personality of the founder - it is indeed through the understanding of this diversity, one can appreciate the gospel of one particular school of Buddhist thought; be it Theravāda or Mahāyāna. Literary evidence thus points to the fact that the Buddha came to be depicted more like a superhuman and his knowledge further supplemented. It is in this context that the Pāli commentaries provide a vast store of information relating to the spiritual attainments of the Buddha. Such information, often shown in different forms of classification which can be regarded as a general approach adopted

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in the commentaries, supplements the canonical interpretation of the content of *bodhi* (enlightenment) Gotama Buddha possesses. Generalisation of Buddhahood further helps the commentaries to universalise all Buddhas past, present and future. It is therefore not only Gotama Buddha, but also any Buddha the commentators have in mind when classifying or supplementing the spiritual aspect of Buddhahood. This principle applies to the descriptions of his physical characteristics as well.

The spiritual qualities of the Buddha described and discussed in the Aṭṭhakathā texts follow closely those of the Paṭisambhidāmagga and Niddesa (Mahā and Culla) in the Khuddaka Nikāya. One gets the impression that the Theravādins had already accomplished the classifications and exegeses with regard to the knowledge of the Buddha by the time of the compilation particularly of those two texts of the Khuddaka Nikāya. Concepts such as omniscient knowledge (*sabbāññuta-ñāṇa*), the six knowledges not shared by others (*cha-asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa*), the five kinds of eye (*pañca-cakkhu*), etc., of the Buddha or Buddhas continue to be emphasized and discussed in the commentarial texts in a fashion similar to that of the Paṭisambhidāmagga and Niddesa. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla deserve special mention in this regard as they refer to the Paṭisambhidāmagga by name in the explanations of *sabbāññuta-ñāṇa*, *anāvaraṇa-ñāṇa*, etc.¹ Nevertheless, the Aṭṭhakathā texts also make contributions to the enrichment and supplementation of *Buddha-ñāṇa* by introducing some additional concepts and classifications hitherto unknown in the Theravāda tradition.

In accordance with a general characteristic of adopting various classifications for elucidation in the commentaries, both Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla give lists of *Buddha-ñāṇa* (Buddha's knowledge) which is usually included in the category of *Buddhaguṇa*. The following chart will show how these two great commentators differ from each other in describing it. Abbreviations are used for the sake of convenience and clarity as follows:

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- A - Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā (DA iii 874-875)
- B - Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā (ItA i 6-7)
- C - Udāna-aṭṭhakathā (UdA 335-336)
- D - Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā (CpA 6-7)

'A' is a list mentioned under the heading of *Buddha-guṇa* [DA iii 874] through which one remembers the virtues of the Buddha. 'B' is given in the etymological exegeses of the term *Bhagavā* [ItA i 6]. 'C' is another list describing the *Buddha-guṇa* or otherwise called *kusala-dhamma* [UdA 335]. 'D' too is a list under the heading of *Buddha-guṇa*. All these lists are given in the numerical order (i.e. lists of single *guṇas*, three *guṇas*, etc.) Listing of items is according to the Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā as its edition gives a clear punctuation.

One:

1. *sīla-samādhi-paññā-vimutti-vimuttiñāna-dassana* [A, B, C, D]
2. *hiri-ottappa* [B, D]
3. *saddhā-viriya* [B, D]
4. *sati-sampañña* [B, D]
5. *sīla-visuddhi* [B, D]
6. *citta-visuddhi* [B]
7. *ditṭhi-visuddhi samatho-vipassanā* [B, D]

Three:

1. *kusala-mūla* [B, D]
2. *sucarita* [B, D]
3. *sammā-vitakka* [B, D]
4. *anavajja-saññā* [B, D]
5. *dhātu* [B, D]

Four:

1. *sati paṭṭhāna* [A, B, C, D]
2. *samma-ppadhāna* [A, B, C, D]
3. *iddhi-pāda* [A, B, C, D]
4. (ariya-) *magga* [A, B, C, D]
5. (ariya-) *phala* [A, B, C, D]

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6. *paṭisambhidā* [A, B, C, D]
7. *catu-yoni-paricchedaka-nāṇa* [A, B, C, D]
8. *ariya-vam̐sa* [A, B, C, D]
9. *vesārajja-nāṇa* [B, C, D]

Five:

1. *pañca-padhāniy'aṅga* [A, B, C, D]
2. *pañc'aṅgika sammā-samādhi* [A, B, C, D]
3. *pañca-nāṇiko sammā-samādhi* [B, C]
4. *indriya* [A, B, C, D]
5. *bala* [A, B, C, D]
6. *nissāraṇīya dhātu* [A, B, C, D]
7. *vimutt'āyatana-nāṇa* [A, B, C, D]
8. *vimutti-paripācanīya paññā* [A, B, C, D]

Six:

1. *nissāraṇīya (saraṇīya) dhamma* [A, D]
2. *anussati-tthāna* [A, B, C, D]
3. *gārava* [A, B, C, D]
4. *nissāraṇīya dhātu* [A, B, C, D]
5. *satata-vihāra* [A, B, C, D]
6. *anuttariya* [A, B, C, D]
7. *nibbedha-bhāgiyā paññā (saññā)* [A, B, C, D]
8. *abhiññā* [A, B, C, D]
9. *asādhāraṇa-nāṇa* [A, B, C, D]

Seven:

1. *aparihāniya dhamma* [A, B, C, D]
2. *ariya-dhana* [A, B, C, D]
3. *bojjhaṅga* [A, B, C, D]
4. *sappurisa-dhamma* [A, B, C, D]
5. *nijjara-vatthu* [A, B, C, D]
6. *saññā (paññā)* [A, B, C, D]
7. *dakkhiṇeyya-puggala-desana* [A, B, C, D]

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8. *khīṇāsava-bala-desana* [A, B, C, D]

Eight:

1. *paññā-paṭilābha-hetu-desana* [A, B, C, D]
2. *sammatta* [A, B, C, D]
3. *loka-dhammātikka* [A, B, C, D]
4. *ārambhavatthu* [A, B, C, D]
5. *akkhaṇa-desana* [A, B, C, D]
6. *mahāpurisa-vitakka* [A, B, C, D]
7. *abhibhāyatana-desana* [A, B, C, D]
8. *vimokkha* [A, B, C, D]

Nine:

1. *yoniso-manasikāra-mūlaka-dhamma* [A, B, C, D]
2. *parisuddhi-padhāniya'āga* [A, B, C, D]
3. *sattāvāsa-desana* [A, B, C, D]
4. *āghāta-ppaṭivinaya* [A, B, C, D]
5. *saññā* [A, B, C, D]
6. *nānatta-desana* [A, B, C, D]
7. *anupubba-vihāra-desana* [A, B, C, D]

Ten:

1. *nātha-karaṇa-dhamma* [A, B, C, D]
2. *kaṣiṇāyatana* [A, B, C, D]
3. *kusala-kamma-patha* [A, B, C, D]
4. *sammatta* [A, B, D]
5. *ariya-vāsa* [A, B, C, D]
6. *asekha-dhamma* [A, B, C, D]
7. *ratana* [D]
8. *tathāgata-bala* [A, B, C, D]

Eleven:

1. *mettānisamsa* [A, B, C, D]

Twelve:

1. *dhamma-cakkakāra* [A, B, C (paccayata), D]

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Thirteen:

1. *dhutaṅgaguṇa* [A, B, C, D]

Fourteen:

1. *buddha-ñāṇa* [A, B, C, D]

Fifteen:

1. *vimutti-paripācanīya dhamma* [A, B, C, D]

Sixteen:

1. *ānāpāna-sati* [A, B, C, D]
2. *aparantapanīya dhamma* [B (*sattarasa-*), C (*amata-pariyāya-*), D]

Eighteen:

1. *buddha-dhamma* [A, B, C, D]

Nineteen:

1. *paccavekkhaṇa-ñāṇa* [A, B, C, D]

Forty-four:

1. *ñāṇa-(vara-)vatthu* [A, B, C, D]

Fifty:

1. *udayabbaya-ñāṇa* [B, C, D]

More than Fifty (*paropannāsa*):

1. *kusala-dhamma* [A, B, C, D]

Seventy-seven:

1. *ñāṇa-vatthu* [A, B, C, D]

Twenty-four hundred thousand koṭi (*catuvīsati-koṭi-sata-sahassa*):

1. *samāpatti-sañcāri-mahā-vajira-ñāṇa* [A, B, C, D]

Endless or numerous (*anantanaya*):

1. *samanta-paṭṭhāna-pavicaya-paccavekkhaṇa-desana-ñāṇa* [B, C, D]

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2. *anantāsu lokadhātūsu anantānaṃ sattānaṃ āsayādi-vibhāvana-ñāṇa* [B, C, D]

A perusal of the above *Buddha-guṇa* reveals that classifications are much influenced by Abhidhammic enumeration and some of them like the nineteen *paccavekkhaṇa-ñāṇa* (knowledge of reviewing),² the fifty *udayabbaya-ñāṇa* (knowledge of rise and fall), etc., are certainly an outcome of the Abhidhammic Buddhism. In addition, one conspicuous trend in the commentaries appears to be an introduction of new categories of the Buddha's knowledge within the context of his omniscience which is all inclusive. In other words, the commentators attempt to provide different classifications in order to show greatness or unthinkable nature of the Buddha's knowledge. Terms like *mahā-vajira-ñāṇa* (great diamond knowledge) amounting to twenty-four hundred thousand *koṭis* and endless or numerous types of knowledge (*anantanaya*) are a clear indication of that. Further, it seems that Dhammapāla is more inclined towards it than Buddhaghosa. The notion of the *aṭṭhārasa-buddhadhamma* (eighteen qualities of a Buddha) is certainly a later development not found in the Pāli Canon of the Theravāda tradition.

The *Aṭṭhakathās* in some places give shorter lists of the *Buddha-ñāṇa*. The *Sammohavinodanī*,³ for instance, states that the *ñāṇa* of the Buddha includes *dasabala-ñāṇa*, *catuvesāraja-ñāṇa*, *aṭṭhasu parisāsu akampana-ñāṇa*, *catuyoniparicchedaka-ñāṇa*, and *pañcagatiparicchedaka-ñāṇa* which have come down in the *Mahāsūlanāda sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*;⁴ *tesattati nāṇani*, *sattasattati nāṇani* both of which have come down in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*;⁵ and many more thousand (*aññāni aṅkāni nāṇasahasāni*). The same list is repeated at MA ii 26, SA ii 43 (where the text refers to the *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* and *Papañcasūdanī* by name), AA v 11 and PtsA iii 90. The *Madhuratthavilāsīnī* gives a similar list, but does not include those which have come down in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. Instead, the fourteen kinds of Buddha-knowledge (*cuddasabuddhañāṇa*) is mentioned.⁶ The text at another place gives some more *ñāṇa* (knowledge) in addition to the *cuddasabuddhañāṇa*

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as follows: four analytical knowledges (*catasso paṭisambhidā*), four confidences (*catuvesārajjanānāni*), knowledges that are demarcations of the four modes of birth and the five bourns (*catuyoni pañcagati paricchakānānāni*), knowledege of the ten powers (*dasabalañānāni*), and the entire special qualities of a Buddha (*sakale ca buddhagūṇe*).⁷ The *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā* too gives a list of *Buddha-nāna*.⁸ These references are made in relation to the Buddha's *nāṇa-bala*. Lists of *Buddha-guṇa* and *nāṇa-bala* of the Buddha above suggest that some items are inclusive of each other and some are not. This fact suggests that a comprehensive list is impossible to make owing to the vastness of the Buddha's knowledge. It is this impossible nature of counting the Buddha's virtues or knowledge that would have given an impetus to the later Buddhists to elaborate on his knowledge or virtue as time progressed.

The trend of placing more emphasis on the infinite nature of *Buddha-nāna* in the *Aṭṭhakathā* literature continues, although it all started from the canonical texts. The Buddha-range (*Buddhavisaya*) is considered as one of the four *acinteyya* (unthinkable),⁹ The Buddha's knowledge (*Buddha-nāna*) is one of the four things that are limitless (*anantaka*) and is said to be immeasurable (*appameyya*).¹⁰ The *Aṭṭhakathā* texts are full of such references. For instance, the Buddha's virtues are limitless or endless (*ananta Buddhagūṇa*),¹¹ or the Buddha's knowledge is one of the four kinds of limitless (*cattāri anantāni*) according to the *Atthasālinī* (*Buddhañānaṃ anantaṃ*),¹² the other three being space (*ākāsa*), world systems (*cakkavāla*) and groups of beings (*sattakāya*).¹³ The Buddha's knowledge is great (*Buddhañāṇassa mahantabhāva*),¹⁴ etc.

2. Buddha's Omniscient Knowledge (*sabbaññuta-nāna*)

The most frequently emphasised aspect of Buddha's knowledge in the Pāli commentarial literature is 'omniscience' (*sabbaññuta-nāna*). Its conceptual modifications became imperative as time progressed to meet changing circumstances. They can be seen mainly in the following areas:

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- A. The Buddhist definition of *sabbaññū*.
- B. The interpretation of the term *sabba* in '*sabbaññū*', '*sabbadassāvī*', etc.
- C. The mode of knowing everything.

A. The Buddhist Definition of *Sabbaññū*

In the first four Nikāyas, the kind of omniscience claimed by the Nigaṇṭhas that their Master's all-knowing knowledge is ever present even while standing still, walking, asleep or awake, is denied by the Buddha.¹⁵ The Buddha's claim is to a three-fold knowledge (*tevijjā*), which can be developed by others as well. Further, the Kaṇṇakatthala sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya states that there is neither a recluse nor a brahmin who at one and the same time can know all, can see all - this situation does not arise (*Na' tthi so samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo sakideva sabbañ ñassati sabbam dakkhīti, n' etaṃ thānaṃ vijjati*).¹⁶ This is, however, not tantamount to the denial of omniscience itself. Buddhism admits that knowing all (*sabbaññū* or *sabbavidū*) and seeing all (*sabbadassāvī*) are possible for a Buddha. They are in fact used as the Buddha's epithets. What Buddhism denies consistently is the all-knowing knowledge that can be present constantly and continually. This position continues in the commentarial literature. For instance, commenting on the phrase '*sakideva sabbañ ñassati sabbam dakkhi*' in the Kaṇṇakatthala sutta cited above, the Commentary says that it is not possible to know all or see all concerning the past, future and present with one adverting (of the mind), one thought and one impulse (*yo ekāvajjanena ekacittena ekajavanena atītānāgatapaccuppannaṃ sabbañ ñassati vā dakkhati vā so n' atthi ti attho*).¹⁷ The expressions of *ekāvajjana* and *ekacitta* in the above passage are significant. The commentaries often interpret the Buddha's omniscient knowledge in the sense of 'adverting' (*āvajjana*) his mind to any object he wishes to know. Thus, the *Saddhammapakāsinī* maintains that omniscient knowledge arises because of the dependence on adverting (the mind) to all the dhammas (*āvajjanappaṭibaddhattā sabbadhammānaṃ*).¹⁸ This interpretation is

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seen even in the post-canonical literature. Hence, the *Milindapañha* specifically states that the Blessed One's all-knowing knowledge is dependent on the advertence of his mind (*āvajjanapaṭibaddhaṃ Bhagavato sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ*).¹⁹ Such evidence clearly demonstrates that the Buddha is capable of knowing everything, if he so wishes. But, he must first direct his mind to any object he wishes to know. This takes the normal course of cognizance of an object. In other words, his all-knowing knowledge is obtained according to his intention and is therefore temporary and provisional in time; thus never in the sense of being present all the time. This is a fundamental difference between the Buddha's omniscient knowledge and that claimed by the Nigaṇṭhas as found in the Buddhist canonical texts.

The first four Nikāyas are ambiguous about the knowledge concerning the future, though the divine eye (*dibba-cakkhu*), one of the three knowledges (*tevijjā*), may have some links to the ability to see into the future.²⁰ The *Pāsādika* sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*²¹ talks of the Tathāgata's knowledge concerning the past, present and future. It is said that concerning the past, the Tathāgata's consciousness follows in the wake of his memory and he can recall as much as he likes (*so yāvatakaṃ ākaṅkhati tāvatākaṃ anussarati*). But with regard to the future, he possesses the knowledge born of enlightenment (*bodhijaṃ*) to the effect; "This is the final birth, there is no more coming to be." Further, one of the *dasabalas* of the Tathāgata deals with his knowledge of the future thus: '...*Tathāgato atītānāgatapaccuppannāṇaṃ kammaṣamādānāṇaṃ tḥānaso hetuko vipākaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*.' (the Tathāgata knows, as it really is, the effects according to their conditions and causes, of the performance of kamma in the past, present and future.)²² These references suggest that the Buddha's knowledge concerning the future is conditional and is mainly focussed on the moral make-up of an individual. It does not seem to go beyond that. Commenting on this passage, K.N.Jayatileke also says: "This appears to be an admission that the Buddha did not claim to have (at least an unlimited) precognitive knowledge of the future."²³ This can be understood, if considered in

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relation to determinism (*niyativāda*) the Buddha vehemently opposed. If knowledge of one's future state is accepted as a reality, it will inevitably subscribe to the view that one's future is already determined. Free-will is therefore denied. This in turn discourages people from leading a meaningful religious life. One of the main reasons for the ambiguous treatment of omniscience concerning the future in the early canonical texts is therefore because of moral consideration.

However, the situation is quite different in late canonical texts. The Buddha is now unequivocally credited with the knowledge concerning the future. For example, the Paṭisambhidāmagga says of him as follows: 'sabbam anāgataṃ jānātī' (He knows everything concerning the future).²⁴ Though what the expression "anāgataṃ" exactly implies is not clear in this instance, the scope of the Buddha's knowledge became certainly wider. The commentaries continue to emphasize this aspect throughout. Thus, in the commentaries we find expressions like, 'atītānāgatapaccuppannaṃ sabbam jānāti ([the omniscient one] is he who knows everything concerning the past, future and present).²⁵ Following this definition, the Atthasālinī equates *sabbaññutañña* with *pubbenivāsañña* and *anāgataṃsañña*.²⁶

B. The Interpretation of the Term *Sabba* in 'Sabbaññū', 'Sabbadassāvī', etc.

When the Buddhists use terms like *sabbaññū*, *sabbavidū*, *sabbadassāvī*, and *sabbābhibhū* in the canonical texts, the 'all or everything' (*sabba*) there denotes what they term as *dvādasāyatana* (Twelve Bases). For example, the *Sabba sutta*²⁷ describes *sabba* to mean the five sense faculties and their corresponding objects, plus the sense faculty of the mind and its corresponding mental phenomena. Here *sabba* means the psychological make-up of a man. But its connotations in late canonical texts like the Paṭisambhidāmagga become far removed from the early canonical definitions. *Sabbadhammā* in the Paṭisambhidāmagga are elucidated as

pañcakkhandhā, dvādasāyatanāni and *aṭṭhārasa dhātuyo; kusalā dhammā, akusalā dhammā* and *abyākatā dhammā; kāmāvacarā dhammā, rūpāvacarā dhammā, arūpāvacarā dhammā* and *apariyāpannā dhammā*.²⁸ They are minutely dealt with in the explanations of *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa* of the Buddha at Pts i 131-133. One striking feature in these explanations is that the Buddha is said to know everything (*sabba*) which has been seen, heard, sensed, thought, attained, sought and searched by the minds of those who inhabit the entire world of gods and men.²⁹ This description of the Buddha's *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa* is significant in that the author of the Paṭisambhidāmagga tried to make the Buddha's omniscient knowledge all-inclusive, though within the Theravāda tradition. Such an intention is expressed by the term *apariyāpannā dhammā* (things that are not included) in the text; whereby a further conceptual expansion regarding the Buddha's omniscient knowledge could be made possible by later authorities. The Paṭisambhidāmagga then summarizes all these connotations of the word *sabba* as follows: 'Sabbam saṅkhatāsaṅkhatam anavasesam jānāti ti sabbaññuta-ñāṇam.'³⁰ This is where changes in connotation of the range of the Buddha's omniscient knowledge were effected. Earlier it meant the psychological make-up of an individual, but now it includes not only that, but also the material world which comes under the category of *dhammā* in Theravāda Buddhism.

Incidentally, the dhammas are defined and classified into several categories in the commentaries. For instance, the Sumaṅgalavilāsini [DA i 99] gives four categories as follows: *guṇa* (virtue), *desanā* (preaching) as in '*dhammam ... desissāmi ādikalyāṇam*, etc.', *pariyatti* (scripture) as in '*dhammam pariyāpuṇāti suttaṃ geyyaṃ*, etc.' and *nissatta* (non-being) as in '*dhammā honti khandhā honti*, etc.' On the other hand, the Atthasālini [DhsA 38] says that the dhammas are of four categories; namely, *pariyatti*, *hetu* (cause) as in '*hetumhi ñāṇam dhammapaṭisambhidā ti*, etc.', *guṇa*, *nissattanijjivatā* (non-being and non-life). DhsA 95 where eight kinds of non-restraint (*asaṃvara*) are said to be reducible to five in their content (*atthato*), gives another list of dhammas as follows: *dussīlya*

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(immorality), *mutthasacca* (forgetfulness), *aññāna* (absence of knowledge), *akkhanti* (absence of patience) and *kosajja* (laziness). The *Papañcasūdanī* [MA i 17] is another commentary which gives various kinds of dhammas. They include, *pariyatti*, *sacca*, *samādhī*, *paññā*, *pakati*, *sabhāva*, *suññatā*, *puñña*, *āpatti* and *ñeyya*. All these categories of dhammas are elaborated with the support of passages found in the canonical texts. The above references therefore suggest that the term *dhamma* in '*sabbadhamma*' mentioned in relation to the Buddha's omniscient knowledge is of vast connotation including both matters and mind.

In the commentaries, the word *sabba* is given a few definitions. The *Papañcasūdanī*, for instance, gives the meaning of *anavasesa* (without remainder).³¹ In this instance, two quotations (probably from the Canon) are made. One is in the sense that the five *khandhas* (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, etc.) are impermanent (*anicca*) (*sabbaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ, sabbā vedanā aniccā*), and the other is '*sabbasakkāyapariyāpannesu dhammesu*'. The latter quotation reminds us of the sense in which the term is employed in the *Sabba Sutta*, as seen before. Elucidating the meanings of *sabbābhibhū*, *Buddhaghosa* says thus: '*Sabbābhibhū ti sabbāni khandh' āyatana-dhātu-bhava-yoni-gatī-ādīni abhibhavivā thito*' (The conqueror of all means the one who stays having conquered all of [5] aggregates, [12] sense-organs, [18] elements, [3 planes of] existence, [4] modes of generation, [5] courses of existence, etc.)³² These interpretations of *sabba* are apparently derived from the descriptions of *sabbaññūta-ñāna* in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. *Dhammapāla*, on the other hand, appears to be more carried away, but still within the definitions seen in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* when he comments on *sabbaññū* as follows: 'Omniscient one is he who knows everything in the three periods of time by the attainment of the knowledge of all dhammas in every respect without others' advice or instruction and [by the attainment of] the unobstructed knowledge obtained due to his wishes.'³³

Different definitions of *sabba* in different contexts must have motivated both *Buddhaghosa* and *Dhammapāla* to summarise its usage

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into four types; namely, *sabba-sabba*, *padesa-sabba*, *āyatana-sabba* and *sakkāya-sabba*.³⁴ *Sabba-sabba* is said to be understood in the context of ‘*Na tassa adiṭṭhaṃ idh’ atthi kiñci: Atho aviññātaṃ ajānitabbam; Sabbaṃ abhiññāsi yad’ atthi ñeyyam. Tathāgato tena samanta-cakkhū’ ti*,³⁵ etc. *Āyatana-sabba* in ‘*Sabbaṃ vo bhikkhave desissāmi. Taṃ sunāthā’ u*,³⁶ etc. *Sakkāya-sabba* in ‘*Sabba-dhamma-mūla-pariyāyavo bhikkhave desissāmi’ ti*, etc. *Padesa-sabba* in ‘*Sabba-dhammesu vā, gahapati, paṭhama samannābhāro uppajjati cittaṃ, mano, mānasam, tajjā mano-viññāṇa-dhātū’ ti*, etc.³⁷ Buddhaghosa further states that six sense objects (*chalārammaṇa*) are *padesa-sabba*; things belonging to the three planes of existence (*tebhūmaka-dhammā*) are *sakkāya-sabba*; things belonging to the four planes of existence (*catu-bhūmaka dhammā*) are *āyatana-sabba*; and whatever is to be understood (*yañ kiñci ñeyyam*) is *sabba-sabba*. *Padesa-sabba* does not reach *sakkāya-sabba* (*padesa-sabbaṃ sakkāya-sabbaṃ na pāpuṇāti*), nor does *sakkāya-sabba* reach *āyatana-sabba*, nor *āyatana-sabba* reaches *sabba-sabba*. Because, there is no meaning in saying, ‘This is not a sense object of omniscient knowledge’ (*sabbaññuta-ñāṇassa ayaṃ nāma dhammo ārammaṇaṃ na hotū’ ti n’ atthitayā*.)³⁸ On the other hand, Dhammapāla describes *sabba-sabba* as *nippadesa-visaya* (unlimited range), while the rest are *sappadesa-visaya* (limited range).³⁹ This shows that the Buddha’s knowledge came to be regarded as unlimited or all-embracing. And the category named *sabba-sabba* is certainly a later development far removed from the early canonical texts and seems to imply the entire range covered by the knowledge of a Buddha (*Buddha-ñāṇa*). A passage from the Niddesa, which is to become the standard definition of the nature of the Buddha’s *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa* in the commentarial literature, is cited in this instance as follows: ‘*sabbe dhammā sabbākārena Buddhassa Bhagavato ñāṇamukhe āpāthaṃ āgacchanti*’ (All things in all manners come to the range of the Buddha’s knowledge).⁴⁰ Thus the commentaries maintain that the Buddha knows everything that comes within his purview of understanding and comprehension.

An expansion of the scope of the Buddha’s knowledge can also be seen in the interpretation of the Perfect Enlightenment of the

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Buddha (*sammāsambodhi*). According to the Theravāda tradition, the Buddha's knowledge is synonymous with the sum total of what the Buddha attained or realised at the time of his enlightenment. In other words, the attainment or realisation of that knowledge had made Siddhattha a Buddha. Early canonical texts simply describe the Buddha's attainment as 'what has to be known is known, what has to be developed is developed and what has to be abandoned is abandoned. Therefore, O Brāhmaṇa, I am a Buddha.' (*abhiññeyyaṃ abhiññatam; bhāvetabbañ ca bhāvitam; pahātabbam pahīnaṃ me; tasmā Buddho'smi Brāhmaṇa*).⁴¹ This mode of description of the Buddha's spiritual attainments subsequently changed. For example, the Paṭisambhidāmagga⁴² and later quoted in the Visuddhimagga⁴³ says as follows:

'The Buddha discovered, of the things to be directly known, they must be directly known, of the things to be fully understood that they must be fully understood, of the things to be abandoned that they must be abandoned, of the things to be realised that they must be realised, and of the things to be developed that they must be developed.'⁴⁴(*abhiññeyye dhamme abhiññeyyato buddho, pariññeyye dhamme pariññeyyato, pahātabelle dhamme pahātabbato, sacchikātabbe dhamme sacchikātabbato, bhāvetabelle dhamme bhāvetabbato*.)

Two additional definitions not used in the early canonical texts are given here; namely, '*pariññeyye dhamme pariññeyyato*' and '*sacchikātabbe dhamme sacchikātabbato*'.

Dhammapāla, on the other hand, following the explanations found in the Mahā-niddeśa,⁴⁵ describes the scope of the Buddha's knowledge thus: 'His knowledge is as much as what is to be known and what is to be known is as much as his knowledge. The limit of what is to be known is his knowledge and the limit of his knowledge is what is to be known' (*Yāvatakaṃ ñeyyaṃ tāvatakaṃ ñāṇaṃ, yāvatakaṃ ñāṇaṃ tāvatakaṃ ñeyyaṃ; ñeyya-pariyantaṃ ñāṇaṃ,*

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ñānapariyantam ñeyyam.)⁴⁶ A question may arise here: Does the expression ‘*ñeyya-pariyantam ñāṇam ...*’ (the limit or end of what is to be known is the [Buddha’s] knowledge ...), suggest that the Buddha’s knowledge is not beyond time and space? In other words, is the Buddha’s knowledge limited? If the answer to this question is in the affirmative, how are we to reconcile it with such expressions as ‘the Buddha’s knowledge is limitless’ (*Buddhañāṇam anantam*),⁴⁷ etc.? There seem to be two levels of expression involved here. The Buddha knows everything that he can know, implying that his knowledge is conditioned. In this sense it is limited; because his omniscient knowledge arises as a result of adverting his mind to any object he wishes to know. He is therefore not omniscient all the time. But his knowledge is limitless within the range of his ability to know. He knows everything within that range. Due, probably, to these two levels of understanding of the Buddha’s omniscient knowledge, the commentaries have different expressions. Later Pāli authorities, beginning from the late canonical texts through the commentaries, expanded the scope of the Buddha’s knowledge as a part of the Buddhological development. But it must be admitted that the Paṭisambhidāmagga was the first to formulate, perhaps, the most comprehensive analysis of *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa* of the Buddha in the whole of Pāli literature. And the fact that the Aṭṭhakathā texts follow the explanations of the Paṭisambhidāmagga shows that its conceptual connotation had been fully developed by the time of the Paṭisambhidāmagga. Thus, the commentarial texts had only a few to add. The Buddha’s omniscient knowledge is the knowledge of everything conditioned and unconditioned without remainder (*sankhataṃ asankhatañ ca anavasesato jāṇan’atthena sabbaññū*).⁴⁸ This became the basis of the Buddha’s omniscience from the late canonical texts and continued in the commentaries. It must however be noted that the idea of the Buddha’s omniscience being the outcome of adverting his mind to any object he wishes to know (*āvajjanapaṭibaddha*) appears in the Pāli tradition only from the time of the Milindapañha [Miln 102, 106, etc.] This proves that its concept is post-canonical. Thus, the commentaries inherited the concept of the Buddha’s omniscience on these two lines.

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Interestingly, the king Milinda raises an objection that the Buddha could not have been omniscient, if his omniscient knowledge was the result of adverting his mind to an object he wished to know. But the thera Nāgasena reiterates that even if Buddhas are not adverting their minds to any objects they wish to know, it cannot be said that they are not omniscient (*āvajjanavekallamattakena na ettāvata buddhā asabbaññuno nāma hontī ti*).⁴⁹ The thera Nāgasena's arguments are important; first, he believes that Buddhas are omniscient because they are capable of becoming omniscient ones at any time they want to. Nāgasena thus goes by the ability and potentiality possessed by all Buddhas to become omniscient. Second, his contention has a religious implication. Buddhas are worthy of our veneration and homage, because they are our guides and teachers. Therefore, they must be accorded the highest honour and praise.

C. The Mode of Knowing Everything

The Buddha may advert or direct his mind to any object he wishes to know. But the question is how or by what medium the Buddha comes to know everything. Although the commentaries do not directly address this aspect of *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī may provide a clue for it. The text, while commenting on the phrase '... *tesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ imaṃ saṅkhiyadhammaṃ viditvā*', says that 'having known' (*viditvā*) means 'having known by the omniscient knowledge' (*sabbaññuta-ñāṇena jānitvā*) and that the Buddha, in some instances (*kattacī*), comes to know by the flesh-eye (*maṃsa-cakkhunā*), or by the divine-eye (*dibbena cakkhunā*); in some other cases by the natural ear (*pakati-sotena*), or by the divine ear (*dibba-sotena*).⁵⁰ It is therefore clear that the agent or medium by means of which the Buddha comes to know what he wants to know, differs according to the object he directs his mind towards. This also suggests that the process of knowing an object presupposes a time sequence, and is not instantaneous. It may be because of this reason that the Theravādins reject certain types of omniscience, such as *sakimsabbaññutā* (sudden omniscience), as will

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be discussed below.

A new departure in the concept of omniscience in the Aṭṭhakathā literature is an introduction of various types of *sabbaññū* classified based on the modes of knowing everything. According to the Saddhammappakāsinī⁵¹ and Saddhammapajjotikā,⁵² five types of *sabbaññū* are enumerated as follows:

1. *kamasabbaññū* (he who knows everything gradually)
2. *sakiṃsabbaññū* (he who knows everything at once)
3. *sataṭasabbaññū* (he who knows everything continuously)
4. *sattisabbaññū* (he who knows everything energetically, ably or according to ability)
5. *ñāṭasabbaññū* (he who knows everything that has been realised or known)

The passages in which the above classification is found are almost identical in both sources. This implies that both commentaries relied on one and the same stock of material. PṭṣA is ascribed to the authorship of Mahānāma and NdA to that of Upasena. Both commentators are believed to have composed their works almost immediately after Buddhaghosa.⁵³ Then, a question may arise as to why Dhammapāla, who is said to have lived much later than any other commentators mentioned above, is silent on the classification of *sabbaññū*. The fact that Mahānāma, who is said to have stayed in the vicinity of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura when writing PṭṣA,⁵⁴ and Upasena, who also lived in the precincts of the Mahāvihāra,⁵⁵ are the only two commentators who refer to the five types of *sabbaññū*, suggests that the Sinhala Aṭṭhakathās, based on which they wrote their respective commentaries in Pāli, would have actually contained this classification. The passage [PṭṣA i 58 = NdA ii 386-387] concerned, though long, is quoted below:

‘Omniscient one is the one who has known everything in five modes of what can be known. The state of being omniscient is omniscience, [and] that knowledge fit to

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be the knowledge of omniscience is called omniscient knowledge. There are five modes of what can be known in respect of all the dhammas, conditioned and unconditioned, as follows: 'essential condition or conditioned things', 'change or alteration', 'characteristic', '*Nibbāna*', and 'manifestation or indication'. Omniscient ones could be of five kinds, [namely] 'he who knows everything gradually', 'he who knows everything at once', 'he who knows everything continuously', 'he who knows everything energetically, ably or according to ability', and 'he who knows everything that has been realized or known'. There is no 'gradual omniscience' because it is not possible to have time to know everything gradually. There is no 'sudden omniscience' because there is no grasping of all the sense objects all at once. There is no 'constant or continuous omniscience' because eye consciousness and such [forms of consciousness] are possible according as [appropriate] objects; because it would negate [the occurrence of] '*bhavaṅga*' (the life continuum thought); and because of no logical justification. As for the remaining, there could be 'energetic or able omniscience' because of the ability to know everything, or 'realized or known omniscience' because all the dhammas are known. And because there is no knowledge of everything to the one who knows everything according to ability, that (omniscience according to ability) is also not appropriate.

"There is nothing that is not seen by him,
Nothing that is not realized, and nothing to be known,
Everything that can be known, [he] realized,
Therefore is Tathāgata with all-seeing eye"

Because it is said as above, it is only the 'realized or known omniscience' that is appropriate. This being the case, omniscience is [attained] in respect of 'function', 'non-confusion', 'accomplishment of reason or cause',

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and 'dependence on adverting'.' (*Sabaññutañāṇaṃ ... 'ti ettha: pañcañeyyapathappahedaṃ sabbam aññāsī 'ti sabbaññū. Sabbaññussa bhāvo sabbaññutā, sā eva ñāṇaṃ sabbaññutañāṇaṃ 'ti vattabbe sabbaññutañāṇaṃ 'ti vuttaṃ. saṅkhatāsaṅkhatādiḥheda sabbadhammā hi saṅkhāro, vikāro, lakkhaṇaṃ, nibbānaṃ, paññatti 'ti paūca ñeyyapathā honti. Sabbaññū 'ti ca kamasabbaññū, sakiṃsabbaññū, satatasabbaññū, sattisabbaññū, ñātasabbaññū 'ti pañcavidhā sabbaññūno siyuṃ. Kamena sabbajānanakālāsambhavato kamasabbaññutā na hoti, sakiṃ sabbārammaṇagahaṇābhāvato sakiṃsabbaññutā na hoti, cakkhuvīññāpādīnaṃ yathārammaṇacittasambhavato bhavaṅgacittavirodhato yutti-abhāvato ca satatasabbaññutā na hoti; aparisesato sabbajānanasamatthattā sattisabbaññutā va siyā, viditasabbadhammattā nātasabbaññutā va; sattisabbaññūno sabbajānanattaṃ n'atthi 'ti tam 'pi na yujjati.*

*"Na tassa adiṭṭhaṃ idha 'tthi kiñci,
Atha aviññātaṃ ajānitabbaṃ,
Sabbam abhiññāsi yad atthi ñeyyaṃ,
Tathāgato tena samantacakkhū"⁵⁶*

'ti vuttattā ñātasabbaññuttaṃ eva yujjati. Evaṃ hi sati kiccato, aśammohato, kāraṇasiddhito, āvajjanapaṭibaddhato, sabbaññuttaṃ eva hoti 'ti.)

Let us examine the above passage more closely.

(A) *Sabbaññū* is a person who knows everything concerning all the dhammas, conditioned and unconditioned, which are examined in five ways known as *pañcañeyyapatha*.⁵⁷

1. *saṅkhāra* (the conditioned)
2. *vikāra* (change or modification)
3. *lakkhaṇa* (characteristics)
4. *nibbāna* (the unconditioned)⁵⁸

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5. *paññatti* (manifestation or indication)

However, this *sabbaññutā* is undoubtedly within the framework of the definition of dhammas in the Theravāda tradition. *Pañcañeyyapatha* is explained in the Saddhammapakāsinī as knowing everything by wisdom (*taṃ sabbaṃ .pañcañeyyapathasambhūtaṃ paññāya jānāti' ti attho*).⁵⁹ This mode of investigation as a set does not seem to occur anywhere in the commentaries except in the above sources.

(B) *Sabbaññū* are mentioned as five types. They are not found in any other commentaries. It must also be noted here that their introduction is made by the use of a Potential Form of the verbal root 'as' (to be) as follows: '*pañcavidhā sabbaññuno siyuṃ*' (There could be five kinds of omniscient ones). This suggests that the five types of *sabbaññū* or *sabbaññutā* were not commonly accepted or established as a legitimate classification by the Theravādins at that time. Further, the classification is made according to the ways and means of attaining omniscient knowledge. In other words, the authors of these commentaries are examining mere possibilities of how one could attain omniscience.

(C) Categories like *kamasabbaññutā*, *sakiṃsabbaññutā* and *satatasabbaññutā* are interesting. The first two refer to the modes of attaining omniscient knowledge, which remind us of the two ways of attaining enlightenment popularly known in the Ch'an (Zen in Japanese) school of Buddhism in China; namely, 'Gradual Enlightenment' of the Northern school and 'Abrupt Enlightenment' of the Southern school.⁶⁰ It may be far-fetched to deliberately see a connection between the two, but we do not have positive evidence to deny it either. In the Theravāda tradition, the canonical evidence is clear that the Buddha's attainment of enlightenment was not a sudden process, but gradual; at least as far as the path leading to it is concerned. In the light of the Buddhist teaching of 'cause and effect', past stories known as *apadāna/avadāna* are often related to show that the attainment of arahantship by the Buddha's renowned disciples is

also the result of performing various virtues in the past. The idea that sudden enlightenment or realization of truth is an impossibility is therefore a natural corollary arising from such backdrops seen in the Buddhist literature. The commentaries are full of this.⁶¹ While reiterating in his *Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā* that the [Buddha's] understanding of all the dhammas is not sudden (*Na sakiṇ yeva sabba-dhammāvabodhato*); Dhammapāla explains that the Buddha is omniscient, because, by the attainment of able knowledge of understanding all the Dhammas, the ability or potentiality (*samatthatā*) to penetrate the entire range of dhammas arose continuously in him' (*Sabba-dhammāvabodhana-samattha-nīṇādhigamena hi Bhagavato santānevaanavasesa-dhamme paṭivijjhituṇ samatthatā ahoṣī ti*).⁶² He then discusses the question of whether the Buddha's attainment of knowledge is sudden or gradual in detail as follows: 'Does this knowledge [of the Buddha], when pervading, pervade in all the spheres suddenly or gradually?' (*Kiṃ pan' idam nīṇaṇ pavattamānaṇ sakiṇ yeva sabbsmiṇ visaye pavattati udāhu kameṇā' ti?*). 'If it pervades in the entire sphere suddenly, when such differences as the past, future and present; internal and external; and conditioned, unconditioned and general things, are present in the same sphere, there could not be an understanding of sphere in terms of classification or division, like a person who is seeing a picture from a distance. If that is the case, it is logical [to consider] all dhammas to be ranges of the Buddha's knowledge in a general sense, as if seeing that all dhammas are non-self in terms of non-self.'⁶³ Dhammapāla's argument here is that if the Buddha's knowledge is sudden, it can grasp only a general picture of the whole. In other words, there will be no cognition of dhammas separately or individually. Further, concerning the question of the Buddha's knowledge being gradual, he says: 'When whatever should be known in various divisions like birth, location, disposition, and also direction, district and time, etc., is being gradually seized or caught, the penetration of all [of them] does not arise in him and [therefore] there is no end to what should be known.'⁶⁴ In this instance, Dhammapāla advocates that if the process is gradual, there will be no end to that process. Therefore, it cannot be gradual either. Thus, he contends that the Buddha's knowledge is neither sudden

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nor gradual,⁶⁵ as against those (*ye...vadanti*) who maintain it to be either one or the other.

Discussing further, Dhammapāla next argues against the thesis that the Buddha is omniscient because of knowing a portion of what is to be known by direct perception (*ñeyyassa ekadesaṃ paccakkhaṃ katvā*). This knowledge is not based on inference and without doubt (*tañ ca nāṇaṃ na anumānikaṃ saṃsayābhāvato*). He contends that this is not relevant (*akāraṇaṃ*). Why? Because it is the consideration beyond the range (*Kasmā? Avisaya-vicāra-bhāvato*) [ItA i 141]. Then he sums us by saying that all dhammas are dependent upon the Buddha's adverting [his mind] (*āvajjana-paṭibaddhā*), mental concentration (*manasikāra-paṭibaddhā*), expectation (*ākañkhā-paṭibaddhā*) and generation of a thought (*cittuppāda-paṭibaddhā*) [ItA i 142]. Dhammapāla's interpretation of the Buddha's omniscience thus shows a much advanced stage in the history of Theravāda Buddhism; far removed even from its interpretation seen in the Milindapañha where the Buddha's omniscience is said to be dependent only upon adverting his mind (*āvajjana-paṭibaddha*) to any object he wishes to know.

One may say that Dhammapāla's above arguments where he denies both modes of the attainment of the Buddha's knowledge, i.e., sudden and gradual, are contradictory to the fact that he himself implicitly subscribes to the view of different modes of attaining omniscience when he says the following: '*...evaṃ ekajjhaṃ visuṃ visuṃ sakiṃ kamena vā icchānurūpaṃ sammā sāmāñ ca sabbadhammānaṃ buddhattā sammāsambuddho Bhagavā, ...*' ([The Buddha] is fully awakened and is called the Blessed One, because he has realized and awakened to all things in accordance with his wishes [to know them], together or separately, all at once or gradually, rightly and by himself).⁶⁶ The words underlined are the point in question. This shows that Dhammapāla also believes in different modes or methods of knowing all the dhammas. What is emphasised by him here seems that if the Buddha so desires, he can gain the required knowledge of dhammas together, separately, suddenly or gradually as he wishes.

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In other words, categorization of his knowledge into a specific type is not appropriate as far as his omniscient knowledge goes. His underlying analysis is similar to the basis adopted in PtsA and NdA.

The third type, i.e. *satatasabbaññutā*, is a more immediate issue within the Theravāda context, or rather Indian context in that it gives an impression of the type of omniscience claimed by Nigaṇṭhanātha-putta recorded in the Buddhist canonical texts [e.g. the Tevijja-Vacchagotta sutta].⁶⁷ The denial of this omniscience in the canonical texts is derived from the Buddha's own reference to it. He says that there is neither a recluse nor a brahmin who (at one and the same time) can know all and can see all.⁶⁸ By the time of the Milindapañha and more prominently in the commentaries, the attainment of the Buddha's omniscience came to be regarded as a result of adverting his mind to any object he wishes to know (*āvajjanapaṭibaddha*). It implies that the state of omniscience is not continuous. *Satatasabbaññutā* cannot therefore be accepted as a possible mode of attaining omniscience in Theravāda Buddhism.

(D) Of the five types of *sabbaññutā*, two terms, viz., *anupubbasabbaññutā* which seems to be identical with *kamasabbaññutā* as far as its meaning goes, and *sakiṃsabbaññutā*, are separately referred to at PtsA ii 429. Their treatment there is seen in connection with a veiw expressed by 'some' (*keci*) who by implication would have been aware of such a classification of *sabbaññutā* into different categories. They (*keci*) maintain that the negation of *anupubbasabbaññutā* is *sabbaññutaññāṇa*, while the negation of *sakiṃsabbaññutā* is *anāvaraṇaññāṇa* (*anupubbasabbaññutappaṭikkhepo sabbaññutaññāṇam*; *sakiṃsabbaññutappaṭikkhepo anāvaraṇaññāṇam*). This is rejected by the author of PtsA who says that because of the attainment of omniscient knowledge, the Blessed One is called the Omniscient One, but [he is] not the one who knowseverything gradually; because of the attainment of the unobstructed knowledge, he is called the Omniscient One, but [he is] not the one who knows everything at once (*Bhagavā sabbaññutaññāṇa-ppaṭilābhena 'pi sabbaññū 'ti vuccati; na ca*

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*anupubbasabbaññū. Anāvarenaññāṇappaṭilābhena 'pi sabbaññū 'ti vuccati; na ca sakimsabbaññū 'ti). The author of PṭṣA, however, does not deny the classification itself of sabbaññū into anupubbasabbaññū and sakimsabbaññū in this instance. What he says is that sabbaññūtaññāṇa and anāvarenaññāṇa are employed to show different aspects of one and the same knowledge of the Buddha. His position is well supported by other commentators as well. For instance, Dhammapāla, following the explanation of sabbaññūta-ññāṇa and anāvarena-ññāṇa in the Paṭisambhidāmagga,⁶⁹ elaborates that it (*Buddha-ññāṇa*) is called omniscient knowledge in terms of the knowledge of things conditioned, unconditioned, conventional and real in every way without remainder, and it is [also] the unobstructed knowledge there because of the absence of obstacles and due to functioning without attachment (... *sabbathā anavasesa sañkhat' āsañkhata sammuti sacc' āvabodhato sabbaññūta-ññāṇaṃ, tath' āvaraṇa' ābhāvato nissaṅgappavattiṃ upādāya anāvarena-ññāṇaṃ ti vuccam*).⁷⁰*

The references to different types of *sabbaññūtā* at PṭṣA ii 429 and PṭṣA i 58 = NdA i 386-387, and their treatment of the subject, point to the fact that such a notion may have been a point of controversy between the Mahāvihāravāsins and non-Mahāvihāravāsins by the time of the [Sīhala] Aṭṭhakathā literature. This is one of many instances in the commentaries reflecting the circumstances under which the Theravādins refer to views of non-Mahāvihāra school and often argue against them. The classification of omniscient ones (*sabbaññū*) into five types appears to be a summary of views held by both the Mahāvihāravāsins and non-Mahāvihāravāsins. At least two of them can be considered as views of non-Mahāvihāra fraternity as they are directly refuted by Dhammapāla in his *Ītīvuttaka-aṭṭhakathā*, as seen above. The third types, i.e., *satatasabbaññū* could be a reminiscence of the claim made by the Nigaṅthas for their master. The fourth one, i.e., *sattisabbaññū* may have been derived from the idea of ability (*samattha*) as a possible mode of knowing the commentaries refer to in connection with knowing all the dhammas. Thus, both PṭṣA and NdA, as shown above, say that there could be

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able omniscience because of the ability to know everything (*sabbajānanasamatthattā sattisabbaññutā vā siyā*). The way this type of omniscient knowledge (*sattisabbaññutā*) is cited in them also suggests that the Theravādins give a more favourable treatment to it than, for instance, to the first two categories.⁷¹ The fifth type, as will be discussed below, is undoubtedly the view of the Mahāvihāravāsins themselves. It could therefore be presumed that the categorization of omniscient ones into five types in the commentaries was a result of incorporating different modes of knowing advocated by both the Mahāvihāravāsins and their rivals at the time.

(E) *Ñātasabbaññū* seems to be the most favoured description of omniscience by the commentators. The reason why only the *ñātasabbaññū* is accepted in the passage cited above appears to lie in the interpretation of the phrase '*sabbaṃ abhiññāsi yad atthi ñeyyaṃ*'. The word *ñeyyaṃ* (that which should be known or understood) suggests that the Buddha's knowledge is subjected to certain restrictions; the restrictions being that he knows only such things as he ought to know, probably as a Buddha. In other words, the Buddha's omniscient knowledge does not go beyond the confines of the dhammas that must be known or realized by a Buddha. And the realization or understanding of all dhammas leads one to the state of Buddhahood. It presupposes a time sequence. Therefore, the expression of '*ñāta-sabbaññū*' (using the Past Participle form of '*jānāti*') is appropriate.

Moreover, the commentarial definition of *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa* is derived from the idea of advertence of the mind to any object the Buddha wishes to know. Dhammapāla summarizes the importance of directing the mind in the following manner: 'All things are dependent on the Buddha's adverting the mind, wishing [to know the object], keeping in mind and generating the mind.'⁷² In other words, omniscient knowledge arises in the Buddha as a result of directing his mind to any object he wishes to know. Here we detect two things: first, the Buddha is not always omniscient; and second, the knowledge

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that is talked about is the objective knowledge. Knowing an object implies the cognitive process. Only when that process is over, the Buddha becomes a knower. Then the object he wished to know becomes known. It is in this sense that the commentators seem to accept '*ñāta-sabbaññū*' as the only legitimate description of omniscience.

(F) According to the passage, the Buddha's omniscience is said to be associated with the following four things:

1. *vicca* (function)
2. *asammoha* (non-confusion or instant clarity)
3. *kāraṇasiddhi* (accomplishment of reason, cause, or purpose)
4. *āvajjanapaṭibaddha* (dependence on advertence)

Unfortunately, we are not in a position to provide any comment on this for want of any further information available at hand except to say that of the four things mentioned in the passage, the term *kāraṇasiddhi* seems to occur only in this instance in the entire commentarial literature. The other terms are often found in the commentaries. To cite a few; the accomplishment of the state of Buddhahood is said to be made through wisdom, while the accomplishment of its function is through compassion (*paññāya buddhabhāvasiddhi karuṇāya buddhakiccasiddhi*) [ItA i 16; etc.] NdA ii 296 states that all dhammas are known in terms of clarity, therefore there is no 'not-known' (*asammohato sabbadhammānaṃ ñātattā aññātaṃ nāma natthi*). The word *āvajjanapaṭibaddha* is of frequent occurrence in the commentaries as referred to before.

The word *sabbaññū* or *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa* is employed exclusively for Buddhas. But Bodhisattas in the Aṭṭhakathā literature are at times strangely called '*sabbaññū-bodhisatta*'.⁷³ Another puzzling instance of its use is found in the Madhuratthavilāsinī where Upāli is said to have been praised by the Buddha for his dexterity in the Vinaya Piṭaka, particularly in the decisions regarding Bhārukaccha, Ajjuka and Kumārakassapa.⁷⁴ The relevant passage says that Upāli gave

these three decisions, combining them together through [his] omniscient knowledge (*imāni tīni vatthūni sabbaññutañāpena saddhim samsandītvā kathesi*).⁷⁵ The word underlined is the point in question. This instance gives rise to a question as to whether or not 'sabbaññuta-ñāna' is the province not only of a Buddha, but also of a disciple. The evidence cited above is, nonetheless, too isolated to make any positive observation as to whether or not the term is also used for disciples. Future investigations will be welcome in this regard. On the other hand, another interpretation can be suggested here. That is, the *sabbaññuta-ñāna* used in the above passage simply means 'the knowledge pertaining to all matters of disciplinary rules' for which Upāli is repented.

Our above investigations have revealed some new developments in the concept of omniscience in the commentarial literature. First, the introduction of a term called *sabba-sabba* expanding the scope of omniscience is noteworthy. Its notion, in summary, includes all the dhammas in the Theravāda context. Second, the reference to five types of omniscient ones with regard to the modes of knowing everything appears to be a reflection of views held by different groups of Buddhists including the Mahāvihāravāsins themselves prevalent at that time. A focus of controversy is on two modes of knowing; namely, *kama* or *anupubba sabbaññutā* and *sakim sabbaññutā*, both of which are rejected particularly by Dhammapāla. Although he subscribes at the same time to different modes of knowing including 'gradual' and 'sudden', his contention appears to be based on a different footing. It is also significant that the Mahāvihāravāsins accept only the category called *ñāta-sabbaññutā*. This is a logical conclusion derived from the recognition of a cognitive process of objects in Theravāda Buddhism. Once that process of cognizance is over, the objects thus cognized become 'known' (*ñāta*). This is the basis for its acceptance. Third, the Theravādins maintain that the Buddha becomes omniscient when and as he directs his mind to any object he wishes to know. This is not tantamount to the denial of the Buddha's omniscience itself when he does not direct his mind to an object. He can legitimately be called the omniscient one, because he possesses

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the ability to become so as contended by the thera Nāgasena in the Milindapañha.

3. *Dasabala* or *Tathāgatabala* (Ten Powers of a Tathāgata)

A standard explanation of *tathāgatabala* says that they are the powers only of the Tathāgata, not shared by others. They are also the powers which have come down (*āgatabalāni*) just as [they had come down to] the previous Buddhas through the accumulation of merit.⁷⁶ The expression '*puññussayasampattiya*' (through or by the accumulation of merit) is significant. The canonical texts⁷⁷ are usually silent on the reasons why the Buddha came to possess *tathāgatabala* or *dasabala*. Perhaps, it may be that to the Buddhists of early phases in the history of Buddhism, the Buddha and his enlightenment were much nearer in experience than to the Buddhists of later times. The Buddha was there in person, and people could witness firsthand the highest virtues and wisdom attainable by a person. He exemplified and showed to others that liberation from *saṃsāra* could be possible in this very life. No urge, therefore, was felt by them to conceptualize who the Buddha was and link his career to his past lives, unlike in later times when their Master was long dead and gone. But, by the Aṭṭhakathā period, through the Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka of the Khuddaka Nikāya, the career of the Buddha was made more complex in line with the apotheosis of the Master; a distinct process separating the Buddha, or the notion of Buddhahood, from the rest of saints. As a result, an invention of former causes that would lead to the path of Buddhahood, became a necessity. In fact, everything of the Buddha came to be looked at from the viewpoint of 'cause and effect'. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the attainment of *tathāgatabala* by a Buddha is considered to be the result of accumulating merits done in his previous lives. It agrees with the general trend of the Buddha-concept in the Aṭṭhakathā literature that the career of a Bodhisatta is primarily the testing ground for performing as many meritorious deeds as possible.

The practice of *pāramitās* is the sum total of requirements

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for the attainment of Buddhahood. The *pāramitās* are accomplished by a Bodhisatta with two specific purposes in mind: the attainment of his own enlightenment and the mission of taking others across to the yonder shore of *samsāra*. To achieve the state of Buddhahood, the accumulation of virtues is of paramount importance. It is therefore said that the *pāramitās* are the necessary conditions for meritorious deeds (*puññasambhāra*) and for knowledge (*ñānasambhāra*).⁷⁸

When the Buddha is said to be endowed with 'power' (*bala*), the Aṭṭhakathā texts distinguish two kinds of *bala*. One is knowledge power (*ñāṇabala*) and the other is physical power (*kāyabala*).⁷⁹ When these two powers are put together, the complete personality of a Buddha emerges. The commentaries give lists of several kinds of knowledge included in the classification of *ñāṇabala* or otherwise called *Buddhañāṇa*.⁸⁰ *Bala* (power) is considered as knowledge, because it is unshakable and lends support to the one who is endowed with it (*ñāṇam hi akampiyatṭhena upatthambhānatṭhena balan ti vuttam*).⁸¹

The *tathāgatabala* or *dasabala* is sometimes called *Buddhabala*. Hence, it is said that *buddhabala* means the Buddha's might or his ten powers (*buddhabalaṃ nāma buddhānubhāvo dasabalañāṇāni vā*).⁸² The Niddesa-aṭṭhakathā says that it is unique or special to Buddhas alone (*Tathāgatabalānan ādayo āveṇikadhammasena vuttā ti veditabbā*).⁸³

The role or function of the ten powers is mentioned in the canonical texts as follows: the Tathāgata, by virtue of the possession of those powers, claims leadership over others, roars a lion's roar in assemblies and sets in motion the Brahma-wheel.⁸⁴ Same is repeated for *catu vesārajja* in the text. Dhammapāla in his Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā makes a somewhat different interpretation of the function of these two aspects of *Buddha-ñāṇa*. He states that the powers are the field of 'wisdom', while the (four) confidences are the field of compassion (*tattha paññā-khettaṃ balāni, karuṇā-khettaṃ vesārajjāni*). He goes on to say that by the combination of powers, [the Buddha] is not

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conquered by others, by the combination of confidences, he conquers others. The successful accomplishment of a teacher is by the powers, the successful accomplishment of a dispensation is by the confidences, and the accomplishment of the Jewel of Buddhahood is by the powers and the accomplishment of the Jewel of the Dhamma is by the confidences.⁸⁵ This passage therefore shows that the *tathāgatabala* is an endowment a Buddha will come to possess as a consequence of his spiritual attainments, while the four *vesārajjas* are the qualities which provide him with ability and confidence of teaching for the benefit of others. Buddhaghosa also remarks that the Blessed One teaches the Dhamma by various methods, because he is endowed with the four confidences along with other things.⁸⁶ A similar description of the functions of *tathāgatabala* and *catu-vesārajja* is also found in a simile of the one (i.e. a Buddha) who is possessed of the strength of a *nisabha* (bull) at VvA 83 and VibhA 398. Such a distinction indeed conforms to the general trend found in the Aṭṭhakathā literature that *mahāpaññā* and *mahākaruṇā* are two important aspects of Buddhahood.

Commenting on the word *cakka* in 'brahmacakkaṃ pavatteti' at M i 69 and elsewhere, the Papanācasūdanī,⁸⁷ Manorathapūraṇī⁸⁸ and Sammohavinodanī⁸⁹ also bring out two aspects of Buddhahood; viz., *paññā* and *karuṇā*. *Cakka* is *dhammacakka*, which is of two kinds; *paṭivedhaññāna* (penetration knowledge) and *desanāññāna* (teaching knowledge). The Aṭṭhakathā texts further state that the former (i.e. *paṭivedhaññāna*) is produced by understanding and brings his own noble fruition, whereas the latter (i.e. *desanāññāna*) is produced by compassion and brings disciples' noble fruition (*tattha paññāpabhāvitāṃ attano ariyaphalāvahaṃ paṭivedaṇṇaṃ, karuṇāpabhāvitāṃ sāvakaṇaṃ ariyaphalāvahaṃ desanāññāṇaṃ*).⁹⁰ After explaining both knowledges, the texts conclude that *paṭivedhaññāna* is supramundane (*lokuttara*) and *desanāññāna* is mundane (*lokiya*), but both are not shared by others and are the knowledge of Buddhas' own (*ubhayam pi paṇ' etaṃ aññehi asādhāraṇaṃ, Buddhānaṃ yeva orasaṃ ñāṇaṃ*). Here too, *paññā* and *karuṇā* of Buddhahood are emphasized.

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The taming of others through reading their mental dispositions and propensities is also discussed as one of the ten powers. The Aṭṭhakathā texts, while admitting that some of the powers are common to disciples, say that the knowledge of maturity levels of the spiritual faculties of others is a knowledge not shared by others (*indriyaparopariyattināṇaṃ asādhāraṇaṃ*); other knowledges (in the ten powers of the Tathāgata) are both shared and not shared (*sesaṃ sādharāṇaṃ ca asādhāraṇaṃ ca*). The disciples know 'a possibility and impossibility', etc., in a limited sense, but the Tathāgatas know [them] comprehensively or limitlessly (*Ṭhānāthānādīni hi sāvakā padesena jānanti, Tathāgatā nippadesena*).⁹¹ In passing, the above passage of the Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā is significant in that it is an answer to the thesis proposed by the school of Andhakas, and this position upheld by the Theravādins is supported by other Aṭṭhakathā texts as well. For example, the Saddhammapakāsinī says that *indriyaparopariyattināṇa* is not shared by disciples in every way (*indriyaparopariyattināṇaṃ pana sabbathā' pi sāvakehi asādhāraṇaṃ eva*).⁹² The text further states that the *Tathāgatabalas* are immeasurable in the sense of excessiveness and incomparability (*adhimattatṭhena atuliyatṭhena appameyyāni*). The Sammohavinodanī comments that *indriyaparopariyatta-nāṇa* and *āsayānusaya-nāṇa* constitute one kind of power knowledge (*bala-nāṇa*).⁹³ Referring to the causes or reasons by means of which all Buddhas come to possess the *āsayānusaya-nāṇa*, the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā specifically mentions that it is the result of fulfilling the perfections and the attainment of omniscient knowledge.⁹⁴

Discrepancies in expressions between the canonical lists of *dasabala* of the Buddha and those mentioned in the Aṭṭhakathā texts are also found in the Madhuratthavilāsinī.⁹⁵ The text uses *āsayānussaya-nāṇa* as the sixth power, which, according to VibhA 461-462 as seen above, is another means of classifying *indriyaparopariyatta-nāṇa*, while the term *cutūpapatti-nāṇa* used as the ninth item in the list is identical with *dibbacakkhu*.⁹⁶ However, the Aṭṭhakathā texts too, though having different terminology for some items, follow the canonical classification of the ten powers.

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One of the areas of development of the Buddha-concept in the Aṭṭhakatha literature centres on the Buddha as a teacher. The Buddha is the supreme teacher not only of men but also of divine beings (*satthā devamanussānaṃ*). He possesses the ability to tame beings. The epithet *purisadammasārathī* given to the Buddha says it all. Taming of beings begins with an investigation into the levels of their spiritual maturity. The Buddha thereafter comes to know the most suitable and effective device for taming. This is where the ability to discern the disposition (*āsayānusaya*) and maturity levels of the spiritual faculties of others (*indriyaparopariyatta*), plays a pivotal role. It therefore constitutes the sixth power in the list of ten *tathāgatabalas* and is one of the six knowledges not shared by others (*asādhāraṇāñāṇa*). The intention behind these classifications is to place emphasis upon the greatness and magnitude of the Buddha as a teacher. The Apadāna specifically refers to these dispositions, and by the knowledge thereof, the Buddha preaches the Dhamma.⁹⁷ The Aṭṭhakathā texts⁹⁸ record a view of 'dissenters' (*paravādī*), who believe that there is no separate knowledge called knowledge of the ten powers; it is only one aspect of omniscient knowledge (*dasabalañāṇaṃ nāma pāṭiyekkaṃ n' atthi; sabbaññūtañāṇass' evāyaṃ pabhedo ti*). The Theravāda position on this is that they are separate kinds of knowledge as mentioned earlier. In this instance, the Aṭṭhakathā texts clearly demonstrate the differences between them as follows: Each kind of knowledge of the ten powers knows only its own function, while omniscient knowledge knows both that and the rest (*dasabalañāṇaṃ hi sakasakakiccaṃ eva jānāti. Sabbaññūtañāṇaṃ tampi tato avasesam pi jānāti*). Of the knowledge of the ten powers in successive order, the first knows only reasons and non-reasons (*kāraṇākāraṇaṃ*); the second, kamma intervals and [kamma-] result intervals (*kammantara-vipākantaraṃ*); the third, the delimitation of kamma (*kamma-paricchadam*); the fourth, the reason for the difference of the elements (*dhātunānatta-kāraṇaṃ*); the fifth, inclinations and resolves of beings (*sattānaṃ ajjhāsaya-dhimuttiṃ*); the sixth, the sensitiveness and dullness of the faculties (*indriyānaṃ tikkhamudubhāvaṃ*); the seventh, the *jhānas*, etc., together with their defilements, etc. (*jhānādīhi*

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saddhiṃ tesam saṅkilesādiṃ); the eighth, the continuity of aggregates formerly lived (*pubbe nivutthakhandhasantatiṃ*); the ninth, death and rebirth-linking of beings (*sattānaṃ cutipaṭisandhiṃ*); and the tenth, the definition of the truths (*saccaparicchedaṃ*). But, omniscient knowledge knows what is to be known by those and what is beyond that (*sabbaññutañāṇaṃ pana etehi jānitabbañ ca tato uttariñ ca pajānāti*); it does not perform all their functions (*etesam pana kiccaṃ na sabbam karoti*). For, that cannot bring absorption by being *jhāna* (*taṃ hi jhānaṃ hutvā appetuṃ na sakkoti*); it cannot transform by miraculous power (*iddhi hutvā vikubbituṃ na sakkoti*); it cannot put down the defilements by being the path (*maggo hutvā kilese khetuṃ na sakkoti*).

The Theravādins further question the 'dissenters' whether knowledge of the ten powers is accompanied by *vitakka* (applied thought) and *vicāra* (sustained thought), or without *vitakka* and with *vicāra*, or without both; or whether it is of *kāmāvacara* (sense sphere), of *rūpāvacara* (fine-material sphere), or of *arūpāvacara* (immaterial sphere); or it is *lokiya* (mundane) or *lokuttara* (supramundane). The 'dissenters' will say, if they know [rightly] (*jānanto*), that the first seven kinds of knowledge are accompanied by *vitakka* and *vicāra*; the next two are without *vitakka* and *vicāra*; and as for the knowledge of the destruction of cankers, it may be with *vitakka* and *vicāra*, or without *vitakka* and with *vicāra*, or without both. Moreover, the first seven are of the sense sphere, the next two are of the fine-material sphere, and the last one is supramundane. But they are of the opinion that the omniscient knowledge is only accompanied by *vitakka* and *vicāra*. It is only of the sense sphere and is mundane. Therefore, the Theravādins say that knowledge of the ten powers and omniscient knowledge are separate.⁹⁹ The texts finally elaborate on the ten powers one by one and show that the Tathāgata through these ten powers knows those capable of being delivered and leads them gradually along the path of liberation.¹⁰⁰ Here emphasis is placed on the Buddha's quality as a teacher, which fact is indeed in conformity with the canonical explanations found, for instance, in the Mahāsīhanāda sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, as seen before.

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4. *Iddhi* (Psychic Power)

The concept of *bala* leads us to yet another aspect of the Buddha-concept in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. Canonical references to the ten kinds of supernatural or magical powers (*iddhibala*) are found for the first time in the Paṭisambhidāmagga.¹⁰¹ *Iddhi* constitutes the first item in the list of six higher knowledges (*abhīññā*), and is obtainable through the utmost perfection in mental development (*samādhi*). The Visuddhimagga provides a detailed explanation as to how a meditator can attain *iddhi* and enjoy its benefits.¹⁰² These instances show that anyone who perfects mental development can come to possess such magical powers. However, the attainment of arahantship solely depends on the knowledge of the destruction of all cankers through penetrating insight (*vipassanā*). *Iddhi* is therefore not a special province of a Buddha alone.

As time passed by, however, the Buddhists came to entertain the notion that there would not be any disciple of the Buddha who was equally proficient as, or surpassed, the Buddha in the performance of magical powers due, apparently, to the apotheosis and exaltation of their Master. Such a notion began to stay from the Buddhavaṃsa. Hence, the Buddha is called the unequal in magical powers (*iddhibalena asamo*).¹⁰³ Commenting on this, the Madhuratthavilāsini states that the *iddhi* there means 'assuming different forms' (*vikubbana*), 'resolute determination' (*adhiṭṭhāna*), etc.¹⁰⁴ This shows that the author of BvA apparently thinks that the Buddha is incomparable in the ten kinds of *iddhi* mentioned in the Paṭisambhidāmagga and elsewhere.¹⁰⁵

In the course of the acceleration of the Buddha's apotheosis, a group of Buddhists named the Andhakas is said to have elevated the ability of performing magical powers by the Buddha and his disciples to such a height that anything could be possible through the magical powers. This proposition is refuted by the Theravādins in the Kathāvatthu.¹⁰⁶ The Andhakas' position is that both the Buddha

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and his disciples have the power of supernormally performing whatever they intend. What interests us is the Theravāda notion of *iddhi* mentioned in the Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakatha.¹⁰⁷ The Commentary states at the outset that *iddhi* succeeds or is possible only in certain areas, and not in other areas (*iddhi nāṃ' esa katthaci ijjhati katthaci na ijjhati*). It certainly does not succeed in making impermanent things permanent (*aniccādinam niccādikaraṇe ekanten' eva na ijjhati*). But it is possible by *iddhi* to turn common continuity into different continuity, or to prolong it in its common continuity; these are possible on account of [some] causes such as merit, etc. For example, like turning water to milk, ghee, etc., for monks, and prolonging lights or illuminations when great relics are deposited.¹⁰⁸ The above arguments adduced by the Theravādins show that they checked the momentum of exaggeration with which some non-Theravāda Buddhist schools tried to exalt the Buddha even disregarding the fundamental principles of Buddhism. In other words, the foregoing passage reveals that magical powers cannot work against any universal principles such as impermanence, etc. This is the criterion of the working of magical powers according to the Theravāda tradition. Furthermore, the Theravādins seem to believe that magical powers, at least some of them, are possible as a result of the accumulation of merits. This may be, perhaps, equated with the *puññavato iddhi* explained in detail as one of the ten kinds of *iddhi* at Vism 382-383.

Miracles, on the other hand, came to be accorded a special recognition in the Theravāda tradition as time progressed. The commentaries are in fact full of such miracles displayed by both the Buddha and his disciples. Buddhaghosa, in passing, classifies two types of miracles in his *Visuddhimagga*; namely, *pākāṭapāṭihāriya* (miracles of appearance) and *apākāṭapāṭihāriya* (miracles of disappearance). The former is called *āvibhāva* (appearance) and the latter, *tirobhāva* (vanishing). Again, as for the former, it is said that both the performer and the miracles performed are displayed, while the latter shows only the miracles performed, but not the performer thereof.¹⁰⁹

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The culmination of magical powers finds its place in the Twin Miracle of the Buddha (*yamakapāṭihāra*). The Twin Miracle, as seen elsewhere, is one of the six *asādhāraṇa-nāna* of the Buddha. It appears that the term *yamakapāṭihāriya* or *yamakapāṭihāra* is used for the first time in the Paṭisambhidāmagga in Theravāda Buddhism. The Milindapañha also refers to the fact that the Buddha's mind is so clear and active outclassing others that he performs the Twin Miracle.¹¹⁰

It is generally believed that Gotama Buddha's Twin Miracle was performed in the seventh year at Sāvattihī after his Enlightenment (*abhisambodhito sattame saṃvacchare...*)¹¹¹ The contents of miracles are vividly described at Dhpa iii 213 ff; J iv 263 ff; BvA 31-32; etc.¹¹² The Twin Miracle is so called because it consists in the appearance of phenomena of opposite character in pairs. The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā states that in performing the Twin Miracle the Buddha produced flames from the upper part of his body and a stream of water from the lower part, then alternatively. Flames of fire and streams of water proceeded alternatively from the right side of his body and likewise from the left side. From every pore of his body six coloured rays emanated. The tradition says that after concluding the Twin Miracle at Sāvattihī, the Buddha like his predecessors proceeds to the Tāvatisa heaven to preach the Abhidhammā to his mother. Scholars have already pointed out that the descriptions of the Twin Miracle are somewhat different among the sources.¹¹³

The canonical texts speak of three kinds of *pāṭihāriya* (miracles); namely, *iddhi-pāṭihāriya*, *ādesanā-pāṭihāriya* and *anusāsani-pāṭihāriya*.¹¹⁴ The first two, if misused or abused, are disapproved by the Buddha, because he sees danger in them.¹¹⁵ By the time of the Buddhavaṃsa, however, the Buddha came to be regarded as the foremost in the three miracles (*iddhi ca ādesanānusāsani nipāṭihire Bhagavā vasī āhu*).¹¹⁶ These three miracles are significant in that the Buddha's mission was primarily focussed on the spread of the Dhamma by preaching. The meanings of the term *pāṭihāra* are in fact given in the above light, as can be seen in the following definitions in

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the Madhuratthavilāsinī:

‘Marvel (*pāṭihīra*) means a marvel from the removing of opposition (or opponents), or it is a marvel in that it captivates (*paṭiharati*) the minds of creatures overcome by false views and conceit, or it is a marvel in that it brings back (*paṭi-āharati*) the disposition of pleasure of creatures who have lost it. “*Pāṭihēra*” is also a reading; the meaning is the same.)¹¹⁷ (*Pāṭihīran ti paṭipakkhaharanato pāṭihīraṃ paṭiharati sattānaṃ diṭṭhimānopagatāni cittāni ti vā pāṭihīraṃ, appasannānaṃ sattānaṃ pasādaṃ paṭi-āharati ti vā pāṭihīraṃ; pāṭihēran ti pi pāṭho.*)¹¹⁸

The Buddhavaṃsa-atthakathā further compares three marvels or miracles to different abilities possessed by the Buddha’s disciples. The marvel of instruction by means of the marvel of psychic potency (*iddhi-pāṭihāriya*) is a speciality of Moggallāna, the marvel of instruction by means of the marvel of the speaking of suitable discourses (*ādesanā-pāṭihāriya*) is a speciality of Sāriputta. But the marvel of instruction (*anusāsanī-pāṭihāriya*) is the constant teaching of the Dhamma of Buddhas.¹¹⁹

The Buddha’s foremost ability in instructing others for deliverance is well brought out in the concept of *buddha-veneyya* (amenable to the training only by a Buddha). This concept is undoubtedly related to the sixth power of the ten *tathāgatabalas*; namely, knowledge of the maturity levels of the spiritual faculties of others (*indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa*), or otherwise called knowledge of disposition (*āsayānusaya-ñāṇa*). This knowledge is considered as a special province of the Buddha alone (*asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa*), as seen before. The Atthakathā texts give several instances in which even Sāriputta, who is the foremost among disciples, fails to lead people to the path of arahantship. For example, the story of a co-resident of Sāriputta, who was a son of a goldsmith (*suvanṇakāraputta*), tells us

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that Sāriputta, after failing to instruct him, finally takes him to the Buddha. The Buddha then remarks: 'O Sāriputta, it is not your range to know what is suitable for him. He is a person who can be trained only by a Buddha' (*avisayo Sāriputta tuyh' etassa sappāyam jānitum, buddhaveneyyo eso ti*).¹²⁰ The Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā relates another story of a wicked Licchavi prince whom his parents took to the Buddha for advice. The Buddha gave talks to him and the prince then became gentle and kind.¹²¹

The Buddha is reported to have had a habit of looking around using his *dibbacakkhu* to see whether there are people capable of obtaining benefits from his instruction.¹²² The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, for instance, records that Buddhas never fail to survey the world twice a day (*Buddhānañ ca nāma dve vare lokavilokanaṃ avijahitaṃ hoti*); one at dawn and the other at dusk.¹²³ An underlying purpose of this act is to see whether anyone is coming within the net of knowledge (*ñāṇajala*) of the Buddha so that he can preach the Dhamma to that person.¹²⁴

5. *Mahākaruṇāsamāpatti-ñāṇa* (Knowledge of the Attainment of Great Compassion)

Another item mentioned in the six kinds of knowledge not shared by others (*asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa*) is the knowledge of the attainment of great compassion (*mahākaruṇāsamāpatti-ñāṇa*). This aspect of Buddhahood is significant, because it characterizes the most important motive to aspire to be a Bodhisatta and subsequently, the life of a Buddha. Compassion (*karuṇā*) of a Buddha is indeed a theme recurrently met with in the Aṭṭhakathā literature and will be often referred to throughout the present study.

The Buddha's hesitation to preach after his enlightenment is viewed as a turning point in the whole history of Buddhism; it was to decide whether what he attained would become only a personal gain for the Buddha alone, or would be destined to become the foundation for a universal religion; or in Buddhist terminology, whether the

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Buddha would become a mere *paccekabuddha* or a *sammāsambuddha*. Modern scholarship is of opinion that the oft-cited story of Brahmā Sahampati's request to the Buddha to preach for the benefit of the world, is a symbolic and psychological description of the Buddha's inner conflict.¹²⁵ Here, the implication is that Sahampati had to request him to preach, because the Buddha was leaning toward not preaching the Dhamma. The Sattavassāni sutta of the Māra-Saṃyutta,¹²⁶ on the other hand, tells us the other side of the story: Māra, the Evil One, earnestly begged the Buddha to pass into *parinibbāna* soon after his attainment of enlightenment, as his search for the truth had been accomplished, and asked him for what purpose he decided to preach to others. In this instance, the Buddha was persuaded and reminded by Māra of futility of preaching. Thus, Brahmā Sahampati's request and Māra's plea amply demonstrate the Buddha's mental struggle; a wavering state of mind. But, the inner voice finally convinces the Buddha that he should make the Dhamma known. The good defeats the evil; an ethical principle universally accepted. Brahmā Sahampati thus finally wins the mind of the Buddha over to the preaching of the Dhamma. From the time the Buddha decides to preach, compassion of the Buddha comes to the fore. This is how the story in the early sources goes.¹²⁷

However, the Aṭṭhakathā literature has a different story to tell us. The course of actions taken by Gotama Buddha must tally with that of all the previous Buddhas. Everything about Gotama Buddha is generalized and made applicable to all Buddhas. Thus, Brahmā's request to the Buddha to preach the Dhamma is repeated even in the case of Vipassī Buddha.¹²⁸ The Aṭṭhakathā texts go a step further in generalization and explain that consideration (*parivittakka*) whether to preach or not is a common practice for all Buddhas (*sabbabuddhānaṃ āciṇṇasamāciṇṇo*). It is only when requested by Brahmā that Buddhas preach. This is done with the intention of generating greater respect towards the Dhamma by beings (*tato sattā dhamme gāravaṃ uppādessanti*), because the world respects Brahmā (*Brahmagaruko hi lokasannivāso ti*).¹²⁹ The above story tells us that Buddhas are far superior even to Mahā-Brahmā; thereby showing

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that Buddhas and their teachings must be considered as authoritative and universal. That the authority must come from high above in social ranks is indeed an Indian conception.

Along with the development of the Bodhisatta-concept, and extending the Buddha's career into the past for an immeasurable length of time, Gotama Buddha too had to conform to what the Buddhists call 'general nature' (*dharmatā*) of all Buddhas. This idea can be seen in the etymological explanations of the word *tathāgata*, as will be discussed later.¹³⁰ It is probable that the biography of Gotama Buddha and his enlightenment experience much cherished by all the Buddhists, became the standard model for other Buddhas of the past and future. However, minor details may differ from Buddha to Buddha. The notion of differences among Buddhas may have come from the fact that physical and circumstantial differences do exist among human beings. The same holds true with Buddhas. Some human beings are born rich, others poor. Some are born into families of high repute and others are not. Some possess breath-taking physical beauty, while others are ugly or disabled. Some live long, while others die young. The concept of *Vamatta* (difference) is an outcome of such discrepancies seen among human beings. Thus, four differences (*vevattā*) among Buddhas are mentioned at Miln 285, and the number increased to five¹³¹ and eight¹³² in the Aṭṭhakathā texts.¹³³

On the other hand, the Aṭṭhakathā texts stress that the attainment of wisdom (*bodhi*) is same for all Buddhas. Buddhism maintains that the truth remains for ever, whether Buddhas appear in this world or not. The truth in Buddhism is that all conditioned things are impermanent (*anicca*) and unsatisfactory (*dukkha*) and that all dhammas are without self (*anatta*).¹³⁴ All Buddhas find this truth by themselves. It is the discovery of the ancient path. It is in this light that the Theravadins tried to justify the universality of wisdom of all Buddhas.

Buddhahood entails the possession of compassion (*karuṇā*)

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in itself, a quality from which man and his kind benefits. All Buddhas have this trait in them. In fact, Buddhas appear in this world because of *karuṇā*. Both canonical and commentarial texts categorically state this: 'There is one person whose birth into this world is for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, who is born out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, welfare and happiness of gods and men. Who is that one person? It is a Tathāgata, an Arahant, a Perfectly Enlightened One'.¹³⁵ It is also said that a Bodhisatta-aspirant, when entering upon the path of Bodhisattahood, reflects that this great compassion of the Lord of the World is the one through which he sees the world of beings fallen into great suffering and thinks: 'there is no one to whom they can go for refuge. I, being released from the suffering of *saṃsāra*, will too release them therefrom', the Bodhisatta-aspirant made a great resolve with a mind urged forth (by itself).¹³⁶ Dhammapāla further states that the Tathāgata is called so, as he has trodden the path for the benefit of the entire world through impartiality, truth and great compassion for all beings (*sabba-sattesu samānārasāya tathāya mahā-karuṇāya sakalaloka-ḥitāya gato paṭipanno ti Tathāgato*).¹³⁷ These are given in the etymological exegeses of the term *tathāgata*.

In the explanations of the Buddha's epithet *vijjācaraṇa-sampaññā*, Buddhaghosa states that the Buddha's possession of clear vision (*vijjāsampadā*) consists in the fulfillment of omniscience (*sabbaññutā*), while his possession of conduct (*caraṇasampadā*) consists in the fulfillment of great compassion (*vijjāsampadā Bhagavato sabbaññutaṃ pūretvā ḥitā; caraṇasampadā mahākaruṇikatam*).¹³⁸ He further illustrates the functions of *sabbaññutā* and *karuṇā* of the Buddha thus: 'The Buddha knows through omniscience what is good and harmful for all beings, and through compassion he warns them of harm and exhorts them to do good'¹³⁹ (*So sabbaññutāya sabbasattānaṃ atthānatthaṃ natvā mahākārunikātaya anattaṃ parivajjetvā atthe niyojetī*).¹⁴⁰

The oft-cited commentarial definition of *karuṇā* is found in

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the Visuddhimagga. Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli translates the passage concerned as follows:

‘When there is suffering in others it causes (*karoti*) good people’s hearts to be moved (*kampana*), thus it is compassion (*karuṇā*). Or alternatively, it combats (*hiṇṇāti*) others’ suffering, attacks and demolishes it, thus it is compassion. Or alternatively, it is scattered (*kiriyati*) upon those who suffer, it is extended to them by pervasion, thus it is compassion (*karuṇā*).¹⁴¹ (*paradukkhe sati sādhuṇaṃ hadayakampanaṃ karoti ti karuṇā. Kiṇṇāti vā paradukkhaṃ, hiṇṇasati vināseti ti karuṇā. Kiriyati vā dukkitesu pharaṇāvasena pasāriyati karuṇā*).¹⁴²

The Saddhammappakāsinī, after giving the same definition as in Vism, adds that *mahākaruṇā* is called such, because it is great on account of the far-reaching nature of actions and virtues thereof (*pharaṇakammavasena kammaguṇavasena ca mahatī karuṇā mahākaruṇā*).¹⁴³

Dhammapāla in the Udāna-aṭṭhakathā,¹⁴⁴ on the other hand, closely follows the explanations given in the Paṭisambhidāmagga,¹⁴⁵ where it is said that Buddhas arouse compassion for beings in various manners. The Udāna-aṭṭhakathā and Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā refer to the number of ways in which Buddhas show their compassion as eighty-nine (... *Buddhānaṃ Bhagavāntanaṃ sattesu mahā-karuṇā okkamati ti. Evaṃ ekuna-navutiya akarehi vibhajanam katam*).¹⁴⁶ These ways are also referred to in the Paṭisambhidāmagga.

Dhammapāla, while defining the term *mahākāruṇika* as the one endowed with great compassion towards the entirety of beings, [although they are] divided by divisions such as inferior, etc.,¹⁴⁷ appears to dwell on different aspects of *karuṇā* of the Bodhisatta and the Buddha more than any other commentators. The following passage from the Cariyāpīṭaka-aṭṭhakathā is quoted below,¹⁴⁸ though it is only

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a fraction of the entire scheme of Dhammapāla's express intention to show that the importance of Bodhisatta's career and that of Buddha as far as the Buddha-concept is concerned, lies, in the ultimate analysis, in the dissemination of wisdom (*bodhi*) Buddha personally attains.¹⁴⁹ What makes a Buddha still greater, according to him, is that the attainment of enlightenment is only a means to save others and *karuṇā* is the key motivation towards this end.

'His great compassion and skillful means is in accordance with his resolve. There the skillful means is wisdom which is the causative factor for collecting of things [needed] for awakening, such as giving. It is by virtue of skillful means and the great compassion of great beings that they become indifferent to their own happiness; continuously engaged in the compassion for the sake of others' benefit; clearness even with the extremely difficult actions of a Mahābodhisatta; and being the cause of procuring benefit and happiness for creatures even at the time faith, understanding, seeing, hearing and remembering are brought about. The accomplishment of Buddhahood [is] by wisdom; the accomplishment of what is expected of Buddha to do [is] by compassion. By wisdom [Bodhisatta] crosses by himself; by compassion [he] crosses others. By wisdom [Bodhisatta] comprehends the suffering of others; by compassion [he] begins to remove others' suffering. By wisdom [Bodhisatta] becomes detached from suffering; by compassion [he] accepts suffering. Likewise, by wisdom [Bodhisatta] comes face to face with Nibbāna; by compassion [he] comes to the cycle of births (*vaṭṭam pāpuṇāti*). Likewise, by compassion [Bodhisatta] comes face to face with *samsāra*; by wisdom [he] does not find pleasure therein. By wisdom [Bodhisatta] detaches [himself] everywhere. Because of being endowed with compassion, there isn't the absence of working for the assistance for all [beings]. [Bodhisatta] indeed shows pity on all. Because of being endowed with wisdom, there isn't the absence of the dispassionate mind with regard to

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everything. Due to wisdom, there is the disappearance of the notion of "I" and "mine". Due to compassion, there is the disappearance of indolence and meanness...' (*Yathā ca abhinīhāro evaṃ mahākaruṇā upāyakosallaṃ ca. Tattha upāyakosallaṃ nāma dānādīnaṃ bodhisambhārabhāvassa nimittabhūtā paññā. Yāhi mahākaruṇūpāyakosallatāhi mahāpurisānaṃ attasukhanirapekkhatā, nīrantaraṃ parahitakarūṇāpasutatā, sudukkarehi pi mahābodhi sattacaritehi visadabhāvo, pasādasambuddhidassana-savaṇṇussaranakālesu pi sattānaṃ hitasukhapaṭilābhahetubhāvo ca sampajjati. Tathā hi 'ssa paññāya Buddhabhāvasiddhi, karuṇāya Buddhakammasiddhi. Paññāya sayāṃ tarati, karuṇāya pare tareti; Paññāya para-dukkhaṃ parijānāti, karuṇāya paradukkhapatikāraṃ ārabhati; paññāya ca dukkhe nibbhīndati, karuṇāya dukkhaṃ sampaṭicchati. Tathā paññāya Nibbānābhī-mukho hoti, karuṇāya vaṭṭaṃ pāpuṇāti. Tathā karuṇāya samsārābhī-mukho hoti; paññāya tatra nābhīramati. Paññāya ca sabbattha vīrajati; karuṇānugatatā na ca na sabbesaṃ anuggahāya pavatto. Karuṇāya sabbepi anukampati. Paññānugatatā na ca na sabbattha vīrattacitto. Paññāya ca ahaṅkāramamaṅkāra-bhāvo; karuṇāya-ālasiyadīnatābhāvo...)*)¹⁵⁰

Some expressions about *karuṇā* in the above passage are interesting and suggestive of a new dimension. First, they are not a kind of explanations adduced by other commentators, especially Buddhaghosa whose standard explanations of *karuṇā* are shown above. Second, Dhammapāla seems to have been influenced by some sources other than those of the Theravāda tradition. However, it must be admitted that every expression Dhammapāla employs for the exegeses of *karuṇā*, can be accepted as part of the Theravāda tradition in spirit. In other words, there is nothing non-Theravādic about the explanations adopted by Dhammapāla. But yet they come much closer to the Buddhist Sanskrit explanations of *karuṇā*.¹⁵¹ Third, expressions like '*karuṇāya dukkhaṃ sampaṭicchati*' ([Bodhisatta] accepts suffering by compassion) and '*karuṇāya vaṭṭaṃ pāpuṇāti*'

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([Bodhisatta] attains the round of existences by compassion), etc., are significant in that the idea behind the whole thing is to show Buddha's (as well as Bodhisatta's) willingness to come to terms with *dukkha* of other beings. He as Bodhisatta is ready to undergo various states of births, woeful or otherwise, for the sake of other beings. ItA i 15 further states that the Bodhisatta comes face to face with *saṃsāra* in his field through compassion, but does not rejoice therein because of wisdom (*karuṇāya vā Bodhisatta-bhūmiyaṃ saṃsārābhimukha-bhāvo, paññāya tatha anabhirati*). What is important is a positive attitude of Bodhisatta towards the cycle of births. This is a striking contrast to the Theravāda position. Let us compare the following: Buddhaghosa denies the Andhakas' view that a Bodhisatta is born into states of woe of his own free-will,¹⁵² and says that, if the Andhakas' proposition be accepted, the very basis of kamma theory would be at stake.¹⁵³ In contrast, Dhammapāla ventured into a new dimension of the interpretation of *karuṇā* which appears to come much closer to the Mahāyāna notion of *karuṇā*.

Similar explanations of the functions of *paññā* and *karuṇā* are also found in the Paramatthamañjūsā (VismṬ) of Dhammapāla, where they are discussed in relation to the Buddha's epithet *vijjācaraṇasampaññā*.¹⁵⁴

Emphasis on *mahākaruṇā* in the Aṭṭhakathā texts must have compelled the Theravādins to seek an answer to the question of whether the Buddha could be an omnipotent saviour or not. In the commentaries, the Buddha is elevated to such a height that he is said to be able to give or bestow arahantship: 'The Fully Enlightened One, because he is King of Ultimate Truth, within the space of a single meal, gave arahantship to him (Cūlapanthaka) together with the analytical knowledges...' (*Sammāsambuddho pana attano anuttaradhammarājatāya ekasmiṃ yeva antarabhatte saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattaṃ adāsi, ...*)¹⁵⁵ The earliest canonical scriptures are certain that the Buddha is incapable of releasing others from *saṃsāra*. It is oneself who must work for one's own salvation. The Suttanipāta says: 'O Dhotaka, it is not in my practice to free anyone

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from confusion, said the Buddha. When you have understood the most valuable teachings, then you yourself cross this ocean¹⁵⁶ (*Nāhaṃ gamissāmi pamocanāya, kaṭṭhakathāya Dhotaka kañci loke, dhammañ ca seṭṭhaṃ ajānamāno evaṃ tuvaṃ oghaṃ imaṃ taresi*).¹⁵⁷ When the above two quotations are compared and assessed in the light of the development of the Buddha-concept, we cannot but conclude that the Buddha seems to have become, at least emotionally, the almighty spiritual saviour to later Buddhists as time passed by.

The Buddha is thus said to have practiced compassion for the world and provided opportunities of attaining emancipation for as many people as he could. He had a habit of looking at the world at dawn having arisen from the stage of great compassion (*paccūsa-samaye yeva mahākaruṇā-samāpattito utṭhāya lokaṃ volokento...*).¹⁵⁸ The Aṭṭhakathā texts give many instances in which not only people of different walks of life, but also beings of different classes benefited from the Buddha's teaching.¹⁵⁹

6. Cakkhu (Eye)

The Buddha is said to be endowed with five kinds of eye (*cakkhu*) according to the Niddesa.¹⁶⁰ Although some commentaries¹⁶¹ give the identical classification of five eyes with that found in the Niddesa, most of the Aṭṭhakathā texts, while conceptually following the idea of the Buddha's five eyes, provide some new additional classifications and descriptions of them.

The commentarial tradition seems to distinctly separate the Buddha's physical eye (*māṃsa-cakkhu*) from his knowledge-eye (*paññā-cakkhu*) in the classification of five eyes. This development is probably a result of placing more emphasis on the aspect of the Buddha's spiritual attainments. Thus, while the classification found in the Khuddaka Nikāya includes the physical eye as one of the five eyes as shown elsewhere,¹⁶² the Aṭṭhakathā texts, first of all, divide *cakkhu* into two types; namely, *māṃsa-cakkhu* (physical eye) and *paññā-cakkhu* (knowledge-eye).¹⁶³ Buddhaghosa appears to prefer

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nāṇa-cakkhu to *paññā-cakkhu*.¹⁶⁴ However, these two terms are interchangeable,¹⁶⁵ as can be seen in the tabulation given below.¹⁶⁶ The *paññā-cakkhu* is further classified into five types. The list of five is found at (A) DhsA 306, (B) PtsA i 77, (C) ItA i 99, (D) SA ii 354, (E) ItA i 167, (F) BvA 33, etc.

1. *Buddha-cakkhu* (Buddha-eye) [A, B, C, D, E, F]
2. *Samanta-cakkhu* (eye of all round knowledge) [A, B, C, D, E, F]
3. *Nāṇa-cakkhu* (knowledge-eye) [A, B, C] or *Paññā-cakkhu* [D, E, F]
4. *Dibba-cakkhu* (divine eye) [A, B, C, D, E, F]
5. *Dhamma-cakkhu* (eye of the Dhamma) [A, B, C, D, E, F]

The physical eye (*mamsa-cakkhu*) is also divided into two; viz., *sasambhāra-cakkhu* (compound organ) and *pasāda-cakkhu* (sentient organ).¹⁶⁷ The *pasāda-cakkhu* is independently referred to at DA i 183 as well.

Of the five eyes mentioned in the above list, the *dhamma-cakkhu* is a new addition which had emerged by the time of the Aṭṭhakathā literature. However, it is a familiar occurrence in the Nikāyas where such expressions as ‘...*dhammacakkhum udapādi*’ (the eye of the Dhamma arose), etc., referring to one’s realization of the truth, are often met with. Following such usages in the Canon, Buddhaghosa explains the term in relation to the path (*magga*) and fruit (*phala*). It is, for instance, explained as the three paths and three fruits (*tayo maggā tīni ca phalāni dhamma-cakkhu nāma hoti*);¹⁶⁸ or simply the lower three paths (*heṭṭhimāmaggaṭṭayasaṅkhatam dhammacakkhu nāma*);¹⁶⁹ or as the four paths and four fruits (*cattāro maggā cattāri ca phalāni dhammacakkhun ti*).¹⁷⁰ Buddhaghosa also interprets it to mean insight into dhammas (*dhamma-cakkhun ti dhammesu vā cakkhun*) or the eye made of dhamma (*dhammamayam vā cakkhun*).¹⁷¹ These examples indicate that the word *dhamma-cakkhu* is given different meanings in different contexts in the Aṭṭhakathā texts.

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The above survey also reveals that the interpretations of *dhamma-cakkhu* in the commentaries do not go beyond its canonical connotations.¹⁷² This fact gives rise to a question as to why *dhamma-cakkhu* is then included in the list of five eyes of the Buddha. *Dhamma-cakkhu*, according to both canonical and commentarial traditions, can be shared by anyone, and therefore cannot be called the province of a Buddha alone. If we go by this assumption, then one may point out that *dibba-cakkhu* which too is shared by the disciples is also included in the list of five eyes. But its inclusion in the list is justified, because the Buddha is said to be foremost in the ability of clairvoyance,¹⁷³ and for the same reason is included in the list of *dasabala* of the Buddha. Therefore, it may be the case that the commentaries brought in *dhamma-cakkhu* in the list of five eyes for the following reasons: First, the commentators were aware that there was a classification of the five eyes of the Buddha or Buddhas which they found to be of miscellaneous nature. Then, an attempt was made to separate physical endowments of a Buddha from his spiritual attainments; the latter, in fact, came to be more emphasized in the *Attakathā* literature, as can be seen throughout our present study. This trend in the commentaries gave impetus to the eventual classification of *cakkhu* of a Buddha into the physical or fleshy eye (*māṃsa-cakkhu*) and wisdom-eye or knowledge-eye (*paññā-cakkhu* or *ñāṇa-cakkhu*). Once *māṃsa-cakkhu* is taken away from the list of five eyes, the commentators are compelled to fill the vacancy in order to conform to the generally accepted number of five. Second, the term *dhamma-cakkhu* is often found in the Canon. Thus, the commentators simply included it in the list.

The *Mahāvastu* has a list of five eyes of a Buddha and includes in it *dharma-caksu*.¹⁷⁴ However, the interpretation given there is to identify it with the *dasabala* of a Buddha.¹⁷⁵ The Pāli commentaries do not subscribe to this view in any way, as seen above. It can rather be said that the commentators were not aware of such a view.

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Buddha-cakkhu, according to Buddhaghosa,¹⁷⁶ is both *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* and *asayanusaya-ñāṇa*, which are regarded as the province of a Buddha alone (*asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa*), as discussed earlier.¹⁷⁷ This is the knowledge the Buddha makes use of for finding out whether beings are amenable to taming or not. Because of the nature of its function, he also uses this knowledge when he surveys the world (...*buddhacakkhunā lokaṃ volokento...*).¹⁷⁸

Samanta-cakkhu in the Aṭṭhakathā texts is equated with omniscient knowledge (*samanta-cakkhu nāma sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ*).¹⁷⁹ The Paṭisambhidāmagga, on the other hand, states that *samanta-cakkhu* is the fourteen kinds of the Buddha knowledge (*cuddasa Buddhañāṇāni*).¹⁸⁰ However, a comparison between the items of *cuddasa-Buddhañāṇa* and those of *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*, as shown elsewhere,¹⁸¹ reveals that they are inclusive of each other.

Ñāṇa-cakkhu or *paññā-cakkhu* is explained by Buddhaghosa to mean the determining knowledge of the four truths (*paññācakkhu nama catu-sacca-paricchedaka-ñāṇaṃ*).¹⁸² Dhammapāla also gives the same explanation to it at ItA ii 27. This interpretation seems to refer to the knowledge of the Four Noble Truths gained by the Buddha on the night of his Enlightenment.¹⁸³ Buddhaghosa in another context interprets it as the knowledge such as that of former births (*pubbenivāsādiñāṇaṃ paññā-cakkhu*).¹⁸⁴ This explanation is also followed by Buddhadatta in his Commentary.¹⁸⁵

Ambiguity of the real implications of the term *ñāṇa-cakkhu* or *paññā-cakkhu* can be cleared by the explanations found in the Mahā-niddesa.¹⁸⁶ The text includes such epithets denoting the Buddha's spiritual attainments as *catuvesārajappatta*, *dasabaladhārī*, etc. in the category of *paññā* of the Buddha.¹⁸⁷ This shows that *ñāṇa* or *paññā* of the Buddha is conceived of as the sum total of the Buddha's spiritual achievements.

Dibba-cakkhu does not require any further explanations as it is referred to and detailed many times in our present study.

7. *Catu-vesārajja* (Four Confidences)

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The Aṭṭhakathā texts do not dwell on this aspect of the spiritual attainments of a Buddha as much as they do, for instance, for his omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññuta-ñāna*) or ten powers (*dasabala*). The reason for the scanty treatment of the subject is, perhaps, due to the fact that all the aspects included in the category of the four confidences of a Buddha are minutely dealt with individually under different types of *Buddha-ñāna*.

Buddhaghosa, while explaining the word *vesārajappatta*, simply states that it is the attainment of the state of being self-possessed or confident (*visārada-bhāvaṃ patto*),¹⁸⁸ or *vesārajja* is the opposite of timidity (*sārajjapatipakkho vesārajjaṃ*).¹⁸⁹ Dhammapāla, on the other hand, does not say anything about the meanings of *vesārajja* in his Paramatthadīpanī (Vols. I-VII), except for passing references to it as one aspect of the Buddha's spiritual attainments. However, he seems to have had a clear understanding of the function of *catu-vesārajja* when he says that the Buddha's confidences belong to the field of compassion (*karuṇā-khettaṃ vesārajjāni*).¹⁹⁰

8. *Khetta* (Field)

Khetta (field) in a technical sense dividing it into three types, namely, *jāti-khetta*, *āṇā-khetta* and *visaya-khetta* is a commentarial development.¹⁹¹ Buddhaghosa employs the term *loka-khetta*,¹⁹² *Buddha-khetta*,¹⁹³ or simply *khetta*¹⁹⁴ to designate the three types under consideration. The terms *loka-khetta* and *Buddha-khetta* may suggest that the former is used in terms of the world or universe in a cosmological connotation, while the latter emphasizes the Buddha's range of activities or influence through his wisdom. However, explanations about *khetta* under the above three different terms are more or less the same in the Aṭṭhakathā texts, which suggests that they are conceptually interchangeable.

Three types of *khetta* are explained in detail in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. (1) *Jāti-khetta* (the field of birth) is said to be the ten thousand world elements (*dasa-sahassī-loka-dhātu*) and is the field which trem-

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bles on the occasions of the Bodhisatta's conception, his birth, the attainment of enlightenment, the first sermon, the Tathāgata's decision to pass away, and his final *parinibbāna*.¹⁹⁵ (2) *Āṇā-khetta* (the field of authority) consists of a hundred thousand *koṭis* of *cakkavālas* (*koṭi-sata-sahassa-cakkavālam*) and is the field where protection (*paritta*) accrued from such discourses as the *Āṭṭānāṭiya*, *Mora*, *Dhajagga*, *Ratana*, etc., is permeable.¹⁹⁶ (3) *Visaya-khetta* (the field of scope) is a new addition in the *Aṭṭhakathā* literature. It is said to have no limit (*visayakkhettassa pana parimaṇaṃ n' atthi*). It is the scope of Buddhas' knowledge which is described thus: 'Their knowledge is as much as what is to be known and what is to be known is as much as their knowledge. The limit of knowledge is what is to be known and the limit of what is to be known is the knowledge' (*Buddhānaṃ hi yāvatakaṃ nāṇaṃ tāvatakaṃ ñeyyaṃ, yāvatakaṃ ñeyyaṃ tāvatakaṃ nāṇaṃ, nāṇa-pariyantikaṃ ñeyyaṃ, ñeyya-pariyantikaṃ nāṇaṃ*).¹⁹⁷ It is otherwise explained that 'as far as the Tathāgata would wish' (*yāvataṃ pana ākaṅkheyya*) means that he knows anything anywhere that he wishes to know (*yattha yaṃ yaṃ Tathāgato ākaṅkhati taṃ taṃ jānāti*).¹⁹⁸ Such descriptions of *visaya-khetta* remind us of the extent of Buddha-knowledge (*Buddha-ñāṇa*) which is said to be boundless, as seen elsewhere.

What, then, is the relation between *loka-dhātu* and *cakkavāla* in Buddhism? The canonical descriptions of *loka-dhātu* are found at A i 227 f, where three types are enumerated: (1) *sahassī* or *Cūḷani loka-dhātu* (this contains 1,000 *cakkavālas* with thousands of suns and moons), (2) *dvi-sahassī majjhima loka-dhātu* (this contains 1,000 x 1,000 *cakkavālas*), and (3) *ti-sahassī mahā-sahassī loka-dhātu* (this contains 1,000 x 1,000 x 1,000 *cakkavālas*). This division of *loka-dhātu* became subjected to different calculations as time progressed, and by the time of the *Aṭṭhakathā* literature, various enumerations came into being.¹⁹⁹ This suggests that along with the expansion of the Buddha-concept in the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts, the relation between Buddha and space is also expanded, probably to show greater authority of Buddhas in the universe.

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The canonical texts are also uncertain about the calculation of *cakkavāḷa* (world sphere), the multiplicity of which is said to be the constituent of *loka-dhātu*, as seen above. The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī summarizes the then existing calculation of it based on the canonical and other references.²⁰⁰

The concept of *loka-dhātu* in Buddhism is related to the world where one Buddha is sufficiently capable of permeating his authority and scope of wisdom. This is the very reason why the Pāli tradition, beginning with the canonical texts²⁰¹ through the Milindapañha²⁰² and the Atthakathā texts,²⁰³ specifically states that only one Buddha appears in the world at a time. It is this demarcated realm which is designated as *Buddha-khetta*.

The term *Buddha-khetta* is not an exclusively commentarial usage. It is used in the Theragāthā where Mahākassapa claims to be foremost in the ascetic practices (*dhutaḡuṇa*) except the great sage (*mahāmunī*) in the sphere of a Buddha.²⁰⁴ Commenting on *Buddha-khetta* in this instance, the Theragāthā-atthakathā specifically states that it is the *āṇā-khetta* (*tattha Buddha-kkhettaṃhī ti, āṇā-khettaṃ sandhāya vadati*).²⁰⁵ Such references in the Canon insinuate the existence of multiple *buddha-khetts*, though not positively advocated. When the idea of past and future Buddhas became pronounced in the Canon, the multiplicity of Buddhas came to be conceived of in terms of succession in time of their appearances in this world. Buddhas appear in this *Cakkavāḷa* only, not simultaneously, but at different intervals.²⁰⁶ This is the stand taken by the Theravādins throughout. However, if such *buddha-khetts* were to exist outside the one in which Gotama Buddha's authority was felt as implicitly suggested in the Theragāthā passage, then the simultaneous existence of more than one Buddha would be an inevitable conceptual outcome. This idea has crept into the Apadāna which says that there are ten directions in this world, and in each direction there are innumerable Buddha fields.²⁰⁷ The idea of the simultaneous existence of plural Buddhas comes much closer to the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition and can be found in works like the Mahāvastu.²⁰⁸ However, judging

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from the main stream of thought in the Pāli tradition that there exists one Buddha at a time, this solitary evidence in the Apadāna cannot be accepted as a general, and hence, legitimate theory of the Pāli tradition.

The Theravāda position of the multiplicity of Buddhas is that Buddhas appear in this world, which is the *jāti-khetta*. The notion of Buddhas appearing in succession is a compromise arising from the belief that there appears only one Buddha at a time. The existence of a single Buddha at a time is recorded in the Mahāgovinda sutta,²⁰⁹ which emphatically states that two Buddhas cannot appear simultaneously in one *loka-dhātu*. The sutta also says that another Buddha does not appear before nor after the other (*apubbaṃ acarimaṃ*). The commentaries specify this phrase to mean the period 'after the conception of a bodhisatta' and 'before the complete extinction of a Buddha's relics'.²¹⁰ In other words, no Buddha appears while the influence of the previous Buddha is in force. This period of a Buddha's influence begins when a Bodhisatta takes conception in the mother's womb and ends when the relics of that Buddha are no more, according to the commentaries. The commentarial literature emphatically states that not in the three Piṭakas nor in the three Buddhist Councils of Mahākassapa, Yasa and Moggaliputtatissa is it mentioned that Buddhas appear in another world other than this world (...*thapetvāimam cakkavāḷam aṅṅasmim cakkavāḷe buddhā uppajjantī ti suttaṃ n' atthi, na uppajjantī ti pana atthi*).²¹¹

The Atthakathā texts further elaborate as to how the dispensation of Gotama Buddha comes to an end. In this connection, three kinds of disappearance (*antaradhāna*) are mentioned: (1) the disappearance of texts or scriptures (*pariyatti*), (2) the disappearance of penetration or understanding (*paṭivedha*) and (3) the disappearance of practice (*paṭipatti*).²¹² AA i 87 ff mentions five kinds of *antaradhāna*. They are *adhigama*, *paṭipatti*, *pariyatti*, *liṅga* and *dhātu*. SA ii 202 also mentions three kinds of *antaradhāna* of the true Dhamma (*saddhamma*) as follows: *adhigama*, *paṭipatti* and *pariyatti*. However, all these sources agree that *pariyatti* is the most crucial

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aspect of the disappearance of the Buddha's dispensation.²¹³ The commentaries explain that *pariyatti* is the three Piṭakas, *paṭivedha* is the penetration of the truths (*sacca-paṭivedha*) and *paṭipatti* is the way (*paṭipadā*). The endurance of dispensation is said to depend on *pariyatti* alone, as the other two may come and go from time to time as happened in this Island (*imasmiṃ dīpe*; referring to Sri Lanka).²¹⁴ The texts go on to explain the order of disappearance of the three Piṭakas as follows: the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, beginning with the Paṭṭhāna, disappears first. Then, the Sutta Piṭaka, beginning with the Aṅguttara Nikāya until the Dīgha Nikāya disappears. Finally, the Vinaya Piṭaka disappears, starting with the Parivāra and the Khandhakas. Once the complete disappearance of *pariyatti* is effected, time is ripe for another Buddha to appear in this world.²¹⁵

Incidentally, emphasis placed on *pariyatti* as the last rampart in the eventuality of the Buddha's dispensation, as can be gathered from the above evidence, eloquently speaks of the attitude taken by the Theravādins towards the sacred scriptures; an attitude which became the back-bone to take the utmost care for the preservation of scriptures. For this, the protection and maintenance must be accorded to the Saṅgha by all means, because the Saṅgha is the repository of the Buddhist scriptures. The continuity of the Theravāda tradition for more than two millennia in Sri Lanka owes much to this attitude.

The mode of disappearance of Gotama Buddha's dispensation is again discussed in terms of *parinibbāna*, which is divided into three types in the commentaries; namely, (1) complete extinction of the defilements (*kilesa-parinibbāna*), (2) complete extinction of the aggregates (*khandha-parinibbāna*) and (3) complete extinction of the relics (*dhātu-parinibbāna*).²¹⁶ The first *parinibbāna* refers to the Buddha's attainment of Enlightenment; the second to his demise at Kusināra; and the third is said to take place in the future (*anāgate bhavissati*). The first two *parinibbāna* are the historical facts that took place in India. They are therefore the information based on what Mori calls the Indic Material in the Aṭṭhakathā literature.²¹⁷ The third type, i.e. *dhātu-parinibbāna*, is a new development originated in

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Sri Lanka. It is said that the Buddha's relics, just before their complete disappearance, will gather together at the Mahācetiya in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi (Sri Lanka), then proceed to Nāgadīpa and will assemble at the Mahābodhi in India. They will finally transform themselves into a form of the Buddha's golden-hued body, emitting six coloured rays, and will completely disappear thereafter.²¹⁸

The commentaries further enumerate reasons as to why two or more Buddhas do not appear simultaneously. They can be summarized as follows: (1) The Tathāgata is an extraordinary person (*acchariyamanussa*). If there be more than one Buddha, then the meaning of extraordinariness does not hold true. (2) Even the teaching of a Tathāgata will not be extraordinary, if there be many Buddhas who have the same teaching. (3) There will be disputes among followers, if there be many Buddhas appearing at the same time. In addition, the Aṭṭhakathā texts quote the arguments adduced by the thera Nāgasena in the Milindapañha,²¹⁹ which can be summed up thus: (4) The ten thousand world systems can support only one Buddha at a time. (5) There would be disputes among followers, if there are two Buddhas appearing at one and the same time. (6) The assignment of such epithets as *asama*, *jeṭṭha*, *appaṇipuggala*, etc., to the Buddha would not be practicable. (7) The Buddha's essential nature permits Buddhas to arise in the world singly, and anything which is great is single.²²⁰ Some are overlapping, and therefore, there are only five different reasons adduced in the Aṭṭhakathā texts (i.e., 1 = 6, 2, 3 = 5, 4 and 7).

The commentaries often employ the term *buddha-visaya* (range or scope of a Buddha) in order to show the spiritual and intellectual aspect of Buddhahood. The Manorathapūranī explains that the Buddha-range is the range of Buddhas; it is the occurrence and power/majesty of the virtues of Buddhas, such as the knowledge of omniscience (*Buddhavisayo ti buddhānam visayo, sabbāññutaññādīnaṃ buddhaguṇānaṃ pavatti ca ānubhāvo ca*).²²¹ The Aṭṭhakathā texts greatly developed the idea of the Buddha's scope in concurrence with the apotheosis of the Buddha, particularly in the

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sphere of his omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññuta-ñāna*). The expansion of the Buddha's scope or range (*Buddha-visaya*) is directed towards the nature of its unlimitedness in space and time. Thus, the commentaries describe the range of a Buddha as unthinkable (*acinteyyo hi Buddhavisayo*);²²² or as something that cannot be imagined (*Buddhavisayo na cintetabbo*);²²³ or, it is said that the range of Buddhas is profound (*gambhīro vāta Buddhānaṃ visayo*);²²⁴ or that the field or scope of Buddhas has no limit of measurement (*Buddhānaṃ hi visayakkhettaṃ pamāṇaparicchedo natthi*).²²⁵

The Aṭṭhakathā texts distinguish the range of Buddhas from that of disciples (*añño hi sāvakānaṃ visayo añño buddhānaṃ*),²²⁶ thereby showing that Buddhas are unique and foremost. Only Buddhas are said to be capable of declaring or making known the characteristics of Non-self, and it is nobody's range but of omniscient Buddhas (*anattalakkhaṇa-paññāpanaṃ hi aññassa kassaci avisayo, sabbaññu-Buddhānaṃ eva visayo*).²²⁷ The Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā also records that certain questions (*Buddhapāṇha*) are only of the Buddhas' range.²²⁸

9. Kāya (Body)

As far as the Pāli literature up to the commentaries is concerned, the Theravādins conceive of the Buddha's body (*kāya*) essentially from a human point of view. It is in no way connected with the idea of the Absolute or the Cosmic Principle found in Mahāyāna Buddhism.²²⁹ To them, the concept of *kāya* is simple and restricted to the Buddha's physical body and his teachings including the disciplinary rules.²³⁰ The former is called *rūpakāya* and the latter, *dhammakāya*. These two bodies of the Buddha are said to have been in the main stream of thought in the history of Buddhism up to about the fourth century A.D.²³¹

In the canonical texts, the term *dhamma-kāya* does not occur often. A typical example of its interpretation in the canonical texts may be found in the Aggañña sutta where the word *dhamma-kāya* is

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used as an epithet of the Buddha.²³² The Theravādins in the early phases of Buddhism saw the Buddha as a person of eminence, but yet subjected to fragility of human life. The Buddha's *rūpakāya* is conceived of in this light. *Dhammakāya*, on the other hand, is the sum total of the truth which is the Dhamma. The Buddha discovered it by himself and lived in it. Therefore, statements such as, '*yo dhammam passati so mam passati. Yo mam passati so dhammam passati*',²³³ etc., will adequately demonstrate the implication of *dhamma-kāya* in early Buddhism. As Nalinaksha Dutt has already summarized the connotations of the *kāya* theory in early Buddhism,²³⁴ we will examine the explanations found only in the Aṭṭhakathā texts.

The Buddha in the Theravāda tradition remains essentially a human. This quality persists in the Aṭṭhakathā literature as well. The Buddha, however, came to be apotheosised both physically and spiritually in course of time. As a result, he came to be depicted as an extraordinary human being. By the time of the Aṭṭhakathā literature, he became endowed not only with the thirty-two physical marks of a great man (*mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*), which are found in the canonical texts, but also with the eighty minor characteristics (*asīti anuvyañjana*) and the marks of a hundred merits (*satapuññalakkhaṇa*). In other words, his physical extraordinariness increased its glory. The Aṭṭhakathā texts interpret the *rūpā-kāya* of the Buddha with these physical excellences. Buddhaghosa, for instance, says that the Buddha's *rūpa-kāya* is embellished with the eighty lesser marks and adorned with the thirty-two marks of a great man (*yo pi so Bhagavā asīti anuvyañjanapaṭimaṇḍita-dvattiṇṣamsamahāpurisalakkhaṇa-vicitrarūpakāyo...*)²³⁵ In one place, the marks of a hundred merits is mentioned as a characteristic of *rūpa-kāya* (*Bhāgyavatāya c' assa satapuññalakkhaṇa-dharassa rūpakāyasampattidīpitā hoti*).²³⁶ Buddhaghosa, commenting on the word *dhamma-kāya* in the passage at D iii 84 (the Aggañña sutta), states: 'Why is the Tathāgata said to have a Dhamma-body? Because the Tathāgata, having thought or devised in his mind the Buddha-word which is the three Piṭakas, aspired in words. Therefore, that body is the Dhamma, because it is made of the Dhamma'.²³⁷ In another place, he summarizes that the

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Tathāgata-body (*tathāgata-kāya*) is the supramundane dhamma in their nine divisions (*nava-vidho hi lokuttara-dhammo Tathāgatassa kāyo nāma*).²³⁸ This shows that Buddhaghosa follows the canonical interpretation of *dhamma-kāya* of the Buddha,²³⁹ which is the sum total of his teachings.

Dhammapāla, on the other hand, expands Buddhaghosa's characterization of both *rūpa-kāya* and *dhamma-kāya*, though in the same direction of development. In the *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā*, he says, in relation to the explanations of the differences between 'pleasing or lovely' (*pāsādikaṃ*) and 'inspiring confidence' (*pasādaniya*), that the Buddha's *rūpa-kāya* is viewed as the one adorned with the thirty-two marks of a great man (*battimsa mahā-purisa-lakkhaṇa*), the eighty minor marks (*asīti-anubyañjana*), a fathom long halo and garland of rays (*byāmapabhā-ketumāla*), all-pleasing (*samanta-pāsādika*), glory and splendor (*siri-sobhā-sampatti*). His *dhamma-kāya* is the one endowed with immeasurable virtues (*aparimāṇa-guṇa-gaṇa*), like the ten powers (*dasabala*), the four confidences (*catuvesārajjā*), the six knowledges not shared by disciples (*cha-asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa*) and the eighteen unique qualities of a Buddha (*aṭṭhārasa-āveṇika-buddha-dhamma*).²⁴⁰

The foregoing comparison in the interpretation of *rūpa-kāya* and *dhamma-kāya* between Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla reveals that both commentators interpret the *rūpa-kāya* as the physical excellences of the Buddha. But the *dhamma-kāya* is viewed somewhat differently between the two. Buddhaghosa mainly adopts the traditional interpretation of it as the teachings of the Buddha in general, as expressed, for instance, in phrases like '*tepiṭakam Buddhavacaṇam*'²⁴¹ and '*navavidhohilokuttaradhammo*',²⁴² whereas Dhammapāla, while he too subscribes to its interpretation as '*nava-lokuttaradhamma*',²⁴³ tends to view it as the sum total of spiritual attainments of a Buddha. However, the evidence adduced above does not necessarily point to the fact that Dhammapāla was heading for the concept of *dharma-kāya* developed by the Mahāyānists. His interpretation of it is a step further than the conventional one in that

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dharmma-kāya, according to him, represents the spirituality of Buddhahood. But, he appears to have the Buddha in person still within sight. In other words, the Buddha's *dharmma-kāya* to Dhammapāla is a necessary induction from the attainment of Buddhahood within the broader context of the Theravāda tradition that the Buddha remains essentially a human being.

The theory of *kāya* of a Buddha continued to develop further in the Theravāda tradition after the Aṭṭhakathā literature. It is reported that *kāya* got divided subsequently into four types; namely, (1) *nūpakāya*, (2) *dharmakāya*, (3) *nimittakāya* and (4) *suñiyakāya* in a Sinhala work named the Saddharmaratnākaraya.²⁴⁴ It is significant that the Theravādins, amidst a strong Mahāyāna movement to develop the *Trīkāya* theory, tenaciously maintained the very basis of the Buddha-concept that the Buddha was a human and even the *kāya* theory was developed in this line.

10. *Vāsanā* (Habit or Impression)

The word *vāsanā* is not a common occurrence in the Pāli commentaries. This, however, is an important concept for the reason that only Buddhas and not arahants nor *paccekabuddhas* are said to be free from *vāsanā*, as will be shown below. The PED gives to the word the meanings of 'that which remains in the mind, tendencies of the past, impression', etc.,²⁴⁵ while F. Edgerton gives 'impression, result (of past deeds and experience on the personality), perfuming impression, memory, habit-energy, traces', etc.²⁴⁶

In the Pāli tradition, the earliest reference to the idea of habit or disposition accrued from previous actions (*kamma*) is found at Sn 74. The *gāthā* there reads as follows: '*Paccekagaṇiṇo sabbe sabbalokassa vissutā, jhāyī jhānaratā dhīrā pubbavāsanāvāsītā.*' (They are all well known in the entire world as teachers and as men who practise meditation and take delight therein. They are men who are wise and predisposed their previous dispositions).²⁴⁷ The expression *pubbavāsanāvāsītā* is the point in question. The Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā,

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commenting on this, says that it means 'having the mind established in the meritorious disposition according to the duty of going to and returning from the alms round with the meditation subject,²⁴⁸ after having gone forth in the dispensation of the previous Buddha Kassapa' (*pubbavāsanāvāsītā ti pubbe Kassapassa Bhagavato sāsane pabbajitvā gatapaccāgatavattapuññāvāsanāya vāsītacittā*).²⁴⁹ The term *pubbavāsanā* also occurs in the Milindapañha in the sense of a mere habit. The young Nāgasena, it is mentioned, after completing his last lesson with his teacher, left him and sought a place of solitude for meditation through his previous habits (*pubbavāsanāya*).²⁵⁰ Here, the *pubbavāsanā* is used to mean a mere habit in a positive sense.²⁵¹ The fact that the Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā uses a qualifying word *puñña* in *puññāvāsanā*, suggests that *vāsanā* can mean either 'good, useful' or 'bad, harmful' habit/disposition. The commentaries often employ the word *vāsanā* in the negative sense.

The oft-cited example to illustrate the nature of *vāsanā* is the story of Pilinda Vaccha.²⁵² Pilinda Vaccha had a habit of calling others *vasala* (outcast). When this was reported to the Buddha one day, he summoned Pilinda Vaccha and inquired about the truth of what others said. Having come to know the real state of affairs, the Buddha told the people that it was not intentionally done by Pilinda Vaccha, but was due to the force of habit (*vāsanā*) inherited from his former existences, as he was born in a brahmin family over and over again.

The Visuddhimagga, in the exegeses of the epithet *arahan* as one of the Nine Virtues or Titles of the Buddha, states that the *arahan* means remote (*ārakā*) from all defilements, because he has completely destroyed all defilements together with their impression by means of the path (*maggena savāsanānaṃ kilesānaṃ viddhamsitattā*).²⁵³ The Buddha is also said to have destroyed and completely cut off one thousand five hundred defilements together with the impression thereof (*diyadḍha-kilesasahassaṃ saha vāsanāya pahīnaṃ samucchinnaṃ samūhattaṃ*)²⁵⁴ at the time of attaining full enlightenment. In all these instances, the term *vāsanā* is used in

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connection with defilement (*kilesa*). *Vāsanā* is therefore the traces or impressions caused by defilements. It is in this sense that Buddhas are free from both the impression of defilements and defilements themselves, while the implication of this position is that one may be still under the influence of *vāsanā*, good or bad, even after cutting off all the defilements. The case of Pilinda Vaccha is the point in question.

The Udāna-aṭṭhakathā may, perhaps, be the only commentary which gives an interpretation of *vāsanā* in the commentarial literature. It is given in connection with the case of Pilinda Vaccha. The passage is quoted below:

*'Kā pan' āyaṃ vāsanā nāma ? Yaṃ kilesa-rahitassā pi santāne appahīna kilesānaṃ samācāra-sadisa-samācāra-hetubhūtaṃ anādikāla-bhāvitehi kilesehi āhitaṃ sāmattiyaṃ mattaṃ tathā-rūpā adhimuttī ti vadanti. Taṃ pan' etaṃ abhinibhāra-sampattiyā ñeyyāvaraṇa-ppahāṇa-vasena yattha kilesā pahīnā, tattha Bhagavato santāne n' atthi: yattha pana tathā kilesā na pahīnā, tattha sāvakaṇaṃ pacceka-Buddhānaṃ ca santāne atthi.'*²⁵⁵

John D. Ireland translates the above passage freely as follows:

*'A vāsanā is a mere capacity to behave in certain ways similar to the behaviour of those who still have defilements: it is engendered by the defilements that had been harboured in the mind through beginningless time, and remains in the mental continuum of the arahat even after the defilements have been abandoned, as a mere habitual tendency. The vāsanās are not found in the mental continuum of a Buddha who removes the defilements by abandoning the obstruction to omniscience, but they are found in the minds of disciples and Paccekabuddhas.'*²⁵⁶

The Visuddhimagga Mahāṭīkā (Paramatthamañjūsā) also con-

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firms the interpretation given in UdA. It is stated that, excepting the Buddha, others are not able to cut off defilements with the impression or trace thereof (*na hi Bhagavantam t̥apetvā aññe saba vāsanāya kilesa pahātuṃ sakkonti*).²⁵⁷ It further says: '*Kā panāyaṃ vāsanā nāma? Pahīna kilesassāpi appahīnakilesassa payoga sadisa payoga-helubhūto kilesa-nihito sāmattiya-viseso, āyasmato Pilindavacchassa vasala samudācāra nimittam viya*'.²⁵⁸

The above discussions reveal that the meaning of *vāsanā* in early sources is simply 'a habit or disposition' in a more positive sense. But the negative connotation of the word became more emphasised in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. This may be a result of the apotheosis of Buddhas as they are the only ones free from it.

Incidentally, Dhammapāla's explanation in his UdA about Buddhahood described in relation to the removal of the obstruction to what is to be known (*ñeyyāvaraṇa-pahāna*) reminds us of the Mahāyāna classification of '*āvaraṇa*' (obstruction); i.e., '*jñeyāvaraṇa*' (obstruction to what is to be known) and '*kleśāvaraṇa*' (obstruction of defilements). According to Mahāyāna Buddhism, arahants and paccekabuddhas are said to be free from the latter only, while Buddhas are free from both.^{258a} Theravāda Buddhism speaks of '*kilesāvaraṇa*' both in the Canon and commentaries, but not '*ñeyyāvaraṇa*'. The removal of '*jñeyāvaraṇa*' in terms of the attainment of Buddhahood is distinctly a Mahāyāna notion not found in the Theravāda tradition until the time of Dhammapāla. This evidence shows that he had a knowledge of Buddhist Sanskrit sources and made full use of it for the eulogy of Buddhas.

11. Aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā (Eighteen Qualities of a Buddha)

The concept of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā* (eighteen qualities or attributes of a Buddha) in the Theravāda tradition has been overlooked up to date even by scholars of Pāli Buddhism.²⁵⁹ This is due partly to the fact that its notion became somewhat noticeable and popular in the Theravāda scene from the commentarial period

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onwards, though the term itself appears in the Milindapañha, one of the post canonical texts, in Pāli literature. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, on the other hand, it is regarded as one of the most distinct sets of attributes of a Buddha²⁶⁰ and is extended to a Bodhisattva as well.²⁶¹ Due, perhaps, to such importance attached to it in the Northern Buddhism, scholars are of the general view that it is mainly a Mahāyāna development. In Pāli Buddhism, it is also a set of qualities attributed to a Buddha, which fact can be cited as an example of further attempts for the elevation of the Buddha's spiritual greatness by the Theravādins in later times. The idea is expressed in different phraseology at the following places in Pāli literature:

- (A) Miln 105, 285
aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā
- (B) Vism 325
aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā
- (C) DA iii 875, 994 (details mentioned)
aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā
- (D) SnA i 264
aṭṭhārasabuddhagūṇa-paricchedaka-nīṇa
- (E) UdA 87, 336
aṭṭhārasa-āveṇika-buddhadhammā [UdA 87]
aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā [UdA 336]
- (F) ItA i 7, 13, 91
aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā [ItA i 7]
aṭṭhārasāveṇikabuddhadhammā [ItA i 13, 91]
- (G) VvA 213
aṭṭhārasāveṇikabuddhadhammā
- (H) CpA 7, 332
aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā [CpA 7]
aṭṭhārasāveṇikabuddhadhammā [CpA 332]
- (I) VibhA 1
upeto Buddhadhammehi aṭṭhārasahi nāyako

The above list shows that the first reference to the eighteen qualities of a Buddha in Pāli, if the traditional chronology of the Pāli

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texts is followed, is made in the *Milindapañha*. The date of composition of *Miln* is, therefore, an important factor which automatically helps determine the date of appearance of the term *atthārasabuddhadhamma* and its contents in the Pāli tradition.

It is generally believed that there are, among other minor additions made at different times, at least two distinct strata in the date of composition of *Miln*; one stratum refers to the early period of composition covering up to the page 89 of the PTS edition of Trenckner, and the other, i.e. the later stratum, extends roughly from the page 90 to the end of the text according to the same edition. The early portion of the work is said to belong to a period between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. and the later additions and interpolations were made after about 250 A.D., but they were completed before the time of Buddhaghosa according to H.Nakamura.²⁶² This is the Pāli version of *Miln*. If we are to accept his conclusion, then the fact that references to the term *atthārasabuddhadhamma* in *Miln* are all in the portions of so-called 'Pāli recension' speaks by itself that the first appearance of the term in the Pāli tradition is not before the third century A.D. This coincides with the inference of Har Dayal who says: 'As this list is not found in the Pāli Canon and the early Sanskrit treatises, it must be assigned to a comparatively late period (third century A.D.)'²⁶³

K.Mizuno, on the other hand, believes that the original version of *Miln* was composed by the first century B.C. and the present form of the Pāli *Milindapañha* would have been completed before the end of the first century A.D. The reason K.Mizuno adduces for his contention is that the old Pāli *Atthakathās* (i.e. *Sīhala Atthakathās*) refer to *Miln* and quote eighteen times from the Chapter Four or Book IV thereof (pp.90-328 of the PTS edition).²⁶⁴ He assigns the date of composition of the *Sīhala Atthakathās* to a period before the end of the first century A.D.²⁶⁵

Another supportive evidence in determining the date of the first appearance of the term under review can be sought in the

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Vimuttimagga, now extant only in Chinese translation [Taisho 32, pp.399 ff]. The Vimuttimagga mentions a list of eighteen attributes of a Buddha and P.V.Bapat in his study entitled '*Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga: A Comparative Study*'²⁶⁶ renders them into Pāli. What bears relevance here is the date of composition of the original Vimuttimagga by Upatissa. Bapat concludes: 'Our book therefore may be put somewhere in the first two centuries after the beginning of the Christian era.'²⁶⁷ M.Nagai assigns Upatissa to the first century A.D.²⁶⁸

However, the assigning of a period to the first appearance of the term and the concept of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* in Theravāda Buddhism must be carefully investigated. This is particularly true as we have to look into the date of so-called Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā based on which the present Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts were allegedly translated and recast. According to a study by S.Mori, the date of composition of the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā, a generic term used to denote the entire commentarial literature written in Sīhala (Sinhala) in Sri Lanka after the advent of the thera Mahinda, extends from the time of Mahinda himself (3rd century B.C.: the upper limit) up to a period between the second half of the first century A.D. and the first half of the second century A.D. (corresponding to the period of the king Vasabha [65-109 A.D.]: major portions) with some minor additions made till about the end of the third century A.D.²⁶⁹ The fact that many places in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts as shown in the above list mention the term in different terminology, points to a strong possibility that their corresponding Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās did, in fact, contain references to it. Considering a long history of the development of the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā spanning more than four centuries (major portions) beginning from the third century B.C., the determination as to when the term in question first appeared is not an easy task. Nevertheless, we may be able to narrow down a possible date of its appearance in the Buddhist literature by adding our own findings to those already referred to above. We will come back to this issue after examining its notion and the list in the Pāli commentaries and some of the later texts in the Pāli tradition.

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We now glance through the contexts in which *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* is mentioned in the above places of reference for comparison, but not in the order specified in the list for the reason that the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* among the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts is the only source which gives a list of eighteen items in detail.

(A) Miln 105, 285

The word occurs at two places in Book IV and is used in respect of the spiritual achievements of a Buddha. One instance, which is more elaborate than the other, reads as follows: 'But there is no difference between any of the Buddhas, who are alike in bodily beauty, in goodness of character, in power of contemplation and of reasoning, in emancipation, in the insight arising from the knowledge of emancipation, in the four bases of confidence (*catuvesārajjā*), in the ten powers (*dasabala*) of a Tathāgata, in the sixfold special knowledge (*cha-asādhāraṇa-nāṇa*), in the fourteenfold knowledge of a Buddha, in the eighteen characteristics of a Buddha (*aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā*) - in a word, in all the qualities of a Buddha.' [Miln 285]²⁷⁰

(B) Vism 325

Here it is mentioned in connection with the four divine abidings (*brahmavihāra*) and the text goes as follows:

'Having thus fulfilled [ten] perfections, these [divine abidings] then perfect all the good states classed as the ten powers, the four kinds of fearlessness, the six kinds of knowledge not shared [by Disciples], and the eighteen states of the Enlightened One.'²⁷¹ (...*evaṃ pāramiyo pūretvā yāva dasabala catuvesārajjā cha-asādhāraṇāṇa aṭṭhārasa-Buddha-Dhammapphbede sabbe pi kalyāṇadhamme paripūrentī ti.*)

These qualities are the results of fulfilling *pāramītas* and the practice of four *brahmavihāra*, and are called *kalyāṇadhammā* (good states).

(C) DA iii 875, (D) SnA i 264, (E) UdA 87, 336, (F) ItA i 7, 13, 91, (H) CpA 7

A common feature in these sources is that the term is used in the enumeration of spiritual attainments of a Buddha. Both Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla give lists of virtues of a Buddha (*Buddhaguṇa*) in a summary form. They are often referred to according to the numerical order, for instance, at DA iii 874-875, ItA i 6-7, UdA 335-336, CpA 6-7, etc. Thus, the term is mentioned in the list of items under the numeral 'eighteen' (*aṭṭhārasa*).

(G) VvA 213

In this instance, the term is used in connection with the *Dhamma-kāya* (Dhamma body) worthy of devotion (*pasādanīyaṃ*). Along with this is mentioned the term *pāsādikam* (increase of devotion) which people may have after seeing the physical excellences of the Buddha. Here, the physical characteristics of the Buddha such as the thirty-two characteristics and eighty minor marks are stated. In the category of *pasādanīyaṃ* is mentioned the mental qualities of the Buddha and it is in this that the term *aṭṭhārasāveṇīkabuddhadhamma* is given, but without further elaboration.

(H) CpA 332

The *Cariyāpitaka-aṭṭhakathā* refers to the term *aṭṭhārasāveṇīkabuddhadhamma* in connection with the fulfilment of [ten] perfections (*pāramiyo*). The attainment of these eighteen special qualities is the result of fulfilling the perfections, which fact is in consonance with the context in which Vism 325 and ItA i 91 too refer to the eighteen *buddhadhamma*.

(I) VibhA 1

The phrase '*upeto Buddhadhammehi aṭṭhārasāli nāyako*' is mentioned in the introductory verses (*gāthā*) of the text. It is a eulogistic attribute dedicated to the Buddha.

At this point of our investigation, attention must be drawn to

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the fact that ItA, UdA, VvA and CpA use an additional term *āveṇika* (special or unique). All the sources cited above are ascribed to the authorship of Dhammapāla.²⁷² In the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, such special qualities of a Buddha are usually referred to as *āveṇika-buddhadhanna*.²⁷³ This fact, therefore, suggests that Dhammapāla may have had the knowledge of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

(C) DA iii 994

It is only in this Aṭṭhākatha that a list of eighteen *buddhadhammā* is mentioned. The Commentary concerned is on the Saṅgīti sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya where classifications of various topics are enumerated. The Buddha's eighteen qualities are referred to in connection with an explanation of three things which the Buddha need not protect against (*tini Tathāgatassa arakkheyyāni*). The text [D iii 217] further states that the Buddha is pure in conduct whether of act, or speech, or thought. The Commentary mentions them beginning with the sentence: 'Further, the absence of wrong deeds in the Lord should be understood also in terms of the eighteen qualities of a Buddha.' (*Api ca aṭṭhārasannaṃ Buddha-dhammānaṃ vasaṇāpi Bhagavato duccharitābhāvo veditabbo*). The *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā* are enumerated as follows:

1. *N'atthi Tathāgatassa kāya-duccaritaṃ*
(Tathāgata is free from bodily wrong deeds)
2. *N'atthi vacī-duccaritaṃ*
(Tathāgata is free from verbal wrong deeds)
3. *N'atthi mano-duccaritaṃ*
(Tathāgata is free from mental wrong deeds)
4. *Atīte Buddhassa appaṭihataṃ ñāṇaṃ*
(Buddha has unobstructed knowledge of the past)
5. *Anāgate Buddhassa appaṭihataṃ ñāṇaṃ*
(Buddha has unobstructed knowledge of the future)
6. *Paccuppanne Buddhassa appaṭihataṃ ñāṇaṃ*
(Buddha has unobstructed knowledge of the present)
7. *Sabbaṃ kāya-kammaṃ Buddhassa Bhagavato ñāṇānuparivatti*
(Buddha's every bodily action is preceded by knowledge)

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8. *Sabbaṃ vacī-kammaṃ Buddhassa Bhagavato ñāṇānuparivatti*
(Buddha's every verbal action is preceded by knowledge)
9. *Sabbaṃ mano-kammaṃ Buddhassa Bhagavato ñāṇānuparivatti*
(Buddha's every mental action is preceded by knowledge)
10. *N'atthi chandassa hāni* (No loss to his zeal)
11. *N'atthi viriyassa hāni* (No loss to his energy)
12. *N'atthi satiyā hāni* (No loss to his mindfulness)
13. *N'atthi davā* (No playfulness)
14. *N'atthi ravā* (No noise)
15. *N'atthi khalitaṃ* (No stumbling)
16. *N'atthi sahasā* (No hastiness)
17. *N'atthi avyāvaṭo mano* (His mind is not neglectful)
18. *N'atthi akusala-cittaṃ* (He has no unwholesome mind)

A perusal of the list of DA reveals some peculiarities. First, the word 'tathāgatassa' is used for the first three items while the phrase 'Buddhassa Bhagavato' is dominant for the rest. Second, the opening sentence implies that the author is going to describe something about the absence of *duccarita* in the Buddha. Therefore, the inclusion of the first three items in the list appears to be repetitious. Third, a comparison of the eighteen items in various sources as shown at the end of this section reveals that only DA includes the three kinds of *duccarita* and the last item '*N'atthi akusala-cittaṃ*' in the list. All these pose a question as to whether some items were borrowed from another source, or the list mentioned in DA was put to writing at a time when the final composition of eighteen items was not definitely arrived at, though the number eighteen had been known. Answers to the following questions regarding the items of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā* in DA may therefore enlighten us on the development of its notion and significance in the Theravāda tradition.

- (i) What is the basis for the enumeration of eighteen items ?
- (ii) Are the eighteen items listed according to a specific scheme ?
- (iii) Is there any literary evidence in the *Aṭṭhakathās* or the pre-commentarial literature to trace the notions expressed by those eighteen items ?
- (iv) Did the *Sīhala-Dīgha-Aṭṭhakathā* [SDA] actually contain the

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list ?

(v) Did the Theravāda school develop the concept of *atthārasabuddhadhamma* independent of other Buddhist schools ? That is to say, is the list of eighteen items in the Theravāda tradition an innovation of their own ?

(i) The concept of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* or *aṣṭādaśā-āveṇika-buddhadharma* is a popular concept to describe the spiritual greatness of a Buddha, especially in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. The eighteen items enumerated in the lists of various authorities are often different from each other. There are basically two ways of enumeration. One is represented by texts like the *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* where the enumeration includes *dasabala* (10), *caturvaiśāradya* (4), *samacittatā* (3) and *mahākaruṇā* (1).²⁷⁴ This classification is usually ascribed to the Hīnayānists. The other is a completely different enumeration found in texts like the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, *Mahāvastu*, *Vimuttimagga*, etc.,²⁷⁵ and is said to be the classification of Mahāyāna Buddhism, though the items and their order of enumeration in the list differ from each other. The list in DA follows the second category of enumeration in principle.

In order to show the difference of items included in the lists of various sources, DA and Vim are compared first [Chart I], then they will in turn be compared with a list generally accepted in Mahāyāna Buddhism [Chart II].²⁷⁶ The numbers follow those of DA and the Pāli renderings are taken from P.V.Bapat's work cited above, p. 65:

Chart I:

Nos. 1-6 (Vim) = Nos. 4-9 (DA)

No. 7 (Vim) = No. 10 (DA)

No. 8 (Vim) = No. 11 (DA)

No. 9 (Vim) = No. 12 (DA)

No. 10 (Vim) [*Natthi samādhissa hāni*]

No. 11 (Vim) [*Natthi paññāya hāni*]

No. 12 (Vim) [*Natthi vimuttiyā hāni*]

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- No. 13 (Vim) [*Natthi dvedhayitattam*]
 No. 14 (Vim) = No. 14 (DA)
 No. 15 (Vim) [*Natthi (kiñci) apphutaṃ (ñāṇena)*]
 No. 16 (Vim) = No. 13 (DA)
 No. 17 (Vim) [*Natthi byāvaṭaṃmano²⁷⁷*] = No.17 (DA)
 No. 18 (vim) [*Natthi appatisaṅkhāya upekkhā*]

Chart II: The Mahāyāna list

	DA	Vim
1. <i>Nāsti tathāgatasya skhalitaṃ</i>	15 (1)	(15)
2. - <i>ravitaṃ</i>	14 (2)	14
3. - <i>muṣitasmṛtitā</i>	(3)	-
4. - <i>nānātva-saṃjñā</i>	(13,16)	(13,16)
5. - <i>asamāhita-cittaṃ</i>	(17)	(17)
6. - <i>apratisaṅkhāya upekkhā</i>	(18)	18
7. <i>Nāsti chandasya hāṇih</i>	10	7
8. - <i>virya</i> -	11	8
9. - <i>smṛti</i> -	12	9
10. - <i>samādhi</i> -	-	10
11. - <i>prajñā</i> -	-	11
12. - <i>vimukti</i> -	-	12
13. - <i>vinukti-jñāna-darśana</i> -	-	-
14. <i>Sarva-kāyakarma jñāna-pūrvanṅgamam</i> <i>jñānānuparivartī</i>	7	4
15. - <i>vāk-karma</i> -	8	5
16. - <i>manas-karma</i> -	9	6
17. <i>Atīte apratihata-jñānam</i>	4	1
18. <i>Anāgate</i> -	5	2
19. <i>Pratyutpanne</i> -	6	3

Notes:

1. Numbers within the brackets indicate not the exact corresponding terms, but closer ones in meaning found in the lists. ²⁷⁸
2. The Mahāyāna lists have either No.10 or No.13 to be made up of eighteen items.

The above comparison in Chart I shows that Vim includes

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six items that are not exactly corresponding to DA. When the two lists are compared with the lists of other sources, Vim comes much closer to other Buddhist Sanskrit sources than to DA. On the other hand, Chart II shows that DA has more repetitious items in meaning than Vim and is less similar to the Mahāyāna list. This suggests that DA occupies a unique place in the enumeration of the eighteen qualities of a Buddha and, as such, can be considered as a proof of a distinctly Theravāda innovation of enumeration. Referring to the criteria of enumerating the items in various sources, the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra [Taishō 25, Fascicle 26] states that the Hīnayāna Abhidharmikas collected virtues of a Buddha from here and there [to make up the list of eighteen items], but the real meaning of *āveṇīkadharma* should be understood in terms of wisdom (*prajñā*).²⁷⁹ The list of DA obviously falls into the category where the items are enumerated on the basis of wisdom of a Buddha, unlike the classification of the Vaibhāṣikas as seen above.

(ii) Various authorities list different items in a different manner. It looks as though no scheme of listing the eighteen items was followed. The list in DA, the only one found in the entire Pāli Aṭṭhakatha literature, does not provide any clue in this regard either. However, the Dīghanikāya-Aṭṭhakathāṭīkā (*Linatthavaṇṇanā*) [DAṬ iii 67, 257] may give us an idea as to how the eighteen items should be listed when it mentions as follows:

“The Buddha’s knowledge concerning the past, future and present is unobstructed. Endowed with these three qualities (*Imehi tīhi dhammehi samannāgatassa Buddhassa Bhagavato ...*), the Buddha’s bodily, verbal and mental actions are preceded by knowledge and are in accordance with it. Endowed with these six qualities (*Imehi chahi dhammehi samannāgatassa Buddhassa Bhagavato...*), the Buddha has no impulse, etc.”²⁸⁰

And the passage goes on to explain the rest. What is significant is the phrases underlined above. They certainly suggest that the listing of items should in fact follow a specific scheme, at least, according

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to the author of DAṬ.

(iii) Some of the items included in the list of DA can be found in the canonical and commentarial texts. The Saṅgīti sutta specifies that the Tathāgata is free from *duccarita* in bodily, verbal and mental actions.²⁸¹ The Dasuttara sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya refers to the fact that the Buddha has three kinds of knowledge, namely the knowledge of the past, present and future.²⁸² As a result of the exaltation of the Buddha, such knowledge came to be regarded as limitless. Thus, some texts in the Khuddaka Nikāya state that the Buddha's knowledge concerning the past, present and future is unobstructed (*appaṭihata*).²⁸³ In addition, his bodily, verbal and mental actions appear in accordance with knowledge (*ñāṇānu parivatti*).²⁸⁴ These six characteristics of the Buddha's knowledge correspond to Nos. 4-9 in the list of DA and are designated as *buddhadhamma* in those texts.

Some other items too can be traced to the canonical or commentarial texts. For example, the recluse Gotama is said to abstain from violence, etc. (...*sahasākārā paṭivīrato Samaṇo Gotamo*) [D i 5] [= No. 16 (DA)]. Māra confesses that he followed the Bodhisatta for six years with the intention of harassing him, if the Bodhisatta committed a fault physically or verbally (*sac' assa kiñci kāyena vācāya vā khalitaṃ bhavissati, heṭhessāmi nan' tū*) [SnA ii 393] [= No. 15 (DA)]. Other items too may be conceptually traceable, if examined carefully.

(iv) Strictly speaking, the question of whether or not the Sīhala-Dīgha-Aṭṭhakathā (SDA) actually contained the list, cannot be settled as the text is no longer extant for any comparison or scrutiny. Our arguments are therefore all within the confines of inference. Nonetheless, we are strongly inclined to believe that SDA actually contained the list of eighteen items as found in DA. But, in order to be more objective we will first examine some circumstantial evidence which may lead to a question of whether or not the list in DA could be a later interpolation, then the supportive evidence for our above contention will follow.

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(A) Strangely, the first three items, i.e. the absence of three kinds of wrong deeds (*duccarita*) in the *Tathāgatā*, are included in the list as *buddhadhammas*. Those who attained arahantship with the eradication of the three unwholesome roots (*akusala-mūla*) do not have *duccarita* either. Therefore, the absence of *duccarita* is not a special characteristic of the Buddha alone.²⁸⁵ This is confirmed by Dhammapāla in his DAṬ when he says that *Buddhadhammas* are indeed unique or extraordinary qualities of Buddhas (*Tathā hi te Buddhānaṃ āveṇikadhammā*). He further states that phrases such as 'N'atthi *Tathāgatassa kāyaduccaritaṃ*', etc. are the praise of virtues gained through the association of knowledge of bodily actions, etc. (*kāyakamm' ādīnaṃ nānānuparivattitāya laddhaguṇakittanaṃ*) and are not unique or extraordinary qualities (*na āveṇikadhammā*). He further questions: 'In all these, when there is the association of knowledge beginning with bodily actions, whence is the origin or birth of wrong bodily deeds, etc.?' (*Sabbasmiṃ hi kāyakamm' ādike nānānuparivattini kuto kāyaduccarit' ādīnaṃ sambhavo*).²⁸⁶ This confirms that Dhammapāla, the author of DAṬ, also doubted the suitability of including those three items in the list.

Even the last item in the list, i.e. '*Natthi (Buddhassa Bhagavato) akusala-cittaṃ*' looks odd, since all the arahants are classed as those who have no *akusala-citta* in their actions. The inclusion of all these items in the list is justifiable only on the strength that the Buddha too is an arahant. This may be one of the reasons why the term *tathāgata*, which has a wider connotation including the state of arahantship, is employed for the first three items against the more specific expression of '*Buddhassa Bhagavato*' for the rest in the list. DA is the only source which includes them.

(B) S.Mori has pointed out that Buddhaghosa was critical in his writings and consulted various other sources when writing DA. He often cites views of other schools (mainly those of the Abhayagiri fraternity) which are introduced in the text by terms like '*keci*', '*eke*', etc.²⁸⁷ This shows that Buddhaghosa was not totally governed by SDA of the Mahāvihāra school, but was free to reconstruct the contents

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of the source material and even to introduce new information for the sake of clarity and supplementation.²⁸⁸ This amply demonstrates the thorough nature of Buddhaghosa who appears to have left no stone unturned. It is therefore hard to expect that the passage that contains some problematic inconsistencies, as seen above, was left with no obvious comment particularly from a commentator of the calibre of Buddhaghosa, had it been originally included in SDA. Moreover, it is evident that he was quite aware of the existence of such a list of eighteen items in Vim which was before him when he was writing Vism. This also shows that Buddhaghosa had a knowledge of the eighteen items, at least, according to Vim. It therefore gives a sufficient reason and opportunity for him to have taken note of the list and give satisfactory explanations, especially when the list of SDA was different from that of Vim.

(C) Referring to the passage under review, the Dīgha Nikāya Atthakathaṭṭhikā specifically states thus: '*Ayaṃ ca Dīghabhāṇakānaṃ pāṭho ākuḷo viya*'²⁸⁹ (This reading of the Dīghabhāṇakas is as if confused). According to the above explanation, even the author of DAT found that the eighteen qualities mentioned in DA were not in accordance with the Theravāda tradition, or at least, the tradition he was familiar with. It is a well known fact that Buddhaghosa wrote his commentaries in harmony with the Mahāvihāra tradition which accepted the Dīghabhāṇakas as one of the representative exponents of Theravāda Buddhism. This too gives rise to the doubt that Buddhaghosa was aware of the existence of such a list of eighteen items in SDA.

(D) When the contexts in which the term *atthārasabuddhadhamma* occurs in the Pāli Atthakathās are examined, one important feature common to all the sources except DA iii 994 cited above, emerges. That is, the term is used for the explanation of the spiritual attainments of Buddhas either with special reference to the fulfilment of *pāramitās* or otherwise. DA iii 993-994, on the other hand, mentions it in the context that Māra followed Siddhattha for six years and one additional year even after Siddhattha attained Enlightenment, but could not find any fault in him (*Atha*

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naṃ Māro Bodhisatta-kāle chabbassāni Buddha-kāle ekam vassam anubandhitvā kiñci vajjam apassitvā idaṃ vatvā pakkāmi)²⁹⁰ Then follow the verses same as at Sn 446. This shows completely different circumstances under which the term *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* with its details is mentioned in DA. The Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā commenting on the above verses has no mention of it whatsoever.²⁹¹ This also raises a doubt whether the list under review was in SDA.

(v) The following are some of the arguments and counter-arguments for our inference that the Theravādins did actually develop the notion of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma*, and the items included in the list are their own enumeration independent of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, though they became subject to a revision and correction in subsequent times.

(A) What the Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathāṭīkā [DAṬ iii 257] criticises is the reading of the Dīgha-bhāṇakas. This fact does not necessarily mean that the author of DAṬ is denying the basic source book, based on which the Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā was translated by Buddhaghosa. This 'source book' is nothing but SDA or sometimes referred to as the 'Aṭṭhakathā' in the singular form.²⁹² Then, who are the Dīgha-bhāṇakas whose thesis is criticised by the author of DAṬ? Is there any evidence of the Dīgha-bhāṇakas going against what is considered to be under their custody, i.e. the Dīgha Nikāya and its Commentary? The function of *bhāṇaka* (reciters) changed as time progressed. Particularly, after the Tipiṭaka was committed to writing, they not only maintained their traditional function of memorising respective texts and commentaries, but also attempted to give their own interpretations to certain doctrinal matters.²⁹³ In fact, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī contains some instances where the Dīgha-bhāṇakas expressed their different opinions from the source of DA called the Aṭṭhakathā.²⁹⁴ This brings up two important points: first, different opinions of the Dīgha-bhāṇakas came into being after the first century B.C., i.e. after the commitment of the Tipiṭaka to writing. Second, the author of DAṬ takes the passage under review in DA as a view of the Dīgha-bhāṇakas. This leads to the possibility that it was the Dīgha-bhāṇakas who introduced the list into the Theravāda

scene probably after the first century B.C.

(B) The fact that DAṬ iii 256 f makes some comments on *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* proves that by the time of DAṬ the concept with all the eighteen items had been included in DA. Some scholars believe that Ācariya Dhammapāla, the author of DAṬ, lived sometime in the sixth or seventh century A.D.²⁹¹ This shows that all the items of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* had been in DA before that time. This points to the probability that even SDA did, in fact, contain those items, for the difference of a few decades, according to the traditional view, or even one or two centuries, according to another theory, between the time of Buddhaghosa and that of Dhammapāla, is too short a period for any interpolation, particularly if esteem and respect accorded to Buddhaghosa within the Mahāvihāra fraternity was taken into account. Under such circumstances, it is hard to expect anyone meddling with the works of Buddhaghosa. Thus, it is more likely that Buddhaghosa actually translated the passage concerned during the fifth century A.D. The reason why he left it without any comment may perhaps be because the concept was not so popular at that time, though the term had been known. As a matter of fact, it is referred to only in *Vism* and DA among Buddhaghosa's commentaries.

One may question, on the other hand, as to why Dhammapāla in his *UdA*, *ItA*, *VvA* or *CpA* did not make any reference to DA, had the list been there, when he had ample opportunities to do so, and also considering the fact that he had the knowledge of Buddhaghosa's commentaries.²⁹⁶ To this question, we may reply that Dhammapāla thought it appropriate to make his own comments in DAṬ, since the list was seen only in DA.

(C) Presuming that the passage under review was a later interpolation, it would have taken place after Buddhaghosa's time. This shows that the concept of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* of the Buddhist Sanskrit sources was known to the interpolator. At least *Vim*, which was close to the Theravāda tradition, contained a list. Then, the question is why the interpolator did not adopt more popular items of the Buddhist Sanskrit sources, rather than making the list

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look complicated and problematic ? This suggests that the Theravādins, or the Dīghabhāṅakas, to be more specific, tenaciously insisted on the inclusion of the absence of *duccarita* in the Buddha. It therefore supports the view that the Theravādins did, in fact, have a specific intention to include them in the list of *aṭṭhārasabudhadhamma*, despite obvious peculiarities and inconsistencies.

We have discussed above some problems concerning the list in DA. The author of DAṬ denounces the list in DA and gives an alternative list saying; 'This reading is the correct one' (*Ayaṃ pana pāṭho anāculo*) [DAṬ iii 257] as follows:²⁹⁷

*'Atī'amse Buddhassa Bhagavato appaṭihatañāṇaṃ, anāgat'amse, paccuppan'amse. Imehi tīhi dhammehi samannāgatassa Buddhassa Bhagavato sabbaṃ kāyakammaṃ nāṇapubbaṅgamaṃ nāṇānuparivattati, sabbaṃ vacīkammaṃ, sabbaṃ manokamīmaṃ. Imehi chahi dhammehi samannāgatassa Buddhassa Bhagavato n'atthi chandassa hāni, n'atthi dhammadesanāya, n'atthi viriyassa, n'atthi samādhissa, n'atthi paññāya, n'atthi vimuttiyā. Imehi dvādasahi dhammehi samannāgatassa Buddhassa Bhagavato n'atthi davā, n'atthi ravā, n'atthi apphutaṃ, n'atthi vegayitattaṃ, n'atthi abyāvaṭaṃ, n'atthi appaṭisaṅkhā upekkhā ti.'*²⁹⁸

This list is more akin to that of Vim than that of DA. It is repeated at DAṬ iii 67 where the author elaborates on some of the items as follows:

'Tattha n'atthi davā ti khiḍḍadhippāyena kiriyā n'atthi. N'atthi ravā ti sahasā kiriyā n'atthi ti vadanti. Sahasā pana kiriyā davā. Aññaṃ kaṇissāmī ti aññassa karaṇaṃ ravā. N'atthi apphutaṃ ti nāṇena aphaṣitaṃ n'atthi. N'atthi vegayitattaṃ ti turitakiriyā n'atthi. N'atthi abyāvaṭaṃ ti niraṭṭhakaṃ cittasamudācāro n'atthi. N'atthi appaṭisaṅkhā-upekkhā ti aññān'upekkhā n'atthi.

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*Keci pana "N'atthi dhammadesanāya hānī" ti aṭṭhitvā,
"N'atthi chandassa hāni, n'atthi viriyassa hāni, n'atthi
satiyā hānī" ti paṭṭhanti.'*

Interestingly, these explanations show that the author of DAṬ is well aware of some other traditions prevailing at that time and he makes this clear by quoting a view of 'some' (*keci*) whose account of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* is somewhat different from that of the school he belonged to. And it may be probable that the 'some' (*keci*) Dhammapāla refers to in his above passage is none other than the Abhayagirivāsins or a group of monks who professed to be part and parcel of the tradition belonging to the Abhayagiri fraternity. This inference is arrived at on the basis of a comparison between what Dhammapāla gives in his passage and the list of eighteen items enumerated in the Chinese Vimuttimaggā.²⁹⁹

By the time of DAṬ, the notion of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* seems to have been firmly established even in the teachings of the Mahāvihāra school, and the list accepted by them is very much similar to those of the Vimuttimaggā and the Mahāvastu. Strangely, the list of eighteen items in DA never became a standard list in the Theravāda tradition, for, even later Pāli works like the *Jinālaṅkāra-vannaṇā* [JinlkVn 21] (the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.)³⁰⁰ and Sinhala works like the *Visuddhimārga Mahāsannaya* of Parakkamabāhu II [1236-1270 A.D.]³⁰¹ (*VismSn* i 83)³⁰² also give the same list as in DAṬ. This suggests that post commentarial texts including sub-commentaries (*tīkāś*) and some Sinhala Buddhist works in the Theravāda tradition adopted Dhammapāla's enumeration of eighteen items and not that of DA. This may be due to the fact that the Theravādins of the post-commentarial periods found inconsistencies and peculiarities in the list of DA and, as a result, incorporated the list of DAṬ into their own tradition.

In conclusion, a perusal of our investigations into various aspects of the notion and the items of eighteen qualities of a Buddha particularly in the Pāli *Aṭṭhākatha* and later texts, reveals a possibility

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that the first listing of eighteen items might have been made in Sri Lanka more or less concurrently by both Mahāvihāravāsins (i.e. DA) and Abhayagirivihāravāsins (i.e. Vim) when the composition of the Sīhala Aṭṭhākathas was in progress. And it was done in a period between the writing of the Tipiṭaka (i.e. 1st century B.C.) and the final formation of the Sīhala Aṭṭhākathā, at least the major portions thereof (i.e. the first half of the 2nd century A.D.) The date of its list in DA could be further narrowed down, if we consider the source in which the term *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* appeared for the first time in Theravāda Buddhism. We are in this regard inclined to believe that it would have first appeared in Miln in the Theravāda tradition. Our inference here is derived from K. Mizuno's finding that the old Pāli Aṭṭhākathā (i.e. Sīhala Aṭṭhākathā) quote from Miln eighteen times, as seen above. Therefore, the enumeration of eighteen items must have come after the time of Miln, which, according to him, was finally put into the present form in Pāli before the end of the first century A.D. This brings a possible date of the first appearance of its list in the Theravāda scene to a period between the end of the first century and the second century A.D. (when the major portions of the Sīhala Aṭṭhākathā were completed.) It also leads to another inference, if we go by Har Dayal's contention (i.e. the first appearance of a list of eighteen items in Sanskrit literature was in about the third century A.D.), that the Theravādins may have been the first to initiate such a list, and not the Buddhist Sanskrit authors. At least, one may say that the Theravādins attempted to initiate a list of eighteen qualities attributed to a Buddha independent of other Buddhist schools. And the term and notion of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* in Theravāda Buddhism was adopted as the standard method to describe the Buddha's spiritual greatness by the time of the Sīhala Aṭṭhākathās.

It must also be noted that the concept of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* in the Pāli tradition followed a long process of formation. The Theravādins developed the notion of *Buddhadhammā* amounting to six of them as early as the Khuddaka Nikāya, as seen above. And the fact that all of those *Buddhadhamma* are included in the lists of all later authorities strongly suggests that

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they can indeed be regarded as a precursor of the subsequent development of the concept of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma* even in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. But, in the Theravāda tradition, how the other items came to be incorporated in the list of DA is unknown. On the other hand, the list in DA stands conspicuous among different sources and is the only list of its kind. It was formulated by the Dīgha bhāṅakas according to DAṬ, but became subject to a criticism by Dhammapāla. It could not survive long due, probably, to the peculiarities found in itself, and subsequent sources both in Pāli and in Sinhala closely followed the list found in DAṬ. This transition was initiated and brought about by Dhammapāla, one of the torch-bearers of the Mahāvihāra tradition.

As a summary of our above investigations, we present here a chart to show the shifting of eighteen items mentioned in several authorities and those shown on the left as the standard are taken from DAṬ:

Explanatory Notes:

- * Only those items which correspond to each other are indicated by numbers.
- * References of Pāli texts are to those of the PTS edition unless otherwise specified.

Abbreviations:

- DA : Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā [DA iii 994]
DAṬ : Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathāṭṭkā [DAṬ iii 67, 257]
JinlkVn : Jinālaṅkāra-vaṇṇanā [JinlkVn 21]
Mvy : Mahāvyutpatti [Mvy 135-153]³⁰³
Mvu : Mahāvastu [Mvu i 160]³⁰⁴
Vim : Vimuttiniagga [V.P.Bapat, *op.cit.*, p.65]
VismSn : Visuddhimārga-mahāsannaya [VismSn i 798]

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DAṬ

DA JnlkVn VismSn Vim Mvy Mv

1. *Atītaṃse Buddhassa*

<i>Bhagavato appaṭihatañāṇaṃ,</i>	4	1	1	1	16	1
2. <i>Anāgataṃse -</i>	5	2	2	2	17	2
3. <i>Paccuppannaṃse -</i>	6	3	3	3	18	3
4. <i>Sabbaṃ kāya kammaṃ</i> <i>ñāṇapubbaṅgamaṃ</i> <i>ñāṇānuparivattaṃ,</i>	7	4	4	4	13	4
5. <i>Sabbaṃ vacī kammaṃ -</i>	8	5	5	5	14	5
6. <i>Sabbaṃ maṇe kammaṃ -</i>	9	6	6	6	15	6
7. <i>Natthi chandassa hāni</i>	10	7	7	7	7	7
8. <i>Natthi dhammadesanāya</i> <i>hāni</i>	-	8	8	-	-	-
9. <i>Natthi viriyassa hāni</i>	11	9	10	8	8	8
10. <i>Natthi samādhissa hāni</i>	-	10	9	10	10	10
11. <i>Natthi paññāya hāni</i>	-	11	12	11	11	11
12. <i>Natthi vimuttiyā hāni</i>	-	12	11	12	12	12
13. <i>Natthi davā</i>	13	13	13	16	-	-
14. <i>Natthi ravā</i>	14	14	14	14	2	14
15. <i>Natthi apphutaṃ</i>	-	15	15	15	-	-
16. <i>Natthi vegayitanaṃ</i>	16	16	16	-	-	-
17. <i>Natthi abyāvaṭaṃmano</i>	17	17	17	17	-	-
18. <i>Natthi appaṭi-</i> <i>sāṅkhānupcckhā</i>	-	18	18	18	6	17

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CHAPTER III

BUDDHA'S PHYSICAL ENDOWMENTS

The Theravādins have two distinct approaches to the concept of Buddha. One is the apotheosis centred around the historical Buddha Gotama and the other is the conceptualization of Buddhahood; i.e. the generalization of Buddhas of the past and future.¹ Influencing each other they developed almost side by side from considerably early times in the history of Buddhism. The canonical texts, such as the Mahāpadāna sutta,² etc., are testimony to such a step taken by the Theravādins towards the generalization of Buddhas. This trend gets accelerated from the canonical texts of late origin through the post-canonical texts and the commentarial literature. Thus, many instances of reference to the Buddha-concept are made in the plural forms of Buddhas, particularly in the Aṭṭhakathā texts as can be seen in many passages cited in our present study.

Within this framework of the Buddha-concept, the Theravādins began to apotheosise Gotama Buddha and connect the results thereof to universal Buddhahood. Thus, Gotama Buddha came to be regarded as one of many Buddhas who have appeared in the past and will arise in the future in this world. In the process of generalization of Buddhas, however, it is natural that the Buddhists had reserved a special place for Gotama Buddha who was much closer to them emotionally than any other Buddhas of the past and future. The lineage of the Sākya clan referred to, for instance, in the Sumaṅgalavilāsini³ and the Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā⁴ may, perhaps, show such emotional attachment to Gotama Buddha. And above all, he is the founder of Buddhism and is the teacher for the present Buddha era.

Furthermore, the apotheosis of Buddhas is made based on two directions of development. One is the spiritual and intellectual achievements of a Buddha and the other is the attribution of special

physical endowments to him. The Buddhists would have thought of the historical Buddha Gotama first as the paradigm to develop the universal concept of Buddhahood. The development of the Buddha-concept was undoubtedly concerned with the noble aim of perpetuating the Dhamma and justifying its supremacy. The emphasis placed on the spiritual attainments of a Buddha, as examined in the previous Chapter, must therefore be understood from this view-point. So is the development of Buddha's physical endowments. If Buddha is a person spiritually and intellectually advanced and is the highest among men and gods, then he must necessarily be different from other beings in his physical appearance and endowments. Therefore, these two areas of development must go hand in hand.

The Theravādins persistently maintain that the historical Buddha Gotama was born into this world as a human subject to all the frailties of a mortal being and his human qualities were never lost sight of even in the *Atthakathā* literature. But, on the other hand, his physical endowments kept increasing in course of time. To the Buddhists, the outward appearance of a Buddha must have religious appeal. Intellectual and spiritual attainments should therefore be reflected in the physical excellence of a Buddha. Buddhaghosa in the exegeses of *Bhagavant*, for example, specifically mentions that the *rūpa-kāya* of a Buddha generates esteem of the worldly people, and because of it, he is fit to be relied on by laymen.⁵ This shows that Buddha's physical endowments inspire people to look up to him as a great spiritual leader and guide. Dhammapāla also states that the Buddha's physical body (*rūpa-kāya*) adorned with the thirty-two bodily characteristics of a great man, eighty minor marks, a fathom long halo, etc., will generate faith of the people.⁶

Then, how the Theravādins reconciled these two obviously conflicting stands; namely, human qualities and docetic trait in the Buddha, is a question to be examined carefully. Unfortunately, the Pāli sources up to the *Atthakathā* period do not address this issue directly. The *Kathāvatthu* and *Milindapañha* give us evidence of docetism around the Buddha prevalent at different times in some Buddhist groups, but the Theravādins are quite firm on this issue of

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human qualities of Gotama Buddha. Yet, later Pāli texts attribute various qualities of a superman to the Buddha. Perhaps, the Buddhists did not see any conflict between them.

In the previous Chapter, we have seen how far the Buddha's spiritual and intellectual province came to be broadened, particularly in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. Along with it, physical aspects of Buddhahood were developed in conjunction with this. All began within the Canon, and the thirty-two marks of a great man (*mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*) became a popular concept in the canonical texts in addition to other physical features which are said to distinguish the Buddha from other beings. As noted earlier, the Tathāgata is said to possess two kinds of power (*bala*); viz., *ñāṇa-bala* (knowledge power) and *kāya-bala* (physical power). The commentaries often talk of *kāya-bala* of the Tathāgata in comparison to the strength of elephants. Many sources quote the 'Ancients' (Porāṇā) to give the families of elephants as follows:⁷

*'Kālāvakaṇ ca Gaṅgeyyaṃ Paṇḍaraṃ Tamba-Piṅgalaṃ,
Gandha-Maṅgala-Hemaṇ ca Uposatha Chaddant' ime dasā ti'*

The texts further elaborate that Kālāvaka is the family of ordinary elephants and equations go in ascending manner as follows: the power of ten men equals that of one Kālāvaka elephant; the power of ten Kālāvaka elephant equals that of one Gaṅgeyya elephant; ... and the power of ten Uposatha elephants equals that of one Chaddanta elephant. The power of ten Chaddanta elephants equals the power of one Tathāgata. The Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā also mentions the last two kinds of elephants, i.e. Uposatha and Chaddanta, in connection with the *hatthi-ratana* (elephant-jewel) of a *cakkavati* king. It is said that the elephant is all white (*sabbaseto*) with polished feet and sevenfold stance (*sattapatiṭṭha*), possessing supernormal power (*iddhimā*) and flying through the air (*vehāsaṅgamo*), and comes either from the family of Uposatha or Chaddanta. If from the Uposatha family, the elephant is the eldest of all (*sabbajetṭhako*) in the herd, and if from the Chaddanta family, he is the youngest (*sabbakanitṭho*).⁸

The commentaries also compare the physical strength of a Buddha to the power of the impact of a thunderbolt (*nārāyana-saṅghātabalan*)⁹ which equals the power of a thousand *koṭis* of ordinary elephants or ten thousand *koṭis* of men. Bhikkhu Nānamoli translates the term *nārāyana* as 'thunderbolt'¹⁰ based on a traditional interpretation found in the Majjhima and Saṃyutta Ṭṭkās.¹¹ However, the term is of rare occurrence in the Pāli tradition. In fact, G.P.Malalasekera gives only one reference to it in the Cullavaṃsa,¹² which is a later source than the Aṭṭhakathā texts. In the Indian context, it is the name of a god appearing in the Mahābhārata, who is said to possess certain physical marks similar to some of the thirty-two marks of a great man in Buddhism.¹³

These descriptions are all imaginary in nature. And it is here that we see a commentarial development of Buddhology. Gotama Buddha gathers a heap of myths and legends elevating him to the state of a super human. Even his stature became increasingly exaggerated.¹⁴ Buddhas are all equal in their attainment of wisdom. Differences (*vemattā*) are minimal and are particularly noticeable in the life-span of Buddhas and their individual sizes, etc.¹⁵ But, Buddhas are not different from each other in their physical beauty. In summary, the Aṭṭhakathā texts generalize that all Buddhas are endowed with the following physical marks or characteristics and they are mentioned either separately or collectively:¹⁶ (1) the thirty-two marks of a great man (*dvattīṃsa-mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*), (2) the eighty minor marks (*asīti-anuvyañjana*), (3) the mark of a hundred merits (*satapuññalakkhaṇa*), (4) a fathom long halo (*byāmapabhā*), and (5) the feet marked with a wheel. We will now examine them in some detail.

1. *Mahāpurisalakkhaṇa* (Characteristics of a Great Man)

The canonical texts say that anyone given the appellation of *mahāpurisa* is endowed with the thirty-two bodily marks, and there

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are only two persons capable of being called *mahāpurisa*; a Buddha and a universal monarch.¹⁷ However, we are not going to delve into the concept of *mahāpurisa* in a historical perspective as there have been excellent works done in the recent past such as by Bellanwila Wimalaratana,¹⁸ which will be often referred to in our discussion of the topic.

The concept of *mahāpurisa* with the endowment of thirty-two physical marks is no doubt a result of the growing belief among the Buddhists that the Buddha is different from other beings, not only spiritually but also physically.

Historically speaking, some early canonical texts deal with certain physical characteristics of the Buddha, such as that his body was golden in colour, etc.¹⁹ Such references to bodily marks were later collected and a list of thirty-two physical characteristics was formulated in Buddhism.²⁰ It has also been pointed out that some of physical characteristics found in the generally accepted list of thirty-two in Buddhism are common to some bodily features of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa of Hinduism, which fact suggests that the concept of a great man is not of Buddhistic origin.²¹ And it is pre-Buddhistic, as evidenced in several suttas²² where Brahmins are said to have claimed the knowledge of prognostication.²³ Even Jainism had a similar concept.²⁴ However, B. Wimalaratana believes that there is no similarity of primeval (Vedic) "Puruṣa" of "Viṣṇu" with the (Buddhist) Mahāpurisa concept.²⁵

According to early texts of the Pāli Canon, the term *mahāpurisa* is sometimes explained in a spiritual sense. For instance, one who has an emancipated mind (*vimuttacitta*) is a *mahāpurisa*.²⁶ Verses in the Suttanipāta denote that *mahāpurisa* is one who has destroyed all defilements.²⁷ The Dhammapada also gives a similar definition of the word *mahāpurisa* when it says that he who has overcome craving (*vītañho*) and devoid of grasping (*anādāno*); who is skilled in understanding words and their meanings; who knows the order of letters, it is he who is the bearer of the last body, the one with

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great wisdom, and a great person (*mahāpuriso*).²⁸ In this connection, the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā interprets the word *mahāpurisa* as one whose mind is emancipated (*vimuttacitta*).²⁹ The Dasuttara sutta states that there are eight thoughts of a great man (*mahāpurisa-vitakka*) that the Dhamma is for one of little wants, not for one of great wants; for one who is serenely content, not for the discontented; for one who is detached, not for one who is fond of society; for one who is energetic, not for the slack; for one who has presence of mind, not a confused mind; for one whose mind is concentrated, not distracted; for one who has insight, not for the unintelligent; for one who delights not in conceit, craving and opinion, not for one who delights therein.³⁰ All these references suggest that the early conception of *mahāpurisa* in the Pāli Canon refers to an arahant (worthy one) with his spiritual achievements.³¹

The physical endowments of a Great Man is the next stage of development of the Buddha-concept. It appears that the Buddhists, while developing the spiritual attainments of a Buddha into a universal concept of Buddhahood, visualized the perfect man who had attained the spiritual height as a human being. In order to substantiate and fortify the concept of a Great Man, the Buddha became the one to whom were attributed various physical marks amounting finally to thirty-two such characteristics.³² The idea of two careers open to the one who is endowed with the thirty-two physical marks, a Buddha or a *Cakkavatti*, is an outcome of religious and socio-political understanding of the concept of *mahāpurisa*. Buddhahood occupies the spiritual arena, while the notion of a *Cakkavatti* king is socio-political. This distinction is made clearly in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. For example, the Sāratthappakāsinī compares the 'Seven Jewels' (*satta-ratana*) of a *Cakkavatti* to the 'Seven Factors of Enlightenment' (*bhojjaṅga*) that a Buddha preaches.³³ The Manorathapūranī, commenting on the five qualities possessed by a *Cakkavatti*, equates them to certain qualities possessed by a Buddha.³⁴ But, the common ground on which both stand, be it religious or socio-political, is that both of them lead humanity through righteous means (*dhamma*). Both are

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thus called *dhammarāja*, the king of righteousness.³⁵

The commentaries ascribe the endowment of thirty-two marks along with other physical endowments, such as the eighty minor marks, a fathom long halo, and many other resplendent physical attainments, to the practice of perfections (*pāramitā*).³⁶ Dhammapāla, in another place, ascribes the acquisition of Buddha's physical splendour, such as *satapuñña-lakkhaṇa* and others, to the accumulation of merit (*upacita-puñña-sambhāra-bhāva*).³⁷ Buddhaghosa too follows basically the same thinking, when he explains *mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa* in terms of 'that which is born of its corresponding action' (*yena kammaṇaṃ nibbattaṃ*).³⁸ However, the passages cited above give the impression that Dhammapāla is more religiously inspired than his predecessor Buddhaghosa who merely gives impassionate interpretations of the whole concept. Such causal relationships between the physical marks and moral conduct that lead to the procurement of those marks by a Buddha, are the main interpretation of the concept of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man in the canonical texts as well. The *Lakkhaṇa* sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* specifically states that as a result of a given action, [the Buddha] obtains a given mark (*imassa kammaṇaṃ katattā, idaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ paṭilabhati*).³⁹ B. Wimalaratana too writes that importance of the *Lakkhaṇa* sutta lies in the fact that it combines the concept of a Great Man with some of the fundamental tenets of Buddhism, such as the doctrine of *kamma*, rebirth, the law of causation, and giving more emphasis to the social ethics of Buddhism.⁴⁰ This clear understanding by the Buddhists of the relations between former good actions and obtaining of special physical marks, can be called a distinct characteristic of the Buddhist interpretation of the concept of *mahāpurisa*.⁴¹

The commentaries provide additional interpretations for the concept of *mahāpurisa*. Buddhaghosa, for instance, states that the science of prognostication on physical marks is taught to men by the *Suddhāvāsa* Brahmins just before the birth of a Bodhisatta, so that people would recognize him. But, that science would disappear

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gradually when a Buddha attains *parinibbāna*.⁴² The marks of a great man are also mentioned as the subjects of a science with about twelve thousand texts to elucidate the characteristics of great beings like Buddhas (*Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇaṃ ti mahāpurisānaṃ Buddhādīnaṃ lakkhaṇa-dīpakam dvādasa-sahassa-gantha-ppamāṇam sattham*).⁴³ The texts further state that therein were the sacred verses on the Buddha comprising sixteen thousand lines of verses (*Yattha soḷasa-sahassagāthāpadaparimāṇa buddhamantā nāma ahesum*). Buddhas are endowed with those marks (*yesam vasena iminā lakkhaṇena samannāgatā Buddhā nāma honti*). By these [marks], the difference becomes clear of Buddhas from *paccekabuddhas*, the two chief disciples, the eighty great disciples, the mother or father of a Buddha, the chief attendant or chief female attendant, or a universal monarch.⁴⁴ Interestingly, *cakkavatti* is also included in the list of those who are different from Buddhas in their physical marks. It may be that the commentaries included not only physical marks, but also spiritual qualities of Buddhas, and that is why Buddhas are different from *cakkavatti* kings.

Some of the canonical interpretations concerning the concept of *mahāpurisa* also embrace the *arahant* (worthy one), as seen above. Here, the *mahāpurisa* is not necessarily a Buddha or a *cakkavatti* king. What is emphasised is the ethical conduct that makes one a *mahāpurisa*. This thinking is also reflected in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. Buddhaghosa, while discussing the mode of life of a great man (*mahāpurisa-vihāra*), says that it is the mode of life of great beings like Buddhas, *paccekabuddhas* and great disciples of a Tathāgata (*Mahāpurisavihāro ti Buddhapaccekabuddhatathāgatamahāsāvakanāṃ mahāpurisānaṃ vihāro*).⁴⁵ Buddhaghosa also emphasises the importance of the spiritual aspects of *mahāpurisa*, when he says that *mahāpurisa* is one who is great because of such virtues as *paṇidhi* (aspiration), *samādāna* (undertaking), *nāna* (knowledge), *karuṇā* (compassion), etc.⁴⁶

2. *Asīti-anubyañjana* (Eighty Minor Marks)

The concept of the eighty minor marks of a Buddha is a later

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development in the Pāli tradition. The term *anuvyañjana* occurs for the first time in the sense of secondary marks in the Buddhavaṃsa⁴⁷ and Apadāna.⁴⁸ Scholars are of opinion that there may have existed a common biography of the Buddha among different schools of Buddhism. E.J.Thomas believes that the Buddhavaṃsa existed in a Sanskrit form.⁴⁹ A.Hirakawa also suggests that there was a common biography of the Buddha shared by different schools.⁵⁰ However, the question of when such a concept came into existence in Buddhism has not yet been resolved. What we can say at present is that this concept emerged after the well establishment of the notion of *dvattimsa-mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa*. For these eighty minor marks are said to be possessed only by a Buddha and not by a *cakkavatti* king.

When the idea of *asīti-anuvyañjana* as secondary bodily marks of a Buddha was incorporated into the Buddhist literature as a further step for the apotheosis of Buddhas, the Therāvādins too used this concept for the same purpose. The fact that the Theravādins were not concerned about the enumeration of those eighty minor marks in detail in their own tradition even up to the end of the Aṭṭhakathā period, as will be shown below, suggests that this concept in the Theravāda tradition may have been borrowed at a later time from a non-Theravāda school, or to say the least, the Theravādins did not positively participate in the formulation of this concept, particularly in listing the eighty items separately. But in course of time, they could not ignore a growing trend among the Buddhists. Thus, the concept became a standard set of endowments of a Buddha in the Aṭṭhakathās and the list of eighty minor marks was incorporated into the Theravāda tradition afterwards. There are a few reasons for such an assumption: (I) First, there are no Pāli sources up to the Aṭṭhakathā period which enumerate all the eighty minor marks of a Buddha, though references to the term only are found in the Apadāna⁵¹ and Milindapañña.⁵² It is only in the Aṭṭhakathā texts that a few marks are enumerated. The Madhuratthavilāsini, for example, gives four items only and uses the expression 'ādi' (and so forth).⁵³ They are, (1) *tambanakha* (copper coloured nails), (2) *tūṅganakha* (long nails), (3) *siniddhanakha* (glossy nails) and (4)

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vattaṅgulita (rounded fingers).⁵⁴ The Theragāthā-atthakathā also gives but two, namely, *tambauakha* and *tuṅganakha*.⁵⁵ In passing, the order of items mentioned in BvA comes closer to some Buddhist Sanskrit sources like the Mahāvastu,⁵⁶ at least the beginning, than to Pāli sources like the Milindapañha-ṭīkā⁵⁷ or Sinhala sources like the Dharmapradīpikā.⁵⁸ Then, it gives rise to a question: 'Why the Theravādins, unlike other Buddhists whose literary sources were in Sanskrit, did not attempt to enumerate the eighty items in detail although this concept too would have been an important step further towards the apotheosis of Buddhas?' (II) Second, the Āpadāna⁵⁹ and the Milindapañha,⁶⁰ unlike the Buddhavaṃsa, specifically refer to the number 'eighty' as *anuvyañjanas* of the Buddha. This suggests that *anuvyañjanas* amounting to eighty as a part of the physical endowments of a Buddha, at least by name, would have come into use for certain from the time of the Milindapañha in the Pāli tradition sometime around the first century B.C. or A.D.⁶¹ The Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra of Nāgārjuna (around 150-250 A.D.) endorses this fact by saying that the eighty minor characteristics are not found in the Tripiṭaka.⁶² Further, it is believed that a full list of *anuvyañjanas* primarily appears in some of the Buddhist Sanskrit works such as the Lalitavistara,⁶³ Mahāvastu,⁶⁴ Mahāvvyutpatti,⁶⁵ etc.⁶⁶ In the Pāli tradition, the list is found in works like the Milinda-ṭīkā,⁶⁷ Jinālaṅkāra-ṭīkā (or Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā),⁶⁸ etc., which are all post commentarial works. Some Sinhala works also give a full list.⁶⁹ Had the Theravādins known all the items mentioned in the list, though the list may have been different from source to source, they would have listed them in detail as ample opportunities were available particularly in the Atthakathā literature. This suggests that the Sinhala Atthakathās based on which the Pāli commentaries were translated and recast, did not actually contain the list of eighty *anuvyañjanas* probably with the exception of references only to the term *asīti anuvyañjana*. It also shows that the Theravādins on their part did not positively contribute to the enumeration of items to be included in the list. All the evidence adduced above indicates that at least the list of *asīti-anuvyañjanas* in the Pāli tradition was probably taken from another Buddhist school. And it appears that when this concep

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became popular in the Buddhist circles, the Theravādins first adopted the terminology and then later borrowed a list from another Buddhist school. By the time the Theravādins adopted the concept with a full list, probably during the Aṭṭhakathā period, the concept had become popular so that the knowledge of items to be included in the list was considered as a common place. This is why the commentaries like the Madhuratthavilāsinī and Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā give only a few items from the list, suggesting that the reader was expected to know all the eighty items in the list.

The existence of such a list of secondary marks of a Buddha during the Aṭṭhakathā period is further proved by the fact that Buddhaghosa specifically denies the view that the fingers and toes of the Buddha were webbed (*na cammena parinaddho aṅgulantaro*).⁷⁰ As pointed out by E.J.Thomas, Buddhaghosa had the knowledge of the characteristic of “four fingers and five toes of equal length” (*catasso hatth’ aṅguliyo pañca-pad’ aṅguliyo eka-ppamāṇā honti*).⁷¹ This physical mark is indeed very similar to the third item mentioned in the list of eighty secondary marks recorded in the Mahāprajñāparamitā-sūtra [Taisho Vol 6, 968 a-969 a].⁷² The evidence adduced above shows that the list of eighty minor marks was commonly known among the Theravādins.

After the incorporation of the concepts of *asīti-anuvyañjana* and *satapuññalakkhaṇa* (the marks of a hundred merits) into Buddhism, the distance between a Buddha and a *cakkavattiking* became visibly wider. The former became spiritually or even physically more prominent than the latter. This development in Buddhism is understandable because of the fact that the Buddhists, as time passed by, had to place more emphasis on religiously inspiring matters, i.e. the apotheosis of Buddhas, than on secular teachings or concepts like kingship, for the maintenance and protection of the Saṅgha. Therefore, the *cakkavatti* concept receded considerably in inverse proportion to the apotheosis of Buddhas. This is evident from its scanty treatment in the commentaries. Buddhaghosa’s classification of *cakkavattikings* into different categories; namely, *cakkavāla-* or *cāturanta-cakkavatti*

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(ruling over the entire world or the four continents), *dīpa-cakkavatti* (ruling over one continent) and *padesa-cakkavatti* (ruling over a special region),⁷³ appears to offer a parallelism to the classification of 'buddha' into four types; viz., *suta-buddha*, *catusacca-buddha*, *pacceka-buddha* and *sabbaññu-buddha*.⁷⁴ However, such a classification of *cakkavatti* kings never reached a conceptual prominence as in the concept of Buddha in the later Theravāda tradition.

3. *Pabhā* (Halo) and *Raṃsi* (Rays)

Byāmapabhā (a fathom long halo) and *raṃsi* (rays) as physical attributes of Gotama Buddha gain prominence from about the time of the post-canonical literature.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, their origins, at least conceptually, can be traced in the canonical texts. In the process of the apotheosis of Gotama Buddha, various changes had occurred even with regard to the descriptions of his physical characteristics along with the development and formulation of the *Mahāpurīsa*-concept. In early sources, for instance, it is recorded that Pukkusa, once a disciple of Ālāra Kālāma, presented a pair of golden robes (*siṅgi-vaṇṇa*) to the Buddha. On this occasion, Ānanda exclaims that the robes thus given by Pukkusa lost their lustre when put on the body of the Buddha, because the colour of the Buddha's skin (*chavi-vaṇṇa*) was so clear and exceedingly bright.⁷⁶ This story shows that the apotheosis of the Buddha in his physical endowments had already begun in the Canon, and the Buddha's body came to be believed to have special characteristics, such as that it shone like gold.⁷⁷ The Therīgāthā too mentions that the Buddha had gold-coloured skin (*hemavaṇṇaṃ harittacāma*).⁷⁸ It is therefore not difficult to imagine that such references to the bodily features of the Buddha in the Canon became indeed precursors of the concept and development of 'halo or radiance' (*pabhā*) or 'rays' (*raṃsi*) supposed to emanate from the Buddha's body.

The first reference to a collective use of the term *byāmapabhā* (a fathom long halo) in the Pāli tradition occurs in the *Buddhavaṃsa*⁷⁹ and the *Vimānavatthu*⁸⁰ of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.

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The Milindapañha also gives a reference in which the Buddha is said to possess a gold-coloured skin (*suvaṇṇa-vanna*) and a fathom long halo (*byāmapabhā*).⁸¹ The notion of 'skin like gold' is traceable to the Canon, as seen above, but the notion of 'a fathom long halo' is said to be post-canonical.⁸² We can more positively assume that its concept became popular in the post-canonical and commentarial texts. Although a reference to four kinds of *pabhā* (radiance) of a bhikkhu is found at A ii 139; namely, *candappabhā*, *suriyappabhā*, *aggippabhā* and *paññāpabhā*, it has no bearing on the idea of 'halo' as in later works.

In addition, the Buddha is said to emit rays (*raṃsi*) from his body. The term *raṃsi* is a canonical usage. For example, the Buddhavaṃsa describes the Buddha as possessing 'a hundred rays' (*safaraṃsi*).⁸³ Interpreting the word, the Madhuratthavilāsini says of it as 'him of the thousand rays like the sun' (*sahassaraṃsī va ādicco viya*).⁸⁴

The commentaries are usually silent on the explanations of the term *byāmapabhā*, though it is almost habitual that the word is used in connection with collective descriptions of the physical endowments of a Buddha.⁸⁵ Furthermore, some instances are recorded in the Aṭṭhakathā texts, where *byāmapabhā* and *sarīrapabhā* (bodily radiance) are mentioned side by side.⁸⁶ The commentaries, on the other hand, give detailed explanations to the word *raṃsi* (rays) of Buddhas. These rays are usually said to consist of six colours (*chabbaṇṇa*).⁸⁷ They are *nīla* (blue), *pīṭa* (yellow or gold), *lohita* (red), *odāta* (white), *mañjetṭha* (crimson) and *pabhassara* (combination of the first five colours⁸⁸ or opaque brilliant⁸⁹).⁹⁰ The commentaries also describe the bodily parts of the Buddha from which radiances emanate. The Sāratthappakāsini⁹¹ mentions them as follows, and the length of rays is said to be eighty hands (*asīti-hattha*):⁹²

‘Ath’ assa puratthima-kāyato suvaṇṇa-vanna-rasmī
utthahivā asīti-hattha-ṭṭhānaṃ aggahesi. Pacchima-
kāyato dakkhina-hatthato vāma-hatthato suvaṇṇa-rasmī

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uṭṭhahitvā asīti-hattha-tṭhānaṃ aggahesi. Upari-kes' antato paṭṭhāya sabbakesāvattehi mora-gīva-vañña-rasmī uṭṭhahitvā gagana-tale asīti-hattha-tṭhānaṃ aggahesi. Heṭṭhā pādātalehi pavāḷavañña-rasmī uṭṭhahitvā ghāna-pāṭhavim asīti-hattha-tṭhānaṃ aggahesi. Evaṃ samantā asīti-hattha-matta-tṭhānaṃ chabbaṇṇa-buddha-rasmiyo vijjotamānā vipphandamānā kañcana-daṇḍa-dīpikāhi niccharitvā ākāsaṃ pakkhanda-jālā viya, catuddīpika-mahāmeghato nikkhanta-vijjullatā viya dhāvimsu.' [= DA iii 972 = MA iii 21-22]

In summary, the above descriptions reveal the following:

- (A) From the front part of the Buddha's body (*puratthima-kāyato*) emanates golden coloured rays (*suvañña-vañña-rasmi*), which are eighty hands long.
- (B) From the back (*pacchima-kāyato*), right hand (*dakkhiṇa-hatthato*) and left hand (*vāma-hatthato*) of the Buddha's body too emanate the golden coloured rays (*suvañña-rasmi*), which are also eighty hands long.
- (C) Beginning from the edge of hair and from the entire head of hair emanates the colour of *mora-gīva-vañña-rasmi* (blue rays).
- (D) From the flat part of the sole of his feet emanates the colour of *pavāḷa-vañña* (coral colour).
- (E) Although the six parts of the Buddha's body are given here, the colours, viz., *suvañña*, *mora-gīva* and *pavāḷa*, are different from the usually accepted ones. The dominant colour in this passage is gold (*suvañña-vañña*), which fact is reminiscent of the golden coloured skin of the Buddha referred to in the Canon, and it is in fact one of the thirty-two characteristics of a Great Man (*mahāpurisa*) (*suvañña-vañña-lakkhaṇa*). Further, colours emanating from the six bodily parts of the Buddha are designated as '*chabbaṇṇa-buddha-rasmi*'. But, first, the six colours usually accepted in the later Pāli tradition is not followed by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries. Second, Buddhaghosa's list of six different bodily parts of the Buddha from which rays emanate, is totally different from the bodily parts

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mentioned in the Atthasālinī and Saddhammappakāsinī, as will be seen shortly. Does all this suggest that the names of six colours were not formulated and only the word *chabbanna*⁹³ was employed to describe the Buddha's physical splendor by the time of Buddhaghosa? If the answer is in the affirmative, then such a trend is indeed in conformity with other physical and spiritual features of the Buddha, like the notions of *asīti-anubyañjana*, *satapuññalakkhaṇa*, etc., where the terms appeared first in the Pāli tradition, and then, their concrete contents came to be specified later. However, the problem of authorship of Buddhaghosa's works and that of the Atthasālinī, their mutual literary relations, etc., are the matters that must be resolved first before coming to any objective conclusion. It is particularly true as the authorship of the Atthasālinī is traditionally ascribed to Buddhaghosa. And if this tradition be accepted, it is tantamount to the fact that he had two separate views on this. As for the description of bodily parts which emitted rays, the Atthasālinī can be considered as occupying a unique place in the Aṭṭhakathā literature, as will be discussed below.

The Atthasālinī mentions the first appearance of the *Buddha-rāṃsi* while contemplating on the *Paṭṭhāna* (*Mahāpakaraṇa*) of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka during the fourth week after the Buddha's enlightenment. On this occasion, the six coloured rays are said to have emanated from the Buddha's body (...*sarūto nīlapītalohitodāta-mañjeṭṭhapabhassaravasena chabbannarasmiyo nikkhamiṃsu*).⁹⁴ The text further states that *nīla* (blue) rays issued from the Buddha's hair and beard and the blue portions of his eyes (*kesamassūhi c' eva akkhīnañ ca nīlaṭṭhānehi nīlarasmiyo nikkhamiṃsu*). *Pīṭa* (yellow or golden) rays from his skin and the yellow parts of his eyes (*chavito c' eva akkhīnañ ca pītakaṭṭhānehi pītakarasmīyo nikkhamiṃsu*). *Lohita* (red) rays from his flesh and blood and the red portions of his eyes (*mamsalohite c' eva akkhīnañ ca rattaṭṭhānehi lohitarasmīyo nikkhamiṃsu*). *Odāta* (white) rays from his bones, teeth and the white parts of his eyes (*aṭṭhūhi c' eva dantehi ca akkhīnañ ca setaṭṭhānehi odātarasmīyo nikkhamiṃsu*).⁹⁵ *Mañjeṭṭhapabhassara* (crimson and the combination of the rest) rays from different parts of his body

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(*mañjetṭhapabhassarā pana taṃha taṃha sarīrappadesā nikkhamiṃsu*).⁹⁶ It is interesting to note here that the Atthasālinī, in the first place, gives a different list of bodily parts of the Buddha from that of Buddhaghosa given above. Secondly, the text [DhsA] mentions that the first four colours; viz., *nīla*, *pīta*, *lohita* and *odāta*, issue from the eyes in addition to his different bodily portions. This shows that the Buddha's eyes have a special role to play in the notion of *chabbanna*. The Atthasālinī, classifying and describing the elements of the eye (*cakkhu*), says that there are, among other elements, three colours; namely, white (*seta*), black (*kaṛiba*) and red (*lohita*) (*yattha setam p' atthi kaṇham pi lohitaṃ pi paṭhavī pi āpo pi tejo pi vāyo pi...*)⁹⁷ According to this classification, which is a classification of the *maṃsa-cakkhu* applicable to any individual, the blue eye is not specified. The element of 'blue' in the eye is therefore a special province of the Buddha. Likewise, the blue rays are said to issue from his hair and beard (*kesamassu*). Bhikkhus including the Buddha in ancient times were expected to be fully shaven.⁹⁸ The Canon refers to the fact that the Buddha, when he was young, had pitch black hair (*susukāḷa-kesa*).⁹⁹ The Visuddhimagga also does not refer to the blue hair, when elucidating the head hairs (*keṣa*).¹⁰⁰ It must, however, be recalled that this special physical feature is indeed counted as one of the thirty-two bodily characteristics of a *mahāpurisa* in the Canon. The Buddha, a *mahāpurisa* himself, is said to possess the deep and intense blue eyes (*abhiniḷanetta*). Commenting on this, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī gives five colours as the constituting colours of the Buddha's eyes; namely, *nīla* (blue), *pīta* (yellow), *lohita* (red), *seta* (white) and *kāḷa* (black).¹⁰¹ The text further states that the Buddha's eyes are not completely blue, but where blue is necessary, they possess a very distinguished blue colour like the *umma* flower.¹⁰² The same applies to other colours as well. So is the hair of the Buddha. He is endowed with bodily hair referred to as *nīla-añjana-vaṇṇa* (blue like 'añjana' [collyrium]). This bodily mark is also one of the thirty-two physical characteristics of a *mahāpurisa*. Thus, the commentaries followed the tradition of these physical marks included in the *dvattimsa-mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa* of the canonical texts, and the six colours are enumerated in the Atthakathā texts based on that.

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The introduction of the six coloured rays supposed to emanate from the Buddha's body can be said a commentarial development. Interestingly, however, the Paṭisambhidāmagga does mention them in relation to the *yamakapāṭihāra-nāṇa* of the Buddha.¹⁰³ The relevant passage reads as follows:

'...lomakūpato lomakūpato aggikkbandho pavattati, lomakūpato lomakūpato udakadhārā pavattati. Channaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ nīlānaṃ pītākānaṃ lohita-kānaṃ odātānaṃ mañjetthānaṃ pabhassarānaṃ. Bhagavā caṅkamati, nimmito tiṭṭhati vā nisīdati vā seyyaṃ vā kappeti; Bhagavā tiṭṭhati, nimmito caṅkamati vā nisīdati vā seyyaṃ vā kappeti; ...'¹⁰⁴

The manner in which the six colours are given in the text after describing that water and fire diffuse from different bodily parts of the Buddha, is somewhat peculiar. The whole sentence underlined does not appear to fit into the context here. It may be, therefore, a later interpolation; but, not later than the Sīhala Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā [SPṭsA] based on which the present Pāli Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā is said to have been recast, if the traditional belief that the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās are the translations and rearrangements of the Sīhala commentaries, stands true.¹⁰⁵ Whatever it may be, we can say with a fair amount of certainty that the interpolation must have been made before the composition of the Pāli Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā. The reasons for our above contention will become clear from the forthcoming discussions.

The Saddhammapakāsinī, commenting on the phrase underlined in the foregoing passage, tries to resolve its ambiguity thus:

'Channaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ' ti ko sambandho ? Heṭṭhā, upanimakāyato' ti ādīhi anekehi sarīrāvayavā vuttā. Tena sarīrāvayavasambandho pavattatī' ti vacana-sambandhena ca, yamakapāṭibīrādhikārena ca channaṃ

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*vaṇṇānaṃ sarīrāvayavabhūtānaṃ raṃsiyo yamakā hutvā pavattanti' ti vuttaṃ hoti. Sāmvacanasambandhena ca avassaṃ rasmiyo' ti pāthaseso icchitabbo yeva.'*¹⁰⁶

The Commentary further elaborates on the six colours as in the case of other Aṭṭhakathā texts [DA, BvA, DhsA, DhpA, etc.], but speciality of PtsA lies in the fact that the last two colours, viz., *mañ jetṭha* and *pabhassara*, are explained in a specific manner which find no parallel in the other sources. The passage reads as follows:

‘Of the colour of crimson is of the colour of light red. Of the colour of opaque brilliant is the colour which is very bright by nature. The colour of *pabhassara* does not exist independently. Those rays shining in the [said] five colours are the *pabhassara* colours.’ (*Mañjēṭṭhānaṃ' ti mandarattavaṇṇānaṃ. Pabhassarānaṃ' ti pabhassara-pakatikānaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ. Pabhassaravaṇṇo visuṃ avijjamāno' pi vuttesu pañcasu vaṇṇesu ye ye pabhāsamujjalā te te pabhassarā.*)¹⁰⁷

In addition, the Saddhammappakāsinī describes the bodily parts from which the above two colours emanate, as follows:

‘Rays of crimson emanate from the bodily parts that are of dull colour, like the flat portions of hands and feet. Rays of *pabhassara* shine forth from the bodily parts that have the colour of *pabhassara*, like hair between eyebrows, teeth, nails, etc.’ (*Hatthatalapādatalādīhi mandarattathānehi mañjēṭṭharasmiyo nikkhamanti, ... Uṇṇādāṭṭhānakhādīhi pabhassarathānehi pabhassara-rasmiyo nikkhamanti.*)¹⁰⁸

These descriptions in PtsA are more specific than those found in the Atthasālinī, which simply reads: ‘*Mañjetṭhapabhassara pana taṃha taṃha sarīrappadesā nikkhamiṃsu.*’¹⁰⁹

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A question as to why Buddha's body emits such brilliant rays is addressed in the Atthasālinī. The reason is not ascribed to the success by resolve, nor to the success of that which is produced by meditation (*ayañ ca neva buddhānaṃ adhiṭṭhāna-iddhi bhāvanāmayā iddhi*). Instead, they are the result of clearness of the Buddha's blood and material form and his complexion (*Lokanāthassa lohitaṃ pasīdi, vatthurūpaṃ pasīdi, chavivaṇṇo pasīdi*).¹¹⁰ The Sumaṅgalavilāsini¹¹¹ and the Madhuratthavilāsini,¹¹² on the other hand, explain it in relation to the Twin Miracle (*yamakapāṭihāriya*) that issuing of these six colours from the Buddha's body is a result of the attainment of the *kaṣiṇa* meditation (*nīlarasmi-atthāya hi Bhagavā nīlakaṣiṇaṃ samāpajjati, pīṇarasmi-ādīnaṃ atthāya pīṭa-kaṣiṇādīni samāpajjati*).¹¹³

The ten *kaṣiṇas* include only four colours out of the six; viz., blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīṭa*), red (*lohita*) and white (*odāta*).¹¹⁴ If the explanations in DA and BvA are accepted, then, a discrepancy in the number is obvious. The texts [DA i 57 = BvA 31] further state that among the rays, each second ray proceeded at the same moment as the first ray, as though they were pairs, yet there was no procedure of two mental acts at one moment. For, owing to the buoyancy of the sub-consciousness of Buddhas, these rays are as though they proceed in five ways at one moment from a dweller by mental acts. But the adverting (of the mind), the preparation, and the resolute determination for producing these rays are separate.¹¹⁵ Here, we find two different interpretations for the reason of the six rays issuing from the Buddha's body; one mentioned in the Atthasālinī and the other in the Sumaṅgalavilāsini and Madhuratthavilāsini. The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā also refers to the same incident of the Buddha's Twin Miracle in which the six colours are mentioned.¹¹⁶ In summary, the commentaries, like the Sumaṅgalavilāsini, Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā and Madhuratthavilāsini, mention diffusion of the six colours from the Buddha's body on the occasion of his performance of the Twin Miracle, which, according to DA i 57, took place in the seventh year (*sattame samvachhare*) after the Buddha's enlightenment. The notion of diffusion of the six coloured rays from the Buddha's body in the performance of *yamakapāṭihāra*, is indeed in consonance with the

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explanations given in PtsA. The Atthasālinī, however, speaks of *sabbaññuta-ñāna* as the inducer, as it were, by means of which the rays are produced.

The Atthasālinī, on the other hand, has a different version altogether. It says that the six colours emanated in the fourth week after the enlightenment of the Buddha, when he was contemplating on the Paṭṭhāna. The text also refers to the performance of the Twin Miracle under the Bodhi tree soon after his enlightenment¹¹⁷ and specifically states that the display of that miracle at that time was the same as the famous Twin Miracle performed under the tree of 'Gaṇḍamba'. Surprisingly, however, rays did not emanate even on the occasion of the Twin Miracle. It happened only on the occasion of the contemplation on the Paṭṭhāna.¹¹⁸ Thus, the Atthasālinī gives an independent interpretation not followed by any other sources.

Although the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās often talk of diffusion of the six coloured rays from the Buddha's body on the occasion of the performance of the Twin Miracle, it is not only the occasion on which such rays emanate from the Buddha's body. A typical example is the Buddha's *dhātu-parinibbāna* (extinction of relics) which will take place in future according to the Theravāda tradition. On this occasion, the six coloured rays are said to diffuse from the relics of the Buddha.¹¹⁹ In addition, the Aṭṭhakathā texts record several instances where the Buddha intentionally sends rays (*rasmi*).¹²⁰ He is said to emit rays from his body, but not always. The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā mentions that the Buddha sometimes conceals his rays with his robe, as when he went on a journey of three *yojanas* to meet Aṅgulimāla.¹²¹

The extent of rays emanating from the body of a Buddha is another issue discussed in the commentaries. A well-known anecdote in this regard is how Maṅgala Buddha came to possess the radiances that spread to the end of the universe. Maṅgala Buddha, when he was Bodhisatta in his last birth like Vessantara for Gotama Buddha, gave his two children to Yakkha Kharadāṭṭhika who devoured them. When Maṅgala Bodhisatta saw the Yakkha's mouth dripping

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with blood like flames of a fire, he made a firm resolve to have in the future as bright rays issuing from his body as the blood.¹²² As a result of this resolve, Maṅgala Buddha's rays remained suffusing the ten-thousand world system (...*sañrappabhā niccakālaṃ dasasahassī lokadhātuṃ pharivā atthāsi*).¹²³ The commentaries state that the extent of rays depends on the wishes made by individual Buddhas (*yo yattakaṃ icchati, tassa tattakaṃ gacchati*).¹²⁴ Thus, it is recorded that a fathom long halo and the rays of eighty hands (*hattha*) long are equal to each other (*vyāmapabhā asitippabhā va sabbesaṃ samānā*). An infinite ray (*anantappabhā*) goes far (*dūraṃ gacchati*), or near (*āsannaṃ*), or the distances of one *gāvuta*, two *gāvutas*, one *yojana*, many *yojanas* (*anekayojanaṃ*), or to the end of the *Cakkavāḷa* world (*cakkavāḷapariyantaṃ*).¹²⁵ In another *Atthakathā* text, the extent of rays is mentioned as follows: Maṅgala Buddha's rays suffused the ten-thousand world system. Padumuttara Buddha had rays twelve *yojanas* long. Vipassī Buddha's were of seven *yojanas*. Sikkhī Buddha's were of three *yojanas*. Kakusandha Buddha had the rays of ten *yojanas*. Gotama Buddha's rays were a fathom long. Of the remaining Buddhas, it is undetermined.¹²⁶

The varied extent of rays among Buddhas was later systematized and incorporated into the concept of differences (*veṃattā*) among Buddhas. Several authorities in the *Atthakathā* literature speak of *rasmī-veṃattā* as one of the five *veṃattās*,¹²⁷ or one of the eight *veṃattās*.¹²⁸ *Buddha-rasmi* or *byāmapabhā* is also counted as one of the four things of Buddhas, to which no harm can be done (*antarāyikā dhammā*).¹²⁹

The notion of rays emanating from the Buddha's body is also expressed by terms like *ketumālā* (garland of rays) and *raṃsijālā* (blaze of rays). They are of a late origin in the Pāli tradition and are found only in the *Apadāna* in the Canon and other scanty references are all in the commentaries. The *Apadāna* in one place refers to Kassapa Buddha's body resplendent with physical marks and a blaze of rays (*raṃsijālā*).¹³⁰ Its Commentary defines the word *raṃsijālā* as 'a mass of rays' (*raṃsisamūha*).¹³¹ In the commentaries the context

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in which both terms are employed is more or less the same. For instance, the Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā mentions it in describing the Buddha's physical splendour shining with a garland of rays (*ketumālāsamujjalita*) along with other physical endowments like the thirty-two bodily marks, eighty minor marks, a fathom long halo, etc.¹³² The Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā also mentions it in a similar context.¹³³ The Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā also refers to the Buddha's bodily brilliance as that diffused with a blaze of rays (*raṃsijālāvitato narasīho*).¹³⁴ The references found in the commentaries and examined above indicate that these two terms *ketumālā* and *raṃsi jālā* are not so popular in the commentaries as in later Sinhala works and are mainly supplementary to notions like *pabhā*, *raṃsi*, etc., which adorn the body of a Buddha.

4. *Satapuññalakkhaṇa* (Marks of a Hundred Merits)

The concept of *satapuññalakkhaṇa*, or at least, the popularization of it in the Pāli tradition seems to be a later development. Historically speaking, the term occurs in the Lakkhaṇa sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya¹³⁵ where it is used in reference to a boy (*kumāra*) possessing the marks of a hundred merits (*satapuññalakkhaṇa*) as a result of performing (good) deeds in the past and obtaining the state of a human being. Such a person has two careers ahead of him; a *cakkavatti* king or a Buddha. A peculiarity in this unlike a commonly accepted view of the *Mahāpurisa* in the Canon, is that no mention of *dvattiṃsa-mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa* is made as the criterion for the two possible careers. Further, unlike in later works including the Aṭṭhakathā texts where the term *satapuññalakkhaṇa* is always employed when describing the physical endowments of a Buddha alone, this passage in the Lakkhaṇa sutta refers to the state before attaining Buddhahood. It therefore requires a further investigation to determine the real connotation of its usage in the Lakkhaṇa sutta. What we can say at present is that the concept of *satapuññalakkhaṇa* gained currency much later than the Lakkhaṇa sutta itself, since this is the word found mainly in the commentaries.

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The term also appears in the *Buddhavaṃsa*¹³⁶ and the *Vimānavatthu* [Mahāratha-vimāna v 27] of the Khuddaka Nikāya. The *Milindapañha* too mentions it in describing the Buddha's personality.¹³⁷ Compared with more popular concepts such as *dvattiṃsa-mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa*, *asīti-anubyañjana*, *byāmapabbhā*, etc. of a Buddha, the term *satapuññalakkhaṇa* is found less frequently in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. There is evidence to prove in the Aṭṭhakathā literature that both Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla were familiar with the word. But, Dhammapāla in particular does not elaborate on the concept for some reasons.

Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga*¹³⁸ and *Samantapāsādikā*¹³⁹ makes only passing references to *satapuññalakkhaṇa* in the exegeses of the word *Bhagavant*. So does the *Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā*.¹⁴⁰ In other instances, a *gāthā* is quoted from the *Porāṇā* (the Ancients) as follows:

‘*Tahin nisinno naradammāsārathī*
Devātidevo satapuññalakkhaṇo
Buddhāsane majjhagato virocati
Suvaṇṇanekkhamaṃ viya paṇḍukambale.’¹⁴¹

One may be tempted to conclude that the above verse suggests antiquity of the word *satapuññalakkhaṇa* on the grounds that the quotation is made from the *Porāṇā*.¹⁴² However, the fact that the word is employed along with the term *devātideva* proves that the *gāthā*, hence its concept, is of a late origin not earlier than the time of the late stratum of the *Milindapañha*, for, from about that time the word *devātideva* and its attendant connotation becomes conspicuous in the Pāli literature, as seen earlier.¹⁴³ The *Vimānavatthu* [Mahāratha-vimāna v 27], the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*¹⁴⁴ and the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*¹⁴⁵ also mention the word *satapuññalakkhaṇa* together with *devātideva*.

The commentaries do not provide detailed explanations for the word *satapuññalakkhaṇa* except the two texts DA and BvA, which

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will be examined shortly. The explanations found in other commentaries are given below first. The *Vimānavatthu-atthakathā* seems to connect it to the physical marks of a Great Man, when it says: 'The marks of a hundred merits means the marks of a Great Man produced by way of countless hundreds of meritorious deeds' (*satapuññalakkhaṇan ti anekasatapuññavasena nibbattamahāpurisalakkhaṇan*).¹⁴⁶ Interpreting a similar word *sata-lakkhaṇa-dhārī*, the *Theragāthā-atthakathā* also gives the sense of 'countless' to the numeral *sata* as follows: 'The bearer of a hundred marks means the one who has countless marks' (*sata-lakkhaṇa-dhārino ti anekalakkhaṇa-vato*).¹⁴⁷ These instances suggest that the numeral *sata* in *satapuññalakkhaṇa* is employed to give the figurative meaning of 'countless or innumerable' without attaching significance to the numeral itself.

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*¹⁴⁸ and the *Madhuratthavilāsini*¹⁴⁹ are the two commentaries which provide the most detailed explanations of the word under review in the *Atthakathā* literature. Both texts, which are similar to each other in content, appear to recognize the importance of the numeral *sata* in the expression at first sight unlike *Dhammapāla* who follows only the sense of 'innumerable or countless' for it, as seen above. For the sake of comparison the passages in both texts are quoted below:

DA iii 925:¹⁵⁰

'Sata-puñña-lakkhaṇan ti satena satena puñña-kammānaṃ nibbathamek' eka-lakkhaṇaṃ. Evaṃ sante yo koci Buddho bhavyeyā ti na rocayissu. Anantesu pana cakkavāḷesu sabbe sattā ek' ekaṃ kammaṃ satakkhattuṃ kareyyuṃ. Ettakehi janehi katakammaṃ Bodhisatto eko va ek' ekaṃ sata-guṇaṃ katvā nibbatta, tasmā sata-puñña-lakkhaṇo ti imaṃ atthaṃ rocayissu.'

BvA 32:

'Satapuññalakkhaṇo ti anantesu cakkavāḷesu sabbe sattā ekekaṃ puññakammaṃ satakkhattuṃ kareyyaṃ ettakehi

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*janehi katakammaṃ bodhisatto sayam eva ekako sataguṇaṃ katvā nibbatto ti, tasmā satapuññalakkhaṇo ti vuccati. Keci pana satena satena puññakammena nibbatta-ekkalakkhaṇo ti vadanti; evaṃ sante yo koci buddho bhaveyyā ti Atthakathāsu pakkhitaṃ.*¹⁵¹

We give below the translation of BvA:

'The mark of a hundred merits means that if all beings in the endless *Cakkavālas* were each to perform one meritorious deed a hundred times, the Bodhisatta was born having by himself performed a hundredfold the [entire] deed done by all these beings. Therefore, he is called one having the mark of a hundred merits. But "some" say that each mark is produced for every hundred meritorious deeds. Considering that, "anyone may become a Buddha" [this interpretation] is rejected in the commentaries.'

Satapuññalakkhaṇa, according to DA and BvA, is therefore the marks accrued from performing a hundredfold the meritorious deeds done by all beings. However, the question of what those virtues specifically are, is not addressed in both passages. Perhaps, the virtues here could be those generally accepted in Buddhism. For instance, the *Ānguttara Nikāya* enumerates three kinds of meritorious deeds (*puññakiriya*); viz., *dānamaya-puññakiriya*, *sīlamaya-puññakiriya* and *bhāvanāmayaya-puññakiriya*.¹⁵² Our inference above is, perhaps, right as the *Dīgha Nikāya* *ūkā* (*Linatthavaṇṇanā*) too refers those meritorious deeds to 'giving, etc.' (*puññakammānan ti dān' ādi-puññakammānaṃ*).¹⁵³

The word hundredfold (*sataguṇa*) has special significance. The interpretation of *sata* in *sataguṇa* is both literal and figurative in DA and BvA. There is a word-play and the formation of the term *sata-puññalakkhaṇa* comes from the literal meaning of it. Because of the numeral *sata*, in passing, a division in the Buddhist circles

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seems to have been created: one camp insisted on the literal interpretation of it and the other on its figurative sense. Both DA and BvA refer to the view which advocates the importance of the numeral *sata*. In both sources, it is rejected. The Theravādins are no doubt the ones who followed the figurative sense of the word *sata* to mean 'innumerable or countless'. This controversy arose at least before the third century A.D. For, commenting on the phrase, '*na rocayim̐su*' in DA, its *Ṭikā* specifically states that it is the Aṭṭhakathācariyā who disapproved of such a view (*na rocayim̐su aṭṭhakathācariyā*).¹⁵⁴ The Aṭṭhakathācariyā are the teachers who were responsible for the writing and transmission of the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās, the original sources for the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās, according to S.Mori.¹⁵⁵ And the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās were completed before the third century A.D.¹⁵⁶ This observation is significant in that non-Theravāda schools including Mahāyāna maintain the idea of 'hundred' as an important aspect of the concept of *satapuññalakkhaṇa*, as will be referred to later.

The Theravāda interpretation of *sata* to figuratively mean 'innumerable or countless' is further strengthened by a comment found in the *Dīgha Nikāya Ṭikā*. The text, commenting on the passage in DA quoted above, mentions in no uncertain terms that the word *sata* there denotes abundance and not a specific number (... *idha sata-saddo bahubhāvapariyāyo, na saṅkhāvisesavacano ti dasseti*).¹⁵⁷

In passing, the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya, a Sinhala glossary to the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* supposed to have been composed in the tenth century A.D.,¹⁵⁸ provides an explanation for the word *satapuññalakkhaṇa*, and it appears to be almost the exact translation of the passages in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and *Madhuratthavilāsinī* seen above. The passage reads thus: '*anat aparisē sakvaḷahi hāma sathu eki eki pin sata guṇa koṭa kolō nam etek jana kaḷa etek kam sata guṇa koṭin kaḷa pinin nivat lakuṇu āti bāvin buduhu satapuññalakkhaṇa namhu yā*'.¹⁵⁹ The Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya can therefore be said to be a work which inherits the tradition of DA and BvA.

Another Sinhala work written by the king Parakkamabāhu II

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in the thirteen century A.D. is the Visuddhīmārga Mahāsannaya, a Sinhala word-for-word translation of the Visuddhimagga. This text also gives an explanation to the word *satapuññalakkhaṇa* as follows:

‘Of one bearing the marks of a hundred merits, means the marks of a great man born of many hundreds of meritorious deeds. This is the meaning in the sub-commentaries. In the glossary, “in countless world systems each being performs a meritorious deed a hundred times. Each and every mark of a [great] man appears as a result of performing each such deed of merit [done by beings a hundred times] a [further] hundred times.”’
*(sata puññalakkhaṇa dharassa, anekasata puñyayen nirvartta mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa āti; me ūkārtha ya. sanyayehi vanāhi “ananta cakravālayehi ananta sattvayanaṭa eki eki denā kaḷa siyak pinhi eki eki pinaṭa siyak siyak pin koṭa lada eki eki puruṣa lakṣaṇa dhārūha” yi kīhu.)*¹⁶⁰

The notion of *satapuññalakkhaṇa* expressed in the sentence underlined above is interesting for the reason that it can be interpreted in two ways: one is the traditional interpretation of the numeral *sata* in a figurative sense, and it is nothing but an elaboration of the idea followed in DA, BvA, DAṬ, etc. The other is to take the sentence more literally. In this case, it comes very close to the view of ‘some’ (*keci*), which is rejected in the Madhuratthavilāsini. In other words, the interpretation of *satapuññalakkhaṇa*, once rejected in DA and BvA, came to be accepted by the Buddhists of medieval Sri Lanka. This may be due to two reasons: First, the idea of connecting *satapuññalakkhaṇa* to a part of the *mahāpuruṣa* concept is not unknown in the commentaries. As referred to earlier, the Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā mentions it.¹⁶¹ It is exactly the same as that given in the Visuddhīmārga Mahāsannaya: ‘*anekasata puñyayen nirvartta mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa*’ (see above). The Visuddhīmārga Mahāsannaya further states that it is the meaning given in the sub-commentaries (*me ūkārtha ya*). Second, ambiguity of the way it is explained in DA and BvA. That is, the numeral *sata* there can be

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interpreted both literally and figuratively. These two reasons would have left room for the later Buddhists to deviate from the early interpretation of the term. We are inclined to believe that the Visuddhimārga Mahāsannaya draws more attention to the literal interpretation of the word *sata* for the following reason: Its author specifies that one meaning is found in *Ṭīkāś* (*me ṭīkāṛtha ya*). He then gives another meaning supposed to be found in glossaries (*sanyayehi vanāhi*). If the meaning found in so-called 'glossaries' were to be taken figuratively, then, such an explanation is already found in DA, BvA or DAṬ. Therefore, there is no ground to ascribe it to the glossaries in a historical perspective. This evidence suggests that the author of the Visuddhimārga Mahāsannaya is inclined to take the numeral *sata* more literally.

The Visuddhimārga Mahāsannaya is a text which sees a connection between *satapuññalakkhaṇa* and *mahāpurisa*. The Aṭṭhakathā texts such as DA and BvA, do not specifically refer to this connection between the two. What DA and BvA mention, in a nutshell, is that the Bodhisatta performed countless meritorious deeds in the past. The closest reference to it is found in Dhammapāla's Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā which states, as shown earlier, that the marks of a great man (*mahāpurisa*) are produced by countless hundreds of meritorious deeds.¹⁶² Here, such meritorious deeds are specified as 'countless'. The Visuddhimārga Mahāsannaya, thus, goes a step further to literally interpret the numeral *sata* and connects it to the *mahāpurisalakkhaṇa* as a resultant physical endowment of a Buddha. This conceptual development comes much closer to the idea of *satapuññalakṣaṇa* generally accepted in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The concept of 'the Glorification with Hundred Merits or Fortunes' (*satapuññalakṣaṇa*) is a popular belief in Mahāyāna Buddhism. A bodhisatta is expected to perform meritorious acts in order to gain the glorious physical perfection of a Buddha. And the commonly accepted theory is that he fulfills a hundred acts for each one of the thirty-two physical excellence of a Buddha. This belief is very much like the view referred to especially in the Visuddhimārga Mahāsannaya.

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Such a historical development lends support to the contention that the Theravādins of post-commentarial periods in Sri Lanka, particularly towards the medieval times, were more amenable and flexible to embrace views of other Buddhist schools outside their own tradition. And this trend, though less prominent compared with later Sinhala sources, can be detected even in the Aṭṭhakathā literature, which contains evidence of the Theravādins incorporating views of other Buddhist schools of the day. Evidence in the Aṭṭhakathā texts also reveals that the Mahāvihāravāsins had a strong sense of rivalry especially against the Abhayagirivāsins, who are often referred to as 'some' (*keci*, etc.) in the commentaries and their views often rejected.¹⁶³

5. *Buddhapāda*¹⁶⁴ (Buddha's Foot-print)

Special physical features associated with the feet of the Buddha are found in the Canon. The thirty-two physical marks of a Great Man include them. In fact, the list of thirty-two marks begins from the feet of the Buddha upwards. The following are the marks or characteristics which a *mahāpurisa* has on his feet:¹⁶⁵

1. *Suppatiṭṭhitapāda* (he has feet with a level tread)
2. *Heṭṭhapādātalesu Cakkāni Jātāni* (on the soles of his feet wheels appear)
3. *Āyatapanhī* (he has projecting heels)
4. *Dīghaṅgulī* (he has long fingers and toes)
5. *Mudutaḷaṇahatthapāda* (he has soft and tender hands and feet)
6. *Jālahatthapāda* (he has fingers and toes evenly spaced)¹⁶⁶
7. *Ussankapāda* (his ankles are over the exact middle of the tread)

The commentaries employ two terms to denote the 'foot-print' of a Buddha; viz., *pada-cenīya* and *pada-vaḷaṅja*. The former is more frequently used than the latter. However, references to the foot-print in the commentaries are not many compared with other physical endowments of a Buddha. The oft-cited incident of the Buddha leav-

ing behind his foot-prints is the story of the brahmin Doṇa who, having seen them, followed the Buddha and questioned him about his identity. The Buddha on this occasion declares that he is none other than a Buddha.¹⁶⁷ The Commentary to this states that the Buddha was aware that Doṇa would follow and question him (...*Doṇo brāhmaṇo mama padacetiyāni passitvā padānupadiko hutvā mama nissinnatthānaṃ āgantvā paṭham pucchissati*).¹⁶⁸ The Aṭṭhakathā texts often describe the Buddha as knowing the future actions of others, and even the events which would take place in the future. There seems to be a conglomeration of reasons for this development in the commentaries. A driving force behind it is no doubt the apotheosis of the Buddha and the exaltation of his spiritual powers. Theoretically, the concept of *tathāgatabala*, which includes the powers of *dibba-cakkhu*, *indriyaparo pari yatta-nāṇa* or *āsayānussaya-nāṇa*, can become a basis for the prediction of future actions or events. The Buddha's *sabbaññuta-nāṇa* indeed contains an item specifying that the Buddha knows everything concerning the future (*anāgataṃ sabbaṃ jānāti*). Religiously speaking, it is because of such a power vested in the Buddha that he surveys the world twice a day in order to offer his service to beings for their spiritual advancement.

Religious devotion is another sphere which came to be emphasized more as time progressed. The physical endowments of the Buddha fall into this category. The Buddha was made a superhuman by later Buddhists to infuse awe and respect in the minds of devotees. The notion of *Buddhapāda* is also another step towards this end. Thus, the Aṭṭhakathā texts describe that the Buddha showed his foot-prints for the benefit of people. The Buddha showed his foot-prints for veneration for the benefit of the people of the Saccabaddha mountain (*Saccabaddha-pabbata*) who were on the way to hell (*mahājano apāya-magge otarito*).¹⁶⁹ Sugandha therā is said to have accumulated merit after seeing the foot-prints of Tissa Buddha and was born a human in this world.¹⁷⁰ So is Sabbamitta therā.¹⁷¹

The prognostication of foot-prints was a popular belief in ancient India. The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā records that the brah-

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min Magandiya's wife skilled in the science of prognostication of physical marks sees the foot-prints of the Buddha and declares that a man of such a foot-print is free from all passion.¹⁷² The same story is repeated at AA i 435 ff and SnA ii 543.¹⁷³

Subsequent to the concept of *dvattiṃsa-mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa* which includes several physical marks connected with the feet of such a person as listed before, the Aṭṭhakathā texts provide further details. The Manorathapūranī,¹⁷⁴ for instance, says that the soles of the feet of Buddhas are soft and when they tread, it would be as though cotton falls on the ground. Just as the footprint of a swift Sindhava horse does not stay on a lotus leaf, likewise the footprints of Buddhas do not become visible. Further, if the footprints of Buddhas become visible, the multitude, who follow, will not be able to tread on them, and therefore, even when they become visible, they soon disappear.¹⁷⁵ In a similar manner, the six items mentioned in the list given early, are elaborated in the relevant places in the Aṭṭhakathā texts.¹⁷⁶

It is generally believed that the last stage of the development of the Buddha's physical endowments in the Theravāda context is culminated in the concept of a hundred and eight marks on the sole of the Buddha's foot. Lists giving all the auspicious marks are found in the Jinālaṅkāra-ṭīkā and the Anāgatavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā in Pāli.¹⁷⁷ A Sinhala work called the Magul Lakuṇa was also written during the Kandy period. These marks are in fact an extension of the Wheel Mark on the sole of the Buddha's foot, which is counted as one of *dvattiṃsa-mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa*. They are designated as *parivāra* (accompaniment). The concept was shared among Jains and Hindus.¹⁷⁸ It is a gradual development and such auspicious marks increased as time went on. Thus, by the time of the commnetarial period, nearly forty items came to be listed as *parivārās* which are found in the Sumaṅgalavilāsini¹⁷⁹ and Papañcasūdanī.¹⁸⁰

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CHAPTER IV

THE NINE VIRTUES OR TITLES (NAVAGUṆA)¹

The Buddha's virtues (*guṇa*) or titles are collectively expressed in Buddhism in the formula which reads as follows: '*Iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathī satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho Bhagavā.*'² These epithets of the Buddha portray his personality in different aspects. The commentaries provide a fair amount of exegeses in respect of all the virtues or titles separately or collectively.

1. *Arahant*³

In the canonical texts, certain set patterns are adopted in the descriptions of arahant. Arahant is one whose cankers (*āsava*)⁴ are destroyed (*khīṇāsava*). This is one of the favourite appellations given to arahant throughout the ages. Here are some frequently cited phrases to describe the state of arahantship: 'Destroyed is birth, lived is a chaste life, done is what had to be done, after this present life there is no beyond' (*khīṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāya*); 'alone, secluded, earnest, zealous, master of himself' (*eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpī pahitatto*); 'arahant is one whose cankers are destroyed, fulfilled a higher life, done what had to be done, laid down the burden, attained the goal, whose fetters of becoming are completely eradicated, released by profound knowledge' (*araham khīṇāsavo vusitavā katakaraṇīyo ohitabhāro anupatta-sadatto parikkhīṇa-bhava-sañño jano sammadañña vimutto*); 'there arose in me insight, the emancipation of my heart became unshakeable, this is my last birth, there is now no rebirth for me' (*ñāṇaṃ ca pana me dassanaṃ udapādi akuppā me cetovimutti ayaṃ antimā jāti natthi dāni punabbhavo*).⁵

In the Abhidhamma texts, discussions on arahantship are not many compared with the canonical texts, probably with the exception of the *Kathāvatthu*. I.B.Horner also observes: 'Unluckily for the

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historian the Abhidhamma proves to be but a scanty source for later developments of the arahant-concept.⁶ This may be a result of the nature of subjects dealt with and the purpose for which they were compiled. The Abhidhamma texts on the whole reiterate the notion of arahantship found in the canonical texts. This trend becomes more pronounced in the Kathāvatthu. However, the Kathāvatthu⁷ serves as a useful and important source of gleaning therefrom other aspects of arahantship which indicate a new dimension in the development of its concept. Questions raised by non-Theravādins concerning the credentials of an arahant, show a new direction of development of the ideal individual in the Buddhist circle; may he be an arahant or a bodhisatta. In the text, the arahant is treated more as an ordinary being. The Theravādins are helpless but to resort to the older sources to keep the image of arahant aloof. Their attitude is, perhaps, one of the reasons why the Kathāvatthu gives mere repetitions of the old notion of arahantship found in the Sutta Piṭaka.

The compilation of the Kathāvatthu by the Theravādins was undoubtedly intended to refute unorthodox views expressed by several sectarian schools which had emerged by then, according to the Pāli tradition. The text is thus testimony to the fact that different interpretations of doctrinal and other points were proposed and discussed by various groups within the Buddhist community. Some significant issues raised in the Kathāvatthu so far as the arahant-concept is concerned, are attempts more or less to degrade or discredit the attainments of an arahant: for example, 'An arahant can fall away from arahantship.' [Kv I 2]; 'Can an arahant have doubts?' [Kv II 3]; 'Arahant's knowledge is limited.' [Kv II 2; IV 10; XXII 1]; etc. The Theravāda concept of arahantship had never before been subjected to such challenges. While the credentials of an arahant was thus challenged and became more eclipsed, a new dimension of the interpretation of the Buddha's personality together with the Bodhisatta ideal was generated particularly by some groups of non-Theravāda schools. They also claimed to put forward and argue their theses based on older sources. A perusal of the questions raised in the Kathāvatthu in respect not only of the arahant-concept, but also of the Saṅgha,

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Bodhisatta, and Buddha, suggests that a division of the Buddhist Saṅgha into various groups based on differences of interpretation of both doctrinal and disciplinary points, must have propelled them to compete for supremacy over each other. Propositions made by non-Theravādins such as those concerning the acceptance of gifts [Kv XVII 6], purification of them [Kv XVII 7], conferring of merit thereof [Kv XVII 9]; creation of a new 'sāsana'[Kv XXI 1]; the Buddha's appearance in human world [Kv XVIII 1]; his preaching the Dhamma through a created image of himself [Kv XVIII 2]; differences among Buddhas [Kv XXI.6]; their pervasion in all directions [Kv XXI 6]; Bodhisattas assured of their enlightenment prior to their last births [Kv IV 8, XIII 4]; etc., will show an unstable nature of the Saṅgha. It is not difficult to imagine that this new development would have been a reaction against rigid and strict disciplinarians of the Theravāda sect. When the time became remote from the Master Gotama Buddha, the possibility of realising the truth by disciples also became remote.⁸ As a result, there arose a parallel development in which they became more dependent on the grace of an external agent. And their attention was naturally directed to the Buddha himself. It is in this regard that the compassionate nature of Buddhahood came gradually to the fore. The proposition that Bodhisatta volunteers to suffer [for the sake of enlightenment to save others] [Kv XXIII 3], can be taken as a reflection of this development. New developments shown in the Kathāvatthu appear to be the result of many faceted and multiple reasons arising from different environments the Buddhist community became subjected to, as time progressed. Writing about such trends, S.N.Dube says that one (development in the history of Buddhism) led to the gradual decline in the Arahant ideal and the other towards the eventual deification of the Buddha.⁹

In the Milindapañha too, the supremacy of arahantship is emphasised over and over again.¹⁰ The importance of arahantship in this text is built upon two premises: one is to argue on the basis of supremacy of the life of a bhikkhu over the lay-life. This is supplementary to the main arguments of attaining arahantship, which is the

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summum bonum in Buddhism, i.e. the attainment of Nibbāna. The other is the direct method of elucidation of arahantship based on its orthodox notion found in the Pāli canonical texts. The king Milinda asks Nāgasena as to what the object of renunciation is. The thera answers: 'Our renunciation is to the end that this sorrow may perish away, and that no further sorrow may arise; the complete passing away, without cleaving to the world, is our highest aim.'¹¹ In the same passage, Nāgasena admits that some renounce the world because of fear of kings (*rājābhiniṭa*), thieves (*corābhiniṭa*), inability to pay back debts (*inaṭṭa*), a livelihood (*ājīvikatthāya*), etc.¹² However, what is important is to realise and attain Nibbāna at the end after entering the Order. In order to show the supremacy of the life of a bhikkhu, there is an interesting dialogue in which the king Milinda questions about the reasons why and how a layperson who has attained the stage of *sotāpanna*¹³ should behave towards *samaṇas*, even though they may be ordinary bhikkhus or *sāmaneras* (novices). Nāgasena says that there are twenty reasons and two external characteristics that make up *samaṇaship* by virtue of which they are worthy of worship. By observing and fulfilling them, the *samaṇa* comes to the realm of arahants (*arahantabhūmi*).¹⁴ Here, it is specifically mentioned that even lay-sages must salute the homeless. What about the lay-person who has attained arahantship while remaining a household-er, then ? Nāgasena quips that for such a lay-arahant, there are only two ways open to him; one is to die on the same day as he attains arahantship, and the other is to renounce the world.¹⁵ These arguments show that Nāgasena's intention is to uphold the supremacy of the life of a recluse.

While the Buddhist Saṅgha is thus given the highest regard and praise, the arahant is described in the Milindapañha thus: 'he is one in whom rebirth in every state is cut off; all the four kinds of future existence are destroyed; every conditioned thing (*sabbasaṅkhāra*) is put an end to; ignorance (*avijjā*) is destroyed; consciousness (*viññāna*) has been rendered seedless (*abīja*); etc. Therefore, the arahant does not tremble by any fear.'¹⁶ 'Death, O king, is a thing that those who have not seen the truth (*adittha-*

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saccānam) are frightened of.¹⁷ Such statements are reminiscent of the notion of arahantship in early Buddhism. The Purabheda sutta of the Suttanipāṭa describes the qualities of a *muni* thus: 'one who is calmed, who has extinguished all his cravings before the time his body disintegrates into nothing, will have no concern with how things began or with how they will end.'¹⁸ Every Buddhist tries to attain the state of deathlessness, which is Nibbāna. *Amata* is therefore used as a synonym for Nibbāna from the earliest times.¹⁹ 'Fearlessness' is another synonym for Nibbāna.²⁰ The Milindapañha also states that arahants are free from all fear and trembling (*vigatabhayasantāsā arahanto*).²¹

The Milindapañha, like the Kathāvatthu, on the other hand, contains certain vulnerable questions regarding arahantship. One such question posed by the king Milinda is whether an arahant can commit offences or not. Nāgasena, while reiterating that the arahant is one who has laid aside 'thoughtlessness', admits that an arahant may commit offences which are a breach of rules applied only within the Saṅgha and not the ordinary moral law which is the ten modes of evil actions that every member of a society, both a bhikkhu and a layman alike, must abide by. Here again, the thera tries to emphasise that the life of the homeless is pure in conduct and moral virtues.²² In the same passage, he further states that such wrong doings may be committed by an arahant, because he may be ignorant of the personal or family name of some woman or man, or some road. It is not within the province of every arahant to know everything. But the arahant knows about emancipation, and the arahant endowed with the six higher knowledges (*chaḷabhiññā*) would know his own scope (*sakavisaya*). It is only the omniscient Tathāgata who knows all.²³ The above dialogue is significant in that the arahant is said to be ignorant of certain things, such as names of persons, roads, etc. This issue was deliberately avoided for any comment by the Theravādins in the Kathāvatthu when their proponents put forward the argument that an arahant may be ignorant of the name and clan (*nāmagottam*) of a certain man or a woman, or a right or wrong road (*maggāmagga*), etc.²⁴ Nāgasena seems to look at the arahant in a broader perspective

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and to infuse flesh and blood into his personality. This aspect of arahantship should in fact be taken as a parallel development along with the apotheosis of the Buddha(s). Another important point to be noted in the following statement: 'only the omniscient Tathāgata knows everything', is that the apotheosis of the Buddha is further continuing. Such evidence is clear in the text.²⁵ The Milindapañha also shows that arahants are coming much closer than ever before to other members of the society to live in close proximity with them. Arahants are thus depicted as social beings.²⁶ K.Hayashima remarks that it is worth taking note that the Theravādins treated arahants in a humane manner compared with the more glorified Buddha.²⁷ It may be that the concept of arahant had become more or less static in its interpretation by the time of the Milindapañha, though minor deviations can be detected occasionally, as seen above, and the Theravādins, whenever called for, preferred to go back to the canonical descriptions of the arahant. This trend continues further in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts. This does not necessarily mean that the arahant-concept or its importance receded as time went on. But the interpretation of this phenomenal change must rather be sought in that the process of exalting the Buddha further continued with the rise of a new aspect of Buddhahood, i.e. the ideal of Bodhisatta. And the canonical texts had evolved the arahant-concept to a near perfection so that later writers found less or nothing to elucidate further. I.B.Horner also writes: '...that the topic had received such thorough treatment in the canonical works that there was very little left for the commentators to add.'²⁸

In the Aṭṭhakathā texts, arahant is explained etymologically by Buddhaghosa in his Visuddhimagga and other commentators seem to follow suit. Although 'arahan' in the formula of Nine Virtues or Titles is used as an epithet of the Buddha, it is equally applicable to any arahant. Buddhaghosa states: '*Tattha ārakattā, arīnaṃ arānaṃ ca hatattā, paccayādīnaṃ arahattā, pāpakaraṇe rahābhāvā ti imehi tāva kāraṇehi so Bhagavā arahan ti anussarati.*' (Herein he recollects by these reasons that the Blessed One is accomplished [arahan] as he is remote, his enemies and spokes destroyed, is worthy of requisites,

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etc., and his absence of secret wrong doings).²⁹ Buddhaghosa further explains the reasons why the above etymological definitions are adopted, as follows:

(1) He stands utterly remote and far away from all defilements, because he has expunged all trace of defilement by means of the path - because of such remoteness (*āraḁa*) he is accomplished (*arahanta*)³⁰ (*Ārakā hi so sabbakilesehi, suvidūravidūre t̥hito maggena savāsanāṇaṃ kilesānaṃ viddhaṃsitattā ti ārakattā arahamaṃ*).³¹

(2) And these enemies (*ara*), these defilements, are destroyed (*hata*) by the path - because the enemies are thus destroyed, he is accomplished³² (*Te ca anena kilesārayomaggena hatā ti arānaṃ hatattā pi arahamaṃ*).³³

(3) The wheel of the round of rebirths with its hub made of ignorance and craving for becoming, with its spokes consisting of formation of merit and the rest, with its rim of ageing and death, which is joined to the chariot of the triple becoming by piercing it with the axle made of the origin of cankers. All this wheel's spokes (*ara*) were destroyed (*hata*) by him at the Place of Enlightenment... - because the spokes are thus destroyed he is also accomplished³⁴ (*Yaṅ c'etam avijjābhavatanhāmayanābhi puññādi-abhisarikhārāraṃ jarāmarāṇanemi āsavasaṃmudayaṃmayena akkhena vijjhitvā ti bhavaraṭṭhe samāyojitaṃ anādikālapavattaṃ saṃsāracakkaṃ, tassānena Bodhimaṇḁe... sabbe arā hatā ti arānaṃ hatattā pi arahamaṃ*).³⁵ The text further elaborates on the nature of the wheel of links (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) beginning with ignorance. The Blessed One understood and penetrated all aspects of Dependent Origination. Thus the wheel of *saṃsāra* is destroyed.

(4) He is worthy of the requisites of robes, etc. He is the worthiest of offerings. Because when a Tathāgata has arisen, every one, deities and humans alike, pays homage to him. That is why he is worthy of requisites, etc. (*paccayādīnaṃ arahattā pi arahamaṃ*).³⁶ Here the examples adduced are all those of the Buddha. However, the epithet

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is equally applicable to arahant. In early Buddhism, the Buddha and his disciples are said to be worthy of homage.³⁷

(5) He does not commit wrong deeds in secret like those fools who are hypocrite. Therefore, he is accomplished because of the absence of doing wrong things in secret (*evaṃ esa na kadāci karotī ti pāpakaraṇe rahābhāvato pi araham*).³⁸

In other places too, a similar idea is expressed: 'Arahant is one who is remote from defilements. He is far from defilements and they are destroyed' (*arahantā āvakakilesa. Dūrakilesa pahīnakilesa ti attho*);³⁹ 'enemies of defilements are destroyed' (*kilesārīnaṃ hatattā arahatā*);⁴⁰ 'enemies destroyed, worthy of requisites, etc.' (*arīnaṃ hatattā paccayādīnaṃ ca arahattā arahatā*).⁴¹ The Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts are not totally silent on the aspect of 'destruction of cankers' (*khīṇāsava*). 'Arahants are those who are remote from defilements. They have destroyed four kinds of cankers' (*arahanto ti ādisu, ārakā kilesehī ti arahanto; khīṇā etesaṃ cattāro āsavā ti khīṇāsavā*).⁴² 'Arahants are those in whom cankers are destroyed' (*arahanto ti khīṇāsavā*).⁴³ The arahant is sometimes described as 'one who destroys greed, hatred and delusion in his last birth. Thus, he is called one in whom greed, hatred and delusion are no more' (*yasmā arahattaṃ rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ khīṇ'ante uppajjati, tasmā rāgakkhayo dosakkhayo mohakkhayo vuttaṃ*).⁴⁴

In all these, *kilesa* (defilement) is at the fore and the usual expression of *khīṇāsava* is less prominent. I.B.Horner remarks: 'For some reason destruction of the *kilesas*, which is no more etymologically connected with the term *arahant* than is destruction of the *āsavas*, came to stand for a sign of arahanship.'⁴⁵ It may be due, perhaps, to either or both of the two possible reasons for this shift: One is that by the time of Buddhaghosa, *kilesa* had become more important to highlight than *āsava* in the process of attaining arahantship, and the other is that the notion of *āsavas* was so well known that it was not necessary for him to specially reiterate this aspect. Hence its absence as I.B.Horner also says.⁴⁶

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In passing, the Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā classifies arahants into twelve classes based on 'release or liberation' (*vimokkha*) and 'path' (*paṭipadā*) thus: '*dvādasa arahanto veditabbā. Kathaṃ ? Tayo hi vimokkhā: suññato animitto appanihito ti. Tatha suññata-vimokkhena vimuttakhīṇāsavo paṭipadāvasena catubbidho hoti. Tathā animitta-appanihitavimokkhehi ti evaṃ dvādasa arahanto veditabbā.*'⁴⁷ It appears to be a coined classification as the two important words occur elsewhere. For instance, four kinds of *paṭipadā* (gateway to liberation) are enumerated in the Aṅguttara Nikāya,⁴⁸ while three types of *vimokkha* are mentioned in the Paṭisambhidāmagga⁴⁹ and Visuddhimagga.⁵⁰

The Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā gives an interesting classification of arahants. It classifies them into two types: *sukkhavipassaka* (bare-insight worker) and *samathayānika* (one whose vehicle is quiet).⁵¹ Both are found at Vism 589.⁵²

2. *Sammāsambuddha*

The formulation of the term *sammāsambuddha* in Buddhism seems to have been the result of undergoing three developmental stages. The first stage is the notion of *buddha* which was shared by contemporary religious groups at that time and was pre-Buddistic as seen above. The second is the stage of *sambuddha*.⁵³ But it is likely that both terms *buddha* and *sambuddha* were employed almost at the same time. In fact, they are used as synonyms.⁵⁴ They are common appellations applicable to any arahants. As time progressed, however, there arose an urge and, probably a necessity, to distinguish the Master from his disciples. This is the third stage in which the word *sammā-sambuddha* came into effect to specifically designate Gotama Buddha.⁵⁵ The generalisation of Buddhahood resulted in the application of the term to Buddhas of the past and future as well. This process also necessitates an examination into the contents of attainment of those who are designated as Buddhas. They are presented in the concept of *sammā-sambodhi*, which too is one of the

dhammatās of all Buddhas. Sāriputta is reported to have had a wrong conception that Gotāma Buddha was the wisest of all religious teachers. Although he was rebuked by the Buddha, he yet maintains that the Master like all Buddhas of the past and future gained the incomparable full enlightenment (*anuttaram sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambuddho*) by abandoning five hindrances (*pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya*), mental impurities (*cetaso upakkilese*); well establishing the mind in the four kinds of mental activity (*catuso satipaṭṭhānesu supatīṭhita-citto*); exercising in the seven-fold factors of enlightenment (*satta bojjaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā*).⁵⁶ These are the contents of *sammā-sambodhi* in the canonical texts. But, as expected, they are not necessarily pertaining to Buddhahood alone. The apotheosis of the Buddha would not permit ambiguity of distinction between the Buddha (or Buddhas) and other arahants. Three ways of attainment of *bodhi* thus came into existence.⁵⁷ Buddhas must perform their own practices and attain the knowledge which can be attained only by them. This distinction becomes more pronounced in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. The Manorathapūranī, for instance, talks of four kinds of *buddha*; *sutabuddha*, *catusaccabuddha*, *paccekabuddha* and *sabbaññubuddha*.⁵⁸ The Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā also differentiates *paccekabodhi* from *samma-sambodhi*.⁵⁹ In the Puggalapaññatti, *sammā-sambuddha* is defined as follows: 'Idh' ekacco pug galo pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu sāmamaṃ saccāni abhisambujjhati tattha ca sabbaññūtaṃ pāpuṇāti phalesu ca vasībhāvaṃ: ayaṃ vuccati pug galo sammāsambuddho.'⁶⁰ As we can see here, the aspect of *sabbaññūtañña* is emphasised. This aspect of Buddhahood with many details within the framework of Buddhist interpretation began to be highlighted particularly in the Paṭisambhidāmagga.⁶¹

In the Aṭṭhakathā texts, definitions given to the word *sammā-sambuddha* seem to fall in line with the idea of 'self awakened' often found in the canonical texts. The Visuddhimagga says: 'He is fully enlightened because he has discovered all things rightly (*sammā*) and by himself (*sāmamaṃ*)' (*sammā sāmamaṃ ca sabbadhammānaṃ pana buddhattā sammāsambuddho*).⁶² It further states that all things were discovered by him rightly by himself in that he discovered, of the

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things to be directly known, that they must be directly known, of the things to be fully understood that they must be fully understood, of the things to be abandoned that they must be abandoned, of the things to be realised that they must be realised, and of the things to be developed that they must be developed.⁶³ In other contexts, *sabbadhammānaṃ* in '*sammā sāmaṇi ca sabbadhammānaṃ pana buddhattā sammāsambuddho*' given in the *Visuddhimagga* is replaced by *saccāni*⁶⁴ or *saccānaṃ*.⁶⁵

A perusal of Buddhaghosa's definitions reveals that the explanations are centred upon the realisation and discovery of the Four Noble Truths. This fact too is in conformity with the contents of what the Buddha discovered mentioned in the canonical texts.⁶⁶ Dhammapāla, on the other hand, gives a somewhat different explanation in the *Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā*⁶⁷ basing his arguments on a wider spectrum of the Buddha's knowledge (*ñāṇa*); it must, however, be noted that Dhammapāla also accepts validity of the definitions given in the *Visuddhimagga*.⁶⁸ He says: '*Yaṃ kiñci ñeyyaṃ nāma, tassa sabbassa pi sabbākārato aviparītato sayam eva abhisambuddhattā ti vuttaṃ hoti*' (Because he has indeed by himself realised and gained the highest knowledge in every respect and certainty of all things that are to be known. [He is therefore the Fully Enlightened One].) He summarises in the end as follows: '*Yāvatakaṃ ñeyyaṃ tāvatakaṃ ñāṇaṃ, yāvatakaṃ ñāṇaṃ tāvatakaṃ ñeyyaṃ, ñeyya-pariyantaṃ ñāṇaṃ ñāṇapariyantaṃ ñeyyan ti, evam ekajjhaṃ viṣuṃ viṣuṃ sakāṃ kamena vā icchānurūpaṃ sammā sāmaṇi ca sabba-dhammānaṃ buddhattā sammā-sambuddho Bhagavā, taṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ*' (His knowledge is as much as what is to be known and what is to be known is as much as his knowledge. The limit of what is to be known is his knowledge and the limit of his knowledge is what is to be known. Thus, together or separately, all at once or gradually, or according to [his] wishes, he has realised and awakened to all things rightly and by himself. Because of that, he is fully awakened and is called the Blessed One. That is [the meaning of] *sammā-sambuddha*).⁶⁹

The Chinese *Vimuttimaggā* also speaks of the Buddha's

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knowledge and discovery of all things rightly and by himself.⁷⁰

3. *Vijjācaraṇasampanna*

The term *vijjācaraṇasampanna* is used from the earliest times.⁷¹ A person endowed with *vijjācaraṇa* is said to be the highest among gods and men (*vijjācaraṇasampanno so settho deva-manuse*).⁷² This appellation strangely does not occur in the Milindapañha.⁷³ The Aṭṭhakathā texts in the interpretation of *vijjā* (knowledge) and *caraṇa* (conduct) follow the canonical enumeration. Buddhaghosa's explanations in this instance can be regarded as the standard ones and other commentators followed suit. One observation must be made in this connection. That is, commentarial explanations of the term are not many compared with other titles of the Buddha such as *arahan*, *buddha*, *Bhagavant*, etc. This paucity may be due to the fact that the subject was already well known among the Buddhists and also the knowledge of the Buddha was discussed at length on every possible occasion.

Buddhaghosa enumerates three kinds of *vijjā* (*tevijjā*) as found in the Bhayaverava sutta⁷⁴ and eight types of *vijjā* as in the Ambaṭṭhā sutta;⁷⁵ eight kinds being the *chaḷabhiññā*, *vipassanā-nāṇa* and *manomaya-iddhi*. *Caraṇa* is of fifteen kinds such as, 'restraint by virtue' (*sīlasamvara*), 'guarding the doors of the sense faculties' (*indriyesu guttadvāratā*), etc.⁷⁶ What seems to be of a late, but pre-commentarial development, which continued in the Aṭṭhakathā, is the emphasis on omniscience (*sabbaññuta-nāṇa*) and great compassion (*mahākaraṇā*) of the Buddha; the two areas in which the Buddha came to be more exalted as time progressed. Buddhaghosa interprets *vijjā* and *caraṇa* in this light: 'the Blessed One's possession of clear vision consists in the fulfilment of omniscience, and his possession of conduct consists in the fulfilment of great compassion' (*vijjāsampadā Bhagavato sabbaññutaṃ pūretvā thitā; caraṇasampadā mahākāruṇikatam*).⁷⁷

Subsequent commentaries basically follow the Visuddhi-

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magga. But their explanations are more eulogistic. Dhammapāla, for instance, uses an additional word as follows: ‘... *sīlasaṅṅavarādīhi paṇṇārasahi caraṇadhammehi ca anaññasādhāraṇehi sampanno samannāgato ti vijjācaraṇa-sampanno*’.⁷⁸ SnA is more carried away than ItA, when it says: ‘because of being endowed with the marvellously purified knowledge and extraordinary conduct, he is said to be one endowed with knowledge and conduct’ (*atisayavisuddhāhi vijjāhi abbhutakkamena caraṇena ca samannāgatattā vijjācaraṇasampanno*).⁷⁹

4. *Sugata*

The origin of this appellation, according to a study,⁸⁰ seems to go back to an early stage of the apotheosis of the Buddha. It is one of the appellations of Buddhist origin along with such titles as *lokavidū*, *purisadammasārathī*, *sathā devamanussānam*, etc., which have survived throughout the ages.⁸¹ It is said that the word *sugata* was used as a name for the Buddhists in both ancient and modern times.⁸²

The Aṭṭhakathā texts define the term in a more or less similar manner. Buddhaghosa says: ‘He is called well-gone (*sugata*), (i) because of a manner of going that is good (*sobhaṇa-gamanattā*), (ii) because of being gone to an excellent place (*sundaraṇa ṭhānaṇa gatattā*), (iii) because of having gone rightly (*sammāgatattā*), and (iv) because of enunciating rightly (*sammāgadattā*).’⁸³ Other commentaries of Buddhaghosa give the following: ‘*Sugatan ti sundaraṇaṇ vā ṭhānaṇaṇa gatam sundarāya vā paṭipattiyā gatam*’;⁸⁴ ‘*sammā-paṭipattiyā suṭṭhu-gatattā Sugatam*’;⁸⁵ ‘*Te loke sugatā ti rāgādayo pabhāya gatattā suṭṭhu gatā ti sugatā*’;⁸⁶ ‘*Sugatan ti gocare gatattā suṭṭhu gatam*’.⁸⁷ KhpA 183 follows the Visuddhimagga replacing the word *sammā* in (iii) and (iv) of the above with *suṭṭhu*.⁸⁸ ItA ii 84 and VvA 231 mention only three reasons with (i), (ii) and either (iii) or (iv) of the classification of the Visuddhimagga.⁸⁹

Dhammapāla in his Udāna-aṭṭhakathā⁹⁰ gives a fairly lengthy

explanation of *sugata* similar to that found in *Vism*. However, in the elucidation of '*sammā gadattā*', he cites another source [see *UdA* 89] in addition to the *Sādhaka* sutta quoted by *Buddhaghosa*.⁹¹

Explanations of the term *sugata* in the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts are scanty: This may be because that the commentators such as *Buddhaghosa* and *Dhammapāla* paid more attention to the definitions and elucidation of the word *tathāgata* which too involved a detailed clarification of the word '*-gata/-āgata*' (*-gone/-come*) from both etymological and conceptual viewpoints.

5. *Lokavidū*

The *Visuddhimagga*⁹² and the *Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā*⁹³ provide the most elaborate explanations for the term *lokavidū* among the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts. *Vism* says that the Buddha is the knower of the world (*lokavidū*), because he has known the world in all aspects (*sabbathā pi viditalokattā pana lokavidū*). The same idea is pressed at *AA* ii 245, iii 96; *SnA* 442 (similar to *Vism*, but much brief in explanation); *ItA* ii 84, *BvA* 93-94 (this too is similar to *Vism*, but brief); etc. All these sources elucidate three worlds; *saṅkhāraloka* (the world of formation), *sattaloka* (the world of beings) and *okāsaloka* (the world of location).⁹⁴ The Chinese *Vimuttimagga*, in passing, mentions only the first two types of world: *sattaloka* and *saṅkhāraloka*.⁹⁵

6. *Anuttaro Purisadammasārathī*

In the Northern tradition, this is usually divided into two separate titles as *anuttara* and *purisadammasārathī*.⁹⁶ The *Visuddhimagga* and the *Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā* suggest, though they are accepted as one combined title according to the Theravāda tradition, that the title in question can be taken either separately or collectively, when the term *anuttara* is explained first, and then *purisadammasārathī*. Both sources state that alternatively, '*anuttaro purisadammasārathī*' can be taken as one phrase (*Athavā anuttaro purisadammasārathī ti ekaṃ ev' idam*

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atthapadam).⁹⁷ The Chinese Vimuttimagga takes it separately.⁹⁸

Definitions of *anuttara* are not many in the *Atthakathā* texts. This may come from the fact that the term denotes the highest in all aspects, ethical, intellectual and physical, of the Buddha. The commentaries give explanations or definitions in this light. Thus, Buddhaghosa states that there is no one more distinguished for special qualities than the Buddha himself; no one to compare with him. He is therefore 'incomparable'...⁹⁹ The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* gives a list of things in which the Teacher is 'incomparable' (*anuttara*): *kusala-paññattiyaṃ* (in the sphere of good [actions]), *āyatana-paññattiyaṃ* (in the sphere of bases), *gabbhāvakkantiyaṃ* (in the sphere of conception), *ādesanā-vidhāsu* (in respect of mind-reading), *dassanasampattiyaṃ* (in the attainment of vision), *puggala-paññattiyaṃ* (in the classification of persons), *padhāne* (in effort), *paṭi-padāsu* (in the paths), *bhassa-samācāre* (in good conduct in speech), *purisa-sīla-samācāre* (in good conduct in man's virtues), *anusāsani-vidhāsu* (in respect of instructions or teachings), *para-puggala-vimuttiñāṇe* (in the knowledge of release of other people), *sassata-vāde* (in the exposition of eternalism),¹⁰⁰ *pubbe-nivāsa-ñāṇe* (in the knowledge of former existences), *dibba-cakkhu-ñāṇe* (in the knowledge of divine-eye) and *iddhi-vidhe* (in respect of psychic power).¹⁰¹ This is the quotation from the *Sampasādanīya* sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.¹⁰²

The origin of the term *purisadammasārathī*, as seen before, can be traced to a similar terminology prevalent at that time in India. The Buddha came to be known as the tamer of humans just as there had existed the tamer of horses (*assadammasārathī*). Buddhaghosa defines 'purisa' in this context to mean 'animals, humans and non-humans' (*tiracchānapurisā pi manussā-purisa pi amanussa-purisā*) who are not tamed but fit to be tamed.¹⁰³ Further, 'purisa' according to him includes those who are already tamed and the Buddha leads them to a higher path.

The canonical definition of *purisa* includes only humans as

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seen at Vin iv 269 (*puriso nāma manussa-puriso na yakkho na peto...*) Even Dhammapāla at VvA 42 defines it as follows: '*yathā hi paṭhamapakatibhūto satto itarāya pakatiyā seṭṭhaṭṭhena puri seti ti puriso ti vuccati.*' (Just as the being who is foremost by nature is called "*purisa*" since he lies prime in the sense that his nature is better [than any other]). His explanations are obviously based on the conviction that humans are superior to other beings. Buddhaghosa, on the other hand, extends its meaning to cover various categories of beings with the objective, perhaps, of falling in line with numerous instances found in the Canon. In his Vism and VA, he cites some of the examples where the conversion of humans, animals and devas is related.

The title under review received relatively less attention by the commentators and its explanations are usually short. For instance, Dhammapāla states at ItA ii 85: '*Purisadamme purisaveneyye sāreti vinetīti purisadammasārathī.*' The Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā simply says: '*sāreṇi ti sārathī,*'¹⁰⁴ or '*vicitrehi vinayanūpāyehi purisadamme sāreti ti purisadammasārathī.*'¹⁰⁵ It may be because that stories depicting the conversion of various beings by the Buddha are the main structure on which the entire propaganda programme to spread Buddhism rested. And this aspect of Buddhology was so well known that its repetition or re-assertion was superfluous. Moreover, it was well and adequately presented by Buddhaghosa in his works particularly in Vism, so that subsequent commentators including Dhammapāla would have thought it unnecessary to take up the subject again.

In passing, the *Navagaṇa* of the Buddha forms an integral part of the Sinhala Buddhist literature. It is in fact in one of the oldest extant texts called the *Amāvatura* by Guruḷugomi that the virtue of *purisadammasārathī* of the Buddha is extensively elucidated as a single topic for the entire work. The work covers not only humans like householders, brahmins, kings, *paribbājakas*, *jaṭilas*, *tāpasas*, bhikkhus, etc., but also non humans like *nāgas*, *yakkhas*, *asura*, *devas*, *Brahmā*, etc.¹⁰⁶ These classes of *purisa* are no doubt in accordance with the classification of the *Aṭṭhakathās*.

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7. *Satthā devamanussānaṃ*

Buddhaghosa's explanation of *satthar* in *Vism* and *VA* is based on the *Mahā-niddesa*,¹⁰⁷ which he duly acknowledges. The Blessed One is a caravan leader (*satthar*) as he brings caravans (*sattha*) home.¹⁰⁸ In addition, he teaches by means of the here and now, of the life to come, and of the ultimate goal, according as befits the case, thus he is the Teacher (*satthar*) (*Diṭṭhadhammika-samparāyikaparamatthei yathārahaṃ anusāsati ti Satthā*).¹⁰⁹ *Dhammapāla* also follows this interpretation at *ItA* ii 85, *UdA* 267 (...*satte anusāsati ti Satthā*) and 404 (*diṭṭhadhammikasamparāyikaparamatthehi sattānaṃ anusāsanato Satthā*). The *Suttanipāta-atthakathā* too gives a similar interpretation thus: '...*anusāsati nittāretī cā ti Satthā*.'¹¹⁰ Buddhaghosa at the same time gives a general connotation of the word *satthar* at *SA* ii 128 which goes as follows: '*Buddhā vā hotu sāvako vā yaṃ nissāya maggañānaṃ labhati, ayaṃ satthā nāma*' (May it be Buddhas or disciples, on account of whom [one] obtains the knowledge of path, this is called the teacher). The term here can no doubt be applied to anyone who is capable of guiding others to the correct path leading to emancipation.

The *devamanussānaṃ* in the phrase in question is a rather ambiguous one. Buddhaghosa says that it is said in order to denote the best and also those persons capable of progress (*devānañ ca manussānañ ca, ukkaṭṭhaparicchedavasena bhābbapuggala-paricchedavasena c'etaṃ vuttaṃ*).¹¹¹ He further states that the Blessed One as a teacher bestows his teaching upon animals as well (*Bhagavā pana tiracchānagatānaṃ pi anusāsanippadānaena satthā yeva*). The word *ukkaṭṭha* used apparently in connection with *deva* in this context seems to indicate 'beings' higher than humans in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures. In the classification of *deva* at *MA* i 33, three categories of *devas* are enumerated: *sammutidevā* (gods by convention), *upapattidevā* (gods by birth) and *visuddhidevā* (gods by purification).¹¹² The first category includes those royal personages who are referred to with respect. The second one is those heavenly and

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other deities. The third one refers to arahants (*khīṇāsavā*) including, of course, Buddhas. In the above context, the second category seems to be the case. Then both humans and animals are included in the phrase *devamanussānaṃ*. While referring to the Visuddhimagga for details, a passage at SnA ii 444 also includes animals such as elephants (*nāga*): ‘...*nāgādike pi pana esa lokiyatthena anusāsati.*’ This is precisely the same as what is said of the categories of *purisa* in the title of *purisadammasārathī*. And both canonical and commentarial texts are full of stories concerning the conversion of various classes of beings, divine, human and non-human, by the Buddha. Episodes such as the conversion of the elephant Nālāgiri,¹¹³ or even a frog attaining to a divine state after listening to the preaching of the Buddha in a previous birth,¹¹⁴ or merely listening to the preaching of the Dhamma helps animals such as a hen¹¹⁵ or bats¹¹⁶ reborn in the human world or in heaven. These stories would have necessitated the inclusion of animals in the above category.

Unlike Buddhaghosa, Upatissa, the author of Vim, does not include animals in the category of *devamanussānaṃ* when he says that the Blessed One has rescued divine and human beings from the fearful forest of birth, decay and death.¹¹⁷

8. *Buddha*

The verb ‘*bujjhati*’ (/budh) is explained at DhsA 217 and VibhA 310 as follows: ‘*Bujjhatī ti kilesasantānaniddāya utthahati cattāri vā ariyasaccāni paṭivijjhati nibbānaṃ eva vā sacchikaroti.*’ (‘is awake, enlightened, or knows’ implies a rising from the slumber of the continuum of the lower nature, or a penetrating the Ariyan Truths, or a realising Nibbāna.)¹¹⁸ As seen earlier, the word *buddha* is not an appellation of Gotama Buddha alone. Anyone who is awakened to the truth as the verbal form of the word implies is a *buddha*. In the Buddhistic sense, that truth is the Four Noble Truths.

In the Aṭṭhakathā texts, Buddhaghosa gives two alternative explanations as follows: ‘*Yaṃ pana kiñci atthi ñeyyaṃ nāma,*

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sabbass'eva buddhattā vimokkhantikañāṇavasena Buddho.' (He is enlightened with the knowledge that belongs to the fruit of liberation, since everything that can be known has been discovered by him)¹¹⁹ and '*Yasmā vā cattāri saccāni attanā pi bujjihi, aññe pi satte bodhesi, tasmā evaṃ ādīhi pi kāraṇehi Buddho.*' (He discovered the Four [Noble] Truths by himself and awakened others to them, thus and for other such reasons, he is enlightened).¹²⁰ The second explanation is based on the Mahā-niddesa¹²¹ or the Paṭisambhidāmagga¹²² as he acknowledges indebtedness to them. Other Aṭṭhakathā texts of Buddhaghosa such as MA ii 282, iii 437; SA i 66, ii 283; etc., and BvA 25 of Buddhadatta give very short explanations and place emphasis on the realisation of the Four Noble Truths.

Dhammapāla also reiterates the realisation of the Four Noble Truths as the meaning of *buddha*. He does not offer anything of his own at ItA ii 43. He simply repeats there what is said in other sources such as NdA, PṭsA, KhpA, etc., and like Buddhaghosa, follows the explanations given at Nd ii 457-458. However, Dhammapāla's descriptions come much closer to those in the above sources, though they are relatively shorter.

The Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā gives some definitions of *Buddha*. The text basically follows what is said at Nd ii 457 and Pṭs i 174, though it does not refer to them. ApA, however, adduces some additional definitions not found in MNd and Pṭs as follows: '*pabbajjāsaṅkhātena Buddho*' (because of renunciation), '*adutiyaṭṭhena Buddho*' (because of uniqueness), '*taṇhāya pahānatthena Buddho*' (because of the removal of craving), etc.¹²³

NdA ii 441-443 and PṭsA ii 484-487 provide probably the most detailed exegeses of the word in the whole of Aṭṭhakathā texts. Both texts are in fact almost identical with each other except for a few instances of difference in cases and words, which may have been a result of copyists' mistakes or their preferences over the others in the long history of literary transmission. A question may arise here

as to the relationships between the two works. Did one source borrow the entire passage from the other? The authorship of NdA is ascribed to Upasena, while Mahānāma is said to be the author of PṭsA. According to a study, Mahānāma wrote PṭsA in accord with the Mahāvihāra tradition in 514 A.D. during the reign of the king Kumāra-Dhātusena.¹²⁴ Upasena, on the other hand, is said to be the teacher of Mahānāma and his literary activity is assigned to a period soon after that of Buddhaghosa.¹²⁵ These circumstances may perhaps suggest that it was Mahānāma, and not the other way around, who would have borrowed the entire passage in question from NdA. However, the general belief that both sources, like any other Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts, were the works of translation and recasting into Pāli of their respective Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās is certainly open to debate. For, that both SNdA and SPṭsA indeed contained the passage under review is still a strong possibility.

NdA and PṭsA basically follow the explanations given at MNd ii 457-458. They further mention paraphrased comments on some of the expressions adopted in the Mahānidessa. Grammatical points regarding the word *buddhain* various cases are also discussed at some length. KhpA 15-16 gives similar explanations to those of NdA and PṭsA, but it skips some phrases (e.g. '*ekantanikkilesa ti buddho*', etc.), or differs from them in the expositions of certain terms. KhpA 15, for instance, explains '*ekāyanamaggaṃ gato ti buddho*' as '*buddhiyattbānaṃ gamanathapariyāyato, yathā maggaṃ gato pi puriso "gato" ti vuccati, evaṃ ekāyanamaggaṃ gatattā pi buddho ti vuccati.*' (Just as a man is called "travelled" when he has travelled a path, so is he called enlightened because he has travelled a path which goes only one way. It is a metaphorical use for travelling to the place of enlightenment).¹²⁶ NdA ii 442 and PṭsA ii 485-486 in this instance give a lengthy explanation to the phrase. Among other definitions, the following is noteworthy: '*ekāyanamaggo ti ekanibbānaganamaggo ti attho*' (the meaning of the path in one way is the way leading to one single Nibbāna.)

9. *Bhagavant*

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In the exegeses of the term *bhavagant*, Buddhaghosa gives two alternatives; one based on the *Mahāniddeśa*,¹²⁷ and the other is seemingly of his own, which is highly etymological (or perhaps based on other sources, which we are clueless about at present). These exegeses at *Vism* 209-212 are also found at *VA* i 122-125 and *KhpA* 106-109[Cf.NdA ii 264]. Of the three sources, *Vism* and *VA* are almost identical and *KhpA*, though very similar to *Vism*, gives variant readings at times. It could be possible that *KhpA* borrowed the entire passages from *Vism* or *VA*, both of which are the works of Buddhaghosa. Another possibility is that the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakatha* based on which *KhpA* was translated into Pāli had the passages concerned. Whatever it may be, it can be safely said that the exegeses come from the same stock of sources.

Buddhaghosa mentions that *Bhagavant* is a term signifying respect and veneration accorded to him as the highest of all beings and distinguished by his special qualities (*Bhagavā ti idaṃ pan'assa gunavisiṭṭha[sabba]sattuttamagarugāravādhivacaṇaṃ*).¹²⁸ Then he quotes a stanza (i.e. '*bhagavā ti vacanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ, bhagavā ti vacanaṃ uttamaṃ*...') from the *Porāṇā* (*KhpA* does not say that it is from the *Porāṇā*. Instead, it simply reads, "*yathāha*"). Further, he continues to explain that names (of *Bhagavant*) are of four kinds (*catubbidhaṃ vā nāmaṃ*): denoting a period (*āvattikaṃ*), describing a particular mark (*liṅgikaṃ*), signifying a particular acquirement (*nemittikaṃ*) and fortuitously arisen (*adhiccasamuppannaṃ*). Each of the above four kinds is then explained with some examples. In so doing, Buddhaghosa cites a passage from the *Mahāniddeśa*¹²⁹ or the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*.¹³⁰ In order to explain the special qualities of the Buddha, the following stanza is cited:

Bhagī bhajī bhāgi vibhattavā iti
Akāsi bhaggaṇ ti garū ti Bhāgyavā.
Bahūhi nāyehi subhāvitattano
Bhavantago so Bhagavā ti vuccati.

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Buddhaghosa refers the reader to the Niddesa¹³¹ for the meanings of words used in the stanza. He bases his explanations up to this point on the canonical sources, particularly the Niddesa as he too refers to it.

The next alternative Buddhaghosa proposes is by virtue of the following stanza, the source of which is not known at present.

*Bhāgyavā Bhaggavā yutto bhavehi ca vibhattavā
bhattavā vantagamano bhavesu Bhagavā tato ti.*

'He is fortunate (*bhāgyavā*), possessed of abolishment (*bhaggavā*), associated with blessings (*yutto bhagehi*), and a possessor of what has been analysed (*vibhattavā*). He has frequented (*bhattavā*), and he has rejected going in the kinds of becoming (VANTA-GAMANO BHAVESU), thus he is Blessed (BHAGAVĀ).'

Each of these words is again explained with some concrete examples.¹³² This method of exegeses is no doubt a commentarial development. One sphere of the Buddha-concept which came to be further developed in the Aṭṭhakathā literature is the fanciful and elaborate descriptions of the Buddha's corporal body. In the exegeses of the word *bhagavant* by Buddhaghosa, this trend persists. The Buddha is said to be endowed with the marks of a hundred merits (*satapuññalakkhaṇa*).¹³³ The Buddha has glory (*siri*) of all limbs, perfect in every aspect, capable of comforting the eyes of people eager to see his material body (*rūpakāyadassanavyāvāṭajanāyana-ppasādajanānasamatthā sabbākārapatipūrā sabbaṅgapaccaṅgasiri*); he has his wish (*kāma*); in other words, the production of what is wanted, since whatever is wanted and needed by him as beneficial to himself or others is then and there produced for him¹³⁴ (*yaṃ yaṃ etena icchitaṃ patthitaṃ atthitaṃ parahitaṃ vā, tassa tassa tath'eva abhinipphannatā icchita-niphattisaññito kāmo*).¹³⁵

The following sources also give short explanations of the word *bhagavant* in almost identical fashion and refer to the

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· Visuddhimagga for details:

DA i 33-34; MA i 10 ; SA i 12; AA i 14 ; PtsA iii 531-532; SnA ii 444 (The passage here is short and somewhat different from the other texts given above. It quotes a stanza as in the above and refers to *Vism* for details); etc.

The sources mentioned below also have some explanations of the word which fall in line with those of the *Visuddhimagga*, but do not refer to it.

- * MA i 13 (*Bhagavā ti lokagaru-dīpanam*)
- * SA ii 1 (*Bhagavā ti lokagaru-dīpanam*), 20 (*Bhagavato ti bhāgya-sampannassa*)
- * AA i 17 (*Bhagavā ti lokagarudīpanam*)
- * NdA ii 263-264 (A similar passage occurs here but not for the explanation of *bhagavant*, it is instead for the word *gāravādhivacanam*.)
- * VvA 231 (*Bhāgyavantatādīhi catūhi kāraṇehi Bhagavā*). Cf. UdA 267, 404.
- * BvA 35 (*Bhagavā ti idaṃ pana guṇavisiṭṭhasattuttamagaru-gāravādhivacanam*. Then a stanza from the *Porāṇā* is quoted.)

The Chinese translation of the *Samantapāsādikā*¹³⁶ is somewhat different from Buddhaghosa's exegeses in its explanations. It says that the name *Bhagavā* is a self-styled name, and the Buddha himself has given this name (*Bhagavā*) to himself; no one else dares to give the Buddha a name. Because the Buddha has himself noted his good bodily deportment and wisdom and has presently let all living beings know the same and has established this self-styled name. This interpretation seems to be based on the passage in the *Mahāniddeśa*¹³⁷ as in the case of Buddhaghosa who also cites a similar passage from the *Mahāniddeśa*. Then CSmp gives some interpretations with regard to the word *bhaga*: It provides, for instance, a classification of six kinds of *bhaga* as mastery, dhamma, fame, handsome, wish and mental (effort).¹³⁸ CSmp further elucidates that *Bhagavā* means that

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he has delimited all beneficial things. *Bhaga* means three planes. 'Vā (in *Bhaga-vā*) means vomiting the defilements of the three planes. Therefore he is called *Bhagavā*.¹³⁹ The last definition appears to be similar to that adopted by Dhammapāla as will be noted later.

Dhammapāla, on the other hand, stands conspicuous in the exegeses of the word *bhagavant*. He is the only commentator who provides different etymological exegeses in addition to those already discussed by Buddhaghosa. It is clear that Dhammapāla was fully aware of Buddhaghosa's explanations and was ever ready to accord due respect to his great predecessor. But discovering that Buddhaghosa's explanations are incomplete, he ventures into yet another method of exegesis. It is uncertain as to the source on which he bases his exegesis.

ItA of Dhammapāla gives the most elaborate exegesis, while UdA seems to be an abridged version of it. Dhammapāla first gives all the alternatives that are mentioned by Buddhaghosa in a brief manner and refers the reader to Vism for details.¹⁴⁰ He then goes on to say that what follows is 'another method' (*aparō nayo*) [ItA i 6. UdA 24 uses '*api ca*' instead.] And the passage reads as follows: '*Bhāgavā-ti Bhagavā, bhagavā-ti vā (bhatavā tū)*¹⁴¹ *Bhagavā. Bhāge vanī-ti Bhagavā, bhage vanī-ti Bhagavā. Bhattavā-ti Bhagavā. Bhage vamī-ti Bhagavā, bhāge vamī-ti Bhagavā.*'¹⁴² UdA 24, on the other hand, simply says: '*Api ca bhage vani bhage vā vamī ti, Bhagavā.*' This seems to imply that Dhammapāla places more emphasis on two aspects of the etymological exegesis of *bhagavant*; viz., *vani* and *vami*.

(1) *Bhāgavā ti Bhagavā.*

It is said that whatever moral practices, (four ?) constituents of the Dhamma, storehouse of virtues, that are shared by none, completely detached; all [of these] are found in the Tathāgata (*Ye te sīlādayo dhamma-kkhandhā guṇa-kotthāsa, te anañña-sādharaṇā niratisayā Tathāgatassa attha [atthi] upalabbhantū*). ItA goes on to explain them in detail by giving a list of moral and spiritual attain-

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ments of the Buddha in numerical classifications together with physical characteristics he is endowed with, which are termed as '*guṇa-bhāgā guṇa-kotthāsā*.' They are *hiri-ottappam*, *saddhā-viriyaṃ*, *sati-sampajaññam*, *sīla-visuddhi*, *citta-visuddhi*, *ditthi-visuddhi*, *samatho-vipassanā*, *tīni kusala-mūlāni*, *tīni sucaritāni*, *tayo sammā-vitakkā*, *tisso anavaḷḷa-saññā*, *tisso dhātuyo*, *cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*, *cattāro sammā-ppadhānā*, *cattāro iddhi-pādā*, *cattāro ariya-maggā*, ... etc. The list is a sort of summary of Buddhist teachings centred on the attainment of final emancipation, i.e. Nibbāna. Similar lists, which are often described as the sum total of *Buddhaguṇa*, are also found elsewhere in the *Atthakathās*.¹⁴³ The passage concludes: 'Hence, he is part to the virtues in the way it is said, he is "partaking" (*bhagava*). And it is to be understood that the vowel ['a' in *bhāgavā*] is rendered short to make *bhagavā* (*Tasmā yathāvutta-vibhāgā guṇa-bhāgā assa atthī ti Bhagavā*. *Bhagavā ti vattabbe ākārassa rassattaṃ katvā Bhagavā ti vutto*).¹⁴⁴

(2) *Bhatavā ti Bhagavā*

Combining the eight dhammas in the state of humans, etc., through zeal for the welfare of the entire world, and all that great Bodhisattas are required to accomplish through the necessary aspirations for the Supreme Knowledge, such as the ten perfections, ten higher perfections and ten ultimate perfections amounting to thirty perfections; the act of favour (*saṅgaha-vatthu*) like giving; four resolutions, etc...; in short, all the things that make the Bodhisatta a Buddha (*buddha-kāraka-dhammā*), such as the accumulation of merit (*puñña-sambhāra*) and knowledge (*ñāṇa-sambhāra*) he has to fulfil from the time of the great resolve for four incalculable periods (*asaṅkheyya*) and one hundred thousand aeons (*kappa*); all of these, without being subject to diminution, defilements or stagnation, he has become the partaker of the utmost, highest and special; thus he is supported, well supported thoroughly, uninterruptedly and in all respects. '*Bhagavā*' is [therefore] 'supported' (*bhatavā*). Here again '*ta*' [in *bhatavā*] is rendered '*ga*' (*niruttinayena ta-kārassa ga-kāraṃ katvā*). Or alternatively, *bhatavā* is to mean all that make a Buddha as accordingly said, and he is supported, well supported in them, and

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fulfilled them. (*Athavā, bhatavā ti te yeva yathā-vutte Buddha-kāraka-dhamme vutta-nayena bhari sambhari pari pūresī ti attho*).¹⁴⁵

(3) *Bhāge vanī ti Bhagavā.*

In this instance, the word *bhāga* is explained to mean 'attainments pertaining to daily life' (*devasikaṃ valañjanaka-samāpatti*) amounting to twenty-four thousand *koṭis* in number (*Ye te catuvīsati-koṭi-sahassa-saṅkhā devasikaṃ valañjanaka-samāpatti-bhāgā*).¹⁴⁶ The text further states that *Bhagavā* won, frequented, associated with and developed constantly and swiftly for the dwelling in happiness in this life for himself and the world in every respect. *Bhagavā* is [therefore the one who] won all those [attainments] (...*te anavasesato lokahit'attham attano diṭṭhadhammasukhavihār'atthañ ca nicca-khippaṃ vanī bhajī sevī bahulamakāsī ti bhāge vanī ti Bhagavā*). Alternatively, *bhāga* are, in short, four kinds of penetration, such as what is to be known in the knowable wholesome things, etc. (*Athavā, abhiññeyyesu dhammesu kusalādisu khandhādisu ca ye te pariññeyyādi-vasena saṃkhepato vā catubbidhā abhisamaya-bhāgā*), etc.¹⁴⁷

(4) *Bhage vanī ti Bhagavā*

Here the meaning of *bhaga* is said to be: 'In short, *bhaga* is such wealth or prosperity to be associated with through the endowments of means and meritorious acts performed, and they are mundane and supramundane bliss or fortunes' (*samāsato tāva kama-puññehi payoga-sampannehi yathā-vibhavaṃ bhajiyantī ti bhagā, lokiya-lokuttara-sampattiyo*). The text continues that he [the Blessed One] won, frequented and associated with the bliss or fortunes not shared by others, such as, [worldly fortunes like] the supreme local authority, attainments of the position of a universal monarch and divine authority, etc., and extraordinary norms like trance, release, concentration, attainments, perfect knowledge, development of path, realisation of fruit, etc.¹⁴⁸

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(5) *Bhattavā ti Bhagavā*

ItA explains the word *bhattavā* to mean the worshipful¹⁴⁹ firm believer (*Bhattā dalha-bhatūkā assa bahū atthi ti bhattavā*). The text further states that the Tathāgata is one endowed with great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññutañāṇa*), etc., and there are those who are established in his [the Tathāgata's] admonition and possessed of perfect faith; how does unshakeable (*asamhāriyā*) firm faith (*sambhatti*) come to them? Is it by a *samaṇa*, *brāhmaṇa*, *deva*, *Māra*, or the *Brahmā*? And they do not indeed give up faith even in the sacrifice of their own lives and [they develop] strong and firm faith towards him.¹⁵⁰ In this connection too, 'ta' [in *bhattavā*] is replaced by 'ga'.

It is noteworthy that Vism 212 also gives *bhattavā* as *bhagavā*, but with a different shade of meaning altogether. Buddhaghosa says that *bhattavā* is to mean 'one who has frequented' owing to his having frequented, cultivated, repeatedly practised extraordinary things... etc. (...*uttarimanussadhamme bhaji sevibabulaṃ akāsi, tasmā bhattavā ti vattabe Bhagavā ti vuccati*).

(6) *Bhage vami ti Bhagavā*

It is said that the Tathāgata, fulfilling perfections in his previous lives when he was the Bodhisatta, vomited and spat out like a lump of saliva, such fortunes as luck, glory, wealth and fame and rejected or threw away without any expectation (*Yasmā Tathāgato bodhisatta-bhūto pi purimāsu jātisū pāramīyo pūrento bhaga-saṅkhatam sirim issariyam yasañ ca vami uggūri khelapindam viya anapekkho chaḍḍesi...*)¹⁵¹ What is suggested here is that the Buddha gave up all those worldly possessions and glory, and *vami* (vomited) is used in this sense.

(7) *Bhāge vami ti Bhagavā*

Here 'bhāga' means 'koṭṭhāsa' (shares or portions) (*Bhāgā nāma koṭṭhāsā*). *Koṭṭhāsa* include such things as *khandha*, *āyatana*,

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dhātu, etc., and they are divided into many ways as *rūpa*, *vedanā*, etc., of past, etc. The Blessed One (*Bhagavā*), having cut off or destroyed all illusion, bonds, ties, and fetters, understood clearly the element of deathlessness and vomited, spat out and threw away without any expectation, and did not return [to them]. Moreover, *bhāga* is given the meaning of wholesome and unwholesome, faulty and faultless, inferior and superior, black or white (or, bad or good); all these things the Blessed One vomited and spat out through the knowledge of Noble Path, gave up and abandoned without expectation; and preached the Dhamma for the attainment of the truth.¹⁵²

In all these instances mentioned above, Dhammapāla cites relevant stanzas at the end of each exegesis. The explanations aduced by him appear to be based on those stanzas. It is, however, uncertain as to where they are borrowed or copied from.

A comparison of exegeses elucidated by Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla shows that the latter was aware of the explanations of the former, and yet ventured into different methods of exegeses. This fact raises a serious question as to whether or not Dhammapāla deviated from the mainstream of the Mahāvihāra tradition. It is generally believed that Dhammapāla wrote his commentaries in accordance with the Mahāvihāra tradition as he so acknowledges in the prologue of the *Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakatha*.¹⁵³ This shows that Dhammapāla was accepted by the Mahāvihāra fraternity as a torch bearer of their tradition and his commentaries were duly ratified by them. The contents of his exegeses in fact do not betray the expectation of the Mahāvihāra fraternity. In other words, his exegeses are acceptable within the framework of the Theravāda tradition. However, a question still remains unresolved whether the sources based on which Dhammapāla expounded his exegeses are the same as, or different from, those, for instance, Buddhaghosa made use of. If they are the same, why is Buddhaghosa silent on them? If different, where did Dhammapāla borrow them from?

CHAPTER V

THE DEFINITIONS OF TATHĀGATA

The concept of *tathāgata* in Buddhism has been examined by many scholars mainly in the following three aspects, which are undoubtedly interrelated with each other:

- (1) Buddhist definitions of the term *tathāgata*.
- (2) 'Tathāgata' in the context of whether *tathāgata* exists or not after death (*avyākata* question), etc.
- (3) Original meanings of the term *tathāgata*.¹

In early Buddhism, *tathāgata* is conceived as a person who has attained the highest ethico-psychological perfection. The *Sundarikabhāradvāja sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*² brings out this point clearly. In this *sutta* *tathāgata* is said to be worthy of offerings on account of the fact that he abandoned sensual desires (*kāma*) [467]; is free from conceit (*māna*), deceit (*māyā*), craving (*lobha*), anger (*kodha*) [469];³ cut off attachment of mind (*nivesanā*...), no grasping (*pariggaha*) [470]; passions burnt out [471]; ties shaken off (*saṅga*) [473]; no trace of delusion (*moha-antara*) [478]; etc. Furthermore, *tathāgata* who is far remote from those passions, has destroyed defilements (*khīṇāsava*); bears the last body (*antima-deha*) [471] (*saṅgā ca antimam dhārem*) [478]. In other words, he has attained Nibbāna. His demeanour is completely calm (*parinibbata*) [467]. His mind is composed [471]. Moreover, he is possessed of limitless understanding (*ananta-paññā*) [468]. He has seen things as they are through his perfect knowledge [471]. He perceives all phenomena with insight (*ñāṇadassī*) [478].

The foregoing descriptions reveal that three aspects of *tathāgata* are enumerated: first, his moral standards are regarded as the highest; second, he is liberated, never comes back to the state of

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re-becoming; and third, he is the possessor of the highest wisdom and knowledge. In these verses, the first two aspects are more emphasized than the third one, which fact is a proof of basic connotations of the term *tathāgata* in early phases of Buddhism. It is also used in the Suttanipāta in connection with the *Tisarāṇa* (Three Refuges) formula: ‘*tathāgataṃ... Buddhāṃ namassāma*’; ‘*tathāgathaṃ... Dhammaṃ...*’; ‘*tathāgataṃ... Saṅghaṃ...*’⁴ In this context, its meaning seems to be ‘perfect or complete etc.’⁵ Therefore, when the term is applied to a person, it denotes ‘perfect one’, etc., which is now widely followed by many scholars in their translations of the word.⁶

Scholars including some Japanese point out close relationships existing between Jainism and Buddhism in the interpretation of the term *tathāgata*. They conclude that the concept of *tathāgata* is pre-Buddhistic.⁷ H.Nāgasaki enumerates similar expressions employed both in Jainism and Buddhism. For instance, Buddhism uses a metaphor of flood (*ogha*) [e.g., Sn.471] in the sense of a perplexed state represented by old age and death. Jainism too recognizes a similar sense, when they describe about ‘*oha*’ (flood) which is compared to *saṃsāra*.⁸ Further, the *tathāgata* in Jainism is described as one endowed with wisdom (*medhavi*), eye of the world (*cakkhu logassa*), or one who is liberated (*mokṣagata*), etc.⁹ Nāgasaki concludes that the original meaning of *tathāgata* that he is gone beyond *saṃsāra* and never comes back to it, was transmitted (and recognized) in the Sramaṇa tradition at the time of the rise of Buddhism.¹⁰ This fact also shows that the term is not necessarily meant for Gotama Buddha alone in the beginning of the canonical texts, but anyone whose *āsava*s are destroyed (*khīṇāsava*) can be designated as *tathāgata*, instead.¹¹ Such a liberated state is also expressed in different ways as, for example, in the Itivuttaka, which says that one who has destroyed desire (*lobha*) will never return to this world (*[lobhaṃ] pahāya na punāyanti imaṃ lokaṃ kudācanaṃ*).¹² This definition of *tathāgata* is seen even in the commentaries and *paccekabuddha* is also called *tathāgata*, for instance, at PtsA ii 462 (*Tatāgato ti sammāsambuddho, paccekabuddho’ pi etth’ eva saṅghahito*). In short,

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the term *tathāgata* in Buddhism is a designation for three types of the enlightened ones; namely, Buddha, paccekabuddha and arahant.

The most difficult problem faced in the interpretation of *tathāgata* may perhaps be when employed in the context of the *avyākata* questions; i.e., whether *tathāgata* exists or not after death (*hoti na hoṃ tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā*). A striking feature in this is that the expression '*paraṃ maraṇā*' is used. When things in relation to *tathāgata* referring to a Buddha, Enlightened One, are expounded, the term *marañā* is never employed. It is always *parinibbāna* that he attains. Then, a question arises as to what the term exactly denotes. It is noteworthy that whenever the phrases of '*hoti tathāgato paraṃ marañā*', etc., are used in the canonical texts, their respective commentaries always interpret it to mean either *satta*¹³ or *atta*.¹⁴ The former is given by Buddhaghosa and the latter by Dhammapāla. Buddhaghosa maintains consistency in his interpretation of the term, while Dhammapāla seems to give a somewhat different interpretation to it. On the other hand, the *Saddhammapajjotikā*,¹⁵ its authorship being traditionally attributed to Upasena,¹⁶ closely follows Buddhaghosa's interpretation of the term.¹⁷ The fact that Buddhaghosa persistently interprets *tathāgata* to mean *satta* in his commentaries, perhaps, because of the expression of '*paraṃ marañā*', strongly suggests that the *tathāgata* in this context has a different connotation altogether; the connotation far from the meaning usually accepted by the Buddhists to be 'an arahant or a Buddha'. As a matter of fact, it could be that Buddhistic colouring in this case must not be superimposed and brought in to say that the commentarial interpretation of the word *tathāgata* is wrong, as some scholars are inclined to believe.¹⁸ This difference of terminology should rather be taken to shed light on the historical background of its usage, which found way into the Buddhist canonical texts.

K. Watanabe points out that *tathāgaya* in a Jaina source called *Viyāhapannatti* (XVII 2 4 [724 a]) is used in an adjectival sense for the word *jīva*; that is to say, 'soul thus gone'.¹⁹ He further states that the Buddhists simply recorded from their perspective the view of

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Saṅjaya Belaṭṭhiputta who followed the theory of transmigration of 'soul' (*ātman*) traditionally accepted in Indian philosophy.²⁰

Buddhism denies an everlasting entity called 'soul', but yet maintains the efficacy of *kamma* and rebirth. The question as to what, then, is a substance or entity that transmigrates from one life to another, is the most challenging and compelling one even today; it was so difficult to grasp from the real Buddhist viewpoint that even in ancient times, misrepresentation of the Buddha's teaching on this issue could not be avoided. The monk Sāti believed that *viññāṇa* was the substance which would continue to transmigrate in *saṃsāra*.²¹ A similar heresy is reported to have been held by the bhikkhu Yamaka; i.e., that an arahant (*khināsava*) would be broken up and destroyed at the time of his death.²² Such views, according to the Niddesa-aṭṭhakatha, will fall into either *sassata-ditṭhi* or *uccheda-ditṭhi*,²³ neither of which the Buddha subscribed to.

Taking one's personality apart from the five *khandhas* is considered wrong. Philosophically speaking, a being is not found in, or identified with, *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, *saṅkhāra*, or *viññāṇa*, and those five *khandhas* are impermanent (*aniccam*). Holding on to what is impermanent leads to *dukkha*.²⁴ Buddhism indeed starts from this point where one must see things as they are (*yathābhūtam*). If *tathāgata*, even while alive, is not found in the five *khandhas*, how much less can one expect that he would exist, or would not exist after attaining *parinibbāna*? For, such an assumption is merely based on 'compounded things' (*saṅkhāra*), as is well brought out in the Mahātaṇhāsankhaya sutta of the Majjima Nikāya. The *viññāṇa* that Sāti thought to be the substance which would transmigrate in *saṃsāra*, is generated by conditions (*aññatra paccayā natthi viññāṇassa sambhavo*).²⁵ In his refutation of Sāti's view on the basis of the theory of *paṭicca-samuppāda*, the Buddha clearly demonstrates that once causes of the generation of *viññāṇa* (i.e. *saṅkhāra* in the Twelve Links of Causation) are cut off at the very moment of one's attainment of *Nibbāna*, there is no more 'consciousness' (*viññāṇa*), which is

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linked to 'mentality and corporality' (*nāma-rūpa*), etc. The moment one of the twelve links is cut off in the cycle of continuity, that continuity is no more. It is therefore right when said that a bhikkhu who is *khīṇāsava*, or whose mind is thus released (*evaṃvimuttacittam*), cannot be found even in this life (*diṭṭhe vāham bhikkhave dhamme tathāgataṃ ananuvejjo ti vadāmi*).²⁶ In other words, arahants or *khīṇāsavas* are those who attained *Nibbāna* (i.e. *asaṅkhata*) and are gone beyond the conditioned world (*saṅkhata*), and it is in this conditioned world that the continuity of *ātman*, *viññāna* or any entity, a life substance, is talked or discussed about in the context of the *avyākata* questions. The Commentary also makes this point clear, when it says: 'the word *tathāgata* is used for both a being and also the highest person who has destroyed the *āsavas*'; 'not to be found' (*ananuvejjo*) means either non-existent or untraceable. For, the word *tathāgata*, with reference to a being, means non-existent. With reference to one who has destroyed the *āsavas*, it means untraceable (*avindeyyo*)... I do not speak of one who has destroyed the *āsavas* as a *tathāgata* or as a being or as an individual while he is still alive in the world of phenomena. How could I speak of one who has destroyed the *āsavas* as a being or an individual when he has gained *Nibbāna* without rebirth? A *tathāgata* is not to be found. For, in the true sense, a being does not exist...'²⁷ It is in this context that commentators were careful and tried their best to separate and distinguish the use of the term *tathāgata* from that which was commonly accepted by the Buddhists to mean either an arahant or a Buddha. Hence, it appears that *satta* or *atta*; the former taken as a total personality who is subjected to transmigration in *samsāra*, so long as he is not an arahant, and the latter taken as a life substance separate from the body (i.e. '*aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ*')²⁸ was the choice of the commentators whenever the *avyākata* questions were raised. This is the very reason why the interpretation by 'some' (*keci*) of the term *tathāgata* to mean arahant in the context of the *avyākata* questions is regarded as a heresy.²⁹ Moreover, the Buddha kept them unanswered, because, from the religio-ethical point of view, they are not profitable, not concerned with the Dhamma, not increasing even the elements of right conduct,... and after all not leading to *Nibbāna*.³⁰

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Even within the canonical texts, various meanings of the term *tathāgata*, more in line with the usual Buddhist sense, came to be formulated as time went on. The direction of diversification of its meaning was not impertinent to the development of Buddhology. Attempts were made to specify the use of the word *tathāgata* for Gotama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. Expressions such as, 'arahaṃ tathāgato sammāsambuddho...',³¹ were directed towards this end.³² The Buddha also refers to himself as *tathāgata*.³³ Further, the term came to be used not only for Gotama Buddha, but also for the past Buddhas.

The generalization of the term *tathāgata* to mean an Awakened One or a Buddha appears to have been a natural corollary in the development of the application of the term. The *tathāgata* originally meant anyone who was gone beyond *samsāra*; in short, he was a liberated one, as seen before. Further, the Buddha called himself *tathāgata*; initially he seems to have done so as he too was one of those liberated ones. Then, the term came to be exclusively used for Gotama Buddha. Once this is generalized, it came to be applied to all Buddhas, which fact leads to the stage where it is possible to have many such 'Awakened Ones' in the past and in the future as well.³⁴ Thus, the concept of past Buddhas (originally six in number) was incorporated in the Buddhist tradition and became popular.³⁵ The thera Sarabhaṅga tells that Gotama had gone the [same] way [as that] through which other past Buddhas, such as Vipassī, Sikhī, Vessabhū, Kakusandha and Kassapa, had also gone.³⁶ With this line of thinking, the idea of plural Buddhas is expressed in many phrases in the canonical texts. To cite a couple of examples; '*kadāci karahāci tathāgatā loke uppajjanti arahanto sammāsambuddhā...*',³⁷ '*Tathāgatas lead men by the right Dhamma*' (*nayanti ve mahāvīra saddhammena Tathāgatā*).³⁸ This is what Anesaki calls 'the communion of the *Tathāgata* with many other *Tathāgatas*.'³⁹

In the Pāli commentaries, the term *tathāgata* is defined at several places and these definitions can be classified into three broad groups, according to the definitions adopted by different commentators.

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- (A) DA i 59-68 = MA i 45-52 = AA i 103-112; NdA i 177-184;
 PtsA i 207-213
 (B) ItA i 121-139 = UdA 133-155; ThagA i 36
 (C) BvA'15-24; ThagA i 36; KhpA 195-196; UdA 128-133, 340;
 ItA i 117-121, 186-191

(A) This group consisting mainly of DA, MA and AA gives one set of elaborate definitions of the term beginning with the sentence, '*Aṭṭhahikāraṇehi Bhagavā tathāgato*',⁴⁰ and the following eight reasons are enumerated:

1. *Tathā āgato ti Tathāgato*
2. *Tathā gato ti Tathāgato*
3. *Tathālakkaṇaṃ āgato ti Tathāgato*
4. *Tathadhamme yathāvato abhisambuddho ti Tathāgato*
5. *Tathadassitāya Tathāgato*
6. *Tathāvāditāya Tathāgato*
7. *Tathākāritāya Tathāgato*
8. *Abhibhavanaṭṭhena Tathāgato*

1. *Tathā āgato ti tathāgato*: The Blessed One (*Bhagavā*) is *tathāgata*, because he has come thus. It is further stated that the Blessed One is *tathāgata* as he, in accordance with the resolve (*abhinīhārena*), fulfilled the ten perfections (*pāramiyo*), the ten higher perfections (*upapāramiyo*) and the ten ultimate perfections (*paramattha-pāramiyo*),⁴¹ and made the five great sacrifices (*pariccāga*).⁴² The Blessed One has thus come like Vipassī and other Buddhas (six previous Buddhas) who cultivated the four *satipaṭṭhāna*, *sammapadhāna*, *iddhipāda*; five *indriya*, five *bala*; seven *bojjhaṅga*; and the Eight Noble Paths (*ariyaṃ aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ maggaṃ*).⁴³

2. *Tathā gato ti tathāgato*: When the Blessed One was born, he placed his feet evenly on earth, took seven steps towards North and declared that he was the chief in the world, etc. He is thus gone like previous Buddhas.⁴⁴ His way of going was real (*tatha*), not unreal

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(*avitatha*) as his numerous special achievements were foretold (*pubbanimittabhāvena*).

3. *Tathā-lakkhaṇaṃ āgato ti tathāgato*: It is mentioned that the Buddha has come to the real characteristic of dhammas; for instance, the real characteristics of the six elements (*paṭhavī, āpo, tejo, vāyo, ākāsa and viññāna*),⁴⁵ five *khandhas*, etc. All these characteristics are real, not unreal. Through his faculty of knowledge (*ñāna-gatiyā*), he has come to the real characteristics of dhammas. Thus, he is called *tathāgata*.

4. *Tathā-dhanuṇe yathāvato abhisambuddho ti tathāgato*: The Blessed One is fully awakened in accordance with the true things. They are called the Four Noble Truths (*tatha-dhammā nāma cattāri ariya-saccāni*), etc.⁴⁶ Because he awakened to the real things (*dhammā*), he is called *tathāgata*.

5. *Tatha-dassitāya tathāgato*: The Blessed One sees the truth. He knows and sees objects in their true perspective and whatever comes within the range of his senses and mind.⁴⁷

6. *Tathāvāditāya tathāgato*: The Blessed One, for forty-five years between the attainment of Bodhi and Parinibbāna, spoke or uttered the nine-fold teachings of a Buddha (i.e. *sutta, geyya, veyyākaraṇa*, etc.)⁴⁸

7. *Tathākāritāya tathāgato*: The Blessed One is *tathāgata*, because he acts exactly as he speaks. His bodily action tallies with his speech, and his speech with his bodily action, etc.⁴⁹

8. *Abhibhavanatṭhena tathāgato*: The Blessed One conquers all creatures across the illimitable world-systems through moral habit, concentration, wisdom, freedom, and knowledge and vision of freedom, etc.⁵⁰

All these sources follow the same tradition for the exegeses of the term *tathāgata*. In fact, DA, MA and AA are almost identical

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in explaining the term and can, therefore, be regarded as representing one tradition of definitions seemingly adopted by Buddhaghosa.

NdA and PtsA stand conspicuous in this group. It seems that the author of NdA, Upasena, had closely followed Buddhaghosa's exegeses. Mahānāma, the author of PtsA, too seems to have followed only the definitions adopted by Buddhaghosa. The reason, perhaps, is that both Upasena and Mahānāma could not have seen the definitions adopted by Dhammapāla, as they lived before the time of Dhammapāla.⁵¹

In addition to the above eight reasons, this group of sources [DA, MA and AA] further adduces the following explanations:

'Further, *tathāgata* is "gone by the truth" and "gone to the truth". "Gone" means attained, passed, reached and followed. Therein *tathāgata* is attained by the truth through the full understanding as investigating (*tīraṇa-pariññā*) of the entire world. *Tathāgata* is passed by the truth of the full understanding as overcoming (*pahāna-pariññā*) of the origin of the world. *Tathāgata* is reached by the truth through the realization of the cessation of the world. *Tathāgata* is followed or entered upon the truth of the way leading to the cessation of the world.... This is indeed only a fraction of the explanations of the *Tathāgata*-nature of a *tathāgata*. Only a *tathāgata* would describe the *Tathāgata*-nature in all aspects.'⁵²

The above passage summarizes that the nature of *tathāgata* (*tathāgata-bhāva*) in its entirety can be understood and explained only by a *tathāgata*.

(B) In this group of sources, we come across another tradition of definitions given to the term. The works cited in this group are ascribed to the authorship of Dhammapāla.⁵³ He gives in them another set of eight reasons as to why the Blessed One is called

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tathāgata (*Aparehi pi atṭhahi kāraṇehi Bhagavā Tathāgato*), while also mentioning the tradition of definitions followed in (A) above. However, it is certain that emphasis is placed more on his own. ItA i 121 ff and UdA 133 ff state as follows:

1. *Tathāya āgato ti tathāgato*
2. *Tathāya gato ti tathāgato*
3. *Tathāni āgato ti tathāgato*
4. *Tathā-gato ti tathāgato*
5. *Tathā-vidho ti tathāgato*
6. *Tathā pavattito ti tathāgato*
7. *Tathehi āgato ti tathāgato*
8. *Tathā gatā-bhāvena tathāgato*

1. *Tathāya āgato ti tathāgato*: The Bodhisatta, being endowed with eight qualities (*atṭhagūṇa-samannāgatam*) required for anyone to become a bodhisatta,⁵⁴ made a resolve and had practised thirty *pāramitās* for innumerable eons under the twenty-four previous Buddhas,⁵⁵ beginning with Dīpaṅkara. Therefore, he is *tathāgata* as he comes by the truth.⁵⁶

2. *Tathāya gato ti tathāgato*: When the Bodhisatta saw a group of beings subjected to great suffering, he made the resolve that he would release them from suffering. Thus, the Blessed One is gone by the truth for the welfare of the world through great compassion.⁵⁷

3. *Tathāni āgato ti tathāgato*: The Blessed One comes to the truths. They are the Four Noble Truths. He comes on his own, and not by any other means. Therefore, he is *tathāgata* as he comes to the truths. His knowledge concerning the present, past and future is unobstructed.⁵⁸ He achieves them through the knowledge of his own, etc.⁵⁹

4. *Tathā gato ti tathāgato*: ItA i 132 and UdA 148 explain the term *tathā* as follows: ‘*Yā tā Bhagavato abhijāti abhisambodhī dhamma-vinaya-paññāpanā anupādisesanibbāna-dhātuyo, tā tathā.*’ (Whatever the Lord’s excellent birth, supreme Enlightenment, dec-

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laration of the Dhamma-Vinaya and the elements of *Nibbāna*, those are the truths).⁶⁰

5. *Tathā-vidho* **ti** *tathāgato*: ItA i 135 and UdA 151 say that previous Fully Awakened Ones are such; so is this Blessed One (*yathā-vidhā purimakā sammāsambuddhā te ayam pi Bhagavā tathā-vidho*).⁶¹

6. *Tathā pavattiko ti tathāgato*: The Blessed One is called *tathāgata* on account of his being endowed with the power of psychic potencies not shared by others, etc.⁶²

7. *Tathehi āgato ti tathāgato*: UdA 152 as well as ItA i 136 with variant readings states thus: '*Bodhi-sambhāraṇe tappatipakkha-ppavatti-saṅkhātāṃ n'atthi etassa atathan ti tathehi āgato*' (In the necessary conditions for the attainment of wisdom, there is nothing untrue to that, i.e. reckoned to be the conduct contrary to that (state) (*tam + patipakkha*). In that sense, [the *Tathāgata* is come] by [these] truths). It further says that the true state is [achieved] by the knowledge relating to the consideration of disadvantages and advantages [of things], which are obvious in such cases as between stinginess and the perfection of giving. The *tathāgata* is [thus] come by that knowledge (*So pan'assa tatha-bhāvo macchera⁶³ -dānapāraṇī ādisu aviparīta ādīnav'ānisamsa paccavekkhaṇādī naya-ppavattehi nāṇehi āgato tathāgato*).⁶⁴

8. *Tathā gata-bhāvena tathāgato*: UdA 153 explains that 'through the state of being thus gone' means by reason of the being, i.e. the existence of *Tathāgata* (*tathā gata-bhāvenā ti Tathāgatassa sambhāvena atthitāyā ti attho*). It further remarks that as it is preached by the Blessed One, so it is gone or followed by his disciples. This is the meaning of *Tathāgata*. Thus all good dhamma is thus-followed (*yathā Bhagavatā desito tathā Bhagavato sāvakehi gato āgato ti Tathāgato. Evaṃ sabbo pi saddhammo tathāgato*).⁶⁵

ItA i 138-139 and UdA 154-155 quote some *gāthās* as a summary at the end of these exegeses of the word *tathāgata*. It appears that Dhammapāla, while reiterating his predecessors' interpretations,

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suggested alternate definitions based on those *gāthās* which are not cited in Buddhaghosa's commentaries except for the first *gāthā* at DA i 60 and MA i 46. A striking feature of Dhammapāla's definitions compared with those of Buddhaghosa is that Dhammapāla dwells exclusively on the meaning of 'truth' of the word *tathā*. This sense can be supported by the evidence found in Sanskrit works. U. Ogihara believes that *tathā* is a euphonic term for the Sanskrit word *tathya* and the original sense in which *tathāgata* is used, would be either *tathya-āgata* (reached the truth) or *tathya-gata* (realized the truth).⁶⁶ In the first Chapter of the Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣa-śāstra⁶⁷ extant only in Chinese translation, eleven definitions of the word *tathāgata* are given and the term *tathā* is used in the sense of 'truth'.

(C) This group represents sources with much brief explanations of the term. They follow the same methods as in (A) in the case of BvA, KhpA, UdA and ItA (as these sources are noted above in (B)), while ThagA i 36 follows the methods in both (A) and (B). ThagA, moreover, specifically refers to the Udāna-aṭṭhakathā and Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā by their names for details (*Ayaṃ ettha saṅkhepo Vitthāro pana Paramattha-Dīpaniyā Udānaṭṭhakathāya, Itivuttakaṭṭhakathāya ca vuttanayen'eva veditabbo*).

Our survey above reveals that the Pāli commentarial traditions in the exegeses of the term *tathāgata* are of two types; the one adopted by Buddhaghosa and followed by other commentators including Dhammapāla, and the other suggested and followed only by Dhammapāla. The question of what sources Dhammapāla based his exegeses on, is, unfortunately, not resolved for want of further evidence. This is one of the areas where a future research is necessary in order to determine how far Dhammapāla was influenced by sources outside the Theravāda tradition.

CHAPTER VI

THE GENERAL NATURE (*DHAMMATĀ*) AND THE DIFFERENCES (*VEMATTĀ*) AMONG BUDDHAS

Unlike the word *dhamma* in Buddhism, the term *dhammatā* (secondary derivative form of *dhamma*) has a limited connotation. The PTS's Pāli-English Dictionary gives it the meanings of 'fitness, propriety; a general rule, higher law, cosmic law, general practice, regular phenomenon, usual habit; etc.'¹ The Venerable W.Rahula also gives it the meanings of 'nature, natural, way, habit, custom, customary and usual.'² The word *dhammatā* therefore signifies 'the general nature or common features' when applied to Buddhas. It is a common usage in the Canon and refers to various situations from worldly to the highest doctrinal matters.³ What concerns us here is its usage with regard to the Buddha-concept.

The *dhammatā* concept within the Theravāda context is an extension of the acute desire of the Buddhists to establish supremacy of the Buddha's teachings. Circumstances both internal and external necessitated the Theravādins to try their best to perpetuate the Dhamma by all means. The Dhamma is taught not only by Gotama Buddha, but also by all Buddhas of the past. Buddhas appear in this world only to discover it. Universality of the Dhamma must be assured. Thus, the canonical texts give several instances to show that Buddhas are the embodiment of the Dhamma and, because of that, have common features among them.

The Mahāpadāna sutta [D ii 12 ff] describing the biography of Vipassī Buddha gives 'general rules' applicable to all Buddhas and they can be summarised as follows:

1. When a bodhisatta descends into his mother's womb from the Tusita heaven, he is mindful (*sato*) and self-possessed (*sampajāno*).
2. When a bodhisatta descends into the mother's womb, there manifests a bright radiance (*uḷaro obhāso pātubhavaṃ*).

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3 When a bodhisatta descends into the mother's womb, four gods (*cattāro devaputtā*) go towards the four quarters to protect the bodhisatta.

4. When a bodhisatta is descending into the mother's womb, the mother of the bodhisatta is a woman of virtues, keeping the five precepts.

5. When a bodhisatta is descending into the mother's womb, that mother has no mind for indulgence in the pleasures of senses with men and is incapable of transgression with any man.

6. When a bodhisatta is descending into the mother's womb, that mother is living in the enjoyment yielded by the five senses (*pañca-kāma-guṇa*).

7. When a bodhisatta is descending into the mother's womb, no ailment whatsoever befalls the mother.

8. A bodhisatta's body is complete with all his organs and limbs within the mother's womb.

9. On the seventh day after the birth of a bodhisatta, the mother of the bodhisatta dies and rises in the Tusita heaven.

10. A bodhisatta is born exactly after ten months.

11. When a bodhisatta issues from his mother's womb, gods receive him first, and afterwards men.

12. When a bodhisatta issues from his mother's womb and has not touched the earth, four gods receive him and present him to the mother, saying: 'Rejoice, Lady, for Mighty is the son born to you !'

13. When a bodhisatta issues from his mother's womb, he comes forth stainless, undefiled by watery matter, mucus, blood, any uncleanness whatever, pure, spotless.

14. When a bodhisatta issues from his mother's womb, two showers of water appear from the sky; one of cold and the other of warm water for bathing the bodhisatta and his mother.

15. When a bodhisatta is born, he stands firm on both feet and, with his face to the north, takes seven strides. A white parasol is held over him. Then he declares: '*Aggo' haṃ asmi lokassa, jeṭṭho' haṃ asmi lokassa, seṭṭho' haṃ asmi lokassa, ayaṃ antimā jāti, n'atthi' dāni punabbhavo ti.*'

16. When a bodhisatta issues from his mother's womb, a splendid

radiance is made manifest.

Interestingly, these *dhammatās* are all concerned with the descent from the Tusita heaven, conception and birth. This fact indicates the extent to which the Buddhists at the time placed emphasis on the birth of a bodhisatta. The *Acchariyabbhuta* dhamma sutta ascribes all the above 'common features' to Gotama Buddha as well.⁴ However, the sutta adds four more things to be counted as '*acchariyabbhuta* dhammas'; namely, (a) Gotama Bodhisatta arose in the Tusita heaven mindful and clearly conscious; (b) he was mindful and conscious while remaining in the Tusita heaven; (c) Gotama Bodhisatta remained in the Tusita heaven as long as his life-span lasted; and (d) the mother of Gotama Bodhisatta gave birth standing.⁵

The *Aṭṭhakathā* texts further increased the number of such common features or general rules applicable to all Buddhas past, present and future. The *Madhuratthavilāsini* mentions thirty of them (*sambuddhānaṃ samatiṃsavidhā dhammatā*) as follows:⁶

- (1) On descending into his mother's womb the Bodhisatta is aware of its being his last existence (*pacchimabhavikabodhisattassa sampajānassa mātukucchi-okkamaṇaṃ*).
- (2) The cross-legged position in the mother's womb facing outwards (*mātukucchiyaṃ pallaiṅkena bahimukhāvalokaṇaṃ*).
- (3) The standing position of the Bodhisatta's mother when she is giving birth (*thitāya bodhisattassa mātuyā vijāyanaṃ*).
- (4) Issuing forth from the mother's womb only in a forest (*araṇṇe yeva mātukucchito nikkhamaṇaṃ*).
- (5) The feet being placed on a golden cloth, taking seven steps facing north, surveying the four quarters, roaring a lion's roar (*kañcana paṭṭesu paṭiṭṭhitapadānaṃ uttarābhimukhanaṃ sattapadavītihārānaṃ gantvā catuddisaṃ oloketvā sihanādanadanaṃ*).
- (6) The Great Departure of the Great Beings after they have seen the four signs and a son has been born (*cattāri nimittāni disvā jātaputtānaṃ mahāsattānaṃ mahābhiniṅkkaṃamaṇaṃ*).
- (7) Taking up the banner of an arahant, having gone forth, (then)

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engaging in striving for (at least) seven days according to all the demarcations (*arahaddhajajam samādāya pabbajitvā sabbahetthimena paricchedenā sattāham padhānacariyā*).

(8) On the day of reaching Self-Awakening the partaking of milk-rice (*sambodhiṃ pāpuṇanadvase pāyāsabhojanaṃ*)

(9) Arrival at omniscient knowledge while seated on a grass-spreading (*tiṇasanthāre nisīditvā sabbaññūtañāñādhigamo*)

(10) Preparation for the meditational practice of in-breathing and out-breathing (*ānāpānakammaṭṭhānaparikkamaṃ*).

(11) The shattering of Māra's forces (*Mārabalaviddhamsanam*).

(12) While still in the cross-legged position for Awakening, beginning with the three knowledges, acquisition of the special qualities beginning with the knowledges not shared (by others) (*bodhipallāṅke yeva tisso vijjā ādiṃ katvā asādhāraṇāñāñādi-guṇapaṭilābho*).

(13) The spending of seven weeks close to the Tree of Awakening itself (*sattasattāham bodhisamīpe yeva vītināmanam*).

(14) A Great Brahmā's request for the teaching of Dhamma (*Mahābrahmuno dhammadesanattāya āyācanam*).

(15) The turning of the Wheel of Dhamma in a seer's resort in a deer-sanctuary (*Isipatane migadāye dhammacakkappavattanam*).

(16) On the full-moon day of Māgha the recital of the Pātimokkha in an assembly having the four factors (*Māghapūṇamāya caturaṅgikasannipāte pātimokkhuddeso*).

(17) Regular dwelling in a place in the Jetavana (*Jetavanatthāne nibaddhāvāso*).

(18) The performance of the Twin Miracles at the gateway to the city of Sāvatti (*Sāvattinagaradvāre yamakapāṭihāriyakāraṇam*).

(19) The teaching of Abhidhamma in the abode of the Thirty-Three (*Tāvatisabhavane Abhidhammadesanā*).

(20) The descent from the deva-world at the gateway to the city of Saṅkassa (*Saṅkassanagaradvāre devālokatō tarāṇam*).

(21) Constantly attaining the attainments of the fruits (*sataṭam phalasaṃpattisaṃpajjanam*).

(22) Surveying people who could be guided out in two meditations (*dvīsu jhānesu veneyya janāvalokanam*).

(23) Laying down a rule of training when a matter had arisen (*uppanne*

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vatthusmiṃ sikkhāpadapaññāpanaṃ).

(24) Telling a Jātaka (-story) when a need had arisen (*uppannāya atthuppatiyā Jātakakathanam*).

(25) Speaking the Chronicle of Buddhas in a gathering of relations (*nātisamāgame Buddhavaṃsakathanam*).

(26) Giving a friendly welcome to incoming monks (*āgantukehi bhikkhūhi paṃsanthāraṇam*).

(27) Spending the rains where invited and not leaving without asking for permission (*nimantitānaṃ vatthuvassānaṃ anāpapucchā agamanam*).

(28) Every day carrying out the duties for before a meal, for after a meal, for the first, middle, last watches (of the night) (*divase divase purebhatta-pacchābbatta-paṭhama-majjhima-paccchimayāma-kiccakaraṇam*).

(29) Partaking of the flavour of meat on the day of the final Nibbāna (*parinibbānativase maṃsarasabhojanaṃ*).

(30) The final Nibbāna after having attained the twenty-four hundred thousand crores of attainments (*catuvīsati koṭi sata sabassasamāpattiyo samāpajjitvā parinibbānaṃ*).⁷

Some of the items in the list are referred to separately in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. For example, 'a bodhisatta renounces the world only after the birth of a son' [No.(6) above]. This reference is found at DA ii 422. The first *Pātimokkhuḍdesagāthā* of every Buddha [cf. No. (16) above] is the same.⁸ On the other hand, some items appear to be new additions only in BvA as they can be found nowhere in the commentaries [e.g. Nos. (24), (25), etc.] It is difficult to enumerate all those common features among Buddhas mentioned in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. This is because the general trend by the time of the commentarial literature was to generalise everything connected with Buddhahood, beginning with the life of a Buddha, physical endowments and spiritual attainments of a Buddha, etc. Thus, under this notion anything and everything can be a *dhammatā* so long as it is something about a Buddha. The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā expresses this idea in a different manner when it says that Gotama Buddha conforms to the traditions of all Buddhas.⁹ It is again because of this

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underlying current that the commentaries often use the plural form of Buddhas. The Theravādins made an attempt to develop the concept of universal Buddhahood by establishing the notion that all Buddhas past and future had common properties. Such a move by the Theravādins is to perpetuate the Dhamma which according to them must be supreme and universal.

In addition, the Aṭṭhakathā texts sporadically refer to *dhammatās* of all Buddhas. Buddhas have the four unalterable spots (*avijahitaṭṭhāna*); viz., (a) *bodhipallaṅko ... ekasiniṃ yeva ṭhāne hoti* (cross-legged position in one place only); (b) *dhammacakka-ppavattanaṃ Isipatane migadāye* (the turning of the Wheel of Dhamma in a deer park at Isipatana); (c) *devorohanakāle Saṅkassanagaradvāre paṭhamapadakkamo* (the placing of the first footstep at the gateway of the city of Saṅkassa at the time of descending from the world of devas); and (d) *Jetavanagandhakūṭiyā cattāri mañcapādatṭhānāni* (the position of the four legs of the bed in the Scented Chamber in Jetavana).¹⁰ As discussed elsewhere, the four things that are never hampered by anyone (*cattāro na antarāyikā dhammā*) are mentioned at BvA 299.¹¹ Buddhas are born only in the *majjhimapadesa* in India.¹² All Buddhas perform the Twin Miracle at Sāvatti.¹³ Other common features are referred to at their appropriate places throughout the present study.

The concept of differences (*veṃattā*) among Buddhas is seen in the Mahāpadāna sutta in the Canon. In the sutta is given eleven divisions under which the seven previous Buddhas differ from each other as follows:¹⁴

- (1) *Kappa* (aeon)
- (2) *Jāti* (clan)
- (3) *Gotta* (family)
- (4) *Āyu* (life-span)
- (5) *Bodhi* (Bodhi tree)
- (6) *Sāvakayuga* (two chief disciples)
- (7) *Sāvakasannipāta* (assembly of disciples)

- (8) *Upaṭṭhāka* (attendant monk)
- (9) *Pitu* (father)
- (10) *Mātu* (mother)
- (11) *Rājadhāni* (capital)¹⁵

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī greatly elaborates on these divisions with additional differences among Buddhas.¹⁶ The text states that the divisions (*pariccheda*) are nine-fold which have come down (in the texts) (*nav'eva vārā āgatā*).¹⁷ The nine divisions correspond to Nos. 1-9 in the list of the Mahāpadāna sutta mentioned above. Although we have given *mātu* and *rājadhāni* as separate divisions, the Mahāpadāna sutta mentions them collectively in the same paragraph as in *pitu*.¹⁸ Therefore the position taken by DA is justified. However, the Commentary adds a division called '*sambahula*' (many-fold) which is not found in the text (*Sambahula-vāro na āgato*).¹⁹ This is a commentarial addition to the traditional account of differences among Bodhisattas and Buddhas in the Canon and shows the extent of development of the Buddha-concept in the commentaries.²⁰ Under this division the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī gives the following information regarding what is both common to all the seven previous Buddhas and different from each other:²¹

- (1) All Bodhisattas renounce the world-after the birth of a son. This is to show to the world that Bodhisattas are human.
- (2) Names of sons are given as Samavattakkhandha, Atula, Suppabuddha, Uttara, Sattavāha, Vijitasena and Rāhula.²²
- (3) Names of wives: Sudhānā, Sabbakāmā, Sucittā, Rocanī, Rucaggattī, Sunandā and Bimbā.²³
- (4) Vehicles (*yāna*) by means of which Bodhisattas do the Great Departure (*mahā-abhinikkhamana*).
- (5) Extents of monasteries (*vihāra*).
- (6) Amounts spent on the acquisition of land for monasteries (*vihāra-bhūmi-gaṇa-dhana*).
- (7) Names of lay-supporters who bought the lands, built monasteries and donated them (*bhūmiṃ kiṇṭvā vihāraṃ katvā dinn' upaṭṭhāko*): Punabbasumitta, Sirivaddhaka, Sotthiya, Accuta, Ugga, Sumana and

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Sudatta (Anāthapiṇḍika).

(8) Four unalterable spots (*avijahita-tṭhāna*).

(9) Five differences (*vemattā*) among Buddhas: *āyu*, *pamāṇa*, *kula*, *padhāna* and *rasmī*.

(10) Two particulars only for Gotama Buddha: *saha jāta* (simultaneous births) and *nakkhatta* (asterism).²⁴

The concept of differences among Bodhisattas and Buddhas continued to develop through post canonical works and the commentarial literature. The sources of reference are given below:

(A) Four Differences: Miln 285

(i) *kula* (family), (ii) *addhāna* (period), (iii) *āyu* (life-span) and (iv) *pamāṇa* (size).²⁵

(B) Five Differences: (I) DA ii 424 = BvA 130. (II) UdA 152 = ItA i 136

(I) Same as at DA ii 424 mentioned above (See No.9).

(II) (i) *āyu*, (ii) *saṭṭa-ppamāṇa* (bodily size), (iii) *kula*, (iv) *dukkara-cariyā* (austerities) and (v) *raṃsi* (ray)

(C) Eight Differences: (a) SnA ii 407-408, (b) BvA 296-297

(i) *addhāna* [a], (ii) *āyu* [a, b], (iii) *kula* [a, b], (iv) *pamāṇa* [a, b], (v) *nekkhamma* (renunciation) [a], (vi) *padhāna* (striving) [a, b], (vii) *bodhi* (or *bodhūrukkha*) (tree of Awakening) [a, b], (viii) *raṃsi* [a, b] and (ix) *yāna* (vehicle) [b].

(D) Twelve Determining Factors: BvA 62

(i) *kappa* (aeon), (ii) *jāmi* (birth), (iii) *gotta* (clan), (iv) *āyu*, (v) *bodhi*, (vi) *sāvaka* (male disciples), (vii) *sāvika* (female disciples), (viii) *sannipāta* (assemblies), (ix) *upaṭṭhāka* (attendants), (x) *mātāpitu* (parents), (xi) *putta* (son) and (xii) *bharyā* (wife).

(E) Thirty-two Determining Factors (*pariccheda*): BvA 2-3

The Madhuratthavilāsini gives twenty-two determining factors as those banded down in the texts (*pāliya āgatehi bāvisatiyā*

paricchedehi paricchinnō vavatthito), while the other manifold ten are not found therein (*pāli-anārūḥo pana sambahulavāro*) [BvA 2]. The list in BvA is a summary of all differences and divisions referred to in the Aṭṭhakathā literature and can therefore be considered as the last development in the commentaries. For the purpose of comparison and contrast, the other Pāli sources discussed above individually or collectively are given within brackets: (1) Mahāpadāna sutta [D ii 2 ff], (2) Milindapañha [Miln 285], (3) Sumaṅgalavilāsini [A - DA ii 422 ff, B - DA ii 424], (4) Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā [SnA ii 407 f], (5) Madhuratthavilāsini [A - BvA 62, B - BvA 130, C - BvA 296 f] and (6) Udāna-aṭṭhakathā [UdA 152] = Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā [ItA i 136]:

- (i) *Kappa* (aeon) [1, 5-A]
- (ii) *Nāma* (name)
- (iii) *Gotta* (clan) [1, 5-A]
- (iv) *Jāti* (birth) [1, 5-A]
- (v) *Nāgara* (city) [1]
- (vi) *Pītu* (father) [1, 5-A]
- (vii) *Mātu* (mother) [1, 5-A]
- (viii) *Bodhi* (tree of Awakening) [1, 4, 5-A & C]
- (ix) *Dhammacakkapavattana* (turning the Wheel of Dhamma)
- (x) *Abhisamaya* (penetrations)
- (xi) *Sāvakasannipāta* (assemblies of disciples) [1, 5-A]
- (xii) *Aggasāvaka* (chief disciples) [1, 5-A]
- (xiii) *Upatthāka* (attendants) [1, 5-A]
- (xiv) *Aggasāvika* (chief female disciples) [5-A]
- (xv) *Parivārabhikkhu* (retinue of monks)
- (xvi) *Raṃsi* (rays) [3-A & B, 4, 5-B & C, 6]
- (xvii) *Sarirappamaṇa* (height of the physical frame) [2, 3-A & B, 4, 5-B & C, 6]
- (xviii) *Bodhisattādhikāra* (acts of merit while still the Bodhisatta)
- (xix) *Vyākaraṇa* (declaration)
- (xx) *Padhāna* (the Bodhisatta's striving) [3-A & B, 4, 5-B & C]
- (xxi) *Āyu* (life-span) [1, 2, 3-A & B, 4, 5-A & B & C, 6]
- (xxii) *Parinibbāna* (the attainment of final Nibbāna)

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- (xxiii) *Agāravāsa* (the time spent living the household life)
- (xxiv) *Pāsādataya* (three palaces)
- (xxv) *Nātakitthi* (dancing women)
- (xxvi) *Aggamahesi* (chief consort) [3-A, 5-A]
- (xxvii) *Putta* (son) [3-A, 5-A]
- (xxviii) *Yāna* (vehicle) [3-A, 4, 5-C]
- (xxix) *Abhinikkhamana* (departure or renunciation) [4]
- (xxx) *Padhāna* (striving)²⁶
- (xxxi) *Upatthāka* (lay-attendants)²⁷ [3-A]
- (xxxii) *Vihāra* (vihāra) [3-A]

The list in the Madhuratthavilāsini seen above omits items like *addhāna*, *kula*, *dukkara-cariyā*, etc., which are found in the commentaries. On the other hand, it adds new items not found anywhere in the commentaries.

A question as to why such divisions (*pariccheda*) are necessary is addressed in the Madhuratthavilāsini.²⁸ The text says that if the city of birth, father, mother, etc., of a Bodhisatta is not known, a deva or Sakka or a yakkha or Māra or Brahmā or other devas might think that a marvel such as this is not wonderful and [therefore] the teaching of a Buddha is not to be listened to. If so, there would be no penetration (*abhisamaya*). If there were not a penetration, a Buddha's words would be useless and the Dispensation would not be profitable.²⁹

**THE BODHISATTA-CONCEPT
IN THE COMMENTARIES**

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CHAPTER VII

BODHISATTA

The doctrine of Bodhisatta in the Pāli commentarial tradition can be seen as supplementary to the apotheosis of Buddhas. The Pāli commentaries bring out multifaceted aspects of the doctrine of Bodhisatta hitherto unknown in the Pāli canonical and post-canonical works. Dhammapāla in particular, can be regarded as a commentator who shows much greater interest in the dissemination of its doctrine and, indeed, introduces new concepts in the Theravāda tradition. However, it must be kept in mind, and, therefore, calls for future investigation, that the question of how far faithfully the Pāli commentators translated and re-arranged the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā, now lost, without meddling with the contents therein, is the matter which makes the determination of the dates of introduction of those new concepts embedded in the Pāli commentaries, more difficult. For, there are two layers of information in the commentaries; one is that which is possibly contained in the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā, and the other is the new material introduced by the commentators themselves. If the former is the case, then the possible introduction of those concepts and ideas is not later than the third century A.D.¹ If the latter, on the other hand, is correct, the dates of their introduction can be as late as the commentators themselves. This stratification of material and information bears significance especially in the context of a comparative study of the doctrine of Bodhisatta/Bodhisattva between Theravāda Buddhism and Mahāyāna Buddhism; the latter being usually regarded as the main system in which a vast collection of sources dealing with the Bodhisattva Ideal is found. However, the Theravādins also developed the doctrine of Bodhisatta of their own, which has not been adequately dealt with even by scholars of Pāli Buddhism. It gained acceleration and diversification in the Theravāda scene in the Aṭṭhakathā literature, though the Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka contain certain ingredients that can be regarded as precursors of later developments in the commentaries. This chapter will,

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therefore, discuss some salient features of the concept of Bodhisatta and its usage found mainly in the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature. Before proceeding further, however, a brief historical survey of the usage of the word *bodhisatta* in the pre-commentarial literature, will be useful.²

1. Bodhisattas in the Pre-commentarial Literature

After analysing the contexts in which the word *bodhisatta* is employed in the Nikāyas, T. Sugimoto gives six different usages of *bodhisatta* as follows: (1) the bodhisatta who is imperfect and immature, (2) the bodhisatta who is still imperfect but surpassing that state, (3) the bodhisatta who is a wanderer and an ascetic, (4) the bodhisatta who is the master of meditation and a seer of the dhamma, (5) the bodhisatta at the time of his conception and birth, and (6) the bodhisatta who dreams of the (five) great dreams.³ All these types of bodhisatta depicted in the Nikāyas can be broadly summarised into two usages. One is the bodhisatta referring to the state before the attainment of Enlightenment in the life of Gotama Buddha. References to such a bodhisatta are often told in the mouth of the Buddha himself in the following manner: '*Mayham pi ... pubbe va sambodhā anabhisambuddhassa bodhisattas' eva sato...*'⁴ Here the bodhisatta is depicted as a being seeking higher knowledge. No marked difference in this case is seen between the bodhisatta and any other mendicants who also seek the realisation of the truth. But this bodhisatta refers to Gotama Buddha's former state before his Enlightenment. The other is the bodhisatta used as a generic term referring to previous existences of any Buddha in the past. This usage is a result of accepting the multiplicity of Buddhas (i.e. six previous Buddhas) in the first four Nikāyas and also of the generalisation of events and anecdotes associated with the life of Gotama Buddha, which subsequently became applicable to any previous and future Buddhas. Thus, the Mahāpadāna sutta⁵ relates the stories of Vipassī Buddha beginning from the descent from the Tusita heaven onwards and the same stories are repeated in connection with the penultimate life of Gotama Buddha in the Acchariyabbhutadhamma sutta.⁶ It is an extended usage of the first meaning of bodhisatta. This

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development is no doubt a result of the apotheosis of Buddhas and culminates in the concept of *dhammatā* (general nature) common to all Buddhas.

In the Khuddaka Nikāya, the word *bodhisatta* does not occur as often as in the other four Nikāyas. However, it is in this Nikāya, particularly in those texts which are said to be of late origin in the chronology of the Pāli canonical texts, that we find a further development in the concept of Bodhisatta. The Khuddaka Nikāya is divided into two strata for convenience: (a) the old stratum, even in the whole of canonical texts, represented by texts like the Suttanipāta, etc., and (b) the new or late stratum which includes texts like the Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka, Apadāna, etc.

(a) The Suttanipāta, referring to Gotama Bodhisatta, brings out a very important aspect of the Bodhisatta-concept. He is depicted as a being who was born in this world for happiness and weal (*hitasukhatāya*) of the people [Sn 683]. This idea of a compassionate bodhisatta is also expressed in the Canon. The Majjhima Nikāya says as follows: ‘*Asammohadhammo satto loke uppanno bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ*’ (A being not liable to bewilderment (delusion) has arisen in the world for the welfare of the manyfolk, for the happiness of the manyfolk, out of compassion for the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of gods and men.)⁷ This passage occurs in connection with the Buddha who relates to the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi his own past experience of fear and dread of living alone in a forest when he was the Bodhisatta. The evidence of such statements concerning the reasons for the appearance of a bodhisatta in this world certainly suggests that altruism was the prime objective of his birth.

(b) The theme of the Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka is to show the former connections of Gotama Buddha and perfections he practised as the Bodhisatta, though the word *bodhisatta* is not used. The Buddhavaṃsa is entirely based on the history of Gotama Buddha’s career as the Bodhisatta from the time of making his

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abhinīhāra (resolve) before Dīpaṅkara Buddha to become a Buddha in the future. He was then known as Sumedha, and had to spend an incalculable length of time (*asaṅkhyā*) before finally becoming a Buddha. Under each and every past Buddha, Gotama Bodhisatta receives a prediction or declaration (*vyākaraṇa*) that he would be the Buddha named Gotama in a distant future. Eight conditions (*aṭṭhadhammā*)⁸ are mentioned as the preconditions for anyone to aspire to be a bodhisatta [Bv II v 59]. Further, ten perfections (*pāramī*) are to be practised and fulfilled [Bv II vs 117 ff].⁹ The Cariyāpiṭaka illustrates some of the *pāramīs* the Buddha practised in his previous existences. The Jātaka stories come under this category, though it may be a later fabrication to connect them with the fulfilment of *pāramīs* in varied forms of existences of the Bodhisatta.¹⁰ At this stage of development of the Bodhisatta-concept, one can observe that such obligations incumbent upon a bodhisatta as making a resolve (*abhinīhāra*) in front of a Buddha, receiving a declaration or prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) from him, fulfilling the ten perfections (*pāramī*), etc., were introduced in the Pāli tradition for the first time. And this generalisation of preliminaries leading to Buddhahood is to develop further in the Aṭṭhakathā literature.¹¹

The Udāna also mentions the word *bodhisatta* at one place, but it is with reference to the mothers of bodhisattas in the following manner: ‘*appāyukā hi bodhisattamātaro honti, sattāhajātesu bodhisattesu bodhisattamātaro kālaṃ karonti.*’¹² This shows that mothers of all bodhisattas die seven days after their birth. It is, therefore, clear that this utterance is linked to the concept of *dhammatā* applied to all Buddhas as seen before.

While following the same connotations of the word *bodhisatta* as in the Nikāyas, the Kathāvatthu discusses probably the most important issue which separates the Theravāda doctrine of Bodhisatta from that of Mahāyāna Buddhism. That is, whether or not the bodhisatta takes births into a state of woe and undertakes a difficult course of life on his own accord [Kv XXIII 3].¹³ This view was upheld by the Andhakas according to the Commentary.¹⁴

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One of the salient features of the Bodhisatta doctrine in the Northern Buddhism is the altruistic or compassionate nature of a bodhisatta.¹⁵ This does not mean that the Pāli tradition does not advocate it. On the contrary, it does as can be seen in the Suttanipāta and Majjhima Nikāya [See above]. The best example of this is the Jātakas illustrating varied self-sacrificing acts performed by the Bodhisatta in his previous existences for the benefit of others. But we have to admit that there are great differences in the emphasis placed on this aspect of Bodhisattva-hood particularly in its conceptualisation in the two traditions.

In the Kathāvatthu,¹⁶ the Theravādins maintain that the Bodhisatta cannot be born into various states at his own free-will.¹⁷ The argument put forward by them is based on the contention that if the proposition of the Andhakas were accepted, the very basis of *kamma* theory would be at stake. Buddhaghosa makes this point clear [KvA 200].¹⁸ Regarding the Andhakas' position which affirms that the Bodhisatta performed painful and hard practices on his own, the Theravādins question whether or not he fell back on wrong views such as, 'the world is eternal', etc., or whether or not he subscribed to the views of his former teachers when practising penance under them before his Enlightenment. While the Andhakas emphasise the compassionate nature of a bodhisatta, the Theravādins maintain that even the Bodhisatta is not exception to the law of *kamma*. The Theravādins became often liable to falling into pitfalls as a result of holding two mutually opposing stances in the concept of Buddha; one is to keep the canonical authorities to the hilt, and the other is to glorify and apotheosise the Buddha or Buddhas. Subsequently, in the Atthakathā literature, they had to give way to the emphasis on the altruistic nature of a bodhisatta advocated especially by Dhammapāla in his exegeses on *karuṇā* of a Buddha found in the Cariyāpiṭaka-atthakathā.¹⁹ Hence, expressions like, '*karuṇāya dukkhaṃ sampaticchati*' (by compassion [Bodhisatta] accepts suffering) and '*karuṇāya vattaṃ pāpunāhi*' (by compassion [Bodhisatta] attains the round of existences) are testimony to the direction into which even the Theravādins were drawn regarding the doctrine of Bodhisatta.

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This development is a marked departure from the stand taken by them in the Kathāvatthu.

The position taken by the Theravādins in the Kathāvatthu suggests that the Bodhisatta is treated as a being not different from other mendicants whose attainments are not yet perfect. The Theravādins did not want to make any distinction between *sāvakas* and the Bodhisatta as N.Dutt puts it.²⁰ This fact is in direct contrast to what we find in the Aṭṭhakathā texts where ‘*sabbaññu-bodhisatta*’ is a favourite designation, as will be discussed later. This line of thinking is also confirmed by another argument found in the text.²¹ It is a proposition raised by the Pubbaseliyas and Aparaseliyas according to the Commentary [KvA 143] that the Bodhisatta was ‘assured’ of attaining Nibbāna in his last birth; therefore he is already ‘assured’. But the Theravādins believe that there are only two kinds of *niyāma* (assurance); *sammattaniyāma* and *micchattaniyāma*. The former is the assurance resulting from the practice of *brahmacariya* (purity in conduct) and *ariyamagga* (noble path or path of sanctification) while the latter is the conduct that finds retribution without delay (*ānantariyakamma*). And this applies to anyone regardless of the distinction between *sāvakas* and the Bodhisatta. Buddhas may prophesy saying, ‘such a one will in future attain to Bodhi (Buddhahood).’ This person is a bodhisatta by reason of the cumulative growth of merit. But he is not really ‘assured’ in the correct sense of the term according to the Theravādins. All of these arguments presented in the Aṭṭhakathā [KvA 143]²² point to a very important aspect of the Bodhisatta-concept in the Kathāvatthu. The Bodhisatta according to its compiler is in no way different from any other *sāvakas*.²³ But this interpretation of equality between the mendicant and the bodhisatta is not a special feature of Theravāda Buddhism alone. In early Mahāyāna texts, the same idea is also found expressed, though the bodhisatta is at the same time depicted as being superior to, or different from, arahants.²⁴

The positions taken by the Theravādins in the Kathāvatthu amply testify that it was a sort of reaction and reassertion of their own stance against various new developments taking place in the

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Buddhist community at that time. The main feature observable in the propositions advocated by schools like the Andhakas is directed towards drawing a line of demarcation between the bodhisatta and ordinary *sāvakas*. The bodhisatta according to them (Andhakas) is regarded as a being who is quite superior to other beings. He is unique in his personality and accomplishment. The defence of the Theravādins was entirely based on the older sources available to them. This attitude and the tactics employed by them, ironically and against their intended aim, became narrow in their concept of Bodhisatta. For, the canonical concept of Bodhisatta, as seen earlier, allows only two possible interpretations; the Bodhisatta who is not different from other mendicants in their attainments and the Bodhisatta as the former existences of Gotama Buddha or previous existences of all Buddhas, past, present and future. Thus, the Kathāvatthu could not go beyond the boundary of descriptions and explanations about the Bodhisatta found in the Canon. The static nature in the text arises from this background, while other schools, particularly of the Mahāsaṅghika group within the Buddhist community, ventured into new dimensions to elevate the personality of Bodhisatta, which came in fact as a criticism against the ideal of arahantship of the Theravāda school. The Bodhisatta in the Kathāvatthu suggests that he is described and conceptualised always with Gotama Buddha in mind. In short, Gotama Bodhisatta is the model for all Bodhisattas, which fact continues also in later texts and forms the nucleus of the concept of Bodhisatta in the Pāli tradition.

In the Milindapañha, the word *bodhisatta* is used mainly as a term denoting the former existences of Gotama Buddha. This is indeed in keeping with the tradition found in the Canon. For instance, Miln discusses Gotama Bodhisatta as Lomasakassapa [Miln 219]; as Jotipāla who reviled and abused Kassapa Buddha [Miln 221 ff]; as being inferior to Devadatta in some of his previous births [Miln 200 ff]; or Gotama Bodhisatta had five teachers [Miln 235 f].²⁵ However, Miln in its own way contributes to the concept of Bodhisatta. The following are some important issues discussed in Miln:

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(1) It is the *dharmatā* (general nature) that the following things are predetermined for a bodhisatta: his parents, Bodhi tree, chief disciples (*aggasāvaka*), son, and attendant (*upatthāka*). But, on the other hand, Gotama Bodhisatta, when he was residing in the Tusita heaven, had eight investigations (*viḷokana*) to determine the proper place and time of his descent therefrom [Miln 193 ff].²⁶ Nāgasena replies to the above dilemma pointed out by the king Milinda that it is a 'settled matter' (*niyata*).²⁷ In other words, both must come to pass for all Bodhisattas.

(2) Gotama Buddha practised severe penance and austerities before his attainment of Enlightenment. The Bodhisatta realising that such austerities were not a satisfactory method to follow to attain the goal, gradually started taking nutritious food. Miln says that this is the course for the acquisition of omniscient knowledge by all Tathāgatas and the Buddha recommends austerities to his disciples.²⁸

(3) There is a question of whether such austerities were practised only by Gotama Bodhisatta or by all bodhisattas. The text says that austerities are not for all bodhisattas, but they were practised only by Gotama Bodhisatta [Miln 284].²⁹ In this instance, Nāgasena says that bodhisattas are different from each other in four respects; namely, family, duration (in which to fulfil the *pāramīs*), life-span, and height.³⁰ The king Milinda then questions as to why the Bodhisatta renounced the world while his knowledge was immature and his enlightenment immature.³¹ Nāgasena's answer here is that the Bodhisatta was agitated and stirred by the words of a deva of Māra's retinue. It was in the natural order that the Bodhisatta would reach the final enlightenment, and in six years' time he would be the Buddha, omniscient, the foremost person in the world.³² The king Milinda again brings up a question of austerities [cf. Miln 244 ff] and asks whether Gotama Bodhisatta was confused about the Way or not.³³ Nāgasena is quite firm on this issue and says that Gotama Bodhisatta could not get confused, because he followed an understanding of the Four Ariyan Truths in birth after birth.³⁴

(4) With regard to the story of Vessantara, it is asked whether or not

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all bodhisattas give away their wives and children.³⁵ It is interesting to note here that Nāgasena replies that all bodhisattas give away their wives and children.³⁶ This is obviously a calculated generalisation of the story of Gotama Buddha. The intention of Nāgasena is to generalise the events or episodes connected with his life and apply or extend them to all Buddhas of the past. It is an application of the idea of *dhammatā* based on Gotama Buddha, which is clearly demonstrated here. Miln continues to enumerate ten special qualities of bodhisattas as follows: greedlessness (*agedhatā*), being free of desire (*nirālayatā*), relinquishing (*cāgo*), getting rid of (*pahānam*), not reverting (*apunarāvattitā*), fineness (*sukhumatā*), greatness (*mahantatā*), incomprehensibility (*duranubodhatā*), rarity (*dullabhatā*) and peerlessness of Buddhahood (*asadisatā buddhadhammassa*).³⁷

The Bodhisatta-concept emerging from our above survey is that Miln also maintains the canonical usage of the word *bodhisatta* to mean the previous existences either of Gotama Buddha or of Buddhas in general. Miln, on the other hand, places emphasis, more than any other canonical texts, on the generalisation mainly of spiritual aspects of Bodhisattahood, and, at the same time, on differences among bodhisattas, which are of physical and external nature. Therefore, the concepts of *dhammatā* (general nature) and *vemattā* (differences) among bodhisattas are certainly an outcome of the apotheosis of Buddhas. And it appears that Gotama Bodhisatta is at the core and is always compared with other Bodhisattas.³⁸

2. Bodhisattas in the Commentaries

The word *bodhi* is a nominal derivative of the root '*budh*' (to be awake, enlightened, etc.) and it means enlightenment, supreme knowledge, etc. [See PED, s.v.] The canonical texts give its meanings as the realisation of the Four Noble Truths (*ariya-saccāni*)³⁹ and the Seven Factors of Enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*).⁴⁰ Later, the number of factors leading to enlightenment increased to thirty-seven of 'things pertaining to enlightenment' (*bodhipakkhiya-dhammā*).⁴¹ It was further extended to forty-three in the post-canonical texts.⁴² Another

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development in the Khuddaka Nikāya is the mention of ten *bodhi-pācana-dhammā* (qualities that lead to the ripening of Perfect Enlightenment).⁴³ They are the *pāramīs* or *pāramitās* which the Bodhisatta fulfilled to attain Buddhahood. Hence, the term *bodhi-pācana-dhamma* refers to the Buddha's knowledge only. The meanings of *bodhi* as the Four Noble Truths and Seven Factors of Enlightenment testify clearly that it can be achieved by anyone and the attainment of them is what is termed as arahantship. However, along with the establishment and development of the Saṅgha and the spread of the Founder's fame far and wide; and subsequently along with the apotheosis of the Buddha especially after his *parinibbāna*, respect and the feeling of greatness accorded to the Buddha would have prompted members of the Buddhist community to distinguish the *bodhi* of the Buddha from that of his followers. This distinction is indeed the hall-mark underlying in the doctrine of the possible ways for the attainment of enlightenment in the Theravāda tradition. Hence, terms like *sambodhi*, *abhisambodhi* and *sammāsambodhi* came to be introduced. The textual evidence shows that the first word (i.e. *sambodhi*) can be applied to arahants as well,⁴⁴ but the latter two are exclusively for the Buddha (or Buddhas). The Buddha's *sammāsambodhi* is explained in the commentarial texts as the knowledge which he attains rightly (*sammā*) and by himself (*sāmaṃ*); or the knowledge which is extolled (*pasatthaṃ*) and good (*sundaram*).⁴⁵ In short, it is all that is to be discovered and known by a Buddha and him alone.⁴⁶

In the Aṭṭhakathā texts, a classic definition of the verbal form '*bujjhati*' (is awake, enlightened, knows) is given in the Atthasālinī [DhsA 217] and Sammohavinodanī [VibhA 310] as follows: '*Bujjhatī ti kilesasantānaniddāya utthahati cattārī vā ariyasaccāni paṭivijjhati nibbānaṃ eva vā sacchikaroti.*' ("Bujjhati" implies a rising from the slumber of the continuum of the lower nature, or a penetrating the Ariyan Truths, or a realising Nibbāna.)⁴⁷ This gives some ideas of the definition of *bodhi*. It suggests that *bodhi* (knowledge) is the instrument by which one's spirituality is raised to a higher state. It is a general meaning. The second meaning suggested here is the

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comprehension of the Four Noble Truths and it is the process of comprehension that is alluded to. Once that process is complete, then one realises or attains Nibbāna. In this instance, what is attained, i.e. Nibbāna, is emphasised as the final goal or aim of that process. Therefore, *bodhi* in Buddhist context is primarily the knowledge which helps attain final emancipation, or the final emancipation itself. And other derivative meanings come from this basic connotation of the word.

The commentarial literature defines *bodhi* at several places. For example, Buddhaghosa, while commenting on the *sammāsambodhi* of the Tathāgata, says that *bodhi* has four meanings: 1. (*Bodhi*) Tree (*rukkha*), 2. Path (*magga*),⁴⁸ 3. Omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññutañāna*) and 4. Nibbāna.⁴⁹ Buddhadatta, on the other hand, gives a somewhat extended interpretation in the *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*. At one place it records a classification of *bodhi* into four kinds as by Buddhaghosa. But the passage concerned seems to imply some additional meanings to it because of the word 'ādi' appended there.⁵⁰ This is, in fact, confirmed at another place in the text where the additional items of 'fruit' (*phala*) and 'designation' (*paññatti*) are inserted. The sentence in question, which is in a *gāthā*, reads as follows: 'Magge phale ca nibbāne rukkhe paññattiyam tathā, sabbaññute ca ñānasmim bodhisaddo pan'āgato' (In way, in fruit, and in Nibbāna, in tree, in designation likewise, and omniscient knowledge the word *bodhi* is indeed handed down).⁵¹ While giving the sources from which the meanings of *bodhi* are derived, as similarly done by Buddhaghosa, the text further explains for the additional two meanings of *bodhi* as *phala* and *paññatti* as follows: '*bodhi*' is 'fruit' (*phala*) in the context that it conduces to tranquillity, higher knowledge, awakening, Nibbāna (*upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya samvattatī ti ettha phale*).⁵² It is also a 'designation' (*paññatti*) in the context that "Prince Bodhi worshipped the feet of the Buddha with his head" (*Bodhi rājakumāro Bhagavato pādo sirasā vandī ti, ettha paññattiyam*).⁵³ The *Madhuratthavilāsinī* seems to be the only commentary which acknowledges six meanings for the term *bodhi*. The question of which one of the enumeration of the mean-

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ings of *bodhi*, the list of four, or the list of six, is anterior to the other, is difficult to be resolved as the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā based on which the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā are said to have been translated, are not extant today for any comparison.

When the word *bodhi* is used in the sense of knowledge (*ñāṇa*) in the Aṭṭhakathā texts, emphasis seems to be laid on two distinct aspects: One is that in relation to the path leading to arahantship (*arahattamaggañāṇa*) and the other is omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññutañāṇa*).⁵⁴ These are two meanings which correspond to Nos. 2 & 3 in the above classification of Buddhaghosa. We have observed earlier that it became the Theravāda tradition that the *bodhi* of arahants and that of Buddhas were distinguished from each other, which fact originated within the Nikāyas themselves. This distinction served as an impetus for later compilers of Buddhist texts, probably starting from texts like the Paṭisambhidāmagga, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka, etc. of the Khuddaka Nikāya, to exalt the Buddha. It was their intention to clearly distinguish the Buddha from other arahants. And this trend continues and further develops in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. However, it is significant that amidst the general tendencies to apotheosise the Buddha even more in other schools at the time of the Aṭṭhakathā literature, the Theravādins continued to have the above two separate senses (i.e. *arahattamaggañāṇa* and *sabbaññutañāṇa*) attached to *bodhi*. This is evident even in the classification of *bodhi* by Buddhaghosa mentioned above.

Continuing his comment on *bodhi*, Buddhaghosa says that it is the *arahattamaggañāṇa* which is meant in that context of the explanations of the Buddha's *sammāsambodhi* (*idha pana Bhagavato arahattamaggañāṇam adhippetam*).⁵⁵ But 'some' say that it is also the Buddha's omniscient knowledge (*Apare pana sabbaññutañāṇam ti pi vadanti*).⁵⁶ The 'Apare' here is identified with the Abhayagirivāsins according to the Majjhima-ṭīkā.⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that identifying the Buddha's attainment in this instance as '*sabbaññutañāṇa*' according to the Abhayagirivāsins is also followed by Dhammapāla who too follows Buddhaghosa in classifying *bodhi*

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into four kinds, but with a difference.⁵⁸

After enumerating the four meanings of *bodhi* like Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla further clarifies the second item, i.e. *magga-nāna* by saying that the path is called *bodhi*, because with it, one realises the Four Noble Truths (*Bodhi vuccati catusu maggesu nānan ti āgataṭṭhāne cattāri ariyasaccāni bujjhati etenā ti, ariyamaggo bodhi*).⁵⁹ He further states that in the context in question, it is also the *sabbaññutañāna* that the Buddha attained (*idhāpi sabbaññutañānaṃ adhippetam*) as against Buddhaghosa's explanation of *arahattamaggañāna*. Thus, he says that both *arahattamaggañāna* and *sabbaññutañāna* should be understood as *bodhi* here (*Arahattamaggasabbaññutañānāni ca idha bodhi ti veditabbāni*).⁶⁰ This interpretation is repeated at UdA 27 where he says that the Buddha attained both *maggañāna* and *sabbaññutañāna* at the time of his Enlightenment (*Tadubhayaṃ pi bodhim Bhagavā ettva patto*). This shows that Dhammapāla in his explanations of *bodhi* comes much closer to the Abhayagirivāsins. And his interpretation may be more acceptable, because the Buddha's omniscient knowledge must include *arahattamaggañāna* as he attained arahantship at the same time. Such instances as this will certainly indicate that Dhammapāla occupies a unique position in the Mahāvihāra fraternity.

Buddhaghosa and other commentators except Dhammapāla, thus, seem to be more orthodox and traditional in their emphasis on two aspects of *bodhi*. This is due, perhaps, to their attitude towards the older sources, particularly the Nikāyas, that the interpretations and explanations found within the Nikāyas should be accorded the highest honour and regarded as the authorities for them to fall back on. But, at the same time, circumstances demanded of them to become more flexible in their interpretations and meet pressing needs of the day, so much so that the apotheosis of Buddhas continued to be a must.

'Satta' (Skt. *sattva*) has been interpreted by many scholars and a summary of them can be found in the monumental work of Har Dayal entitled, '*The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit*

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Literature' (p.4 ff).⁶¹ Interestingly, he suggests in his work that 'satta' in Pāli bodhisatta should be interpreted as 'heroic being, spiritual warrior.'⁶² However, Har Dayal appears to read too much in the etymological connotation of the word, because the Bodhisatta in the Pāli Nikāyas has a straight-forward and simple beginning as shown above. T.Sugimoto also gives a very comprehensive summary of the etymological meanings to *bodhi* and *sattva*, to which we will refer when appropriate.⁶³

In the Pāli tradition, *satta* is thought to be a sentient being who has not yet attained to the state of enlightenment. When used with *bodhi* (i.e. *bodhi-satta*), it signifies 'a being destined to become a buddha or a creature dedicated to enlightenment.'⁶⁴ Its usual translation as a 'Buddha-to-be', however, appears to be acceptable only in the canonical texts. For, the word *bodhisatta* came to be employed as a designation given not only to the former existences of a Buddha, but also to those destined to become *pacceka-buddhas* or *sāvakas* in the Aṭṭhakathā texts as will be discussed below.

The commentaries discuss some definitions of the word *bodhisatta*, which are not found in the pre-commentarial literature. For instance, DA ii 427 explains it as follows: '*pañḍita-satto bujghanaka-satto; bodhi-saṅkhātesu vā catūsu maggesu satto āsatto lagga-mānaso ti bodhisatto*' (Bodhisatta is a wise being who is concerned with awakening; a being whose mind is attached to and bent on the four paths called *bodhi*). The Papanāśaṅgī [MA i 113] and Manorathapūranī [AA ii 365] explain it thus:

“When he was the Bodhisatta” means when he was on the way to awakening, or a being who started to attain full enlightenment. It also means when he was a being attached to and bent on *bodhi*. The Tathāgata from the time he successfully completed the resolve by means of the eight conditions at the feet of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, became attached to (*satta*) and bent on or inclined towards (*lagga*) *bodhi*, thinking, “these should be

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obtained by me”, and without letting loose of exertion for that attainment, he has come. Therefore, he is called Bodhisatta.’ (*Bodhisattass’eva sato ti bujghanaka-sattass’eva, sammāsambodhiṃ ādhigantum ārabhantass’eva sato. Bodhiyā va sattass’eva laggass’eva sato. Dīpaṅkarassa hi Bhagavato pādamūle atthadhamma-samodhānena abhinīhārasamiddhito pabhuti Tathāgato*⁶⁵ *Bodhiyaṃ satto, laggo, “pattabbā mayā esā” ti tad-adhigamāya parakkamaṃ amuñcanto yeva āgato, tasmā Bodhisatto ti vuccati.*)

The Sāratthapakāsinī too gives similar meanings to it when it says that *bodhi* is knowledge (*ñāṇa*); *bodhisatta* is a being attached to *bodhi* (*bodhiyā satto Bodhisatto*); he is full of knowledge (*ñāṇavā*), insightful (*pañṇavā*) and wise (*pañḍito*). From the time of making his resolves at the feet of former Buddhas, he was wise and not foolish (*na andhabālo*). Because of the declaration he received in front of Buddhas, having fulfilled the perfections, he will be awakened. [Thus] *Bodhisatta* is a being on the way to awakening (*bujghanaka-satto*). *Bodhi* is the knowledge of four paths (*catumagga-ñāṇa-saṅkhata bodhi*), and aspiring for it he moves on; thus *Bodhisatta* is also a being who is attached to and clinging onto *bodhi* (*bodhiyaṃ satto āsatto ti pi Bodhisatto*).⁶⁶ The Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā gives a description of the word *bodhisatta* as follows: ‘*bodhisatto ti bujghanakasatto sammāsambodhiṃ gantum araho satto*.’⁶⁷ This is a short explanation of what is said in the Papañcasūdanī. On the other hand, it is strange that Dhammapāla is silent about the definition of *bodhisatta* in his commentaries.

From the above survey, the meanings of *bodhisatta* according to the commentaries can be classified into four categories:⁶⁸ 1. a wise or insightful being (*pañḍita, ñāṇavant, pañṇavant, na andhabāla*); 2. a being on the way to awakening (*bujghanaka-satta*); 3. a being worthy of attaining *sammāsambodhi* (*sammāsambodhiṃ adhigantum araha*) or striving for it (*taṃ adhigamāya parakkamaṃ amuñcanto āgata*); 4. a being attached to or inclined towards *bodhi*

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(*bodhiyā satta*, *-āsatta*, *-lagga*). Of these, No.4 is arrived at as a derivative meaning corresponding to the Sanskrit *sakta* (*/sañ*).⁶⁹ This sense of the word *satta* can also be seen in the Saṃyutta Nikāya [iii 190] where it is given the meaning of 'attached to.'⁷⁰ This supports the above interpretation of the word.

A perusal of the above classification reveals that the interpretation of *bodhisatta* in the Theravāda tradition rests on two premises: One is the being who seeks *catumagga-nāṇa*.⁷¹ This is not necessarily the exclusive characteristic of the bodhisatta who is destined to attain Buddhahood, but it is rather the knowledge pertaining to arahantship. This is evident from the fact that one of the meanings of *bodhi* in the Aṭṭhakathā texts is said to be *arahattamagga-nāṇa*.⁷² The other is the being who is described as a person worthy of attaining *sammāsambodhi* [see No.3 of the above classification of bodhisatta]. In order to differentiate bodhisattas who are destined to become Buddhas from other bodhisattas who seek *bodhi* but not *sammāsambodhi*, the Aṭṭhakathā texts very often employ the word *mahā* to be prefixed to bodhisatta who is a Buddha-to-be, or he is sometimes called *mahāsatta* (great being).⁷³

Thus, the Theravādins began to formulate a new classification of bodhisatta in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. Its development appears to be a natural corollary resulting from the interpretations of the word *bodhi*. The Aṭṭhakathā literature enumerates three kinds of *bodhi* when applied to different individuals in the sense of attainment or knowledge.⁷⁴ Thus, for example, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī while commenting on some of the theses proposed by Makkhali Gosāla says:⁷⁵

'[The attainment of any given condition, or of any character, does not depend either on one's own acts or on the acts of another);] "One's own acts" means acts done by oneself. By whatever acts done by oneself, these beings will achieve the states of deva, Māra or Brahmā, or the knowledge of disciples, or the knowledge

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of Pacceka, or the omniscient knowledge. [And] that he rejects.' (*Atta-kāre ti atta-kāro. Yena attanā katakammena ime sattā devattaṃ pi Mārattaṃ pi Brahmattaṃ pi sāvaka-bodhiṃ pi Pacceka-bodhiṃ pi sabbaññutaṃ pi pāpuṇanti, taṃ pi paṭikkhipati.*)

The Sāratthappakāsinī gives the identical explanations with the above when commenting on the phrase, 'N'atthi balan ti'.⁷⁶ Further, the Samantapāsādikā also gives the term *sāvaka-bodhi* referring to the attainment or knowledge of a disciple.⁷⁷ In a passage concerning the *kalyāṇa* (good) of the Buddha's teachings which are often described as good in the beginning, in the middle and in the end,⁷⁸ the text says that it (the dhamma) is good in the beginning, because hearing it and through the practice in conformity, it is possible to attain supreme enlightenment. It is good in the middle, because hearing it and through the practice in conformity, it is possible to attain the enlightenment of pacceka (buddhas), and it is good in the end, because hearing it and through the practice in conformity, it is possible to attain the enlightenment of disciples (*taṃ sutvā tathattāya paṭipannena adhigantabbāya abhisambodhiyā vā ādikalyāṇo paccekabodhiyā majjhe-kalyāṇo sāvakabodhiyā pariyosana-kalyāṇo*).⁷⁹ In short, the Aṭṭhakathā texts have *sāvakabodhi*, *paccekabodhi* and *sammasāmbodhi* (or *abhisambodhi*),⁸⁰ the last being the term used only for Buddhas since the time of canonical texts as seen elsewhere. The three kinds of *bodhi* are also alluded to in the Visuddhimagga, which says that because of one of six sincere inclinations, one arrives at one of the three kinds of enlightenment (*evaṃ sampannajjhāsayo hi tissannaṃ bodhīnaṃ aññataraṃ pāpuṇāti*).⁸¹ Though they are thus referred to in Buddhaghosa's commentaries, it is probable that the definite and clear usage and distinction of one from another among them was still in the process of formation during the time of Buddhaghosa, for references to the term *sāvakabodhi* in his commentaries are very scanty.

Dhammapāla, on the other hand, is more specific about the distinction among the three kinds of *bodhi*. He uses the word

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sambodhi instead of the simple usage of *bodhi*. The reference in question occurs at ThagA i 8 where three kinds of *sambodhi* are mentioned: 'Sambodhi is of three kinds; the full enlightenment, the enlightenment of a *pacceka* [buddha] and the enlightenment of a disciple' (*sambodhi pana tividhā, sammā-sambodhi pacceka-sambodhi sāvaka-sambodhi ti*). The text further explains that *sammā-sambodhi* is so called, because it is the realisation as well as causing the realisation of all dhammas rightly and by oneself (*tattha sammā-sāmaṃ sabbadhammānaṃ bujjanato bodhanato ca sammā-sambodhi*). *Pacceka-sambodhi* is the realisation of truth not known before through self-awakened knowledge (*ananubuddho sayambhūñāneṇa saccābhisamayo ti attho*). *Sāvakas* are those who have become so after hearing the teacher's preaching of dhamma; *sāvaka-sambodhi* is the realisation of the truth of disciples (*Satthu dhamma-desanāya savaṇante jātā ti sāvakā; sāvakānaṃ saccābhisamayo sāvaka-sambodhi*). This is indeed a typical definition of the difference among Buddhas, *pacceka-buddhas* and *sāvakas* as far as the method of attaining the final goal is concerned.

Such a distinction seems to have resulted, as time went on, in the application of *bodhi* to *bodhisatta* accordingly. Thus, Dhammapāla in his *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā* mentions three kinds of *bodhisatta*: *mahā-bodhisatta* (or *mahāsambodhisatta*⁸²), *pacceka-bodhisatta* and *sāvaka-bodhisatta*.⁸³ This division is also alluded to in the *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā* [CpA 17] where *lokathacariya* (useful conduct for the world) as one of the eight *cariyas* is explained. The text says that it (*lokathacariya*) is the conduct of *mahābodhisattas* and *sammāsambuddhas* in respect of unlimitedness (*nippadesato*) and is also of *bodhisattas* of two kinds and *paccekabuddhas* and *buddhasāvakas* in respect of limitedness (*padesato*). This explanation is found in the canonical texts,⁸⁴ but what is of commentarial nature is the insertion of *mahābodhisatta* and two kinds of *bodhisatta* referring to *pacceka-bodhisatta* and *sāvaka-bodhisatta*. Of these categories of *bodhisatta*, *pacceka-bodhisatta* and *sāvaka-bodhisatta* are of special interest: Firstly, they are not found in Buddhaghosa's commentaries, particularly those on the four *Nikāyas* and the *Visuddhimagga* as

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specifically referring to them, although his definitions of *bodhisatta* seen, for instance, at DA ii 427, would theoretically suggest three possible types of bodhisattas who strive to become *sarunāsambuddha*, *paccekabuddha* and *arahant* respectively. This shows that the terms appear to have come into being later than the time of Buddhaghosa, though it cannot be denied that every possible foundation had already been laid down within the Canon and continued into the *Aṭṭhakathā* where the three types of enlightenment, namely, *arahant*, *paccekabuddha* and *sammāsambuddha* are minutely discussed; and this tradition has continued throughout the ages. It is therefore an inevitable course of development. Secondly, there may be a possibility that an introduction of such terms in the Pāli tradition was a result of both internal and external circumstances of the day. Mahāyāna influences cannot be ruled out in this instance. Even the Saṅgha becoming entangled in secular affairs like kingship and state affairs as time progressed, was compelled to provide more down-to-earth interpretations of Buddhism. The concept of Bodhisatta is such a one. The history of Sri Lanka records the construction of a bodhisatta image as early as in the fourth century A.D.⁸⁵ Further, epigraphical evidence shows that bodhisattas should become kings of Sri Lanka.⁸⁶ In return, kings must defend and protect the Saṅgha. W.Rahula comments that the approval of the Saṅgha was essential for the coronation of a king.⁸⁷ It is not difficult to conjecture that in order to approve the kings of Sri Lanka being called '*bodhisattas*', some concept in the Theravāda doctrines which would allow the Saṅgha to justify their stand was a necessity. It is reported that the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was a popular figure worshipped in Sri Lanka.⁸⁸ Such evidence certainly points to the fact that the concept of Bodhisatta was influenced by the Buddhist Sanskrit literature and grew gradually in course of time in Sri Lanka. It is therefore not surprising that the term *bodhisatta* came to be applied not only to Gotama Buddha or Buddhas of the past and future, but also to other personages of political importance. It is a diversification of the Bodhisatta Ideal. Buddhaghosa's unspecified reference to and later Dhammapāla's unequivocal interpretation of Bodhisatta that disciples (*sāvaka*) can also be called *bodhisattas* and therefore any Buddhist can become

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one of them, would have certainly played an important role in the development of the Bodhisatta Ideal in Sri Lanka.

The social importance of the Bodhisatta-concept found in the Aṭṭhakathās may also be considered to be pertinent to the development of the Bodhisatta Ideal in Sri Lanka. An attempt was made in the commentarial texts to merge the ideal individual socially and ethically with the person of Bodhisatta. People saw in him the highest virtues and even politically the utmost capability. Thus, the Aṭṭhakathās equate 'Mahāsammata', the first Elect in social genesis, with the Bodhisatta. Buddhaghosa says in his Visuddhimagga that the Bodhisatta was the handsomest, the most comely, the most honourable, and was clever and capable of exercising the effort of restraint. Then people elected him as their leader. Therefore, he was called *Mahā-Sammata*... For the Bodhisatta himself is the first man concerned in any wonderful innovation in the world (*yaṃ hi loke acchariyatthānaṃ Bodhisatto va tatha ādipuriso ti*).⁸⁹ An attempt of this nature to find the ideal man in Bodhisatta is significant in the history of Buddhism particularly when applied to the popular beliefs and practices of Buddhism for two reasons: (1) the Buddha is spiritually and ethically the perfect individual, the Fully Enlightened One. He is respected and paid homage to for our spiritual guidance. He is free from the turmoil and cares of society. Therefore, the ideal person of the Buddha cannot be found anywhere else but in the sphere of spirituality. (2) the Bodhisatta, on the other hand, is not a fully enlightened person, but on the way to the highest spiritual attainment. His actions are for the benefit of the many. He is the person who can be with the world, unlike the arahant who is aloof from the world. Worldliness and high moral quality can co-exist in the Bodhisatta. He can therefore be brought in in any mundane context where such an ideal person is sought. It is in this respect that Buddhaghosa's statement above bears on the social significance of the Bodhisatta-concept.

Along with the distinction made in the late Aṭṭhakathā texts among *mahā-bodhisatta* (Buddha-to-be), *pacceka-bodhisatta* and

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sāvaka-bodhisatta, and because of such a distinction, the Buddha-aspirant came to be called with several qualifying words. Terms like *mabāsatta*, *mahāsambodhisatta* (see above), *mahābodhisatta* and *sabbaññu-bodhisatta* are seen in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. When Gotama Buddha is referred to as Bodhisatta, he is sometimes called 'our Bodhisatta' (*amhākaṃ Bodhisatta*).⁹⁰

Of the above terms referring either to Gotama Bodhisatta or to any Buddha-to-be, *sabbaññu-bodhisatta* is of great significance from the point of view of the original sense of the word *bodhisatta*. It has been shown that the term *bodhisatta* is used in the Pāli tradition including the Aṭṭhakathās to mean: (1) a being in quest of the truth, and (2) former existences of Gotama Buddha, and past and future Buddhas. Both meanings suggest that he is still in the state before the attainment of enlightenment. *Sabbaññu*, on the other hand, is a term very often used to qualify the Buddha(s). A peculiarity lies, therefore, in that it is used together with the term *bodhisatta*. If a bodhisatta is *sabbaññu* (omniscient), then there would be nothing that he should strive for. He is a Buddha himself. There is no distinction whatsoever in achievements between bodhisatta and Buddha. The usage of the word *sabbaññu-bodhisatta* must therefore be understood from a different viewpoint: it is indeed meant (1) to differentiate Buddhas from other beings, probably pacceka-buddhas and disciples, and (2) to place more emphasis on the greatness of Buddhas in general and Gotama Buddha in particular. In short, it seems to have come into use in the process of the Buddha's apotheosis and has more emotional significance than etymological. It is the term used to satisfy the devotional feelings of Buddhists themselves.

In the Aṭṭhakatha texts, the word *sabbaññu-bodhisatta* appears to be adopted by Buddhaghosa and other commentators except Dhanunapāla.⁹¹ For instance, the Manorathapūranī states that the practices or fulfilments of *sabbaññu-bodhisatta* are that he receives a declaration; strives to fulfil what are called the things that make up a Buddha (*buddhakāradhammā*) after receiving assurance in front of a Buddha; fulfils *pāramīs*; gives up wife and children like

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Vessantara; takes birth in the Tusita heaven, etc.⁹² It says at another place that *sabbaññu-bodhisatta*, universal king, etc., will be found at a time when a Buddha is not arisen.⁹³ While commenting on four kinds of faith (*saddhā*), the text gives *saddhā* of *sabbaññu-bodhisattas* as one of them.⁹⁴ The Manorathapūranī further says that the five great dreams (*pañca-mahasupinā*) are dreamt of only by *sabbaññu-bodhisatta*.⁹⁵ The Saddhammapakkāsinī mentions that *sabbaññu-bodhisattas* while being seated under the Bodhi tree realise the Four Noble Truths such as that decay and death, etc., are the truth of suffering; birth is the cause of it, etc.⁹⁶ The Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā states that *sabbaññu-bodhisattas* receive ordination in the dispensation of a Buddha and learn the three Piṭakas, etc.⁹⁷ The Sammohavinodanī mentions that virtuous conduct (*sīla*) is of two kinds: the five precepts and the ten precepts. These exist in the world whether a Tathāgata arises or not. But, when a Tathāgata is not arisen, they are made known by ascetics and wanderers (*tapasaparibbājakā*), *sabbaññu-bodhisattas* and universal monarchs (*cakkavatti-rājā*). But *pātimokkhas* are made known only by a Buddha. In the same way, *aṭṭha-samāpatti* (eight attainments) are made known by ascetics and wanderers, bodhisattas, and universal monarchs when a Tathāgata is not arisen in the world, etc.⁹⁸ In this instance, it may be inferred that the word *sabbaññu* which qualifies bodhisatta in the first instance in VibhA is a later interpolation, since the word *sabbaññu* before *bodhisatta* is missing in the second instance. Buddhadatta too uses the word *sabbaññu-bodhisatta* at BvA 79 where he mentions that thirty-two portents (*pubbanimittā*) appear only on four occasions such as when all *sabbaññu-bodhisattas* descend from the Tusita heaven into the mother's womb, their birth, etc.

The above survey shows that *sabbaññu-bodhisatta* is depicted as being lower than *sabbaññu-buddha*. He is in no way different from any bodhisatta aspiring to become a Buddha. It is also used as a term to denote Gotama Buddha's former state as Bodhisatta. The term is therefore interchangeable with the simple word *bodhisatta* and seems to be used only for the eulogy of Buddhas in general and Gotama Buddha in particular.

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In conclusion, the introduction of three kinds of *bodhisatta*, namely, *mahā-bodhisatta*, *pacceka-bodhisatta* and *sāvaka-bodhisatta* by Dhammapāla is certainly a new departure in the Theravāda doctrine of Bodhisatta. This development is no doubt the result of a clear distinction the Theravādins tried to make among the enlightened. Emphasis is laid on the supremacy of Buddhahood. As a result, the compartmentalisation of attainments by different individuals came to be formulated. The division of *bodhi* into three types suggested by Buddhaghosa and later clearly demarcated by Dhammapāla in the Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā [ThagA i 8] is indeed a precursor of such a development in Theravāda Buddhism. When the path leading to Buddhahood was made more difficult as the process of exalting Buddhas advanced, the Theravādins had to emphasise the importance of following *sāvaka-bodhi* more than before as the alternative and easier way to emancipation. Here we can detect two levels of religiousness in the Theravāda tradition. That is, the apotheosis of Buddhas bears the emotional and devotional significance for the Buddhists, while the accomplishment of *sāvaka-bodhi* is practical.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE CAREER OF A BODHISATTA

The career of Gotama Bodhisatta starts from the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha who inspires him, then known as the ascetic Sumedha, to tread upon the path leading to the final attainment of Buddhahood. In the Pāli tradition, the meeting between Dīpaṅkara Buddha and Sumedha is introduced in the Buddhavaṃsa of the Khuddaka Nikāya for the first time. The ascetic Sumedha had attained great spiritual advancement and was capable of attaining what the Buddhists term as 'arahantship' in that life itself. He gave up the idea of attaining it, and instead, aspired to become a Buddha in future like Dīpaṅkara so as to cause the world together with the devas to cross over *saṃsāra*.¹ Dīpaṅkara Buddha predicts that the ascetic Sumedha would be a Buddha named Gotama innumerable aeons away in future (*aparimeyye ito kappe*).² His parents, place of birth, attendant, two chief disciples, two chief female disciples, Bodhi tree under which he would attain Buddhahood, etc., are also predicted.³ This is the beginning of Gotama Buddha's career as the Bodhisatta.

A perusal of the Buddhavaṃsa reveals that the generalization of events associated with the life of Gotama Buddha and its application to other past Buddhas is evident. The Nikāyas other than the Khuddaka speak only of seven previous Buddhas with Gotama as the seventh.⁴ Gotama Buddha is thus sometimes referred to as the seventh sage '*isīnaṃ isisattama*'⁵ or '*isisattama*'.⁶ The concept of seven sages is pre-Buddhistic and Buddhism appropriated it.⁷ How the development of the Buddha-concept, particularly the increase of the number of past Buddhas from seven to twenty-five including Gotama Buddha, took place within the canonical texts themselves is yet to be determined. The venerable Nāṇāvāsa attempts to show similarities in the story of Maṅgala Buddha between the Mahāvastu and the Buddhavaṃsa and concludes that the latter (i.e. Bv) is later

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than the former (i.e. Mvu) in their compositions.⁸ He further contends that with the help of the Mahāvastu, the number of Buddhas could be traced to nine, twelve and sixteen as intermediary developments between the Mahāpadāna sutta where seven Buddhas are mentioned and the Buddhavaṃsa which has twenty-five of them.⁹ It is clear that the Buddhavaṃsa presents a form of further development in the number of past Buddhas. Another important fact is that along with the Cariyāpiṭaka, it introduces for the first time in the Pāli tradition the ten 'pāramī' (perfections) that Gotama Bodhisatta is to fulfill for the attainment of Buddhahood. The date of composition of the Buddhavaṃsa is therefore an important issue for consideration in order to determine when such a developed concept of Bodhisatta and the Buddha-lore came to be incorporated in the Pāli tradition. It is generally believed that the Buddhavaṃsa we have today is somewhat different from the one on which the Commentary, Madhurathavilāsinī, was composed and the conclusion drawn from this fact is clear. The present Buddhavaṃsa is a mixture of original verses and later additions spanning several centuries of uncertainty until attaining its final form; some verses are in fact later than the time of its commentator Buddhadatta of the fifth century A.D.¹⁰ The Buddhavaṃsa, therefore, cannot be taken as a text embodying the canonical development of the Buddha-concept; it should rather be considered to be more of commentarial nature as far as some of its contents are concerned.¹¹

Owing to a growing trend of the apotheosis of the Buddha resulting apparently from an acute need arisen within the Buddhist community, the Theravādins too had to conform to the general thinking of the masses within the framework of their tradition. On the other hand, this development ironically gave rise to the search for a compromise on the time duration required for anyone to attain final emancipation from *samsāra*. When the Buddhists know that Gotama Bodhisatta had to receive an 'assurance' to become a Buddha in a distant future and to fulfill the ten perfections for an immeasurable length of time, ordinary beings will have to be contented with only a little progress, if any, in this life. They will have to practice for many

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aeons to attain the final goal. This sentiment has been expressed by many Buddhists in the past. The Theravādins, therefore, continued to differentiate between the *bodhi* of disciples (*sāvakas*) and that of a Buddha. The message intended here is clear enough that disciples can aim at the *bodhi* recommended to them. The Bodhisatta (Buddha-to-be) is the sole person who could attain *sammāsambodhi*. This demarcation was a necessity and continued to be emphasised in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. The disciples are, however, rest assured that they too could attain final emancipation, if right attitude is adopted, without resorting to the path of Bodhisatta; the path that appears more difficult in their eyes.¹² The gradation of periods ranging from one incalculable and a hundred thousand *kappas* (*ekam asaṅkheyyam kappasatasahassam*) to a hundred thousand *kappas* required by various personages such as the chief disciples (*aggasāvaka*), eighty great disciples (*asītimahāsāvaka*), parents, attendant (*upaṭṭhāka*), etc., for the acquisition of their respective places associated with the life of a Buddha, thus, came to be formulated in the Aṭṭhakathā texts.¹³ This provides a certain amount of encouragement and relief, though it may appear negligible, that less time will be required for ordinary disciples to attain the final goal. It is no doubt a circumstantial compromise resulting from upholding the supreme ideal of arahantship in the Theravāda tradition.

Such a historical development initially started with the focus on Gotama Buddha and its consequences were natural corollaries. The preliminaries leading to Buddhahood, thus, became a much cherished topic among the Buddhists. A later Pāli work named the Mahāsampīṇḍanidāna, whose date of composition is ascribed to a later part of the Anurādhapura period (between the sixth and twelfth centuries A.D.),¹⁴ is said to contain a very developed concept of the time duration required for the fulfilment of perfections. According to this text, the period is divided into three phases: (1) *Manopanidhāna*, (2) *Vacīpanidhāna*, and (3) *Mahāpanidhāna*,¹⁵ and the total duration is said to be twenty *asaṅkheyyas*. This is also found in a Sinhala work called the Saddharmālaṅkāra.¹⁶ However, the Pāli commentaries do not know them except for the last one (i.e.

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Mahāpanidhāna), which fact indicates that the concept was introduced later than the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās. Although the commentaries mention three more Buddhas who appeared before Dīpaṅkara; namely, Tanhaṅkara, Medhaṅkara and Saraṇaṅkara,¹⁷ their periods have no distinct bearing on forming a part of the *manopanidhāna* or *vacīpanidhāna* like in later works. But, the introduction of three more previous Buddhas may well suggest that extending the Bodhisatta-career further into the past beyond Dīpaṅkara Buddha was in the making from the time of the Buddhavaṃsa through the commentaries. Reference must also be made in this regard to the fact that the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā mentions many hundreds and thousands of past Buddhas (*anekāni paṇa Buddhasatāni Buddhasahassāni aṅgāni...*), when relating a story of the thera Cakkhupāla (or Mahāpāla).¹⁸ When the Aṭṭhakathā literature recognizes only twenty-eight past Buddhas (i.e. twenty-five Buddhas including Gotama and the three Buddhas before Dīpaṅkara already referred to above), the above reference cited from DhṛA may cause a difficulty for interpretation. There may be, however, two possible explanations. First, the Theravādins too accepted the existence of innumerable past Buddhas by the time of the compilation of DhṛA. If so, this would become another proof to support our earlier contention that the commentators had already started extending the Bodhisatta-career into distant past beyond Dīpaṅkara Buddha. But it must be admitted that this is a solitary reference found in the Aṭṭhakathās so far and, as such, cannot be accepted as sufficient evidence to prove that the Theravādins did in fact subscribe to the view of innumerable past Buddhas in the Aṭṭhakathā literature, though it could be a strong theoretical possibility considering the fact that each past Buddha also spent innumerable length of time fulfilling the perfections. Second, the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā represents a different tradition from that of the Theravāda school, at least, partially. This theory has been put forward by some scholars.¹⁹ However, the conclusion is not yet final and further investigation must be encouraged employing all resources available for such a comparison.

Historically, two terms *kappa* (aeon) and *asaṅkheyya* (incal-

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culable) are used first in the Canon. The Aṅguttara Nikāya employs *kappa* when describing the period of one cycle of the rise and fall of a universe. It says that there are four phases in an aeon (*kappa*) and each phase is incalculable (*asaṅkheyya*) (*Cattāri imāni bhikkhave kappassa asaṅkheyyāni*).²⁰ Here 'asaṅkheyya' is adjectival to 'kappa'. While explaining each phase of the aeon (*kappa*), the text states that when the aeon evolves [so are the remaining three phases], it is not easy to count or measure saying, "so many years, so many hundred years, so many thousand years, or so many hundred thousand years".²¹ Those four phases are given the names of *saṃvatta*, *saṃvattaṭṭhāyī*, *vivatta* and *vivattaṭṭhāyī*.²² In short, the *kappa*, according to the Canon, is a unit of time from the birth of a universe to its destruction. The implication here is that *asaṅkheyya* is not intended to be a unit of measurement, but is used in a qualifying sense denoting the immeasurable nature of a period. Beyond this, the Canon does not provide any definite notion of *kappa* or *asaṅkheyya*.

The paucity of new materials for the clarification of the notion of *kappa* and *asaṅkheyya* is noticeable in the Aṭṭhakathās as well. They remain ambiguous. But the *asaṅkheyya* in the commentarial texts seems to be considered as a unit of time. Such expressions as 'four *asaṅkheyyas* and a hundred thousand *kappas*' (*cattāri asaṅkheyyāni kappasatasahassaṇi ca*), or 'one *asaṅkheyya* and a hundred thousand *kappas*' (*ekam asaṅkheyyam kappasatasahassaṇi ca*), etc.,²³ will point to this. While elucidating the appearance of Dīpaṅkara Buddha in the world four *asaṅkheyyas* and a hundred thousand *kappas* prior to the present aeon, the Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā states that 'four incalculables' means 'on the conclusion of four *asaṅkheyyas* in addition to a hundred thousand *kappas*' (*kappasatasahassādhikānaṃ catunnaṃ asaṅkheyyānaṃ matthake ti attho*).²⁴ This too suggests that *kappa* and *asaṅkheyya* are treated as two separate units of time.

Of the commentarial sources, the Cariyāpitaka-aṭṭhakathā is the only text which provides some descriptions of *kappa*, *asaṅkheyya* and other terms denoting time duration. The text employs the term

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mahākappa, which appears to have been used in order to differentiate from the canonical use of *kappa*. The canonical descriptions are that the aeon (*kappa*) constitutes four phases which are immeasurable (*asaṅkheyya*),²⁵ whereas CpA says that the *mahākappa* is a collection of four *asaṅkheyya-kappas* (*Svāyaṃ mahākappo samvattādi-vasena catu asaṅkheyyaka-ppasaṅgaho*),²⁶ or it simply says that one *mahākappa* consists of four *asaṅkheyyas* (*imāni cattāri asaṅkheyyāni eko mahākappo hoṃ*).²⁷ If the canonical notion of *kappa* is brought in here, the *mahākappa* of the Aṭṭhakathās can be equated with *kappa* of the Canon. This does not however provide us with the exact meaning of the term in the commentarial texts, for the word *kappa* has different connotations in different contexts in CpA. For instance, the text states that in [one] *mahākappa*, there are four *asaṅkheyyas* and a hundred thousand of *mahākappas* (*mahākappānaṃ cattāro asaṅkheyye satahasse ca mahākappe ti ayaṃ h'ettha attho*).²⁸ This suggests ambiguity of the whole notion. In addition, the text also introduces a new term called *antarakappa* when it says that sixty-four *antarakappas* make up *vivattatṭhāyī* and the other stages such as *vivatta* must also be known to have the same number [of *antarakappas*] (*imesu catusatṭhi antarakappasaṅgahaṃ vivattatṭhāsī, tena samānakālaparicchidā vivattadāyo veditabbā*).²⁹ This means that each stage in the process of evolution and involution of a universe has sixty-four *antarakappas* and *mahākappa* means four times sixty-four *antarakappas* (i.e. 256 *antarakappas* for a *mahākappa*).

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Dhammapāla refers to the view of a different school that the number of such *antarakappas* is twenty (*vīsati antarakappasaṅgahan ti eke*).³⁰ In another instance, 'some' (*eke*) are said to believe that *asaṅkheyya* is a certain number, and having omitted from one to fifty-nine, the sixtieth place is the *asaṅkheyya* and it has ten *mahābalakkhas*.³¹ This interpretation is rejected by Dhammapāla. The first theory of 'some' above is found in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature with its first reference in the Avadāna Śataka; the date of its composition being ascribed to a period between the first and third centuries A.D.³² Regarding the second instance of 'some', Buddhist Sanskrit texts mention a unit of time

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called *mahā-balāḥṣa*. According to them, one *asaṅkheyya* is ten times a *mahā-balāḥṣa*.³³ This is precisely the same as of 'some' in CpA. These instances are testimony to the fact that Dhammapāla had indeed a knowledge of the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition.

The notion of *kappa* and *asaṅkheyya* in the commentarial literature continues to be uncertain as seen above. Dhammapāla also admits that *asaṅkheyya* is not countable and goes beyond counting (*asaṅkhiye ti ettha saṅkhātuṃ na sakkā ti asaṅkhiyā, gaṇanaṃ atikkantā ti attho*).³⁴ This interpretation in the commentaries is consonant with what is found in the Canon. Har Dayal says that the word *asaṅkheyya* is really intended to create an awe-inspiring impression of vast and sublime grandeur.³⁵

In terms of the appearance or non-appearance of a Buddha/ Buddhas, the commentaries give a new classification of *kappa* into two types: (1) *suñña-kappa* (period with the absence of Buddhas) and (2) *asuñña-kappa* (period with the presence of a Buddha or Buddhas).³⁶ With this background, all twenty-five previous Buddhas are arranged in a spectacular cosmic time span. The Sumaṅgalavilāsini gives a chronological sketch of all the twenty-five Buddhas,³⁷ which is very much akin to that of the Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā. The latter source seems to be an elaboration of the former and gives all the mathematical calculations in between Buddhas. However, one noteworthy difference among the sources giving time durations of all Buddhas is the calculation of length of time between Sujāta (the twelfth Buddha) and Piyadassī (the thirteenth Buddha).³⁸ The Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā is in fact the only source which gives '100,000 *kappas*' as the duration without Buddhas,³⁹ while the others maintain '1,800 *kappas*'. BvA's explanations seem to be erroneously arrived at, for the same source in another place gives the period of *Buddha-suñña-kappa* between Dhammadassī (the fifteenth Buddha), one of the three Buddhas who appeared in the same *kappa* as Piyadassī, and Siddhattha (the sixteenth Buddha) as '1,706 *kappas*', and Siddhattha Buddha is said to have appeared in the world ninety-four *kappas* prior to the present *kappa* according to BvA.⁴⁰ It is a

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simple calculation that '1,706' plus '94' equals '1,800' ($1,706 + 94 = 1,800$). Such a discrepancy implies that the calculation of periods for the appearance of previous Buddhas, particularly before Vipassī Buddha, is a result of mere imaginary speculation.⁴¹

Another development in the commentaries is a further classification of *kappa* into five categories. The Madhuratthavilāsini⁴² gives the following: (1) *sāra-kappa* during which only one Buddha appears, (2) *maṇḍa-kappa*⁴³ during which two Buddhas appear, (3) *vara-kappa* during which three Buddhas appear, (4) *sāramaṇḍa-kappa* during which four Buddhas appear, and (5) *bhadda-kappa*⁴⁴ during which five Buddhas appear. The above five kinds of *kappa* belong to *asuññakappa*.⁴⁵ The Burmese edition of BvA is said to contain a verse ascribed to 'Porāṇā' (the Ancients) mentioning all the five kinds, but the PTS edition does not mention it.⁴⁶ The Visuddhajanavilāsini (ApA), on the other hand, gives two classifications: one comprising four kinds and the other five of them.⁴⁷ The passage referring to four kinds reads as follows: '*Tattha kappo tāva catubbidho: sarakappo, varakappo, maṇḍakappo, bhaddakappo ti.*' Then the text explains that *sarakappa* is the aeon in which one Buddha appears, *varakappa* has two or three Buddhas, *maṇḍakappa* has four Buddhas, and *bhaddakappa* has five Buddhas. The classification dealing with five kinds of *kappa* gives them as follows: *sarakappa*, *maṇḍakappa*, *sāramaṇḍakappa*, *varakappa* and *bhaddakappa*. And one, two, three, four and five Buddhas respectively are said to appear in them. When the two sources (i.e. BvA and ApA) are compared and examined for a close analysis, the following points emerge: (a) only the first and the last types of *kappa* (i.e. *sarakappa* and *bhaddakappa*) are common to both with one and five Buddhas to appear respectively. This suggests their antiquity; (b) discrepancies are found among the rest. BvA, for instance, says that *maṇḍakappa* is for two Buddhas, *varakappa* for three and *sāramaṇḍakappa* for four, while ApA 541 mentions that *varakappa* is for two or three Buddhas and *maṇḍakappa* for four, or *maṇḍakappa* for two Buddhas, *sāramaṇḍakappa* for three, and *varakappa* for four.⁴⁸ Such discrepancies among sources suggest that the classification of *kappa* into four or five types is the result

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of a gradual growth and is also a later development even among the commentarial texts. Our contention may be supported by the fact that Buddhaghosa does not seem to mention any similar classifications in his commentaries except that the word *bhaddakappa* is referred to at DA ii 410.

The prolongation of the career of a Bodhisatta in time led to a new dimension of development. With the incorporation of the concept of twenty-four past Buddhas into the Pāli tradition at a later time, the time duration of the career of Gotama Bodhisatta also came to be extended further into distant past beyond Vipassī. The Canon describes him as a Buddha who appeared ninety-one aeons (*kappa*) prior to the present *kappa*.⁴⁹ This necessitated an introduction of new concepts of time duration in order to allocate periods to all the previous Buddhas before Vipassī accordingly. For the Canon has already the tradition of six past Buddhas with the specific allocation of periods of their appearances in the world. Thus, by the time of the *Buddhavaṃsa*,⁵⁰ the concept of 'four *asaṅkheyyas* and a hundred thousand *kappas*' as the total duration of the career of Gotama Bodhisatta had come into existence.⁵¹ The actual assignment of periods, however, may have come about much later as it is found only in the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts. This is one of distinct contributions of the *Aṭṭhakathā* literature towards the concept of Buddha.

The commentaries further differentiate the periods required for the respective final attainments of Buddhas, paccekabuddhas and disciples. Paccekabuddhas require two *asaṅkheyyas* and a hundred thousand *kappas* (*dve asaṅkheyyāni kappasatasahassam*), while the two chief disciples (*aggasāvaka*) require one *asaṅkheyya* and a hundred thousand *kappas*. Others require less length of time.⁵² The commentaries further add that all Buddhas appear when the universe is in the phase of involution and not in the phase of evolution (*sabbabuddhā samvattamāne kappe na uppajjanti vivattamāne kappe uppajjanti*.)⁵³

Differences of character among Bodhisattas are also consid-

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ered as determining factors for the time required for training (the fulfilment of perfections) before finally attaining Buddhahood. The Aṭṭhakathā texts set it to be four, eight or sixteen *asaṅkheyyas* and a hundred thousand *kappas*.⁵⁴ Buddhaghosa in this regard simply records the above three possible time durations Bodhisattas have to spend in order to fulfil the perfections before attaining Buddhahood (*kappasatasahassādhikāni cattāri vā aṭṭha vā soḷasa vā asaṅkheyyāni pāramiyo pūretvā...sabbaññubuddho nāma*.)⁵⁵ The Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā, on the other hand, explains the reasons for such a division of time limit saying that it depends on three mental factors of Bodhisattas; namely, wisdom (*paññā*), faith (*saddhā*) and energy (*virīya*), and the period of training is determined by which one of the three is foremost. Bodhisattas who excel in *paññā* will spend only four *asaṅkheyyas*. If *saddhā* is foremost, it is eight, and if *virīya*, sixteen.⁵⁶ Dhammapāla also agrees with the explanations of SnA, but makes reference to another view held by 'some' (*apare*) of a different school. According to that school, the time duration depends upon the level of energy (*virīya*) (*Apāre pana viriyassa tikkhamajjhima-mudubhāvena Bodhisattānaṃ ayaṃ kālavibhāgo ti vadanti*.)⁵⁷ He further states that time difference is also due to the ability of Bodhisattas' understanding of the Dhamma. Accordingly, Bodhisattas are divided into three classes; namely, *uggaṭitaññū* (Bodhisatta who can grasp the Dhamma before the completion of a *gāthā*), *vipacitaññū* (Bodhisatta who can do so after its completion) and *neyya* (Bodhisatta who realizes it at the end of a discourse).⁵⁸ This appears to be a commentarial expansion made on the basis of the classification of persons (*puggala*) into four types found at A i: 135; Pug 41; AA iii 131; PugA 222-223; etc.⁵⁹ It goes without saying that Gotama Bodhisatta comes under the category of the one whose *paññā* is foremost and has to be naturally *uggaṭitaññū* according to Dhammapāla's above classification. This indicates that the Theravādins placed the utmost emphasis on *paññā* in the process of attaining enlightenment more than the other two.

The Pāli commentaries are unanimous that the career of Gotama Bodhisatta starts from the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. It is

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from him that Gotama Bodhisatta received the first definite declaration (*niyata-vivaraṇa*) in his career. The Pāli tradition maintains that before receiving it, he, like anyone else who aspires to be a Bodhisatta, had to satisfy the following eight conditions (*aṭṭhadhammā*):⁶⁰

- (1) a human being (*manussattam*)
- (2) the male sex (*Jiṅgasampatti*)
- (3) cause (*hetu*)
- (4) seeing a teacher (*satthāradassanaṃ*)
- (5) going forth (*pabbajjā*)
- (6) possession of special qualities (*guṇasampatti*)
- (7) fulfillment of proper deeds (*adhikāro*)
- (8) will-power (*chandaṭā*)

They are further elaborated as follows: (1) the aspirant must be a human, not anyone else like *nāgas*, *devas*, etc., because of the absence among them of (three skilled)root-causes (*ahetukabhāvato*); (2) he must be a male, because others will not complete the characteristics (*lakkaṇapāripūṇiyā bhāvato*); (3) he must be endowed with a cause for attaining arahantship; (4) he must aspire for Buddhahood in the presence of a living Buddha; (5) he must also be an ascetic who has gone forth among ascetics or monks who believe in the efficacy of *kamma* (*kammakiriyavāda*). Only Bodhisattas who have gone forth are said to be able to attain 'enlightenment' (*sambodhi*); (6) he then must be the one who has gone forth and has obtained the eight attainments (*aṭṭhasamāpatti*) and the five higher knowledges (*pañcābhinnā*); (7) he must be endowed with the ability to sacrifice even his own life for Buddhas; and (8) he must possess a resolve, then only great will-power (*mahanto chando*), great exertion (*mahanto vāyāmo*) and endeavour (*ussāho*) will succeed. The greatness of will-power is compared to the crossing over with his own arms of the whole interior of the Cakkavāla sphere that had turned out to be one mass of water.⁶¹ An interesting explanation is adduced in the Manorathapūranī⁶² and Sammohavinodanī⁶³ regarding the second item, i.e. the endowment of male sex (*Jiṅgasampatti*): a woman cannot be a Buddha or a *cakkavatti* king because of not having the char-

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acteristic of male organ concealed in a sheath (*kosohitavathaguyha*), which is one of the thirty-two physical marks of a great man (*mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*).⁶⁴ The texts further state that the seven treasures (*sattaratana*) of a *cakkavatti* king are incomplete without the treasure of women (*itthiratana*). An attempt to relate *liṅgasampatti* to the concept of *mahāpurisalakkhaṇa* appears to be overdoing. For canonical texts such as the *Lakkhaṇa sutta*⁶⁵ amply demonstrate that the acquisition of the thirty-two physical marks is a result of the accumulation of virtues practiced in previous existences of the Buddha, and those virtues are of socio-ethical nature. The accumulation of virtues is another form of the practice of *pāramīs*, or *bodhi-pācana* or *Buddhakāra-dhamma* as the *Buddhavaṃsa* calls it; all of those terms are found in the *Aṭṭhakathās*. The *Buddhavaṃsa* and its Commentary, for example, state that Sumedha reflects on the things which make a Buddha (*Buddhaka-dhamma*) and realizes that they are the ten perfections.⁶⁶ This suggests that the canonical and commentarial texts take the time of initiation into the Bodhisatta's career as the starting point of the practice of various virtues. As seen before, the thirty-two physical marks according to the Canon are the result of the accumulation of virtues, and not the other way around. Therefore, the state of being a female does not necessarily pose a serious threat or hindrance to the accumulation of such virtues, unless they are the virtues that should be practiced exclusively by males. An implication here is that the commentators found plausible excuses due, perhaps, to over-enthusiasm, to generalize everything possible. Even the concept of eight conditions is based on an inductive method of first collecting data around Gotama Buddha and generalizing them accordingly. This process is applied to the Bodhisatta-concept as well.

Another question will arise here. That is, how did Sumedha, who was to receive a *niyata-vivaraṇa* from Dīpaṅkara Buddha, come to possess the qualities that would satisfy the above eight conditions? The general thinking that continued along the passage of time was based on the premise that the Buddha had practised numerous virtues for an incalculable length of time in his previous existences. For this

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the Jātakas would have provided ideal materials. Thus the beginning of Gotama Bodhisatta's career came to be linked to Dīpaṅkara Buddha in the Buddhavaṃsa for the first time in the Pāli tradition. Then, the Aṭṭhakathā texts (and Bv) added three more Buddhas before Dīpaṅkara. This fact shows that the Aṭṭhakathā literature had already set out on a further expansion of the Bodhisatta's career into the past beyond Dīpaṅkara Buddha. Our inference cannot be far from the truth as the Mahāsampiṇḍanidāna is said to mention a prior training of an aspirant Bodhisatta before reaching the state where he could obtain a *niyata-vivaraṇa*.⁶⁷

Differences among Buddhas, paccekabuddhas and disciples are discernible even in the requirements for aspiration (*abhinīhāra*). The Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā says that paccekabuddhas are required to satisfy only five conditions for *abhinīhāra* as against eight for a Bodhisatta aspirant: viz., (1) a human; (2) a male; (3) being able to see an enlightened one (Buddha, paccekabuddha, or arahant); (4) ready to sacrifice one's life for a Buddha; and (5) having a firm resolve. Disciples, on the other hand, are required to satisfy only the last two conditions.⁶⁸

Abhinīhāra is the initial or basic aspiration according to the commentaries (*abhinīhāro ti mūlapanidhānass' etaṃ adhivācanam*).⁶⁹ The word '*mūlapanidhāna*' (initial, first, or basic aspiration) implies that the Aṭṭhakathā texts are yet to develop the concept of *manopānidhāna* and *vacīpanidhāna* as in later works like the Mahāsampiṇḍanidāna. The Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā calls this *abhinīhāra, mahā-abhinīhāra*.⁷⁰ It is the eight conditions which constitute the *abhinīhāra*. It is a combination of them that make up the resultant rise of the mind (...*tesam aṭṭhannaṃ aṅgānaṃ samodhānena tathā pavatto cittuppādo ti veditabbo*).⁷¹ It is also interesting to note that CpA enumerates four aspects each of condition (*paccaya*), cause (*hetu*) and power (*bala*) of *abhinīhāra* as follows:⁷²

I. Four Conditions (*paccaya*)

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1. The Great Being (*mahāpurisa*) sees a Tathāgata and wonderful miracles (*acchariyabbhutaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ*) performed by the power of a Buddha. On account of it and taking that as an object or aim, he sets his mind on attaining great wisdom (*mahābodhiyaṃ cittaṃ santitṭhānī*.) So, because of seeing that great power [with his own eyes], he makes it a condition and with the inclination to enlightenment, he places his mind thereupon. This is the first condition of great aspiration (*mahābhinihāra*.)

2. If he does not see it [by himself], but hears that such and such is the Blessed One, then with the inclination to enlightenment, he places his mind thereupon. This is the second condition of *mahābhinihāra*.

3. If he does not see it, nor hears it from others, he hears the Dhamma connected with Buddha's great power, such as, 'the Tathāgata is endowed with the ten powers,' etc. Then with the inclination to enlightenment, he places his mind thereupon. This is the third condition of *abhinihāra*.

4. If he does not see it, nor hears it, nor listens to the Dhamma of a Tathāgata, he thinks with lofty and noble inclination that he will protect and guard the lineage, succession, tradition, etc., of Buddhas and will honour and respect the Dhamma. So with the inclination to enlightenment, he places his mind thereupon. This is the fourth condition of *mahābhinihāra*.

II. Four Causes (*hetu*)

1. The Great Being (*mahāpurisa*) is possessed of sufficing condition in nature (*pakāyā upanissayasampanno hoṃ*) and is one who has exerted himself before previous Buddhas (*purimakesu Buddhesu katādhīkāro*). This is the first cause (*hetu*) of *mahābhinihāra*.

2. He possesses natural inclination of compassion and is de-

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sirous of relieving beings of suffering (*sattānaṃ dukkhaṃ apanetukāmo*). Further, he is one who has sacrificed his own body and life (*api ca attano kāyajīvitam pariccajivā*). This is the second cause (*hetu*) of *mahābhinihāra*.

3. He is energetic and not weary of exerting himself for a long time for the sake of beings [who are subjected to] the ill of transmigration and wrong deeds done and is fearless (*anutrāsi*) in respect of results desired. This is the third cause (*hetu*) of *mahābhinihāra*.

4. He becomes a good friend (*kalyāṇamittasannissito hoti*), prevents [beings] from harm and works for their welfare (*ahitato nivāreti, hite patitthāpeti*). This is the fourth cause (*hetu*) of *mahābhinihāra*.

The *Cariyāpiṭaka-atthakathā* in this regard mentions the attainment of sufficing conditions of the Great Being (*mahāpurisassa upanissayasampadā*) as follows: 'Just as his inclination is prone towards enlightenment, so is the conduct of welfare for beings. Hence, he makes resolution through mind and word for [the attainment of] *sambodhi* in the presence of former Buddhas, [thinking] "I will be a rightly enlightened one as such and will bring forth welfare and happiness to beings."'73 The text further states that in the case of one who is possessed of sufficing conditions, there are these characteristics of the attainment of sufficing conditions (*sampannūpanissayassa paṇ'assa imāni upanissayasampattiyaṃ liṅgāni bhavanti*). 'The Great Being endowed with sufficing conditions has pure faculty and knowledge, and not otherwise. He enters upon a path beneficial to others, and not to himself. Likewise, he enters upon a path for the welfare and happiness of the many through compassion for the world and for the benefit, welfare and happiness of men and gods, and not otherwise.'74 Such descriptions of the Bodhisatta's mental attitude regarding the act of aspiration appear to come from placing more emphasis on the primary objective of becoming a bodhisatta; that is, compassion shown to the world. They are much similar to what is

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found in the Mahāyāna tradition.⁷⁵

III. Four Powers (*bala*)

1. Internal power (*ajjhattikabala*)
2. External power (*bāhirabala*)
3. Supportive power (*upanissayabala*)
4. Power of means or undertaking (*payogabala*)

1. *Ajjhattikabala* is explained thus: 'that delight in the supreme enlightenment arising from the respect to the Dhamma and dependence on [one] self, and it is on account of the disposition towards it alone; by that [reason], the Great Being becomes endowed with aspiration (*abhinīhāra*) and is the lord of himself, inclined to shame, and having fulfilled the perfections, attains the supreme enlightenment.'

2. *Bāhirabala* is given the following explanation: 'that delight in the supreme enlightenment is due to others and it is only on account of that; by that [reason], the Great Being, influenced by society, inclined to honour or respect (*mānājjhāsayo*),⁷⁶ is the lord of the world, and having fulfilled the perfections attains the supreme enlightenment.'

3. *Upanissayabala*: 'that delight in the supreme enlightenment is due to the attainment of sufficing condition and it is only on account of that; by that [reason], the Great Being, possessed of aspiration, is of quick faculty and of pure nature and bent on mindfulness, and having fulfilled the perfections, attains the supreme enlightenment.'

4. *Payogabala*: 'the accomplishment of means appropriate to the supreme enlightenment, [and] the quality of acting diligently (*sakkaccakāritā*); by that [reason], the Great Being, employing pure means, being continuous in action and endowed with aspiration, attains the supreme enlightenment.'⁷⁷

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Dhammapāla concludes that great aspiration (*mahābhinihāra*) is of many virtues and advantages, and is the foundation for perfections (*Evam anekaguṇo anekānisamso mahābhinihāro pāramīnaṃ paccayo ti veditabbo.*)⁷⁸

Another interesting observation made by Dhmmapāla regarding *abhinihāra* is that it is in parallel with great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) and skilful means (*upāyakosalla*) (*Yathā ca abhinihāro evam mahākaruṇā upāyakosallañ ca.*)⁷⁹ He explains that *upāyakosalla* is the knowledge which is the cause for the acquisition of *bodhi* like giving (*Tattha upāyakosallaṃ nāma dānādīnaṃ bodhisambhāra-bhāvassa nimittabhūtā paññā.*) Because of *karuṇā* and *upāyakosalla*, great beings [bodhisattas] are indifferent to their own happiness (*attasukhanirapekkhatā*) and are always inclined to welfare and compassion for others (*parahitakarūṇāpasutatā*).⁸⁰ Dhammapāla further elucidates some characteristics of *karuṇā* and *paññā* which are said to be the two constituents of *abhinihāra*.

In addition to the above qualifications, the Aṭṭhakathā texts mention six mental inclinations (*ajjhāsaya*) which lead to the maturing of the enlightenment of a Bodhisatta. The Visuddhimagga, for instance, states that with the inclination to non-greed Bodhisattas see the fault in greed (*alobhajjhāsaya ca Bodhisatta lobhe dosadassāvino.*) In the same way, with the inclination to non-hate (*ādosaajjhāsaya*), non-delusion (*amohajjhāsaya*), renunciation (*nekkhammajjhāsaya*), seclusion (*pavivekajjhāsaya*), and relinquishment (*nissaraṇajjhāsaya*), Bodhisattas see the faults in hate (*dose dosadassāvino*), delusion (*mohe dosadassāvino*), household life (*gharāvāse dosadassāvino*), society (*saṅganikāye dosadassāvino*), and rebirth in all kinds of stations of becoming (*sabbabhavagatīsu dosadassāvino*) respectively.⁸¹ Buddhaghosa says that sotāpannas, sakadāgāmīs, anāgāmīs, arahants, paccekabuddhas, and sammāsambuddhas; all arrived at the distinction peculiar to each by means of these same six modes.⁸² The above passage seems to be a quotation from another source, since it starts with the phrase 'Yath'

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āha'. The Chinese *Vimuttimagma*, unfortunately, is silent on it, and where Buddhaghosa borrowed this passage from is uncertain.⁸³ We have a similar passage in the *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*⁸⁴ and *Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā*⁸⁵ where the six items are arranged in a different order from that in *Vism*, though the content is the same. The order in *SnA* and *ApA* is as follows: (1) *nekkhammajjhāsaya*, (2) *pavivekajjhāsaya*, (3) *alobhajjhāsaya*, (4) *adosajjhāsaya*, (5) *amohajjhāsaya*, and (6) *nissaraṇajjhāsaya*. Further, *SnA* and *ApA* say that with the inclination to renunciation, bodhisattas see the fault in sensual pleasures (*kāme dosadassāvino*) and with the inclination to relinquishment, they see the fault in all forms of existence (*sabbabhavesu dosadassāvino*). These are the two items which are somewhat different from each other between *Vism* and the second group of sources; viz. *SnA* and *ApA*.

On the other hand, while following the above second group of sources as regards the order of six *ajjhāsayas* in his *Cariyāpitaka-aṭṭhakathā*, *Dhammapāla* adds that with the inclination to renunciation (*nekkhammajjhāsaya*), bodhisattas see the fault in sensual pleasures and household life (*kāmesu gharāvāse ca dosadassāvino*).⁸⁶ In another place, he refers to six *ajjhāsayas* as follows: '*alobhajjhāsayādayo cha Bodhisattānaṃ ajjhāsayā*'.⁸⁷ This reference, as far as their order goes, is reminiscent of that in *Vism*, if *Dhammapāla* had intended to list the *alobhajjhāsaya* as the first item in the list. From the above survey, we may infer that *Vism* borrowed the passage from one source, while *SnA*, *CpA* and *ApA* seem to hark back to a different source. It is likely that *ApA* would have borrowed or copied the entire passage from *SnA* as the list in question occurs in the Commentary on the *Khaggavisāṇa* sutta which is included in both sources.

When a Bodhisatta makes a vow or resolution (*panidhāna*) to fulfill the ten perfections and receives a definite declaration (*niyata-vivarāṇa*), he will not be born in any of the eighteen 'impossible states' (*abhabbatṭhāna*). *SnA* i 50 and *ApA* 141 mention them as follows:

(1) Blind (*jaccandha*)

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- (2) Deaf (*jaccabadhira*)
- (3) Insane (*ummataka*)
- (4) Deaf and dumb (*eḷamūga*)
- (5) Crippled (*pīṭhasappi*)
- (6) Among barbarians (*milakkhesu*)
- (7) Born of a slave woman (*dāsiyā kucchimhi nibbattati*)
- (8) One with confirmed wrong views (*niyatamicchādīṭṭhika*)
- (9) Of changeable sex (hermaphrodite) (*liṅgaṃ parivattati*)
- (10) Among those guilty of committing the five actions which result in the immediately following (*pañcānantariyakamma*)
- (11) A lepper (*kuṭṭhī*)
- (12) Smaller than a quail or larger than an elephant in size, if born an animal
- (13) Among the *khuppiṭṭhānikā* (*khuppiṭṭhānikā petas*)
- (14) Among the *kālakañjakas* or in *Avīci* or *lokantarika nirayas*
- (15) If born in *kāmāvacara* world, a *Māra*
- (16) If born in the *rūpāvacara*, among those lacking in consciousness (*asaññibhava*), or in the pure abode (*suddhāvāsa*)
- (17) In the *arūpa* world
- (18) In another world-system (*añña-cakkavāla*).

The venerable Nānāvāsa writes that the concept of *abhabbatā* is a later introduction by the Theravādins, insinuating that it is later than Buddhaghosa's time.⁸⁸ The term *abhabba-ṭṭhāna* is not new to the commentarial literature. It is used in the Saṅgīti suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya where the arahant (*khīṇāsava*) is said to be free from the commitment of five things. They are described as '*pañca-abhabba-ṭṭhānāni*' (five impossible places).⁸⁹ Even in relation to the Bodhisatta's places of non-birth, it appears that such a concept, at least in its incomplete form, had already been incorporated in the Theravāda tradition before Buddhaghosa as can be seen in the following reference in the Aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā: 'Bodhisattas do not take conception in the realm of the formless. Why? Because it is an impossible state' (*Bodhisattānaṃ pana arūpāvacare paṭisandhi nāma na hoti. Kasmā? Abhabbatṭhānattā.*)⁹⁰

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It may be assumed that the theory of *abhabbatā* is a development based on the *gāthās* found at JA i 44-45 = ApA 49, BvA 271 and CpA 330. A perusal of them reveals that the order of items mentioned is different between the two groups of sources: viz., (A) JA i 44-45 = ApA 49, BvA 271 and CpA 330, and (B) SnA i 50 and ApA 141.

Group A	Group B
1. in Avīci	(14)
2. in spaces between the worlds (<i>lokantare</i>)	(14)
3. among [departed] beings consumed by constant craving and tormented by hunger and thirst (<i>nijjhāmatanḥā khuppipāsā</i>)	(13)
4. <i>kālakañjaka</i>	(14)
5. tiny creatures (<i>khuddakā pāṇā</i>)	(12)*
6. blind (<i>jaccandha</i>)	(1)
7. deaf (<i>sotavekallatā</i>)	(2)
8. dumb (<i>mūga-pakkhikā</i>)	(4)*
9. women (<i>itthibhāva</i>)	-
10. hermaphrodites (<i>ubhatobyañjanā</i>)	(9)
11. eunuchs (<i>paṇḍakā</i>)	-
12. free from offences which bring immediate results (<i>muttā ānantarīkehi</i>)	f. (10)
13. places of [their] visit are pure in every respect (<i>sabbattha suddhagocarā</i>)	-
14. non-association with wrong views as they behold the efficacy of <i>kamma</i> (<i>micchādīṭṭhiṃ na sevanti kammakīriyadassanā</i>)	(8), (10)
15. in the heaven of a non-conscious state (<i>vasamānā pi saggesu asaññe na upapajjare</i>)	(16)
16. in the pure-abode (<i>suddhāvāsa</i>)	(16)

Notes:

- a. * shows that Group B is more elaborate.
- b. - indicates that no corresponding items are found.
- c. The numbering in Group A is made on the basis of items sug-

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gested therein and does not necessarily show accuracy as some items may be taken as grammatically constituting one whole sentence; e.g. 3 & 4.

d. The numbering in Group B follows that mentioned earlier.

The above chart shows that two items (12 & 13) in Group A are positive explanations. This may be due to the fact that in Group A the reference is to 'advantages' (*ānisaṃsa*) of *abhinīhāra*, while in Group B it is to 'impossible or inauspicious places' (*abhabbaṭṭhāna*) where the Bodhisatta is never born. Another significant difference between the two is the inclusion of 'women' (*itthibhāva*) in Group A, while Group B is silent on it.⁹¹ Its inclusion reminds us of the eight conditions (*aṭṭhadhammā*) that a Bodhisatta-aspirant must satisfy before a *niyata-vivaraṇa* is given by a Buddha. Jātaka stories were intended to show the previous existences of Gotama Buddha and their relations to the present in varied forms. But they do not seem to include his previous births as a female; be it human or non-human. As the ancient tales incorporated in the Jātaka book were much earlier in time than the historical development of the Bodhisatta-concept, and as a chronological comparison between the Jātaka and the Buddhavaṃsa⁹² confirms it, it is clear that the notion of *aṭṭhadhamma* of a Bodhisatta came into being much later. Thus, the inclusion of 'women' in the above list is likely to have been made on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the Jātakas. It also appears to be an extended interpretation of the canonical concept that a woman who is an arahant cannot be a Fully Enlightened One.⁹³ However, the fact that Group B does not include it appears strange. Does it imply that external circumstances or something else did not permit the inclusion of women in the list at the time of the compilation of those texts in Group B? Whatever the reasons may be, we are inclined to believe that Group A represents an earlier form than Group B on the following grounds: (1) Group B shows a more systematized form and gives the specific number of eighteen; (2) Group B includes more items than Group A; and (3) early Buddhist Sanskrit works like the Mahāvastu also include women as impossible state of birth for Bodhisattas.⁹⁴ This suggests a common ground between the early Buddhist Sanskrit and the Pāli

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traditions and their antiquity as a whole. However, another possibility may still exist. That is, both groups represent two separate traditions altogether. This conjecture is drawn from the fact that ApA records both lists [ApA 49 & 141]. If, on the other hand, the *gāthās* in Group A could be traced in the Sanskrit literature earlier than the sources in Group A, that evidence will suffice to suggest that those *gāthās* may have come from a common source from which both Pāli and Sanskrit traditions were derived. These are open to further investigation.

'Preliminaries' leading to Buddhahood are also expressed in the Aṭṭhakathā literature in such terms as the following: *bhūmi*, *bodhipācana*, *panidhāna*, *cariyā*, *adhikāra*, *patthanā*, etc.⁹⁵

(1) *Bhūmi* (Plane or Realm)

This term is used together with '*buddha*', '*bodhisatta*' and '*paccekabodhisatta*' in the Aṭṭhakathās in two separate senses. For instance, Dhammapāla uses *Bodhisattabhūmi* in the explanations of *paññā* and *karuṇā* of a Tathāgata thus: '... Because of compassion, a Bodhisatta enters *saṃsāra* in the Bodhisatta plane/realm, but does not take delight therein, because he has wisdom.' (*karuṇāya vā Bodhisattabhūmiyaṃ saṃsārābhimukha-bhāvo, paññāya tatha anabhirati.*)⁹⁶ CpA 20 also mentions it in the sense of 'plane' or 'realm' as follows: 'The Lord, from the time he set out on his own career in the plane of Bodhisattahood till the ripening of Great Knowledge at the end...' (*Bhagavā attano Bodhisattabhūmiyaṃ caritaṃ ārambhato paṭṭhāya yāva pariyosānā Mahabodhiyā paripācanaṃ evā ti...*) While talking of the three levels of 'perfection' (*pāramī*), i.e. *pāramī*, *upapāramī* and *paramatthapāramī*, Dhammapāla refers to a view held by 'some' belonging to another school that what should be fulfilled during the time of initial journey is '*pāramī*', what is completed during the time of Bodhisattahood is '*upapāramī*' and all that is accomplished in the field of Buddhahood is '*paramatthapāramī*'.⁹⁷ KhpA 229 also says that '*buddhabhūmi*' (the plane of a Buddha) is that which establishes supremacy over all creatures (*yā ca sabbasattutarnabhāvasādhikā buddhabhūmi.*) These examples show that the sense in which the word '*bhūmi*' is used is

'plane' or 'realm', etc.⁹⁸

The Atthasālinī gives the sense of 'fruition of a religious life' (*sāmaññaphala*) to the word *bhūmi*.⁹⁹ The other meaning of the word is an extension of this definition in the Atthakathās and it denotes 'requirements' that lead to the attainment of the aim wished for. The Buddhavaṇisa-aṭṭhakathā, for instance, defines the word '*buddhabhūmi*' found at Bv II v 175 to mean 'the perfection of Buddhas' (*Buddhabhūmi ti buddhapāramiṇ*).¹⁰⁰ SnA i 50 and ApA 141 mention that a Bodhisatta must possess the following four qualities known as '*buddhabhūmi*' to accomplish his aspiration: (1) diligence for realization (*ussāha*); (2) wisdom (?) (*ummagga*); (3) determination (*avattāna*); and (4) beneficial conduct (*hitacariyā*). These are in turn explained as, (1) *virīya*, (2) *paññā*, (3) *adhiṭṭhāna*, and (4) *mettābhāvanā*, respectively. The Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā, on the other hand, mentions them as 'conditions or requisites' (*paccaya*) of *pāramīs* (*Tathā ussāha-ummagga-avattāna-hitacariyā ca pāramīnaṃ paccayā ti veditabbā*) and says that they are the planes because of being the place of the origin of Buddhahood (*yā Buddhabhāvassa uppattiṭṭhānatāya bhūmiyo ti vuccanti*).¹⁰¹ It further elucidates them in the following manner: (1) *abhussahanaviriya* (incitement energy) for obtaining the necessary conditions for *bodhi* (*bodhisambhārānaṃ abhussahanaviriyaṃ*); (2) *upāyakosallabhūtā paññā* (knowledge of the skilful means) in the constituents of *bodhi* (*bodhisambhāresu upāyakosallabhūtā paññā*); (3) *adhiṭṭhāna* (determination), the state of unshakable determination (*adhiṭṭhānaṃ, acalādhīṭṭhānatā*); and (4) the development of friendliness and compassion (*mettābhāvanā, karuṇābhāvanā ca*).¹⁰² In another place, CpA says that '*buddhabhūmi*' is 'that which should not be thought about' (*acinteyyaṃ*).¹⁰³

(2) *Bodhi-pācana* (Ripening of Knowledge)

The term is canonical. It is found in the Buddhavaṃsa [Bv II vs 121 ff] and Cariyāpiṭaka [Cp I v 1] of the Khuddaka Nikāya. Hence, the commentaries of the above two texts give some explanations to the term. But Buddhaghosa in his commentaries does not seem to

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use it. BvA 105 defines it as follows: “*Bodhipācanā ti maggaparipācanā, sabbaññutañāṇaparipācanā vā*” (“Ripening of knowledge” means maturity associated with the way or with omniscient knowledge).¹⁰⁴ Buddhadatta, the author of BvA, alludes to the fact that *bodhi-pācana* is the constituents of *pāramīs*.¹⁰⁵ Dhammapāla, on the other hand, gives the following explanations in CpA: In the conditions necessary for the attainment of knowledge (*bodhisambhāra*), there are (four) developments (*bhāvanā*) of *sabbasambhāra*, *nirantara*, *cirakāla* and *sakkacca* respectively, and *bodhipācana* is *sakkaccabhāvanā* (thorough development of respect) (*bodhipācanan ti iminā sakkaccabhāvanā vutta hoti*).¹⁰⁶

(3) *Cariyā* (Conduct)

In the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, the word *cariyā* is employed to denote the whole duty that must be fulfilled by a bodhisattva in order to attain Buddhahood.¹⁰⁷ In the Pāli tradition also, the word *cariyā* is used to denote what a Bodhisatta has to fulfill and bring to the highest point of perfection during a long period of his career. The term, for instance, is used by Dhanuṣapāla in his commentaries and is classified into three kinds: *ñātathacariyā* (conduct beneficial to what is known), *lokathacariyā* (conduct beneficial to the world) and *buddhatthacariyā* (conduct beneficial to the attainment of Buddhahood).¹⁰⁸ This classification, however, is not in agreement with the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition of four divisions of it.¹⁰⁹

The foregoing discussions reveal that the Bodhisatta concept further developed in the Aṭṭhakathā literature, particularly in the sphere of the preliminaries leading to Buddhahood. Such developments were no doubt a result of interaction between the Therāvādins and non-Theravāda religious groups both in India and in Sri Lanka. It has also been observed that Dhammapāla, when compared with other commentators, contributed much to a further development of the Bodhisatta-concept even within the commentarial literature.

CHAPTER IX

THE DOCTRINE OF PĀRAMITĀ

1. Etymologies of the Word *Pāramī* or *Pāramitā*

The perfections (*pāramī* or *pāramitā*) are the most important practices a Bodhisatta has to fulfil in his career for the attainment of Buddhahood. Etymologies of the words *pāramī* and *pāramitā* discussed by several scholars are basically two types. One is to take, for instance, the word *pāramitā* as consisting of two components 'pāraṇ' (the opposite bank, the further shore) and 'ita' (gone).¹ Some Pāli scholars have also followed this method of etymological explanations,² perhaps because of such expressions as 'pāragū'³ and 'pāraṇ gata'⁴ found in the Canon. The other is to take it as a derivative from the word *parama* (highest condition, highest point, best state, perfection, etc.)⁵ In the Pāli sources, the word *pāramī* occurs in the Suttanipāta,⁶ one of the early texts in the Canon, in the sense of 'achieving the very end' (*niṭṭhāgamana*) as the Commentary interprets it.⁷ The Anupada Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, while exalting wisdom (*paññā*) of Sāriputta, also says that he has attained the mastery (*vasippatto*) and perfection (*pāramippatto*) in the noble moral habit, concentration, wisdom and freedom.⁸ *Pāramippatta* in this case too is interpreted as 'nipphattipatta' (attained accomplishment or completion), according to the Commentary.⁹ The Nettippakaraṇa, one of the three post-canonical works, employs the term in the same sense of perfection as in the canonical texts when it refers to the perfection of the fourth trance (*catutthe jhāne pāramitāya*).¹⁰ The Milindapañha also describe the thera Nāgasena as a person who has attained perfection (*pāramippatta*).¹¹ In the Aṭṭhakathās, *pāramī* continues to be interpreted to mean 'the last, completed and highest state' (*avasānaṃ niṭṭhānaṃ uttamabhāvaṃ*).¹² These instances confirm that the words *pāramī* and *pāramitā* used in the canonical and post-canonical texts, and even in the commentaries are much closer to 'parama' in meaning and should therefore be translated as 'perfection'.

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tion, completeness, highest state, etc.'

2. The Number of *Pāramī*

The *pāramī* in the technical sense of perfections amounting to ten in number occurs for the first time in the Buddhavaṃsa of the Khuddaka Nikāya in the Pāli tradition.¹³ The Cariyāpiṭaka elucidates some of the *pāramīs*.¹⁴ They are also referred to in the Buddhavaṃsa as '*buddhakara dhammā*',¹⁵ which, according to its Commentary, are said to be 'the things that make the state of Buddhahood and are ten [in number] such as the perfection of giving' (*buddhattakarā nāma dhammā dānapāramitādayo dasadhammā*).¹⁶ They are otherwise called '*bodhipācana*' (ripening of knowledge).¹⁷ The Cariyāpiṭaka too uses *bodhipācana* referring undoubtedly to *pāramitās*.¹⁸ These references show that *pāramitās* are the things every bodhisatta (Buddha-to-be) must fulfil.¹⁹ However, the Madhuratthavilāsinī interprets '*bodhipācana*' to mean either 'ripening of the path' (*maggaparipācana*) or 'ripening of omniscient knowledge' (*sabbāññūtañānaparipācana*).²⁰ Here its meaning includes the general sense of 'ripening of knowledge' that is applicable to both arahants and Buddhas. This sense of *bodhi* is in fact found at several places in the Atthakathā texts.²¹ Therefore, given the context in which the ten perfections are referred to in relation to the Bodhisatta (Buddha-to-be), the term *Buddhakara-dhamma* is more apt and precise than the term *bodhipācana*. The ten *pāramīs*, according to the Buddhavaṃsa,²² are as follows:

- (1) *Dāna* (Generosity/Giving) - Bv II v 117. Cf. Cp Book 1
- (2) *Sīla* (Virtue/Morality) - Bv II v 122. Cf. Cp Book 2
- (3) *Nekkhamma* (Renunciation) - Bv II v 127. Cf. Cp Book 3, I-V
- (4) *Paññā* (Wisdom) - Bv II v 132.
- (5) *Viriya* (Energy) - Bv II v 137.
- (6) *Khanti* (Patience) - Bv II v 142.
- (7) *Sacca* (Truthfulness) - Bv II v 147. Cf. Cp Book 3, VII-XII
- (8) *Adhiṭṭhāna* (Determination) - Bv II v 152. Cf. Cp Book 3, VI

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- (9) *Mettā* (Loving-kindness) - Bv II v 157. Cf. Cp Book 3, XIII-XIV
(10) *Upekkhā* (Equanimity) - Bv II v 162. Cf. Cp Book 3, XV

The number of *pāramitās* in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism is generally accepted as six. They include *dāna*, *sīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*.²³ Lists of ten with supplementary *pāramitās* are also found in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature.²⁴ The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣa-śāstra*²⁵ records that 'Foreign Masters' enumerate six *pāramitās*, which, according to the Sarvāstivāda school,²⁶ is erroneous, and the number must be four since *kṣānti* should be included in *sīla*, and *dhyāna* in *prajñā*. This position was taken by the Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas.²⁷ Further, it is reported that the Tibetan literature has a treatise on the five *pāramitās*.²⁸ The fact that various authorities speak of different numbers may suggest that the doctrine of *pāramitās* was the result of a gradual growth.

The question as to why *pāramitās* are six or ten in number has been a focal point of discussion among scholars. E.J. Thomas believes that the first six (as in the list of the *Mahāyāna* tradition) appears to be original, as it ends with the attainment of full knowledge or wisdom, *prajñā*.²⁹ Har Dayal also says that the first six are the chief factors in a bodhisattva's discipline, and the four additional *pāramitās* are merely supplementary in character.³⁰ He surmises that the number of *pāramitās* was raised to ten as a consequence of the invention of the decimal system of computation in the science of arithmetic in the third or fourth century A.D.³¹ Their arguments cannot, however, apply to the counting of *pāramitās* in the Theravāda tradition, since firstly, the order of them between the two traditions is different and secondly, the *paññā-pāramitā* is not placed at the end of the Pāli list, if we go by E.J. Thomas's contention. The Pāli list must therefore be examined in a different light from that of Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

In the Theravāda tradition, when the teaching of ten *pāramitās* came to be formulated and accepted is uncertain. The mention of

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'*dasadhammā*' (tentthings) at Bv II v 188 referring to the ten *pāramīs* suggests that it is canonical and the Theravādins accepted the perfections to be ten in number from the very inception of their doctrine.³² The antiquity of the teaching is suggested by a passage found in the *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā* where all the ten perfections are mentioned under the heading of '*buddhakāraka-dhammā*' said to have been preached to Sāriputta by the Buddha himself.³³ What is significant in this is that the ten perfections are cited as a traditional form of counting (*pāliyaṃ sarūpato āgata*) and a *gāthā* is given as further evidence of the canonical authority to the doctrine. Commenting on this, D.L.Barua, the editor of the *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā*, states: 'Though it remains difficult for us to trace the passage..., yet it cannot, except by *suggestio falsi*, be assumed that Dhammapāla invented it just to supply a canonical authority to the doctrine of ten *pāramitās*.'³⁴ A somewhat sudden systematisation of the teaching in the Pāli tradition, unlike other doctrines whose germs are traceable in the Canon, along with a developed form of the Bodhisatta doctrine in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, prompted some scholars to infer that it was introduced from another school.³⁵ They believe that there existed a Sanskrit form of the *Buddhavaṃsa*,³⁶ suggesting the existence of a common source from which some of the Sanskrit and Pāli texts derived the materials for the composition of the Buddha's biography. The venerable H.Ñāṇāvāsa has in fact attempted to show some parallel passages between the Pāli *Buddhavaṃsa* and the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu*.³⁷

However, this does not provide any answer for the question of why the Theravādins embraced the doctrine of ten *pāramitās*, while other Buddhist Sanskrit sources are not unanimous in the number as seen before. *Pāramitās* like *nekkhamma*, *sacca*, *adhittāna*, *mettā* and *upekkhā* are mentioned only in the Pāli list. Concepts and practices expressed by these terms are as important as other items in the list in Buddhism. Har Dayal in this connection tries to see a gradual growth of the doctrine of *pāramitā* out of three fundamental steps; namely, *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*, which are often cited as the right direction of practice one must follow in order to attain the final goal, *Nibbāna*. Based on the usually accepted enumeration of six

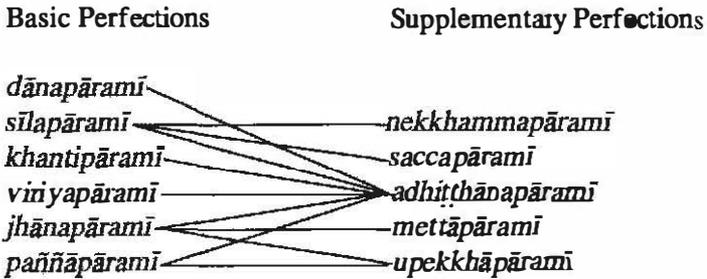
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pāramitās in Mahāyāna Buddhism, Vasubandhu in his Mahāyāna-sutrālaṅkāra commentary explains that the six *pāramitās* are fundamentally related to the three "śikṣas"; i.e. *adhisīla*, *adhicitta* and *adhiprajñā*.³⁸ Har Dayal's contention and the authoritative explanation of Vasubandhu are based on the Buddhist Sanskrit sources and may not therefore be applicable to the Theravāda tradition of enumeration, for the Pāli list does not end in *paññā*, a prerequisite to entertain such a theory. One may be tempted to relate the ten *pāramitās* to the earlier doctrines in the Canon, since the practice of every item in the list of ten is aimed at the sublimation of social, ethical and intellectual exercises which will eventually become conducive to the attainment of Nibbāna. But such an attempt will not go beyond the confines of inference, for the ten *pāramitās* are not even alluded to collectively, nor under a different category, in the early canonical texts. The least we can say is that even the Pāli list begins with *dāna* and *sīla* which are undoubtedly the first steps into a higher realm of religious training in Buddhism.

However, Dhammapāla, the author of the Cariyāpitaka-aṭṭhakatha, sees it differently. Concerning the enumeration of *pāramitās* in the Pāli list, he strongly believes that some of them in the list of ten are redundant and reduces them to six basic *pāramitās*, which are surprisingly identical with those generally accepted in the Mahāyāna list of six. This suggests that Dhammapāla sees justification in placing *paññā* at the end of the list as in Mahāyāna. Perhaps, he also thinks that the training of a Bodhisatta must culminate in wisdom (*paññā*). The passage in question reads as follows: '... *yathā etā vibhāgato tiṃsavidhā pi dānapāramī-ādhivāto dasavidhā. Evaṃ dānasīlakhandiviriya-jhānapaññā-sabhāvena chabbidhā.*'³⁹ (they [perfections] are thirty by classification and ten by nature. Thus, in terms of true nature, they are six, namely, [the perfections of] giving, morality, patience, energy, trance and wisdom.) He further states as to how the ten *pāramitās* are reduced to six: '*nekkhammapāramī* is included in *sīlapāramī*; *saccapāramī* is one aspect of *sīlapāramī*, *mettāpāramī* is included in *jhānapāramī* and *upekkhāpāramī* is included in both *jhānapāramī* and *paññāpāramī*;

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adhittānapāramī is included in all the [six] *pāramīs*.⁴⁰ This can be graphically explained as follows:



Dhammapāla's above classification strongly indicates that he had a knowledge of the Buddhist Sanskrit sources. Our contention is further fortified by the fact that he refers at another place to 'some' among the Buddhists recognising six *pāramitās* instead of ten (*Keci pana chabbidhā ti vadanti*). But he reiterates that they are a further classification [based on ten] (*Taṃ etasaṃ saṅghavasena vuttam*).⁴¹ Such evidence points to the fact that Dhammapāla, being aware of a theory of the six *pāramitās*, gave it a new interpretation of his own, while adhering in principle to the way *pāramitās* were counted in the Theravāda tradition, either ten or thirty. It must be noted that he is in fact the only commentator who ventures into a new arena of the elucidation of the doctrine of *pāramitā* along with the Bodhisatta doctrine hitherto unknown in the Pāli literature, as is evident throughout our present study.⁴²

Although the basic perfections are ten in number, the commentarial texts adopt thirty.⁴³ They are ten perfections (*pāramī*), ten higher perfections (*upapāramī*)⁴⁴ and ten ultimate perfections (*paramatthapāramī*). The Pāli literary tradition shows that the Buddhavaṃsa is the first to employ terms like *dasapāramī*, *upapāramī* and *paramatthapāramī*,⁴⁵ although a certain amount of doubt can be cast as to whether or not the author of Bv actually had a clear vision of classifying perfections into three grades as in later periods. Nevertheless, it can be presumed that a germ or an idea of their gradation into three levels of intensity must have been in vogue even before the

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period of the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā. This enumeration is a special feature peculiar to the Pāli tradition. Dhammapāla also follows this like the other commentators. Although he feels that the Mahāyāna enumeration of *pāramitā* represents the fundamental ones as discussed above, he defends the Theravāda stand against the theses held by other Buddhist circles at that time. He quotes, for instance, that 'some' (*keci*) classify the perfections on the basis of their qualities of 'darkness' (*kaṇhadhamma*) and 'brightness' (*sukkadhamma*) and the ultimate perfections, according to them, are neither dark nor bright in their qualities [CpA 320]. Yet 'others' (*apare*) maintain that the basic perfections are fulfilled during the preliminary stages of Bodhisattahood (*samudāg amanakālesu v āpūriyamānā pāramiyo*); the perfections fulfilled on the plane of Bodhisattahood are the higher perfections (*Bodhisattabhūmiyaṃ puṇṇā upapāramiyo*); and the perfections reach their completion in every respect on the plane of Buddhahood (*Buddhabhūmiyaṃ sabbākārapariṇā paramatthapāramiyo*) [*Ibid*]. Some other people believe that the perfections practised for the welfare of others on the plane of Bodhisattahood are basic ones (*Bodhisattabhūmiyaṃ v āparahitakarāṇato pāramiyo*); the perfections for the welfare of oneself are higher ones (*attahitakarāṇato upapāramiyo*); and the perfections for the welfare of both others and oneself on the plane of Buddhahood are the ultimate perfections (*Buddhabhūmiyaṃubhayahitapariṇāto paramatthapāramiyo*). The above classifications are all based on the three different stages leading to Buddhahood. The Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā mentions that 'they' (*apare*) indeed believe the beginning, middle and end of perfections to be the corresponding stages of the resolution, undertaking and accomplishment respectively (*evaṃ ādimajjhapariyosānesu paṇidhānārambhapariniṭṭhānesu tesam vibhāgo ti apare*) [*Ibid*]. The Theravāda tradition of gradation, on the other hand, rests on the intensity of perfections practised and fulfilled during the entire career of Bodhisattahood. Thus, BvA and JA quote a great number of Jātaka stories to illustrate different levels of perfections, but all of them are performed and fulfilled by Gotama Buddha when he was the Bodhisatta.⁴⁶ This is also another area where the Theravāda tradition differs from others.

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3. The Order of *Pāramī*

The order of *pāramitās* in the Theravāda tradition is another issue worthy of consideration. Canonical sources like the Buddhavaṃsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka do not provide any clue for it. Here again, we have to wait till the commentarial period to find an answer to the problem. The Pāli Aṭṭhakathā literature recognizes a meaning in the order of *pāramitās* as they stand in the Theravāda tradition. At least Dhammapāla finds legitimacy in their order when he discusses them under the heading of '*Ko tāsam kamo ?*' (What is the order of perfections ?) in the Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakatha.⁴⁷ He says that the order (*kama*) means the order of preaching (*ettha kamo ti desanākkamo*).⁴⁸ 'It is rooted in [the order of] the first undertaking' (*So ca paṭhamasamādānāhetuko*). He explains that each perfection must be fortified by the following one. 'Giving is the great support of virtue and easy to practise' (*dānaṃ sīlassa bahūpakāraṃ sukaṛāṇ cā ti*). 'Giving possessed of virtue is of great fruit and advantage. It is [therefore] said that virtue comes after giving.' (*Dānaṃ sīlāpariggahitaṃ mahapphalaṃ hoti mahānisaṇṣaṇṇi ti dānānantaraṃ*⁴⁹ *sīlaṃ vuttaṃ*).⁵⁰ All the *pāramitās* are explained in this manner. Dhammapāla gives another reason (*aparo nayo*) for the order of *pāramitās* thus: 'Giving is mentioned at the beginning, because it is common to all beings; of a little fruit; and easily executable among many people' (*pacurajanesu pi pavattiyā sabbasattasādhāraṇattā appaphalattā sukaṛattā ca ādimhi dānaṃ vuttaṃ*). 'In respect of the purification of both giver and recipient by the practice of virtue, it is the prevention of harm to others after giving becomes a help to others; it becomes a non-action after an action; it is also the cause of the attainment of existence after it becomes the cause for the procurement of wealth; virtue is said to come after giving.'⁵¹ The rest are also explained similarly. Thus, Dhammapāla recognizes a sequential validity of perfections as found in the Theravāda tradition.

4. The Usage of *Pāramī* and Its Related Expressions

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Many passages of reference to the term *pāramī* are found in the Aṭṭhakathās. Two types of its usage can basically be identified; (I) the usage in compound phrases, and (II) the singly used ones. The below-mentioned are some of the references which will show an overall view of its usage diagonally cutting across the entire commentaries. Let us first see the usage of *pāramī* in compound phrases.

(I) Expressions like '*ukkamsa-pārami-ppattiyā...*' (the attainment of the perfection of excellence) said of Sāriputta and Moggallāna are found.⁵² Both Sāriputta and Moggallāna, the two chief disciples (*agga-sāvakā*) of Gotama Buddha, are said to have attained 'the knowledge of the disciple's perfection in front of the Teacher' (*dvinnaṃ pi agga-sāvakānaṃ Satthu samīpe eva sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇaṃ matthakaṃ pattam*).⁵³ Ānanda is often described as not obtaining the benefit of *pāramī* like Sāriputta and Moggallāna: 'Why don't you, Ānanda, penetrate the knowledge of the disciple's perfection like Sāriputta and Moggallāna who spent more than one *asankheyya* (an incalculable length of time) and a hundred thousand *kappas* (aeons) [to fulfil them]?'⁵⁴ 'The thera Ānanda did not know that the entire path of religious life was obtained through good friends, because he had not attained to the summit of the knowledge of the disciple's perfection. But the General of Dhamma (Sāriputta) knew as he stood at the summit of the knowledge of the disciple's perfection.'⁵⁵ Moggallāna is also described thus: 'Mahāmoggallāna, accumulating the constituents of merit and knowledge necessary for becoming a chief disciple of the Buddha for one *asaṅkheyya* and a hundred thousand aeons besides, gradually fulfilled the disciple's perfections and reached, in their entirety, the summit of the knowledge of the disciple's perfection, occupying the position of the second chief disciple...'⁵⁶

In addition, the term *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa* (the knowledge of the disciple's perfection) is met with at several places in the Aṭṭhakathā literature.⁵⁷ Here are some examples of this type. Names within the brackets are those on account of whom the phrase '*sāvaka-pāramī-*

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ñāṇa' is used:

- * SA i 122 (Sāriputta), ii 62 (Sāriputta), ii 95 (Ānanda, Sāriputta and Moggallāna), iii 118 (Ānanda, Sāriputta and Moggallāna), iii 208 (*agga-sāvakas*).
- * ThagA iii 95 (Sāriputta), iii 162 (Moggallāna), iii 180 (Moggallāna), iii 206 (*agga-sāvakas*), 208-209 (Sāriputta and Moggallāna).
- * UdA 244 (Sāriputta and Moggallāna), 271 (Sāriputta).
- * VvA 2 (Moggallāna)
- * CpA 8 (Sāriputta).

Of the references made above, SA ii 95 and SA iii 118 mention Ānanda. A perusal of the contexts, however, reveals that he is depicted as not having attained the knowledge of the disciple's perfection (*sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa*) like Sāriputta and Moggallāna, as already seen above.

The term *sāvaka-pāramī* is explained at KhpA 229 as that which accomplishes the disciples' excellence reachable by the Blessed One's disciples (*yā cāyaṃ Bhagavato sāvakehi pattaṃ sāvakasampattisādhikā sāvakapāramī*). This definition is important as the term *pāramī* refers undoubtedly to the state of a disciple, and not to the technical sense of perfections. It therefore justifies our stand in pursuing the meaning of *pāramī* in two separate senses. Continuing the literary evidence, ThagA iii 208-209 states that one of the origins of the following characteristics or determining principles is desired at the moment [one attains] the supreme path (i.e. the path of arahantship) (*Agga-magga-kkhaṇe pana sesānam pi indriyānaṃ eka-sambhavā icchitā ti*): They are five kinds; namely, those whose perfection is accomplished (*pārami-ppatta*), those whose analytical knowledges are accomplished (*paṭisambhidā-patta*), those who become endowed with six higher knowledges (*chaḷabhiññā*) and three kinds of knowledge (*tevijjā*), and those who become the ones supported by bare-insight (*sukkha-vipassakā*). Of disciples, some accomplish the topmost of the disciple's perfection (*sāvakapāramī*) like Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Some accomplish four kinds of

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analytical knowledge like the Analytical Knowledge of the True Meaning (*attha-pañisambhidā*),...etc. Thus, there are five kinds beginning with those who have accomplished perfection (*evaṃ pāramippattādi-vasena pañca-vidhā*). ThagA iii 209 further states that among those who attained deliverance, there are nine divisions (*vimutti-bhedena nava-vidhā*) and the two chief disciples who accomplished perfection in both the deliverance through wisdom and the deliverance of mind are mentioned (*paññā-vimuttiyaṃ ceto-vimuttiyaṃ ca pāramippattā dve aggasāvaka cā ti*) KhpA 178 discusses two types of arahants, namely, *sukkha-vipassaka* (bare-insight worker or one who has bare-insight) and *samathayānika* (one whose vehicle is quiet).⁵⁸ In terms of the attainment of disciple's perfection, the latter is divided into two groups as '*sāvaka-pāramippatta*' and '*appatta*'. The text concludes that one who has attained the disciple's perfection is the foremost (*sāvaka-pāramippattaṃ aggaṃ akkhayati*).

(II) The following are some of the instances where the word *pāramī* is used singly: Ānanda is said to have spent a hundred thousand *kappas* of time to fulfil *pāramī* (*Ānandatthero pi hi kappasatasahassaṃ pūritapāramī ariyasāvako...*)⁵⁹ Patācārā had also fulfilled *pāramī* for a hundred thousand *kappas* of time and her earnest wish accomplished.⁶⁰ The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā in fact summarises that all great disciples of the Buddha; namely, the two chief disciples (Sāriputta and Moggallāna), the two chief female disciples (Khemā and Uppalavannā), the two chief lay disciples (Citta and Hatthaka Ālavaka), and the two chief female lay disciples (Veḷukaṇṭhaki⁶¹ and Khujjutarā) - In short, all the disciples beginning with these eight persons made earnest resolves, fulfilled the ten perfections and acquired great merit.⁶² It is worthy of note here that even lay disciples of the Buddha are said to have fulfilled the ten perfections. It is similarly the case with the Buddha's mother who too is said to have fulfilled 'perfections' for a period of a hundred thousand *kappas* (*Buddhamātā ... kappasatasahassaṃ pana pūritapāramī*).⁶³

The foregoing references show that the term *pāramī* used in compound phrases like *sāvaka-pāramī*, *sāvaka-pāramippatta* and *Pāramippatta* basically means 'the highest state, completeness, per-

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fection, etc.’ and refers particularly to that state of the two chief disciples of the Buddha, Sāriputta and Moggallāna. This is well supported by the definition of *sāvaka-pāramī* given at KhpA 229 as cited above. Further, *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa* is an expression describing the highest state of knowledge the two chief disciples achieved. Moreover, whenever the commentators intended specifying it, expressions like ‘*sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇassa-matthake thito*’ etc., are used as at SA iii 118, VvA 2, etc. Our above observations are also supported by the contention of the Puggalapaññatti that *sāvaka-pāramī* is exclusively for the two chief disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna.⁶⁴

However, one important point must be noted here. VvA 2, as cited above, has the expression of ‘*sāvaka-pāramīyo pūretvā...*’ said of Moggallāna. This is the only place of reference to the plural form of *pāramī* used together with *sāvaka* as far as our investigations go. It undoubtedly denotes the perfections of a disciple. It is therefore likely that when the phrase *sāvaka-pāramī* is used in the singular, it means the highest state, completeness, perfection, etc., of a chief disciple, while it denotes the technical sense of perfections when employed in the plural. Our observation is tenable since the reference given in the Puggalapaññatti is only to the two chief disciples of the Buddha, and not to any other disciples who are equally capable of practising the perfections, according to the commentarial evidence.

On the other hand, the single word *pāramī* is used when referring to the perfections fulfilled by great disciples of the Buddha including lay followers who occupied prominent positions in his dispensation and personal life. Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ānanda, Mahāmāyā, Patācārā, etc., are said to have fulfilled the perfections (*pūritapāramī*, etc.) Further, the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā specifically refers to this usage even to the extent of saying that all the disciples who attained their [respective] positions [in the dispensation of Gotama Buddha] fulfilled the ten perfections (...*thānantarapattā sabbe pi sāvakā ekadesena dasannaṃ pāramīnaṃ pūritattā...*), as seen before. This position of the Aṭṭhakathā literature has not been hitherto highlighted in the teaching of *pāramī* or *pāramitā* of the Theravāda

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tradition, for the generally accepted notion is that the perfections are practised and fulfilled only by Bodhisattas.

The above references cited particularly in (II) give rise to the following three important issues for consideration: (A) Whether or not *pāramīs* are fulfilled only by personages of historical and religious importance in the Buddha's personal life and dispensation; (B) Whether or not one must make an earnest resolve to be qualified to fulfil *pāramīs*; and (C) Whether or not the contents of *pāramīs* for disciples are the same as those of Bodhisattas.

(A) Buddhism often speaks of great disciples of the Buddha. The Theravāda tradition gives eighty of them known as the *mahāsāvaka*. A list of their names is found at ThagA iii 205-206.⁶⁵ The text further classifies *sāvakās* into three types: *agga-sāvaka*, *mahā-sāvaka* and *pakati-sāvaka*. The two *aggasāvakās* are included in the category of *mahā-sāvaka* (*Tathā hi dve agga-sāvakā pi mahāsāvakesu antogadhā*).⁶⁶ What makes them *mahā-sāvakas* is the greatness of their aspiration or resolve (*Kasmā pana te eva therā mahāsāvakā ti vuccanti ti ? Abhinīhārassa mahanta-bhāvato*).⁶⁷ They are also so called because of the greatness of aspiration and former connection (*abhinīhāra-mahantatā-pubbayoga-mahantatā*).⁶⁸ This suggests that *mahā-sāvakas* are those who made a resolve at certain given points of time in their former births.⁶⁹ The commentaries in fact make this point clear when the position of *mahā-sāvakas* is said to be obtainable a hundred thousand *kappas* after they make a resolve (*abhinīhāra*) (*mahāsāvaka-bhāvāya..kappānaṃ sata-sahassaṃ eva*).⁷⁰ Even other great personages in the life of the Buddha are said to have made an earnest resolve to attain their respective positions. For instance, Mahāmāyā, the mother of Gotama Buddha, is reported to have made her wish to be the mother of a Buddha in the future during the time of Vipassī Buddha ninety-one *kappas* ago, according to the Jātaka.⁷¹

Incidentally, the Aṭṭhakathās in the process of generalising everything possible as regards the events associated with the life of Gotama Buddha and his career as the Bodhisatta, have formulated

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the theory that even the mother and father, the attendant and the son of a Buddha must spend a hundred thousand *kappas* practising the perfections after making their resolves to obtain their respective positions.⁷² Accordingly, the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts make an adjustment in regard to the time in which Mahāmāyā made her wish stating that she fulfilled *pāramī* for a hundred thousand *kappas*, and not ninety-one *kappas*.⁷³

Our foregoing investigations therefore reveal that the word *pāramī* used in connection with persons who occupy important positions even as laymen in the life of the Buddha, has the sense of 'perfections [fulfilled by those who make resolves]'. It is often the case with them that they made a resolve in the past. A causal relation between the fulfilment of perfections and making a resolve is therefore a key factor in this regard. In other words, one must first make a resolve and then fulfil the perfections. This observation can therefore be treated as an answer to (B).

(C) The most important issue is whether the contents of *pāramī* of a Bodhisatta are the same as or different from those of the Buddha's disciples, both monks and lay followers. The *Aṭṭhakathā* texts mention several instances of using the term *pāramī* for the homeless and lay disciples alike as seen earlier. A summary of this usage is found at Dhpa i 340 as repeatedly cited. Unfortunately, these ten perfections are not even mentioned by name in the text. A similar problem is encountered in the case of *sāvaka-pāramī*, which expression is employed for Moggallāna in VvA. Our inference, however, is that they are indeed the same as those practised by a Bodhisatta. The commentarial development of increasing the number of perfections from ten to thirty may provide a clue for such an inference.

The perfections are regarded as those which make a Buddha (*Buddhakarā-dhamma*) in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. This suggests that the ten perfections are the only way to Buddhahood. The question is why they have to be graded or given three levels of intensity as *pāramī* (perfection), *upapāramī* (higher perfection) and *paramatthapāramī*

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(ultimate perfection), if the perfections are meant solely for a Bodhisatta. Does it imply that if a Bodhisatta practices only *pāramī* and not the rest (i.e. *upapāramī* and *paramatthapāramī*) according to the stratification of the Aṭṭhakatha literature, he would not become a Buddha? The answer is obviously in the negative. The reason for such a stratification is no doubt to place emphasis on the greatness of the career of a Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta's practice of perfections can undoubtedly vary from occasion to occasion in its intensity. But the commentarial stratification as found in BvA and elsewhere suggests that the Bodhisatta is the only person capable of fulfilling the *paramatthapāramī*, which will therefore make him a *de facto* Buddha. On the other hand, the contents of the Bodhisatta's *pāramī* suggest that they can be related to moral, mental and intellectual training of anyone aspiring for a higher religious life.⁷⁴ For example, every item of perfections has its importance in the life of a Buddhist. Giving (*dāna*) and morality (*sīla*) are often told as the foundation of acquiring merit (*puññakiriya*). The Buddha's gradual talk (*ānupubbikathā*) include them and also the advantages of renunciation (*nekkhamma*). The Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya-aṭṭhaṅgikamagga*) enumerates equivalents of most of the items in the list of ten perfections. Energy (*viriya*) is one of the five powers (*pañca-bala*). Friendliness or loving-kindness (*mettā*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*) are the two factors involved in the four sublime or divine abidings (*brahmavihāra*).⁷⁵ A less frequently discussed item in the religious life of a monk or a layman compared with others may perhaps be 'patience' (*khantī*). But the Suttanipāta states that one whose strength is patience (*khantibala*) is a brahmin.⁷⁶ It is also one of the ten *rajadhamma* (norms of kingship).⁷⁷ Taken individually, therefore, the importance of all the items in the list of ten perfections cannot be more than adequately described in the quest for truth in Buddhism.⁷⁸ Anyone is thus capable of practising perfections, but not necessarily to the extent required for a Bodhisatta, i.e. the fulfilment of *paramatthapāramī*. It is in this that varying gradation of the practice of *pāramitās* can accommodate different levels of perfections by the disciples of the Buddha. They are perfections when fulfilled by Bodhisattas, but are given different designations if practised by others.

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The development of its concept appears to be similar to that of the distinction of *bodhi* between Buddhas and disciples made in the Aṭṭhakathā literature. The Bodhisatta aims at *sammāsambodhi*. Disciples target their aim at *sāvaka-bodhi*. The Bodhisatta practices perfections to the highest. *Sāvakas* do so to the extent needed for the attainment of arahantship. This distinction comes to the fore because of the initial resolve (*abhinīhāra*). The commentators are therefore likely to have had in mind the ten identical items of perfection for *sāvakas* when they refer to the ten perfections as in DhPA.

Such an inference as above is not without literary evidence. At least, some of the Mahāyāna texts support it. For instance, classifying the six perfections of Mahāyāna Buddhism into three degrees, the Laṅkāvatāra sūtra [ed. Nanjio, 237 ff] states that it is ordinary when practised by ordinary worldly persons for the sake of happiness in this life or the next; it is extra-ordinary when cultivated by the Hīnayānists for the sake of personal Nirvāna; but it is the highest when acquired by the Mahāyānist bodhisattvas for the welfare and liberation of all beings.⁷⁹

A question may arise as to how long the Buddha's disciples both monks and lay followers must practice *pāramī* or how long the resolve or wish made by them would take to be materialised in order to gain their aspired places in the dispensation of Gotama Buddha. The Aṭṭhakathā literature says that the *mahā-sāvakas* excepting the two chief disciples, and even the mother and father, the attendant and the son would spend the minimum of a hundred thousand *kappas* to achieve their expected ends.⁸⁰ Their former connections told in the Aṭṭhakathā texts should therefore start from the time of Padumuttara Buddha who is said to have lived a hundred thousand *kappas* ago.⁸¹ Then, how about other disciples of the Buddha (i.e., *pakati-sāvakas*) who do not belong to the above category? The Aṭṭhakathās unfortunately do not address this issue directly. We may nonetheless surmise on the basis of the below-mentioned statement found in *Vism* that they attain ordinary discipleship after wandering in *saṃsāra* for a hundred to a thousand *kappas*. The passage in question, referring

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to the ability of recollection of former births (*pubbe-nivāsa-anussati*) by various categories of people, says that ordinary disciples (*pakatisāvaka*) can do so as far back as a hundred *kappas* to a thousand *kappas* (*pakatisāvakā kappasatam pi kappasahassam pi anussaranti*).⁸²

In summary, a perusal of the usage of *pāramī*, either in compound or singly, in the commentarial literature reveals that there are two distinct senses attached to it; one is to show the state particularly of the two chief disciples of the Buddha - this is often when used in compound; and the other is the technical sense of perfections, ten in number specified or unspecified. In these instances, it has been revealed that the ten perfections are practised and fulfilled not only by Bodhisattas, but also by disciples, a new departure in the Theravāda tradition. They are sometimes termed as *sāvaka-pāramī* as at VvA 2 when referring to those fulfilled by disciples. These two senses could be the result of a practical application of the definition of *pāramī* found in the commentarial literature. CpA 277 and PtsA iii 653, as will be discussed in detail later, define *pāramī* to mean either the condition (*bhāva*) or action (*kamma*) of the highest [person]; be it a Bodhisatta or a disciple. The former corresponds to the first meaning of *pāramī* mentioned above, while the latter shows individual perfection. Therefore, the perfections can be practised by disciples as well. We have also suggested another supportive reason that the stratification of perfections (*pāramīs*) into three levels of intensity may have played an important role in developing such a theory. It is also pertinent to another development of the Bodhisatta doctrine in Theravāda Buddhism. Dhammapāla classifies Bodhisattas into three classes; namely, *mahābodhisatta* or *mahāsambodhisatta*, *pacceka-bodhisatta* and *sāvaka-bodhisatta* in his Theragāthā-atthakathā [ThagA i 9-12].⁸³ If disciples are also called 'bodhisattas', the application of perfections to them is a theoretical outcome. It has been generally viewed that 'bodhisatta' in Pāli Buddhism is an appellation for the previous existences of Gotama Buddha or any Buddha, past and future. But the commentarial tradition reveals a more complicated nature of the doctrine of Bodhisatta. Whatever the reason may be, the notion that even disciples including lay followers can practise and fulfil the

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[ten] perfections would have been a result of the influence and interaction amongst new developments of the Buddha-concept in general and the Bodhisatta doctrine in particular in the Aṭṭhakathā literature.

5. The Meanings of *Pāramī*

Dhammapāla states that perfections are the virtues such as giving, which are not destroyed by craving, conceit and [wrong] views, and are possessed of compassion and skilful means.⁸⁴ Bodhisattas are the best among beings, the highest and great beings in respect of virtues, such as giving and morality, etc. Perfection is their state/condition or action, like the act of giving, etc. (*Tena dānasīlādi guṇavisesayogena sattuttamatāyo paramā mahāsattā bodhisattā. Tesam bhāvo kammaṃ vā pāramī; dānādikiriya*). It is otherwise called the highest, because it fulfils (*Athavā pūretī ti paramo*). The Bodhisatta is the best or highest as he is an accomplisher and a guardian of virtues like giving (*Dānādīnaṃ guṇānaṃ pūrako pālako cāti Bodhisatto paramo*). Perfection is the state of the highest [person, i.e. Bodhisatta] or [his] action like the act of giving (*Paramassa ayaṃ, paramassa vā bhāvo kammaṃ vā pāramī; dānādikiriya va*).⁸⁵

A similar definition is given to a disciple. While explaining the meaning of *sāvaka-pāramippatta* at PṭsA iii 653, its author, Mahānāma, states that perfection is reaching the end of the knowledge of a disciple (...*sāvakañānānaṃ pāragamaṃ pāramī*). In this instance, he repeats the expression of '*paramassa bhāvo kammaṃ vā pāramī*' referring to the disciple. This shows that the term *pāramī* has two meanings; one is to refer to the highest state or condition and the other is the technical sense of perfections themselves. The former is '*bhāva*' and the latter '*kamma*'. This definition therefore shows that the term *pāramī* can apply not only to Bodhisattas, but also to disciples. It is because of such a definition of *pāramī* that the Aṭṭhakathā literature could expand its usage and the scope of its teaching, as discussed before.

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The commentaries often describe the spiritual height of the two chief disciples of Gotama Buddha by using the expression of 'sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa' (knowledge of the disciple's perfection), as observed earlier. Its meanings are suggested in various places in the commentaries. VA i 139 [= AA iv 85-86], for instance, states: 'Does the path of arahantship become the highest knowledge for others (disciples)⁸⁶ or not? No, it does not. Why? Because [it is] the giver of not the whole virtues. To some, the path of arahantship indeed gives the fruit of arahantship (*arahattaphala*); to some, it gives three knowledges (*tisso vijjā*); to some, six higher knowledges (*chaḷabhiññā*); to some, four kinds of analytical knowledge; to some, the knowledge of the disciple's perfection (*sāvaka-pāramiññāṇa*); even to paccekabuddhas, [it] gives the knowledge of the enlightenment of pacceka[-buddhas], and to Buddhas, the attainment of all virtues like consecration that gives all the worldly authority to a king. Therefore, [the path of arahantship] does not always become the highest knowledge for others (disciples).'⁸⁷ A similar idea is also expressed at SA iii 208 that the two chief disciples procure *sāvaka-pāramiññāṇa* only through the path of arahantship (*dve hi agga-sāvakā arahattamaggen' eva sāvaka-pārami-ñāṇaṃ paṭilabhami*)... and, therefore, the knowledge of the path of arahantship (*arahatta-magga-ñāṇa*) is called the highest wisdom (*sambodhi*).⁸⁸ Sāriputta is said to have become the possessor of 'quick or sharp wisdom' from the time he penetrated *sāvaka-pārami-ñāṇa* after destroying all the defilements (...*sabbakilese chinditvā sāvaka-pārami-ñāṇaṃ paṭividdha-kālato paṭṭhāya tikkha-pañño nāma jāto*).⁸⁹ While talking of what giving (*dāna*) can give, UdA 282 states that it gives, among other things, the knowledge of the disciple's perfection, the knowledge of *paccekabodhi* and the knowledge of *sammāsambodhi* (*dānaṃ hi ...sāvaka-pārami-ñāṇaṃ pacceka-bodhi-ñāṇaṃ sammā-sambodhi-ñāṇaṃ deti ti*).

PtsA, on the other hand, says that the accomplishment of the disciple's perfection means that perfection is reaching the end of the sixty-seven kinds of extremely intelligent disciples' knowledge of the chief and great disciple... He who is the protector and accomplisher of the sixty-seven knowledges of the disciple is the best and a great

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disciple. Perfection is the state or action of the best in terms of knowledge which is classified into sixty-seven kinds.⁹⁰ This passage reveals that the interpretation of *pāramī* is based on the following premises: (A) *pāramī* is 'going to the end' (*pāragamana*) of the sixty-seven kinds of *sāvaka-ñāṇa*. In other words, it is the fulfilment or accomplishment of those sixty-seven knowledges meant for disciples. (B) the best or chief disciple (*parama*) is determined on the basis of; (i) his fulfilment of knowledge (*ñāṇakiriya*) which is of sixty-seven kinds, (ii) his state or condition (*bhāva*), or (iii) his action (*kamma*). In other words, these three are the requirements to attain to the position of the chief or best disciple.

The literary evidence cited above shows that *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa* is the knowledge obtained through the path of arahantship (*arahattamagga*). It is a designation of qualities for a certain class of arahants [cf. ThagA iii 209]; more specifically the two chief disciples. The only reference to the concrete contents of the knowledge of the disciple's perfection (*sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa*) is the 'sixty-seven kinds of knowledge of disciples' (*sattasaṭṭhi-sāvaka-ñāṇa*) found at PtsA iii 653 [cf. also UdA 244]. But, as for these sixty-seven kinds of knowledge, we are clueless as the commentarial texts do not mention their contents. Nevertheless, judging from a reference found in the opening chapter called '*Mātikā*' of the Paṭisambhidāmagga that of the seventy-three kinds of knowledge, sixty-seven are common to disciples (*sattasaṭṭhi ñāṇāni sāvakasādhāraṇāni*), while the remaining six are the knowledges possessed by the Buddha only (*cha ñāṇāni asādhāraṇāni sāvakehi*),⁹¹ it is probable that the Commentator of Pts had these knowledges in mind when he mentioned *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa*, although they are not referred to as such in the Paṭisambhidāmagga. Further, on the basis of the fact that the acquisition of the sixty-seven kinds of knowledge is common to all disciples who are arahants, we can safely presume that the phrase *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa* is an additional expression for the two chief disciples who are already the possessors of other designations of an arahant, such as *chaḷabhiñña*, *ubhatobhagavimutta*, etc.

Even while exalting the two chief disciples of the Buddha

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for their intelligence, the commentators had not forgotten to add words of praise for the Buddha's greatness. For instance, when the knowledge (*ñāṇa*) of the disciple's perfection is referred to, it is said to be profound and not possible to delimit it (*sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇaṃ hi gambhīraṃ, tattha vavathhānaṃ n'atthi*).⁹² But even so, nothing can be compared with profundity of omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññutā-ñāṇa*) of the Buddha which is the highest of all.⁹³ Sāriputta is reported to have uttered thus: 'Even by the knowledge like mine who is established in the knowledge of the disciple's perfection, I am unable to clearly discern the virtues of the Buddha.'⁹⁴ Such evidence points to the fact that a Bodhisatta who is destined to become a Buddha through the practices of the highest perfections in his career is undoubtedly a focus of attention in the doctrine of *pāramitā* in the commentaries.

The contribution made by Dhammapāla towards the development of the teachings of *pāramitā* together with the Bodhisatta doctrine is amply demonstrated in the *Pakiṇṇakakathā* of the *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā* [CpA 276-332].⁹⁵ The importance of this section of the book lies in the fact that he uses his own discretion to discuss the doctrine of *pāramitā*, but well within the framework of the Theravāda tradition. Of the points discussed by him, some have already been referred to in the course of our discussions above. But in order to have a clear picture of his systematic treatment of the subject, we give below a list of all the topics discussed by him.

- (1) What are the perfections ? (*Ko pan'eta pāramiyo*)
- (2) In what sense are they perfections ?
Ken' atthena pāramiyo)
- (3) How many of them ? (*Katividhā c' etā*)
- (4) What is their order ? (*Ko tāsam kamo*)
- (5) What are the characteristics, functions, appearances and proximate causes ?
(Kāni lakkhaṇa-rasa-paccupaṭṭhāna-padaṭṭhānā)
- (6) What is the requisite ? (*Ko paccayo*)
- (7) What is the defilement ? (*Ko saṅkilesa*)

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- (8) What is the purification ? (*Kim Vodānaṃ*)
- (9) What is the opposite ? (*Ko paṭipakkho*)
- (10) What is the practice ? (*Kā paṭipatti*)
- (11) What is the division ? (*Ko vibhāgo*)
- (12) What is the collection ? (*Ko saṅgaho*)
- (13) What is the means of effecting ? (*Ko sampādanūpāyo*)
- (14) What is the length of time required for effecting ?
(*Kittakena kālena sampādanaṃ*)
- (15) What is the advantage ? (*Ko ānisaṃso*)
- (16) What is the fruit ? (*Kiñ c' etāsaṃ phalaṃ*)

The following have not been referred to or discussed before.

- (5) What are the characteristics, functions, appearances and proximate causes ? (*Kāni lakkhaṇa-rasa-paccupaṭṭhāna-padaṭṭhānāni*)

CpA summarises them at the outset as follows: 'There without any remainder, all the perfections possess "helping others" as [their] characteristic, "the deed of support for others or non-wavering" as function, "desiring for others' welfare or the state of being awakened" as appearance and "great compassion or compassionate skilful means" as proximate cause.'⁹⁶ Then each *pāramī* is given the details for its characteristics, essential properties, appearances and proximate causes [see CpA 280-281].

- (6) What is the requisite or condition ? (*Ko paccayo*)

'Aspiration' (*abhinīhāra*) is said to be the requisite of perfections (*abhinīhāro tāva pāramīnaṃ paccayo hoti*) [CpA 282]. The text gives eight things (*aṭṭhadhammā*)⁹⁷ with detailed explanations as preconditions for the aspiration of Bodhisattahood [CpA 282-284]. *Abhinīhāra* is further classified into various categories and their elucidation follows. For instance, *abhinīhāra* is said to possess four *paccaya* (requisites), four *hetu* (causes) and four *bala* (powers) [CpA 284-290].⁹⁸ Then the text mentions that the four things are the requisites or preconditions of the perfections (*pāramīnaṃ paccayā*), namely *ussāha* (effort), *ummagga* (skilfulness),⁹⁹ *avathāna* (stability or firmness)¹⁰⁰ and *hitacariyā* (beneficial conduct) [CpA 290].¹⁰¹ Six in-

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clinations (*ajjhāsayā*) are also mentioned as conditions for the perfections. The Bodhisatta is said to become inclined towards each perfection having seen the faults of its opposite [CpA 290-291]. The text goes on to elaborate on the various aspects of *paccaya* of the perfections, etc. [CpA 291-302].

(7) What is the defilement ? (*Ko saṅkilesō*)

The defilement of perfections is said to be 'craving', etc. (*avisesena taṅhādīhi paramatthabhāvo pāramiṇaṃ saṅkilesō*) [CpA 302]. Then, defilements of each of the ten perfections are enumerated. For example, 'thought of holding onto things given as gifts' is said to be the defilement of the perfection of giving (*deyyadhammapaṭiggahāvakappā dānapāramiyā saṅkilesō*). 'Thought of beings and times' (*satta-kālavikappa*) is considered to be the defilement of the perfection of virtues. In the same manner, the rest are explained as follows: 'thought of delight and non-delight in that appeasement of sensual pleasures' (*kāmahava-tadupasamesu abhirati-anabhirativikappa*) is the defilement of the perfection of renunciation. 'Thought of "I" and "mine"' (*ahaṃ mamāti vikappa*) is the defilement of the *paññāpāramī*. 'Thought of shyness and distraction' (*līnuddhaccavikappa*) is the defilement of *viriyapāramī*. 'Thought of oneself and others' (*attaparavikappa*) is the defilement of *khantipāramī*. 'Thought of seeing in the not-seeing, etc.' (*adiṭṭhādīsu diṭṭhādivikappa*) is the defilement of *saccāpāramī*. 'Thought of the fault in that opposite of the necessary conditions for enlightenment' (*bodhisambhāratābbipakkhesu dosa-guṇavikappa*) is the defilement of *adhiṭṭhānapāramī*. 'Thought of welfare and non-welfare' (*hitāhitavikappa*) is the defilement of *mettāpāramī*. And 'thought of pleasant and unpleasant [things]' (*iṭṭhāniṭṭhavikappa*) is the defilement of *upekkhāpāramī* [CpA 302].

(8) What is the purification ? (*Kim vodānaṃ*)

Dhammapāla says that the removal of the taints of craving, etc., and the absence of the said thought are its purification (*Taṅhādīhi anupaghāto yathā vuttavikappa-viraho ca etāyaṃ vodānaṃ*) [CpA 302].

(9) What is the opposite or enemy ? (*Ko paṭipakkho*)

The opposite or enemy of the perfections is said to be all the defilements and unwholesome things (*sabbe pi saṅkilesā sabbe pi akusalā dhammā etāsaṃ paṭipakkho*) [CpA 302-303]. Some explanations then follow for each perfection [CpA 303].

(10) What is their practice ? (*Kā paṭipatti*)

As for the perfection of giving, for instance, the practice is the act of [extending] assistance to beings in many ways by the sacrifices of happiness, belongings, body and life; by the removal of fear; and by the advice on Dhamma.¹⁰² The text then explains multifarious aspects of giving (*dāna*). For example, giving is categorised into three kinds: 'gift of material things' (*āmisa-dāna*), 'gift of amity' (*abhaya-dāna*) and 'gift of the dhamma' (*dhamma-dāna*). It is also classified into two types as 'internal gifts' (*ajjhattika-dāna*) and 'external gifts' (*bāhira-dāna*) in terms of things given as gifts. The rest of the perfections are also given lengthy elucidation [CpA 303-320].

(13) What is the means of effecting ? (*Ko sampādanūpāyo*)

The means of effecting of the '*pāramitās*' is said to be the following four types of endeavour or method (*caturāṅgayoga*) in the accumulation of all the merits towards the supreme enlightenmen (*sammāsambodhiṃ uddissa*) [CpA 326]:

- a. Performing everything without deficiency
(*anavasesasambharaṇaṃ avekallakāritāyogena*).
- b. Performing with respect, affection and veneration
(*sakkaccakāritā ādarabahumānayogena*).
- c. Performing continuously without interruption
(*sātaccakāritā nirantarayogena*).
- d. Enduring effort, etc., without producing a halfway achievement.
(*cirakālādiyogo ca antarā-avosānāpajjanena*)

It is further explained that whatever of a Great Being's self-commitment to Buddhas is the method of effecting all the *pāramitās*

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(*yaṃ mahāsattassa Buddhānaṃ attasanniyyātaṇaṃ, taṃ sammadeva sabbapāramīnaṃ sampādanūpāyo*) [CpA 327]. The text in this way goes on elucidating its meanings.

(14) What is the length of time required for effecting or accomplishing the perfections ? (*Kittakena kālena sampādanaṃ*)

The text [CpA 329] in this respect records that some Bodhisattas take four *asaṅkheyyas* and a hundred thousand *mahākappas*. Some take eight or sixteen *asaṅkheyyas* plus a hundred thousand *mahākappas*. Bodhisattas are classified into three types depending on their moral and intellectual traits; namely, *paññādhika*, *saddhādhika* and *viriyādhika*. They are again categorised into three groups as *ugghaṭṭitaññū*, *vipacitaññū* and *neyya*.¹⁰³

(15) What is the advantage ? (*Ko ānisaṃso*)

The advantages are that a Bodhisatta is never born into certain woeful states. The commentarial literature generally talks of eighteen such places known as 'abhabbaṭṭhāna' (impossible states). This seems to be the result of a gradual growth of its notion within the commentarial tradition, since there are basically two different lists advocated in the Aṭṭhakathā texts; one list consisting of exactly eighteen such places is found at SnA i 50 = ApA 141, while the other list can be found at JA ii 44-45 = ApA 49, BvA 271 and CpA 330 with less number of items. The contents of these lists are somewhat different from each other. A marked difference is the item concerning 'women'; the former sources give the item of 'born of a slave woman' (*dāsiyā kucchimhi nibbattati*) as one of the impossible states of birth for a Bodhisatta, whereas the latter sources refer specifically to 'women' (*itthibhāva*) as one of them.¹⁰⁴

(16) What is the fruit ? (*Kim phalaṃ*)

Dhammapāla says that the state of supreme enlightenment, in short, is the fruit of the perfections (*Samāsato tāva sammā-sambuddhabhāvo etāsaṃ phalaṃ*) [CpA 332]. He also mentions that as a result of practising the perfections, a Bodhisatta will be endowed with thirty-two physical characteristics of a Great Man, eighty minor

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marks, a fathom long halo, and many resplendent physical features, determination (*adhiṭṭhāna*),¹⁰⁵ ten powers (*bala*), four confidences (*vesāraja*), six knowledges not shared by others (*asādhāraṇāṇāṇa*), eighteen unique qualities of a Buddha (*āveṇikabuddhadhamma*), and the splendid ocean of endless and limitless virtues (*anantāparimāṇaḡuṇasārnudayopasobhini*) and glory of the Dhamma body (*dhammakāyasiri*), etc. [CpA 332].

The importance of the doctrine of *pāramī* or *pāramitā* in the career of a Bodhisatta is beyond any refutation. It is the only way through which a Bodhisatta can attain Buddhahood at the end. The perfections (*pāramīs*) are therefore called *Buddhakara-dhammā*¹⁰⁶ or *Buddhakāra-dhammā*.¹⁰⁷ The Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā also shows moral and intellectual significance of *pāramitās* when it says that the perfections along with other things are called 'the necessary conditions for meritorious deeds' (*puññasambhāra*), 'the necessary conditions for knowledge' (*nāṇasambhāra*) and 'the things that make a Buddha' (*Buddhakāradhamma*).¹⁰⁸ The perfections are therefore meant for the accumulation of merit and knowledge; the two important factors often emphasised in Buddhism. Even for the disciples these two are the main purposes for which the perfections are practised. The following passage will bring out this point clearly: Moggallāna is said to have fulfilled the perfections to become a chief disciple of the Buddha accumulating merit and knowledge (... *buddhassa Bhagavato aggasāvaka bhāvāya puññaṇāṇasambhāre sambharanto anukkamena sāvaka-pāramiyo pūretvā...*)¹⁰⁹

The Buddha practised the perfections for an immeasurable period of time (*Bhagavā appameyyaṃ kālaṃ pāramiyo pūretvā...*).¹¹⁰ More precisely, a Bodhisatta must spend the minimum of four *asaṅkheyyas* and a hundred thousand *kappas* to fulfil them.¹¹¹ While reiterating the time duration of the practice of *pāramitās* by the Bodhisatta, the Manorathapūranī brings out probably the most important aspect of the fulfilment of perfections in their intensity. It says that giving one time, two times, ..., or one day, two days, ..., or one *asaṅkheyya*, two *asaṅkheyyas* or even three *asaṅkheyyas*, will

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not make one a Buddha. So are the rest of ten perfections. The Bodhisatta must fulfil them for the minimum period of four *asaikheyyas* and a hundred thousand *kappas* to be able to attain Buddhahood.¹¹² Further, it is mentioned that the Bodhisatta must fulfil them before he is born in the Tusita Heaven.¹¹³ It is believed that the fulfilment of perfections is not possible in a heaven which has long life span.¹¹⁴

Some explanations as a set of ten or thirty perfections are found in the Visuddhimagga¹¹⁵ and Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā.¹¹⁶ The former gives them in relation to the four *brahmavihāra* (divine abiding) and says that the divine abidings, after having fulfilled the ten perfections, will perfect all the good states (*kalyāṇadhammā*) classed as the ten powers (*dasabala*), the four confidences (*catuvesārajjā*), the six kinds of knowledge not shared [by disciples] (*cha-asādhāraṇāñāna*) and the eighteen qualities of the Buddha (*aṭṭhārasa-buddhadhammā*). Here are the ten perfections explained at Vism 325:

'To all beings they (Great Beings, *Mahāsatta*) give gifts, which are a source of pleasure, without discriminating thus: "It must be given to this one; it must not be given to this one". And in order to avoid doing harm to beings they undertake the precepts of virtue. They practice renunciation for the purpose of perfecting their virtues. They cleanse their understanding for the purpose of non-confusion about what is good and bad for beings. They constantly arouse energy, having beings' welfare and happiness at heart. When they have acquired heroic fortitude through supreme energy, they become patient with beings' many kinds of faults. They do not deceive when promising, "We shall give you this; we shall do this for you." They are unshakeably resolute upon beings' welfare and happiness. Through unshakeable loving kindness they place them first [before themselves]. Through equanimity they expect no reward.'¹¹⁷

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These descriptions reveal that the career of a Bodhisatta is focused more on the mission of bringing about welfare and happiness for beings. This aspect is in fact emphasised time and again. Referring to the reason of entering the path of Bodhisattahood, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* mentions that the aspiration for Buddhahood and the fulfilment of the ten perfections is for the weal of the many (...*buddhattāya abhinhāramāno ...dasa pāramiyo pūrento pi bahujana-hitāya paṭipanno*).¹¹⁸ *Vism* 13 also considers that the virtues of perfections practised for the deliverance of all beings are superior (*paṇīta*). Buddhaghosa in the same context grades the practice of virtues and says that the virtue practised for the purpose of one's own deliverance is medium (*attano vimokkhatthāya pavattitaṃ majjhimaṃ*).¹¹⁹ This suggests that the career of a Bodhisatta is given more prominence than the deliverance of oneself. The career of a Bodhisatta is altruistic. The birth of a Bodhisatta is indeed for the welfare and weal of the many.¹²⁰

However, these clear-cut divisions of *pāramīs* are mentioned often of *dāna* (giving or generosity) and in BvA and elsewhere reference is made only to some examples of *paramatthapāramī* fulfilled by the Bodhisatta. BvA 61 and JA i 47 refer to the *Cariyāpiṭaka* for details. As a summary of our discussions of *pāramī*, we give below some explanations of the ten perfections found in the *Aṭṭhakathās*:¹²¹

(1) Dāna (Giving or Generosity)

The sacrifice of external possessions is a perfection (*bāhirabhaṇḍapariccāgo pāramī nāma*). The sacrifice of any of one's limbs is a higher perfection (*aṅgapariccāgo upapāramī nāma*). The sacrifice of one's life is an ultimate perfection (*jīvitapariccāgo paramatthapāramī nāma*).¹²² It is further explained that giving is just like a jar of water. When it has been overturned, it discharges all the water and takes none of it back, even so, reckoning of neither wealth nor fame nor wife and children nor any of the limbs, but giving completely of everything wished for for the prosperity of all suppliants.¹²³ It is also said that there is no limit for the fulfilment of the Bodhisatta's perfection of generosity or giving (*bodhisatta'ssa dānapāramitāya pūritattabhāvānaṃ parimāṇaṃ nāma n'atthi*).¹²⁴ Then

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the text gives the Sasapaṇḍita Jātaka [J No.316. Cf. Cp I 23] to illustrate the perfection of giving. CpA 272 further elucidates this as follows: 'Having given what should be given as gifts' means 'having given and abandoned things that should be given, i.e., such external things as kingdom, etc., or internal things as limbs and eyes of a Great Being who has entered upon the path of the highest vehicle (*aggayānapaṭipadam*) in order to attain the incomparable supreme enlightenment.' Then the text gives for illustration the former births of the Bodhisatta as Akittibrāhmaṇa, Saṅkhabrāhmaṇa, Visayhasettḥi, Velāma and Sasapaṇḍita.¹²⁵

(2) *Sīla* (Morality)

BvA says that making a sacrifice of one's self in the perfection of morality (*sīla*) is classed as the ultimate perfection (*paramatthapārami*). It quotes the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka [J No.524. Cf. Cp II 107] for illustration.¹²⁶ Explaining morality it says that the foundations of all skilled states are in morality. Founded in morality one does not deteriorate as to skilled states, one acquires all the mundane and supramundane special qualities.¹²⁷ Moral habits are explained in terms of 'plane' (*bhūmi*) and are said to be four: 1. control by the Pātimokkha (*pāṭimokkhasaṇvara*), 2. control over the senses (*indriyasaṇvara*), 3. complete purity of mode of livelihood (*ājīva-parisuddhi*), and 4. relying on the requisites (*paccayasannissita*).¹²⁸ CpA 273 explains *sīla* as the complete restraint in bodily and verbal [actions], the restraint in both bodily and verbal [actions], the restraint in senses, the pure life which knows the measure as to food. They are called the virtues of a Bodhisatta (*bodhisattasīla*). The text then gives the following Jātakas for illustration: Sīlavanāgarāja, Campeyyanāgarāja, Chaddanta and Saṅkhapāla.¹²⁹

(3) *Nekkhamma* (Renunciation)

The highest perfection of *nekkhamma* is said to be the abandonment of a kingdom without attachment [to it]. Gotama Bodhisatta too did so.¹³⁰ It quotes the Cullasutasoma Jātaka [J No.525]. CpA 273 states that 'having gone to the perfection of renunciation' means 'having gone to the perfection, the supreme and the highest in the

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three-fold great renunciation' (*tividhe mahābhikkhamāṇe pāramīparamukkaṃsaṃ gantvā*). The text gives the following illustrative Jātakas: Yudhañjaya, Somanassakumāra, Hatthipālakumāra, Makhadeva and Cūlasutasoma.¹³¹

(4) *Paññā* (Wisdom)

In this instance, BvA 60 quotes the Sattubhattaka Jātaka [J No.402] in which the Bodhisatta is known as Senaka. CpA 273-274, on the other hand, explains that the perfection of wisdom (*paññāpāramī*) is to realise the wholesome volitional actions and their fruits, such as knowing what is good and bad and what is blameable and blameless, etc. The former births of the Bodhisatta given in the text for illustration include Vidhurapaṇḍita, Mahāgovindapaṇḍita, Kuddalapaṇḍita, Arakapaṇḍita, Bodhiparibbājaka, Mahosadhapaṇḍita and Senakapaṇḍita.¹³²

(5) *Viriya* (Energy)

It is explained at BvA 60 with a simile of crossing the great ocean.¹³³ This is considered as the ultimate perfection. Then the Māhajanaka Jātaka [J No.539] is quoted. CpA 274 says that energy (*viriya*) is the highest effort (*uttamaṃ padhānaṃ*), because it is able to bring one to supreme Enlightenment (*sammāsambodhiṃ pāpetuṃ samatthāya*). The following former births of the Bodhisatta are mentioned in this connection: Mahāsīlavārāja, Pañcavudhakumāra, Mahāvānarinda and Mahājanaka.¹³⁴

(6) *Khanti* (Patience)

This is illustrated by the Khantivāda Jātaka [J No.313].¹³⁵ CpA 274 says that 'having gone to the perfection of patience' means having attained the supreme and highest state of patience such as '*adhivāsanakkhanti*' (endurance-patience), etc. For illustration the following former births of the Bodhisatta are given: Mahākapi, Mahisarāja, Rūrūmigarāja, Dhammadevaputta and Khantivādi.

(7) *Sacca* (Truth)

This perfection is explained by means of the Mahāsutasoma

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Jātaka [J No.537. Cf.Cp III 12 6] at BvA 60 and JA i 46. CpA 275 adds that the speech of truth to be protected means having protected the truthful speech, shunning like excrements, ignoble expressions harmful to one's life, having avoided [them] and having protected the state of being a speaker of the truth. The Bodhisatta's former existences are also cited here as follows: Kapiṛāja, Saccaṭāpasa, Maccharāja and Mahāsutasoma. It is interesting to note here that at CpA 274-275 the order of elucidation of *sacca-pāramī* and *adhiṭṭhāna-pāramī* is reversed. However, this seems to have happened, because CpA followed the order mentioned in Cp [Cp Book 3 XV v 10: 'katvā dalhaṃ adhiṭṭhānaṃ saccavācānurakkhiyā']. The Cariyāpiṭaka is the elucidation of perfections. But only seven *pāramīs* are mentioned in the text; viz., *dāna-pāramī* (Book 1), *sīla-pāramī* (Book 2) and *nekkhamma-pāramī*, *adhiṭṭhāna-pāramī*, *sacca-pāramī*, *mettā-pāramī* and *upekkhā-pāramī* (Book 3 and in the order of their mention). The order of *adhiṭṭhāna-pāramī* and *sacca-pāramī* in Cp as shown above is reversed. The order of preaching of the ten perfections is specifically referred to at CpA 278 and according to the text, it is *sacca-pāramī* (No.7) and then *adhiṭṭhāna-pāramī* (No.8). In passing, it may be said that the evidence of this nature fortifies the inference that the Cariyāpiṭaka we have today preserves an older version of the text and not the one to which the Nidānakathā of JA refers.¹³⁶

(8) *Adhiṭṭhāna* (Resolute Determination)

This perfection is the determination to seek omniscient knowledge which is the only thing dear to a Bodhisatta. It is illustrated in the Mugapakkha Jātaka [J No.538. Cf.Cp 1 6; 3 10; 6 18].¹³⁷ CpA 274-275 further states that it is the determination of the observance of skilled [deeds] (*kusala-samādānādhiṭṭhānaṃ*). The former births of the Bodhisatta mentioned here are Jotipāla, Sarabhaṅga, Nemi and Temiyakumāra.¹³⁸

(9) *Mettā* (Loving-kindness)

This perfection from the point of view of the altruistic nature of the Bodhisatta-career may indicate the most important motive to tread upon the path of Bodhisattahood. It is illustrated by the Ekarāja Jātaka [J No.540].¹³⁹ CpA 275 says that *mettā* has the characteristic

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of 'bringing together limitless welfare to all beings' (*sabbasattesu anodhiso hitupasaṅhāralakkhaṇāya mettāya*). The Bodhisatta's former births mentioned are Cūladhammapāla, Mahāsīlavarāja, Sāmapaṇḍita and Suvanṇasāma.

(10) *Upekkhā* (Equanimity)

The perfection of *upekkhā* is explained by the Lomahaṃsa Jātaka [J No.94].¹⁴⁰ CpA 275 explains it in reference to the phrase 'respect and disrespect' (*sammānanāvamānane*) in the Cariyāpīṭaka [Cp Book 3 XV v 11] that its meaning is, 'I have attained the highest and incomparable omniscience, having become steadfast, level minded and unperturbed everywhere in worldly things; [Be it] respect [shown by people through] honour, devotion, hospitality and the like, or disrespect [shown by them] by spitting, etc.' CpA 275-276 gives the former births of the Bodhisatta as Vānarinda, Kāsīrāja, Khemabrāhmaṇa, Atṭhisenaparibbājaka and Mahālomahaṃsa.

Dhammapāla's contribution to the doctrine of *pāramitā*, besides its general development in the commentaries, can be summarised as follows:

(1) By defining the word *pāramī* to mean '*bhāva*' (state) or '*kamma*' (action) of the best (person); be it a Bodhisatta or a disciple, he expands the scope of its application; whereby it is possible to uphold that not only a Bodhisatta, but also a disciple can practise the perfections.

(2) By classifying bodhisattas into three types; namely, *mahābodhisatta*, *paccekabodhisatta* and *sāvakabodhisatta* in the Bodhisatta doctrine, he fortifies his contention with a theoretical background that even the disciples, who are also called *bodhisattas*, can practise the perfections.

(3) While adhering in principle to the Theravāda position of counting the perfections to be ten or thirty, he contends that they can be reduced to six basic *pāramitās* as in Mahāyāna Buddhism. This evidence and others cited throughout our present study points to a

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very significant fact that he had the knowledge of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. He even utilised some ideas embedded in it to the extent that they did not become contradictory to the Theravāda tradition.

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CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

Our investigations into the concept of Buddha in the Pāli commentaries have shown new dimensions in the history of Theravāda Buddhism. New developments emerged by the time of the Aṭṭhakathā literature and some of them are in fact common to the Buddhist Sanskrit sources. This evidence gives rise to various questions such as; 'Did the Pāli commentators borrow some notions relating to the development of Buddhology from the Buddhist Sanskrit sources or did they develop them independently?'; 'Did the Buddhists in ancient times have common sources from which both traditions, Pāli and Sanskrit, derived their materials to develop the concept of Buddha?', etc.

Further, possible dates of introduction concerning some Buddhological concepts found in the commentaries are other areas of difficulty to determine. Confining ourselves only to the Pāli tradition, problems such as; 'How far faithfully did the Pāli commentators translate the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathā without introducing their own interpretations or what they had considered to be in consonance with the Theravāda tradition?', etc., are the major obstacles to determine the dates of certain Buddhological concepts. For there could be two layers of information embodied in the Aṭṭhakathās; one is the information possibly contained in the Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās. If so, the lower time limit of the introduction of new Buddhological notions found in the commentaries would be not later than the third century A.D. The other is the information presumably introduced and added by the Pāli commentators. If that is the case, the dates of such information are as late as the commentators themselves, i.e., not earlier than the fifth century A.D.

Being restricted by these difficulties, our inquiries have primarily been centred on the task of finding out what data and materials can be gleaned from the Aṭṭhakathā literature to evaluate and as-

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sess the development of the Buddha-concept in the Theravāda tradition. And it has been found beyond any doubt that the Buddha-concept in the commentaries rest on two major premises: First, Buddha is the personification of universal truth and there can be many Buddhas appearing in this world from time to time as and when such a figure is needed. Thus, the multiplicity of Buddhas is an underlying principle. However, it must be stressed that universality of Buddhahood in the commentaries is no way akin to the universal principle equated with Buddha in Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the commentaries Buddhahood is universal, because all Buddhas have common properties in important spiritual and physical attainments. Differences are minimal and do not interfere in any way with the fundamentals in the attainment of Buddhahood. Secondly, though the first premise prevails, the commentators have still preserved a special place for Gotama Buddha. He is treated with much affection and honour. This sentiment is understandable as he is the Buddha in the present era close to the Buddhists in space and time. Further, our investigations have revealed the following:

(1) The Milindapañha is the first Pāli text which introduces the epithet of *devātideva* (god of gods). Although it has historical relations with the canonical texts, the notion to regard the Buddha as being above gods came to the fore as a popular epithet of the Buddha from about this time in the history of Theravāda Buddhism [Chapter I].

(2) The concept of omniscience (*sabbaññutā*) undoubtedly started its development in the Canon itself. The Paṭisambhidāmagga of the Khuddaka Nikāya is largely responsible for its expansion. The commentaries basically follow the interpretations given to omniscience in it. However, the commentaries are not without contribution to its further development. The Saddhammappakāsinī [PṭsA i 58] and Saddhanunappajotikā [NdA i 386-387] introduce a classification of omniscient ones (*sabbaññū*) into five types unknown before their times. The five types are, 1. *kama-sabbaññū*, 2. *sakim̐-sabbaññū*, 3. *satata-sabbaññū*, 4. *satti-sabbaññū*, and 5. *ñāta-sabbaññū*

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[Chapter II]. It is significant that Buddhaghosa seems to be unaware of such a classification. However, Dhammapāla, though he does not specifically refer to it, gives an allusion to different categories of 'sabbaññū' or 'knower of everything' when he says: '... *ekajjhaṃ visuṃ visuṃ sakiṃ kamena vā icchānurūpaṃ sammā sāmāñca sabba-dhammānaṃ buddhattā sammā-sambuddho Bhagavā, taṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ.*' [ItA i 142].

(3) The concept of great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) possessed by a Buddha is another area of importance. The Aṭṭhakathā texts greatly emphasise compassion associated with Buddhahood. In this regard Dhammapāla is a commentator who highlights its importance more than any other commentators. Further, some of his comments come much closer to the Mahāyāna descriptions of a bodhisatta. One significant departure from the Theravāda notion of Bodhisatta is the idea that he attains the cycle of births and accepts suffering for other beings of his own accord because of his compassion. This is a striking contrast to the notion of *kamma* advocated in the Kathāvatthu which says that even a Bodhisatta is not exception to its working. [Chapter II]

(4) The most important and distinct contribution the Aṭṭhakathā literature made towards the development of the concept of Buddha is perhaps the notion of eighteen qualities of a Buddha (*aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā*). The idea of *Buddhadhamma* comprising six items is found in the Khuddaka Nikāya [e.g., Pt̥s ii 195; Nd i 178, ii 357; etc.] This suggests that it is a precursor of a later development. But the number of items suddenly reaches eighteen in the Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā [DA iii 994]}. The list given in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī is somewhat peculiar and includes the absence of wrong deeds (*duccarita*) in a Buddha. This gives rise to a great difficulty in determining the relationship between the list of DA and other lists found in Vim and some Buddhist Sanskrit sources. We are, however, inclined to believe that the Mahāvihāravāsins (particularly the Dīgha-bhāṇakas) did in fact develop the notion of the eighteen qualities of a Buddha independent of other Buddhist schools.

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It may also be inferred that they developed it in opposition to other Buddhist schools including the Abhayagiri school. Nonetheless, in order to be more impartial we have examined pros and cons for the theory that it may be a later interpolation. But such an interpolation, if at all, had been definitely made before the time of Ācariya Dhammapāla, the author of the *Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā ṭīkā* (*Līnatthavaṇṇanā*) as he specifically denies credibility of the list found in DA. Further, other possibilities are also examined for a fair treatment of the subject.[Chapter II]

(5) Of the physical endowments of a Buddha, the commentaries greatly contributed to the popularisation of eighty minor marks (*asīti-anuvyañjana*) and marks of a hundred merits (*satapuññalakkhaṇa*). The former is the concept which became indeed inseparable from the notion of a Great Man (*mahāpurisa*) in the commentaries. But it is always associated with Buddhas and not with a *cakkavatti* king who, according to the canonical texts, is another personage endowed with *mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*. This shows that later Buddhists focused their attention on the apotheosis of Buddhas and not on *cakkavatti* kings, whom they would have perhaps thought too secular a subject to take into account for further developments in the commentaries. However, no list with the complete eighty items is found in the *Aṭṭhakathās*, except four or two that are referred to using the expression of 'ādi' (etceteras) [BvA 247; ThagA iii 46-47]. This suggests that at least the commentators of BvA and ThagA took it for granted that such eighty items designated as *anuvyañjana* were commonly known among people at that time.

The concept of *satapuññalakkhaṇa* can be regarded as a distinct commentarial development, although references to it are found in the *Lakkhaṇa* sutta [D iii 149] and some of the texts in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* [e.g. Bv I v 9; Vv (*Mabāratha-vimāna*, v 27); etc.] and the *Milindapañha* [Miln 111]. Detailed explanations are found at DA iii 925 and BvA 32. This concept in fact becomes popular in the Sinhala Buddhist literature in the post commentarial periods. [Chapter III]

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(6) An examination of the Nine Titles or Virtues (*Navaguna*) of a Buddha has shown that the commentaries elaborate greatly on their exegeses which are not found in the Canon. Of them, the commentators give special importance to the title of 'Buddha'. Here again Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla are the two commentators who venture into details. Dhammapāla in particular plays a significant role in this too. [Chapter IV]

(7) The term *tathāgata* is defined in the Aṭṭhakathā literature with some details. Buddhaghosa gives eight definitions to it while Dhammapāla gives another set of eight amounting altogether to sixteen. However, the commentaries seem to give more importance to two basic definitions, viz., *tathā-gata* and *tathā-āgata* as they are often cited in various contexts discussing the achievements of a Buddha. What is noteworthy in this regard is that Dhammapāla is the only commentator who gives additional definitions. The commentarial position regarding the interpretation of *tathāgata* is well brought out in the following sentence: '*sabbākārena pana tathāgato va tathāgatassa tathāgata-bhāvaṃ vaṇṇeyya.*' [Chapter V]

(8) The notion of general rules or general nature (*dhammatā*) among Buddhas was further developed in the commentaries. Events and anecdotes associated with the life of Gotama Buddha became objects of generalisation applicable to all Buddhas past and future. A motive behind this move by the Buddhists appears to perpetuate the supremacy of the Dhamma. Buddhas have common properties both spiritually and physically. Universality of Buddhahood is thus established. However, it is in no way similar to the universal Buddhahood conceived by the Mahāyānists. The Theravādins at the same time put forward the theory of differences (*vemattā*) or divisions/determining factors (*pariccheda*) among Buddhas amounting to thirty-two of them at the final stage of development in the Aṭṭhakathās. But these differences will not change the spiritual attainments possessed by Buddhas. [Chapter VI]

(9) The term *bodhisatta* in the Aṭṭhakathās is not always a

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designation for those who work hard towards the attainment of Buddhahood. Bodhisatta is classified into three categories: 1. *mahā-bodhisatta*, 2. *pacceka-bodhisatta* and 3. *sāvaka-bodhisatta*. This classification is found in Dhammapāla's commentaries [e.g., ThagA i 9-12. Cf. CpA 286, 315, 317; etc.] and seems to be a result of the commentarial definitions of the term *bodhi* (awakening) [Chapter VII]. The categorisation of *bodhi* into three classes places Buddhas far above other liberated ones, i.e., paccekabuddhas and arahants and is no doubt a part of the apotheosis of Buddhas in the commentaries.

(10) The career of a Buddha-to-be (Bodhisatta) is demarcated as far more difficult one than the other two careers, viz., the careers of a *pacceka-bodhisatta* and a *sāvaka-bodhisatta*. However, once anyone makes a resolve to tread the path leading to Buddhahood, he is assured of not being reborn in eighteen impossible states (*abhabbatthāna*). It is an advantage for anyone to become a bodhisatta. The theory of '*abhabbatthāna*' is a commentarial development and is a gradual growth even within the commentaries. There are two lists and the list in SnA and ApA is more elaborate than the other found in JA, BvA, CpA and ApA. [Chapter VIII]

(11) The generally accepted notion that perfections (*pāramitā*) are the special practices a Buddha-to-be has to fulfil is denied by the evidence found in the commentaries. The Aṭṭhakathās mention that disciples are also expected to fulfil the *pāramitās* which are named as *sāvaka-pāramī*. Even important lay followers in the life of Gotama Buddha like his mother Mahāmāyā are also expected to fulfil them [e.g. DhA i 340; JA i 49; BvA 273; ApA 54; etc.]. However, the question as to whether the perfections (*pāramitā*) for Buddhas-to-be and those for the disciples are the same or different from each other is not directly addressed in the commentaries. Evidence found in the Saddhammappakāsinī [PṭsA iii 653] indicates that when the *sāvaka-pāramī* is referred to together with *ñāṇa* (knowledge), i.e. *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa*, it refers to the sixty-seven kinds of knowledge mentioned in Pṭs. The Aṭṭhakathās therefore seem to use the term *pāramī* in a broader sense and importance attached to it

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is the accumulation of merit accrued from their practices. They are of ethical value when used for disciples. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that they have specific connotations when used for Buddhas-to-be.

The doctrine of *pāramitā* is further emphasised by Dhammapāla in his *Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā*. Dhammapāla refers to the theory of six *pāramitās* put forward by 'some' (*keci*), which he initially rejects as unwarranted in the Theravāda tradition. At the same time he tries to reduce the number of ten *pāramitās* to six by way of amalgamation. For instance, he says that *sacca-pāramī* is one area of *sīla-pāramī* (*saccapāramī silapāramiyā ekadeso eva*) [CpA 321]. However, it must be emphasised that Dhammapāla like other commentators also follows the theory of ten or thirty *pāramitās* in an enthusiastic manner. [Chapter IX]

A careful examination of spiritual attainments and physical endowments of a Buddha has brought out one striking feature of the development of the concept of Buddha in the Pāli tradition. The concepts that came to prominence in the *Aṭṭhakathā* literature such as *sabbaññūtā-ñāṇa*, *mahā-karuṇā*, *asīti-anuvyañjana*, *satapuññalakkhaṇa*, etc., have their beginnings in some of the late texts in the Khuddaka Nikāya. If one were to follow the traditional chronology of the Pāli canonical texts, then these concepts could be traced to the time of the king Asoka of India. But the nature of late texts in the Khuddaka Nikāya such as the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Niddesa*, *Apadāna* and even the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* denies such a view.¹ The question of which tradition, the Pāli or the Buddhist Sanskrit, is the first to introduce what are considered to be late Buddhological developments such as the notions of *aṭṭhārasabuddhadhamma*, *asīti-anuvyañjana*, etc., is the matter that involves a comparative analysis of both traditions and requires the determination of the relevant sources as a precondition for such a study. We hope that further attempts will be made in this line in the future.

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Finally, our investigations have revealed that the commonly accepted view to regard the *Aṭṭhakathās* as representing one single tradition of Theravāda Buddhism must be re-examined with caution. It is often the case that *Dhammapāla* provides new or additional information on various topics as we have seen. He appears to be more conversant with and influenced by the Buddhist Sanskrit sources than his predecessor *Buddhaghosa*. It is therefore suggested for a future study that these two great commentators must be compared in their interpretations of various subjects, doctrinal or otherwise, with full details found in the *Aṭṭhakathā* literature, so that *Dhammapāla* will receive due recognition as a commentator as important as *Buddhaghosa*.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1 The Pāli sources ascribe the Buddha's entering into Parinibbāna to the year 483 B.C. See W.Geiger, the *Mahāvamsa*, Colombo, 1950, p.xxiv; etc. There have been controversies on the date of the Buddha's death between the Southern and the Northern traditions. The difference between the two traditions is about a hundred years: the latter generally accepts the date of his *parinirvāna* to be around 380 B.C. However, this question is not yet final. See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai* (*Gotama Buddha: The Life of Sākyamuni*), p.49; *Indo Kodai-shi* (*The Ancient History of India, Vol.II*), pp.409 ff; Kogen Mizuno, *Shakuson no Shogai* (*The Life of Sākyamuni*), pp.43 f; etc.

2 S iii 120

3 Rhys Davids gives a list of references to the Buddha's personal life in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol.I, pp.196 f

4 Fumio Masutani, *Buddha no Denki* (*The Legend of the Buddha*), The Works of Fumio Masutani, Vol.5, p.431

5 For such genealogical accounts of the Sākya clan, see DA i 258-262 and SnA i 352-356

6 JA i 1-94

7 Bv xxvii v 1 mentions three more Buddhas before Dīpaṅkara Buddha; namely, Taṅhaṅkara, Medhaṅkara and Saraṇaṅkara.

8 See e.g. D ii 1ff (Mahāpadāna sutta)

9 Bv ii vs 76-77

10 'Mayham pi ...pubbe va sambodha anabhisambuddhassa bodhisattass' eva sato' See M i 17, 91, 163, 240; S ii 169, iii 27, iv 233, v 263, 281, 317; A i 258, iii 240; etc.

11 E.J.Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p.172

12 H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *The Development of the Concept of Buddha in Pāli*

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Literature, pp.6 f

13 For studies on the stratification of the canonical texts, many scholars attempted to analyze the textual development; some comparing the Pāli Canon with its counterpart in the Chinese translations. To quote a few; E.Mayeda, *Genshi Bukkyo Seiten no Seiritsu-shi Kenkyu* (*A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts*), pp.812 + 18 (Index) + 42 (English Summary); H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo Seiten Seiritsu-shi Kenkyu no Kijun ni tsuite* (*A Methodology of the Study of the Formation of Early Buddhist Texts*) in *Genshi Bukkyo no Shiso* Vol.II (*The Thought of Early Buddhism*, Vol.II), Selected Works of Hajime Nakamura, Vol.14, pp.259-479; G.C.Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Third Edition, India, 1983, pp.606; etc. See also H.Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism - A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, 1980, 1987, 1989 (Buddhist Tradition Series, India), pp.22-31 for a bibliography on the subject.

14 E.g. H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai* (*Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni*), Selected Works of Hajime Nakamura, Vol.11, Tokyo, 1974. Nakamura's aim in his study is to construct a life of Gotama Buddha based on the earliest available sources and evidence, and for that he gives three methodological approaches. One of them is the application of critique of original texts researched and developed in modern times. Such a philological critique is a must. Fumio Masutani is another scholar who says in his *Buddha no Denki* (*The Legend of Buddha*) that some descriptions about the life of Gotama Buddha in the early canonical texts can become intelligible, if only such a hypothesis is accepted (See specially Chapter 9, pp.340 ff). Kogen Mizuno, *Shakuson no Shogai* (*The Life of Sākyamuni*). Egaku Mayeda, *Shakuson* (*Sākyamuni*). Also see H.Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1989, pp. 16 ff for bibliographical notes on the study of the life of Gotama Buddha.

15 E.g. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Life of the Buddha*, BPS, Kandy, 1992 (*Third Edition*); Phra Khantipalo, *The Splendour of Enlightenment - A Life of the Buddha*, 2 vols, Bangkok, 1976; etc.

16 Thag 1179, 1199. An etymological explanation is given by H.Nakamura who believes that *mārisa* is of the same meaning as *mādisa* (one like me)

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and the Sanskrit counterpart is *māḍṛśā*. See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.488

17 E.g. Sn 228, 448, 1057, 1083, 1117, 1135, 1136; S i 127, 143, 180; Thag 375, 536, 1251; Thīg 136; D ii 123; etc.

18 Thag 119; Sn 699; etc.

19 H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, pp.487-502 (especially pp.494-496)

20 Sn 518, 1064; Dhp 383-423 (Brāhmaṇa-vagga); etc.

21 H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.488

22 Sn 655

23 Dhp 184. See also Sn 267; Dhp 194; etc.

24 H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo no Shiso, Vol.I (The Thought of Early Buddhism, Vol.I)*, p.452 f. Also see H.Nakamura, *Buddha no Kotoba (Words of the Buddha) (Suttanipāta)*, pp.364-365

25 H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.189

26 See e.g. M i 77-79 (Mahāsīhanāda sutta), 240-246 (Mahāsaccaka sutta); etc. where the Buddha relates to his disciples his experience of severe austerities before he attained Buddhahood and says that those austerities are of no use. H.Nakamura says that these texts are of late origin in the Canon. See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.188

27 H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.190

28 I.B.Horner, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, pp.87-88

29 Miln 245, 284, etc.

30 H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritsu (The Establishment of Early Buddhism)*, pp.378-390.

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- 31 Cf. It 67: *kāyamuniṃ vācāmuniṃ manomuniṃ anāsavaṃ / munimoneyyasampannaṃ āhu niṇhātapāpakan ti //*
J.Hartley Moore (*Sayings of Buddha. The Iti-Vuttaka of the Buddhist Canon*, p.77) translates 'munimoneyyasampannaṃ' in the above *gāthā* as 'possessed of the quality of silence of a Muni'. See also H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.490, 498 (footnote 28); *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.III, Fascicle 3, s.v. *Buddha*, p.363; etc.
- 32 Sn 544; S iii 91; It 52; Thag 623; Thīg 144; etc.
- 33 Thag 1240. ThagA iii 195 gives two meanings to this word: (1) the best among disciples and paccekabuddhas and (2) the seventh sage in the lineage of Buddhas. Here the meaning is the first one.
- 34 Thag 623; Thīg 157; etc.
- 35 D ii 287; etc.
- 36 It 100; A ii 9; etc.
- 37 A i 17; etc.
- 38 H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritstu (The Establishment of Early Buddhism)*, pp.391-393
- 39 E.g. M iii 6
- 40 Nathan Katz, *Buddhist Images of Human Perfection*, p.146
- 41 E.g. Takayoshi Namikawa, *Genshi Bukkyo ni okeru Buddha to Buddesh - Ryosha ni kansuru Hyogen no Ido to Kosho yori mite (The Difference between the Buddha and His Disciples - A Study of Their Common Epithets and Referential Expressions in Early Verses of the Nikāyas)*, pp.285 (492)-304 (477); Ryu Takeda, *Pāli Jukai Kendo Butsuden ni miru Kosho Kino (Oral Function Remained in the Pāli Scripture Considered in the Part of the Life Story of the Buddha in Mahākbandhaka of the Vinaya-piṭaka)* pp.51-74. Takeda's aim in his article is to see the functions of oral tradition of transmission by examining expressions (language) employed in the text etc.

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42 Nathan Katz, *op.cit.*, p.xvii

43 T.Namikawa, *op.cit.*, p.297 (484)

44 D i 1 ff

45 D i 178 ff; M i 484; S iv 393; Ud vi 4; etc.

46 S v 437-438 (Siṃsapā sutta)

47 Liñy de Silva, *The Buddha and the Arahant Compared*, p.38

48 S i 191

49 M i 477-479

50 Vin ii 161

51 H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo no Shiso*, Vol.II (*The Thought of Early Buddhism*, Vol.II), p.255. He further elaborates that (1) 'beings' are those who are in *samsāra* and are yoked to sensuality (*kāmayoga*) and becoming (*bhavayoga*); (2) 'those who do not return to the domain of desire' are those who have still the yoke of becoming, although they have abandoned sensuality (*kāma*); and (3) 'those who are gone beyond' are those who have completely achieved the destruction of passions (*āsavakkhaya*).

52 E.g. Nathan Katz, *op.cit.*, especially, pp.117-146.

53 See for studies of the philological development of the Buddhist texts, Egaku Mayeda, *Genshi Bukkyo Seiten no Seiritsu-shi Kenkyu* (*A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts*), Sankibo-busshorin, Tokyo, 1964; G.C.Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Third Edition, Delhi, 1983; H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo Seiten Seiritsu-shi Kenkyu no Kijun ni tsuite* (*A Methodology of the Study of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts*), *Genshi Bukkyo no Shiso*, Vol.II (*The Thought of Early Buddhism*, Vol.II), pp.259 ff. Nakamura in his above work (pp.396-397) says in a summary that (1) the Suttanipāta and the Sagāthāvagga go back before the king Asoka's time; (2) specially the Aṭṭhakavagga and the Pārāyanavagga represent thoughts close to the time of the Buddha; (3) most of the *gāthās* in the original Buddhist texts appear to be earlier than the king Asoka's time;

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and (4) the five Nikāyas of the extant Pāli texts or the original texts of the four Chinese Āgamas contain in them fairly old materials, but their prose parts appear to have been composed and compiled mostly after the king Asoka's time.

54 G.C.Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, pp.29-30

55 M ii 133 ff

56 Cf. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, 1980, pp.1-105

57 Vin i 8

58 See H. Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha: The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.504

59 A ii 38-39

60 Thag 690

61 Sn 878-914

62 E.g. MA ii 25-26; SA ii 43-45; AA v 10-11; BvA 42-43; VibhA 397-398; etc.

63 The term *Navagaṇa* is used here for convenience. It does not seem to occur in the Pāli Canon nor in the Aṭṭhakathā. It is mentioned in a Sinhala work called *Amāvatura*, one of the oldest texts in Sinhala ascribed to the authorship of Guruḷugomi who lived in the twelfth century A.D. (See Piyaseeli Wijemanne, *Amāvatura: A Syntactical Study*, Colombo, 1984, p.3) This shows that the origin of the term *Navagaṇa* can go back at least to the twelfth century A.D. See *Amāvatura*, ed. Kodagoda Nāṇaloka, 1967, p.1.

64 E.g., D i 49, iii 76; M i 267; A i 168; Sn 103, 132; etc. In the Northern Buddhism, the ten titles or appellations are usually grouped into a set and are called the Ten Titles of a Buddha. A marked difference between the Pāli tradition and that of the Northern Buddhism is that the latter includes 'tathāgata' in the list while the former does not.

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65 M i 36 ff

66 A i 206

67 S i 218 f

68 DhP 195 : *pūjārahe pūjayato buddhe yadi va sāvake.*

69 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.506; *Gotama Buddha II (Gotama Buddha II, Early Buddhism II)*, Shunjusha, Tokyo, 1992, p.481

70 See H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritsu (The Establishment of Early Buddhism)*, p.388

71 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.504; *Gotama Buddha II (Gotama Buddha II, Early Buddhism II)*, p.479

72 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.505; *Gotama Buddha II (Gotama Buddha II, Early Buddhism II)*, p.480

73 E.g., S i 153, 167, ii 284; D i 99, iii 98, 196 f; M i 358; A iv 238; etc.

74 See, *The Bhagavadgīta*, commentary by Swami Chidbhavananda, Tamil Nadu, India, 1984, p.342. He translates the passage as "one endowed with learning and humility."

75 H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.509; *Gotama Buddha II (Gotama Buddha II, Early Buddhism II)*, p.485

76 Sn 595, 1019; etc. See H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritsu (The Establishment of Early Buddhism)*, pp.49-50. SnA ii 447 mentions thus: 'Tinnaṃ vedānaṃ ti irubbedayajubbedasāma vedānaṃ' (i.e. Ṛg-veda, Yajur-veda and Sāma-veda). Cf. DA i 247

77 E.g. Sn 656; It 99; Thig 363, 433; A i 165, 167; etc.

78 E.g. M i 482 (Tevijja Vacchagotta sutta); etc.

79 D iii 281

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80 See PED, s.v. *Abhiññā* (p.64)

81 See H.Nakamura, *Genshi Bukkyo no Shiso*, Vol.II (*The Thought of Early Buddhism*, Vol.II), p.178

82 The list is found at Thag 379 (the list here comprises five minus *āsavakkhaya*); D iii 281; etc.

83 Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, s.v. *Abhiññā*, p.2

84 T.W.Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part 1, p.272

85 D i 78, 212; etc. See also PED s.v. *Iddhi* for further references.

86 Vin i 24 ff

87 H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamum)*, p.293

88 M i 375. Cf. A ii 190

89 E.g. Vin ii 110 f; J iv 263; etc.

90 E.g. D ii 213, iii 221-222; M i 103; S v 257; A i 39, 297, ii 256, iii 82; etc.

91 S v 255

92 *Loc.cit.*

93 S iv 260

94 Nathan Katz, *op.cit.*, p.112

95 D i 214

96 Kogen Mizuno, *Shakuson no Shaogai (The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.86. See also Kogen Mizuno, *Genshi Bukkyo (Early Buddhism)*, p.238

97 D i 212, iii 220; A i 170, v 327; etc.

98 E.g. Pts i 125; Miln 106; etc.

99 S i 110, 158; D ii 157; etc.

100 A iii 417-418. They correspond to one, two, seven, eight, nine and ten

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of the items found in the Mahāsīhanāda sutta.

101 M i 69-71

102 See also A v 32 ff

103 My translation based on the idea expressed in the text which reads 'aneke pi samvattavivattakappe...' Later texts are definite about this time limit of the Buddha's power of remembering former existences and it is always the case that he can remember limitless number of former existences. See e.g. Vism 411, etc.

104 Lily de Silva's translation in her article, *The Buddha and the Arahant Compared*, p.39 is adopted here as it conveys the contents very clearly.

105 A v 174-176

106 Lily de Silva, *The Buddha and the Arahant Compared*, p.42

107 Cf.M ii 11-12

108 D iii 283: 'satta khīṇāsavabalāni'

109 S v 249

110 D iii 78 (*bhikkhu-bala*)

111 Nathan Katz, *op.cit.*, p.145

112 M i 482

113 Lily de Silva, *The Buddha and the Arahant Compared*, p.40

114 *Loc.cit.*

115 See Lily de Silva, *The Buddha and the Arahant Compared*, pp.40-41. She cites several instances of this nature found in the Canon. In the Paṭisambhidāmagga of the Khuddaka Nikāya [Pts i 133-134] this knowledge is considered as one of the six knowledges of the Buddha not shared (by others) (*asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa*). Even in the Aṭṭhakathā texts the *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* is regarded as a knowledge not common to the disciple. See e.g., PtsA iii 630; KvA 63; etc.

116 M ii 9-22

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117 See also M i 519 ff., ii 126 ff.; etc.

118 M i 482

119 K.N.Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, p.380. The *tevijjā* is also claimed by the Buddha's disciples. See e.g. S i 191, ii 217, 222; etc.

120 M ii 127

121 K.N.Jayatilleke, *op.cit.*, p.460

122 Lily de Silva, *The Buddha and the Arahant Compared*, pp.43-44. Cf. S iv 15 (Sabba sutta)

123 A ii 80

124 AA iii 108

125 Sn 160, 405, 540, 562, 570, 596, 599, 956, 992, 1028, 1115, 1127; D ii 123, 166, 167, 256, 262, 272; S i 121; Thag, 149, 995; Dhp 273; etc. All these references are in *gāthās*.

126 S i 137; Sn 346, 378, 1063, 1068, 1069, 1073, 1090; etc.

127 D ii 254; Dhp 273; Thag 905; etc.

128 E.g. Nd i 354 ff, 448 ff; etc.

129 See for references in the Canon, PED, s.v. *Cakkhu* (pp.259-260). There is a reference to a set of three comprising *maṃsa-cakkhu*, *dibba-cakkhu* and *paññā-cakkhu* at It 52 and D iii 219. This also supports the view that the later Buddhists gathered relevant notions of *cakkhu* together and formed them into a set of five.

130 M i 71-72

131 See also A iii 297 f

132 M i 72

133 Oliver Abeynayake in his book *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, pp.183-196 also gives a brief account of the development of Buddhology in the Khuddaka Nikāya.

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134 Ap i 1 speaks of thirty *pāramitās* without giving their contents. They came to be specified in the Aṭṭhakathā literature and as such this isolated reference is not strong enough to prove historical antiquity of the theory of thirty *pāramitās* in the canonical texts.

135 See H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.281. Cf. *ibid.*, Appendix viii, pp.454 ff. Also ERE, s.v. *Apadāna*

136 See e.g., Oliver Abeynayake, *op.cit.*, p.171

137 Kogen Mizuno, *The Position of the Paṭisambhidāmagga and the Niddesa in the History of the Formation of the Pāli Sacred Texts*, Bukkyo Kenkyu (Buddhist Studies) (Old Series), Vol.IV - 3, 1940, pp.55-83, Vol.IV - 5, 1941, pp.49-79, Vol.IV - 6, 1941, pp.41-64.

138 Kogen Mizuno, *Kenkyu no Kaiko (Retrospection of Researches)*, The Felicitation Volume for Professor Kogen Mizuno on His Eighty-eighth Birthday, pp.302-303

139 Pts i 3

140 Pts i 131-133

141 Pts i 133-134

142 Other references to *samanta-cakkhu* in the Khuddaka Nikāya are at MNd ii 360; CNd 138, 268; etc.

143 Pts i 133, ii 31

144 Pts i 3

145 Pts i 121-133

146 Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, footnote 7 in Chapter VII, pp.771-773

147 Sn 345, 378, 1063, 1069, 1090, 1133; etc. Cf. S i 137; etc.

148 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.494 & p.501, footnote 74

149 MNd ii 354-360; CNd 133-138, 235

150 D i 82 = M i 248

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151 M i 482

152 The Commentaries are specific about the knowledge of the past, present and future through the knowledges of former existences and clairvoyance. See e.g. MA i 128: '... *pubbenivāsaññāneṇa atītaṃsaññāṇaṃ dibbacakkhunā paccuppannānāgatamsaññāṇaṃ...*'

153 Pts ii 168 ff

154 Pts ii 173-174

155 Pts ii 174-176

156 Pts ii 174, 205, 207 ff

157 See also Vism 378; BvA 25-26; etc.

158 E.g. Ap i 20; etc. Cf. the word *balātibalapāragū*. See Oliver Abeynayake, *op.cit.*, pp.187-188 for a list of epithets of the Buddha found in the Khuddaka Nikāya.

159 E.g. A ii 80; etc.

160 Ap i 6

161 Ap i 4, 5, 26, 29, etc.

162 See Eugene Watson Burlingame, *Buddhist Parables*, pp.264 ff, 270 ff

163 Bv XXVI v 22

164 MNd ii 446

165 Ap ii 375

166 Vibh 335-344

167 For studies of the concept of Paccekabuddha in the Pāli tradition, see Ria Kloppenborg, *The Paccekabuddha: A Buddhist Ascetic - A Study of the Concept of the Paccekabuddha in Pāli Canonical and Commentarial Literature*, Leiden, 1974. She published an abridged version under the same title in the Wheel Publication Series, Nos. 305/306/307, Kandy, 1983.

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168 Pug 14. Cf. *ibid.* 70

169 See for a comprehensive examination of the controversies concerning Buddhahood in the Kathāvatthu, S.N.Dube, *Cross Currents in Early Buddhism*, pp.120-150

170 S.N.Dube, *op.cit.*, p.137

171 For a detailed study of the concept of Buddha in the Milindapañha, see Kyosho Hayashima, *Shoki Bukkyo to Shakai Seikatsu (Early Buddhism and Social Life)*, pp.405-446

172 Miln 285

173 *Ibid.* 285. Cf. *ibid.* 216

174 *Ibid.* 236-239

175 *Ibid.* 239

176 T.W.Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, pp.123-124

177 Miln 80

178 See also T.Endo, *Some Significant Epithets and Qualities of the Buddha as Found in the Milindapañha*, pp.163-167

179 Miln 74

180 *Ibid.* 76

181 *Ibid.* 74

182 *Ibid.* 76

183 H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.51 l

184 Miln 102

185 *Loc.cit.*

186 *Ibid.* 105

187 *Ibid.* 106

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- 188 *Loc.cit.*
- 189 K.N.Jayatileke, *op.cit.*, p.467
- 190 Miln 142-143
- 191 *Ibid.* 272-273
- 192 *Ibid.* 157
- 193 M i 519
- 194 See Kyosho Hayashima, *Shoki Bukkyo to Shakai Seikatsu (Early Buddhism and Social Life)*, pp.414-418
- 195 Miln 216, 239, 393, etc.
- 196 *Ibid.* 209, 224, 362, etc.
- 197 *Ibid.* 239
- 198 *Ibid.* 74, 102, 105, 107, 117, 134, 139, 157, 188, 203, 214, 226-227, 233, 244-245, 272-273, 279-281, 287, 332, 360, etc.
- 199 See Asao Iwamatsu, *Ten-chu-ten Ko (A Note on "God of Gods")*, p.204 and p.215, footnotes 17 & 18
- 200 H.Nakamura, *Indo Kodai-shi (Ancient History of India)*, Vol.II, pp.103-104. See also H.Nakamura, *Indo Shiso-shi (History of Indian Thought)*, p.85 where he says that the first king of the Saka Empire was Maues (c. 120 B.C.)
- 201 See Asao Iwamatsu, *op.cit.*, p.215, footnote 20
- 202 H.Nakamura, *Indo Kodai-shi (Ancient History of India)*, Vol.II, p.186
- 203 H.Nakamura, *Indo Kodai-shi (Ancient History of India)*, Vol.II, p.186
- 204 Asao Iwamatsu, *op.cit.*, p.206
- 205 Asao Iwamatsu, *op.cit.*, p.212
- 206 Sn 553 = Thag 823 = M ii 146: *khattiyā bhojarājāno anuyantā bhavanti te; rājābhirāja manujindo rajjam karehi Gotama.*

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207 Thag 823. Here the text gives *rājādhirāja* as a variant reading in the footnote. See H.Oldenbergh & R.Pischel, ed. *Thera-and Therī-Gāthā*, 1883

208 PED, s.v. *Ādhi*

209 See H.Nakamura, *Buddha no Kotoba (Words of the Buddha)* (Suttanipāta), pp.435 & 438. See also Egaku Mayeda, *Genshi Bukkyo Seiten no Seiritsu-shi Kenkyu (A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts)*, pp.725 ff, etc.

210 Vv 62

211 CNd 173, 307

212 Ap 253, 460

213 Miln 111, 137, 217, 230, 241, 258, 281, 333, 362, 366, 367, 371, 372, 377, 378, 379, 381, 384, 385, 386, 387, 391, 399, 402, 403, 405, 408, 409, 411, 413, 414, 415, 417, etc.

214 I.B.Horner, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, p.202.

215 Asao Iwamatsu, *op.cit.*, p.208

216 Miln 34, 36, 66, 74, etc.

217 Thag 489

218 Thag 1179. Thag 533 uses the term for Suddhodana as well. This suggests that the word *devadeva* was not an exclusive term of epithet for the Buddha alone.

219 It 100; A ii 9; etc.

220 Miln' 203, 209

221 I.e. Miln 111 & 137

222 D i 114

223 M ii 135-140

224 D iii 143, 159; J ii 104; etc.

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225 Sn 1041-1042

226 S v 158. See also Bellanwila Wimalaratana, *Concept of Great Man (Mahāpurisa)*, pp.13 ff. for further references to such passages in the Pāli Canon.

227 See D ii 17 f; iii 142 ff; M ii 136; etc.

228 D iii 142-179

229 The list appears at D ii 17 f, iii 143 f; M ii 136 f; etc.

230 Bv XXI v 27

231 Ap i 156

CHAPTER II

1 E.g. ItA i 140

2 This enumeration occurs at Vism 676; etc. See Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *A Pāli-English Glossary of Buddhist Technical Terms*, p.61

3 VibhA 398

4 M i 71

5 S ii 56

6 BvA 43

7 BvA 185

8 SnA i 264

9 A ii 80. See ItA i 141-2; etc.

10 Bv I v 64

11 MA ii 295. Cf. DA iii 877: *Buddhagūṇā anantā aparimāṇā ti.*

12 DhsA 160

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13 Cf. Bv I v 64; BvA 52, 135

14 DA ii 485

15 M i 482 (Tevijja-Vacchagotta sutta)

16 M ii 127 (Kannakatthala sutta)

17 MA iii 357

18 PtsA ii 429. See also. NdA i 387, etc. Cf. PtsA i 58-59

19 Miln 102

20 '*Dibba-cakkhu*' (Divine-eye) is usually equated with '*yathā-kammūpaṅga-ñāṇa*' (knowledge of how beings vanish and reappear according to their kammic deeds). This implies that one may be able to see what happens to beings in the future according to their kammic deeds, if this knowledge is understood in that extended sense.

21 D iii 134

22 M i 71; Vibh 335-44. Cf. A iii 417

23 K.N.Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, p.469

24 Pts i 131

25 MA ii 63-64. Cf. DhsA 354

26 DhsA 294-295. Cf. *Ibid.* 354

27 S iv 15

28 Pts i 101

29 Pts i 133: '*Yāvatā sadevakassa lokassa samārakassa sabrahmakassa sassamaṇabrahmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya diṭṭhaṃ sutaṃ mutaṃ viññātaṃ pattaṃ pariyesitaṃ anuvicariṭaṃ manasā sabbaṃ jānāti.*'

30 Pts i 131

31 MA i 17

32 SA i 193. Cf. SA ii 243 where '*sabba*' includes *khanda*, *āyatana*, *dhātu*

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and three *bhava*. MA ii 189 [= VA v 964] says that 'sabba' in 'sabbābhibhū' means dhammas belonging to the three planes of existence. 'Sabba' in 'sabbavidū' means dhammas belonging to the four planes of existence. MA ii 63-64 states that 'sabbaññū' and 'sabbadassāvī' mean that our Teacher knows and sees everything concerning the past, future and present (*sabbaññū sabbadassāvī ti so amhākaṃ satthā atītānāgatapaccuppannaṃ sabbam jānāti passatī ti dassenti*).

33 ThagA iii 17: 'Sabbaññū ti paropadesena vinā sabba-ppakārena-sabbadhammāvabodhana-samattbassa ākañkhāyatta-pāṭibaddha-vuttino anāvaraṇa-nāṇassa adhigamena atītādibhedam sabbam jānāti ti.'

34 ItA i 52; CpA i 18; SA ii 357; etc. Cf. MA i 38

35 See Nd i 360; etc. Dhammapāla, on the other hand, quotes a different passage to explain 'sabba-sabba' as follows: "Sabbe dhammā sabbākārena Buddhassa Bhagavato nāṇamukhe āpātha āgacchantī" = ādisu sabba-sabbasmim āgato" [Cf. Nd ii 451]. See ItA I 52; CpA 18; etc.

36 Cf. S iv 15

37 SA ii 357

38 *Loc., cit.*

39 ItA i 52

40 Nd ii 451

41 Sn 558; Thag 828. Cf. Vism 201; PtsA 215; etc.

42 Pts i 132. It counts these four things as a part of the Buddha's omniscient knowledge (*sabbaññuta-nāṇa*).

43 Vism 201.

44 Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.196.

45 Nd i 178-179

46 ItA i 142

47 DhsA 160

48 Pts i 131; ThagA ii 11. Cf. PtsA i 58; etc.

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49 Miln 106.

50 DA i 44-45

51 PtsA i 58

52 NdA i 386

53 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.549-558

54 S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.557

55 S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.553

56 This *gāthā* occurs at Pts i 133, etc.

57 This classification is also found at NdA iii 56. Cf. PtsA iii 646 where only the term occurs. H.Ñāṇāvāsa strangely calls this '*pañcavidhajñeyyamandala*' using a Sanskrit term while correctly giving the source reference. Both PTS and SHB editions of the *Saddhammapakāsinī* give the term as '*pañcañeyyapatha*'. See H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.259

58 It appears from the context that the word '*nibbāna*' is used here not in the sense of 'liberation' as usually understood, but refers to one and the only unconditioned (*asaṅkhata*) dhamma according to the Theravāda tradition.

59 PtsA iii 646

60 See Junjiro Takakusu, *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, pp.167-168; Hisao Inagaki, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*, pp.349 & 368; etc.

61 See e.g., AA [i 124 ff], DhpA, ThagA, ThīgA, ApA, etc.

62 ItA i 140

63 ItA i 140-141: '*yadi tāva sakim yeva sabbasmim visaye pavattati, atītānāgata-paccuppanna-ajjhatabhiddhādi-bheda-bhinnānaṃ saṅkhata-dhammānaṃ asaṅkhata-sammuti-dhammānaṃ ce' eva ekajjhaṃ upatthāne*

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

dūrato cittapaṭam pekkhantassa viya visaya-vibhāgenāvabodho na siyā. Tathā ca sati sabbe dhammā anattā ti vipassantānaṃ anattākārena viya sabba-dhammā anirūpita-rūpeṇa Bhagavato nāṇassa visayā hontī ti āpajjati yeva.' However, the words underlined are corrected according to the SHB edition of ItA 113

64 ItA i 141: 'na hi jāti-bhūmi-sabhāvādi-vasena disā-desā-kālādi-vasena ca aneka-bheda-bhinne ñeyye kamena gayhamāne tassa anavasesa-pañivedho sambhavati apariyanta-bhāvato ñeyyassa.'

65 Loc.cit.: 'tasmā sakiṃ yeva nāṇaṃ pavattatī ti na yujjati. Atha kamena sabbasmiṃ visaye nāṇaṃ pavattatī ti evaṃ pi na yujjati.'

66 Ibid, 142

67 M i 482

68 M ii 127

69 Pts i 131

70 UdA 144 = ItA i 130. Cf. ThagA iii 17. This point is discussed in detail by Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli. See Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.771, footnote 7

71 *Aparisesato sabbajānanasamatthattā sattisabbaññutā vā siyā, viditasabbadhammattā nātasabbaññutā vā.* Consider the word underlined.

72 ItA i 142: 'Sabbe dhammā Buddhassa Bhagavato āvajjana-pañibaddhā, ākākhā-pañibaddhā, manasikāra-pañibaddhā, citt' uppāda-pañibaddhā.'

73 The word 'sabbaññu-bodhisatta' is used in some commentaries to differentiate the bodhisatta (Buddha-to-be) from 'pacceka-bodhisatta' and 'sāvaka-bodhisatta'. See T.Endo, *Bodhisattas in the Pāli Commentaries*, pp.65-92

74 See DPPN, Vol.I, p.408, s.v. *Upāli* for further information on these.

75 BvA 51

76 MA ii 25 = AA v 10 = PtsA iii 624 = VibhA 397: 'Tathā gatabalāni ti aññehi asādhāraṇāni Tathāgathass' eva balāni. Yathā vā pubba-Buddhānaṃ balāni puññussayasampattiya āgatāni, tathā āgatabalāni ti attho.'

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77 E.g. M i 69 ff (Mahāsīhanāda sutta)

78 ItA i 8

79 E.g. MA i 25; SA ii 43; AA v 25; PtsA iii 624; BvA 42; VibhA 397; etc.

80 See above

81 MA ii 26; AA v 11; PtsA iii 625; VibhA 397; etc.

82 BvA 27

83 NdA i 269

84 M i 71: '*Imāni kho Sāriputta dasa Tathāgatabalāni yehi balchi samannāgato Tathāgato āsabbāṅ-ṭhānaṃ paṭijānāti, parisāsu sihanādaṃ nadati, brahmacakkaṃ pavatteti.*'

85 ItA i 16: '*tesu bala-samāyogena parehi na abhibhuyyati, vesārajja-samāyogena parehi abhibhavati. Balehi satthusampada-siddhī, vesārajjehi sāsanasampadā-siddhī. Tathā balehi Buddharatana-siddhī, vesārajjehi dhammaratana-siddhī ti.*'

86 Vism 524

87 MA ii 28

88 AA v 12

89 VibhA 399-400

90 See also PtsA iii 627

91 KvA 63; SA iii 263; etc.

92 PtsA iii 630

93 VibhA 461-462

94 Dhpa iii 426

95 BvA 27

96 See D i 82 = M i 248

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97 Ap i 28

98 MA ii 31-32 = AA v 16-18 = PtsA iii 629-630; VibhA 464

99 See Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Dispeller of Delusion* (Sammohavinodanī), part II, pp.212-213

100 MA ii 32 = AA v 17-18 = PtsA 629-630

101 Pts ii 174, 205, 207. See also the list of ten *iddhis* mentioned above.

102 Vism 373 ff

103 Bv I v 39

104 BvA 43

105 Vism 378; DhsA 91; BvA 26; etc.

106 Kv XXI 4

107 KvA 191-192

108 *Sabhāgasantatiṃ pana parivattetvā visabhāgasantatīkaṇe vā sabhāgasantativasen' eva ciratarappavattane vā yesaṃ atthāya karīyaṃ, tesāṃ puññādīni kāraṇāni nissāya kattvaci ijjhāti. Bhikkhūnaṃ atthāya pāṇiyassa sappikhīrādīkaṇe viya mahādhātunidhāne dīpādīnaṃ cirasantānappavattane viya cā ti.* See also *The Debates Commentary*, p.234

109 Vism 393

110 Miln 106

111 DA i 57; SA i 103; etc.

112 Cf. also DA i 57; KhpA 132; etc.

113 See Eugene Watson Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, part 3, p.35; G.P.Malalasekera, *DPPN*, s.v. *Yamaka-pāṭihāriya*, Vol.II, p.683; etc.

114 E.g. D iii 220; S iv 290; A i 170; etc.

115 E.g. D i 213 ff

116 Bv I v 11

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117 Cf. I.B. Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, p.44 for the translation of this passage.

118 BvA 29-30

119 BvA 34. See I.B. Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, pp.51f

120 SnA i 15. Cf. DhA iii 425 ff and JA i 182 for similar stories. In both cases the term *buddhaveneyya* (DhA iii 426 & JA i 182) is used. A similar story is also found at SnA i 331.

121 JA i 504

122 E.g. DA ii 470

123 DhA i 319. Cf. *Ibid.* ii 58; etc.

124 Many people got benefits from this practice of the Buddha and such instances are recorded at DhA i 319, 413, ii 37, 58, 80, 193, iii 25, etc.

125 See e.g. Fumio Masutani, *op.cit.*, p.244; Egaku Mayeda, *Shakuson (Sākyamuni)*, p.28; Hajime Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.220; etc.

126 S i 122-124

127 The Vinaya Mahāvagga [Vin i 4 ff] mentions only Sahampati as the one who requested the Buddha to preach. But the Aṭṭhakathā texts, though the gist of the incident is very similar to the canonical tradition, are not consistent as to who requested the Buddha to preach. For instance, JA i 81 states that Sahampati was accompanied by Sakka and other deities (e.g. Suyāma, Santusita, Sunimmita, Vasavatti, etc.). MA ii 278 says that Sakka accompanied by deities himself requested the Buddha to preach. See also AA i 124 f. All these details are not found in the canonical texts. According to the Sanskrit sources, different stories are found. See H.Ñāṅāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.125.

128 D ii 37 ff

129 VA v 961. Cf. DA ii 466-467 = SA i 198

130 See Chapter V on Tathāgata in the present study.

131 BvA 130; DA ii 424

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132 SnA ii 407 ff; BvA 296

133 See below. The four 'vemattā' at Miln 285 include (1) *kula* (family), (2) *addhāna* (period), (3) *āyu* (life-span) and (4) *pamāṇa* (size).

134 A i 286

135 A i 22

136 ItA i 122; UdA 134: 'Yāyaṃ mahā-karuṇā lokanāthassa, yāya mahā-dukkha-sampāta-paṭipannaṃ satta-nikāyaṃ disvā 'tassa n' atth' añño koci paṭisaraṇaṃ, ahameva ito saṃsāra-dukkhato mutto mocessāmi' ti samussāhita-mānaso mahābhinihāraṃ akāsi.'

137 ItA i 123; UdA 135

138 Vism 203 = VA i 116

139 The translation is by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.198. An alternate translation may be as follows: '... he causes them to engage in the beneficial, leaving aside the harmful.'

140 Vism 203 = VA i 116

141 Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.310

142 Vism 318

143 PtsA i 58

144 UdA 142-144. Cf. ItA i 130

145 Pts i 126-131

146 UdA 144; ItA i 130

147 ThagA iii 17: 'Hīnādi-vibhāga-bhinne sabbasmiṃ satta-nikāye adhimutti-vuttitāya mahatiyā karuṇāya samannāgatattā mahākāruṇiko.'

148 A similar passage is found at ItA ii 15

149 See discussions on the concept of Bodhisatta and related topics below for the understanding of Bodhisattahood and Buddhahood as conceived by Dhanunapāla. (especially Chapters VII-IX)

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

150 CpA 289-290

151 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.178 ff

152 Kv XXIII 3

153 KvA 200

154 See Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.773, footnote 9.

155 DhA i 249

156 H.Saddhatissa, tr. *The Sutta-nipāta*, p.122

157 Sn 1064

158 E.g. SA i 68. See also VA i 197, vi 1279; SA i 319; AA i 322; etc.

159 E.g. AA i 100 f; etc.

160 Nd i 354 ff, 448 ff, ii 235

161 E.g. ThagA ii 177

162 See Chapter I for the list of five eyes in the Khuddaka Nikāya. See also Nd i 354, 448, etc.

163 E.g. DhsA 306; Pṭsa i 77; ItA i 99; etc.

164 SA ii 354

165 Cf. SA iii 91

166 When one is used for the classification of two types of 'cakkhu', then the other is used in the classification of five types.

167 DhsA 306; ItA i 99; Pṭsa i 77-78. See also *The Expositor*, pp.402-403

168 SA iii 298. Cf. MA v 99; SA ii 354 (*heṭṭhimā tayo maggā ṇi ca phalāni*)

169 DhsA 306. Cf. DA i 183 (*ariyamaggattaya*), 237 (*tiṇṇaṃ maggānaṃ*), ii 467 (*tiṇṇaṃ maggañāṇaṃ*); MA i 179; SA i 200; UdA 207; NdA ii 383; etc.

170 MA v 99

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171 DA i 237

172 See also *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.IV, Fascicle 3, pp.478 ff, s.v *Dhammacakkhu* for its canonical usage.

173 See Lily de Silva, *The Buddha and the Arahant Compared*, p.40

174 Mvu i 159

175 Cf. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.IV, Fascicle 3, p.481

176 DA ii 467; MA ii 179; SA ii 354; VA v 963. Cf.BvA 33

177 See the section on *Tathāgatabala* above.

178 DhsA 306; PtsA i 77; ItA i 99; DA i 183; etc.

179 SA ii 354 = BvA 33. See also MA ii 179; DhsA 306; PtsA i 77; ItA i 99; etc.

180 Pts i 133

181 See Chapter I

182 SA ii 354

183 Vin i 11 = S v 422

184 DA i 183

185 BvA 33

186 Nd i 356 ff

187 Nd i 356

188 DA i 278. See also PtsA iii 617

189 MA ii 33; SA ii 45; AA iii 7; etc.

190 ItA i 16

191 Cf. H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, pp.265 ff for a discussion on the subject.

192 DA iii 897

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

193 Vism 414; VA i 59. Cf. PtsA i 368

194 MA iv 114; AA ii 9. Cf. VibhA 430

195 DA iii 897; MA iv 114; AA ii 9; VibhA 430; etc. Cf. Vism 414; VA i 159; PtsA i 367; etc.

196 DA iii 897; etc. Names of *paritta* mentioned among sources are sometimes different from one another. For instance, VA i 159 and PtsA i 367 give *parittas* of Ratana, Khandha, Dhajagga, Ātānāṭiya and Mora while AA ii 9 gives a shorter list. AA ii 342, on the other hand, gives *parittas* of Ātānāṭiya, Isigili, Dhajagga, Bhojjhaṅga, Khandha, Mora, Mettā and Ratana. See also Vism 414; MA iv 114; VibhA 430-431; etc.

197 DA iii 897; MA iv 114; AA ii 9; VibhA 431; etc. Cf. Pts ii 195

198 Vism 414; VA i 160; PtsA i 368; etc.

199 See H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.267 for a chart showing different calculations adopted by various authorities.

200 DA ii 659. See also H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.267 for a chart showing discrepancies in equation.

201 E.g. D ii 224 f [Mahāgovinda sutta]

202 Miln 237 f

203 E.g. DA iii 897 f

204 Thag 1087: *yāvatā buddhakhettaṃhi t̥hapayivā mahāmunim /
d̥butagun̄c̣ visiṭṭho' ham, sadiso me na vijjāmi //*

205 ThagA iii 142. See also ApA 287 where *buddhakhetta* is equated with *āṇā-khetta*.

206 E.g. DA iii 897; AA ii 9; etc.

207 Ap i 5

208 See H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.274. See also *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.III, Fascicle 3, p.428, s.v. *Buddhaksetra*.

209 D ii 225

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210 DA iii 898; AA ii 10; VibhA 431; etc.

211 DA iii 897; MA iv 114; AA ii 10; VibhA 431; etc.

212 DA iii 898 f; MA iv 115 f; VibhA 431. Cf. AA i 87 ff; SA ii 202;

213 See also SA ii 203; AA i 91-92.

214 DA iii 898; MA iv 115; VibhA 431. Cf. AA i 91; etc.

215 *Loc.cit.*

216 DA iii 899 f; MA iv 116 f; VibhA 433; etc.

217 S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.52; S.Mori, tr.by T.Endo, *Types of the Pāli Commentarial Literature and Their Value as Research Material*, Bukkyo Kenkyu (Buddhist Studies), Vol.XX, 1991, p. 138

218 DA iii 899; MA iv 116-117; VibhA 433; etc.

219 Miln 236 ff

220 DA iii 900-903; MA iv 117-121; AA ii 10-14; VibhA 433-436; etc.

221 AA iii 108

222 AA i 126. Cf. ItA i 142; SnA i 154; etc.

223 DhA ii 199

224 ThagA iii 142

225 NdA ii 383

226 AA ii 339

227 VibhA 50

228 SnA i 228

229 See Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, p.27

230 N.Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p.142

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- 231 See Takeuchi, *Buddha-ron (The Theory of Buddha)*, Iwanamikoza, Toyo Shiso, Vol.9, *Indian Buddhism*, part 2, September, 1988, p.136
- 232 D iii 84
- 233 S iii 120
- 234 N.Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp.136-142. See also *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.IV, Fascicle 4, pp.528 ff, s.v. *Dharmakāya*
- 235 Vism 234
- 236 Vism 211 = VA i 124 = KhpA 108
- 237 DA iii 865: 'Kasmā Tathāgato Dhammakāyo ti vutto ? Tathāgato hi teṭṭakam Buddhavacanam hadayena cintetvā vācāya abhinīhari. Ten' assa kāyo Dhammamayattā Dhammo va.'
- 238 SA ii 314. Cf. ItA ii 116
- 239 Cf. MA i 10 (*dhammasarīra*)
- 240 UdA 87
- 241 DA iii 865
- 242 SA ii 314
- 243 ItA ii 116
- 244 See H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.164
- 245 PED s.v. *Vāsanā*, p.610
- 246 F.Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol.II, p.478
- 247 See H.Saddhatissa, *The Sutta-nipāta*, p.116
- 248 This is the translation for *gatapaccāgatavatta* by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli in his *A Pāli-English Glossary of Buddhist Technical Terms*, p.41 See also for a detailed explanation of the term '*gatapaccāgatavatta*', SnA i 52 ff
- 249 SnA ii 583

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250 Miln 10

251 Cf. also Miln 263 where 'vāsita-vāsana' is explained in a positive sense.

252 See Ud Chapters 3, 6; AA i 27 ff; DhA iv 181 f; UdA 193; etc.

253 Vism 198 = VA i 112; SnA ii 441; etc.

254 ItA i 127 = UdA 139. Cf. UdA 335

255 UdA 194

256 John D Ireland, *The Udāna*, BPS, Kandy, 1990, p.133

257 Visuddhimagga Mahātikā, Chapter 7, Burmese edition.

258 *Loc.cit.*

258 a See F.Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol.II, p.107

259 I have written an article sometime ago on this subject with less material available at hand at that time (See T.Endo, *Eighteen Qualities of the Buddha*, Sri Lanka Journal of Buddhist Studies, The Buddhist and Pāli University of Sri Lanka, Vol.IV, 1994, pp.151-161). The present section is a more comprehensive and improved one on the same topic.

260 See Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, p.23.

261 See *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, Vol.III, 6th print, Tokyo, 1968, pp.2361 ff

262 See Hajime Nakamura, *Indo to Girisha to no Shiso Koryu (Interchange of Thoughts between India and Greece)*, pp.81-87.

263 Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.23.

264 See also S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.86-88

265 Kogen Mizuno, *Kenkyu no Kaiko (Retrospection of Researches)*, p.286

266 published in Poona, India, 1937

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267 P.V.Bapat, *op.cit.*, p.lv

268 Quoted by Kogen Mizuno in his book review on P.V.Bapat's said work in *The Journal of Buddhist Studies*, Vol.III, No.2, Tokyo, 1939, p.115. See also G.P.Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, first published in Colombo, 1928, reprint, 1958, p.86

269 S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.458-66 (especially p.460)

270 See T.W.Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, part II, SBE, Vol. XXXVI, pp.133-135

271 See Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.318

272 The authorship of ItA, VvA and CpA is ascribed to Dhammapāla who lived much later than Buddhaghosa. Some scholars believe that his literary activity was as late as in the sixth or seventh century A.D. (See Aloysius Pieris, *The Colophon of the Paramatthamañjūsā and the Discussion on the Date of Ācariya Dhammapāla*, AAWG, 1978, p.74; K.R.Norman, PL, p.137. See for a summary of the history of researches on Dhammapāla, S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.530-539. Another important factor which points to a likelihood of Dhammapāla being influenced by Buddhist Sanskrit literature is that his works, though he followed the Mahāvihāra tradition when writing his commentaries, are believed to have been written in South India, and not in Sri Lanka. [See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.535]

273 See Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol.II, p.108

274 See Kosho Kawamura, *Ubu no Buddha-ron (The Theory of Buddha in the Sarvāstivāda School)*, pp.301 ff; *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, p.2361; *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol.II, Fascicle 3, Colombo, p.450; etc.

275 See the chart at the end of this section.

276 See Shinkan Murakami and Shinkai Oikawa, *Hotoke no Kotoba-chu (The Commentaries on the Buddha's Words - Paramatthajotikā)*, Vol.II, pp.222-223. Sanskrit renderings of the Chinese words are taken from *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, p.2362

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

277 V.P.Bapat renders it this way. However, other Pāli and Sinhala sources use the term 'avyāvata-mano'. See the chart at the end of this section.

278 See Shinkan Murakami and Shinkai Oikawa, *op.cit.*, pp.222-223

279 *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, p.2363

280 The identical phrases are found in the Jinālaṅkāra-vaṅṅānā, p.21

281 D iii 217

282 D iii 275

283 Cf. also ItA i 124; UdA 135-136; DhA ii 8; etc.

284 Nd i 178, ii 357; PtS ii 195. See also Netti 17; NdA i 268; etc.

285 Cf. S v 75; etc.

286 DAṬ iii 256

287 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.597 ff.

288 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.602-604 where he discusses one example in which Buddhaghosa has taken a view of the Abhayagirivāsins to supplement the view of his own school.

289 DAṬ iii 257

290 DA iii 993-994

291 SnA ii 393

292 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.213; E.W.Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp.13 f; etc.

293 S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.280; S.Mori, tr. by T.Endo, *The Origin and the History of the Bhāṅaka Tradition*, Ananda, Essays in Honour of Ananda W.P.Guruge, Colombo, 1990, p.127; etc.

294 E.g. DA ii 543, iii 883, etc.

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295 Lily de Silva, *Dīghanikāya-Aṭṭhakathātikā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, Vol.I, PTS, London, 1968-1971, p.lxxxii; Aloysious Pieris, *op.cit.*, p.78; etc.

296 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.96-97 Cf. *Ibid.*, p.536

297 P.V Bapat in his study speaks of a Pāli *ganthi* on the Visuddhimagga which is supposed to contain the same list as that of Vim (P.V.Bapat, *op.cit.*, p.65, footnote 2). I could not lay hands on this *ganthi* for rechecking the contents thereof. G.P.Malalasekera does not speak of this work in his *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, nor does S.Jayawardhana refer to it in his *Handbook of Pāli Literature*. K.Mizuno gives them quoted by Shinkan Murakami and Shinkai Oikawa in their translation of the Paramatthajotikā. But a perusal of the list shows that the said Visuddhimagga-ganthipada speaks of 'n'atthi satiya hāni' in place of 'n'atthi dhammadesanāya hāni' and 'n'atthi dhvedhayittattam' instead of 'n'atthi vegayittattam' of DAṬ (S.Murakami and S.Oikawa, *op.cit.*, pp.224-225, footnote 34). Our investigations reveal that subsequent sources both in Pāli and in Sinhala follow DAṬ and even the standard Sinhala glossary on the Visuddhimagga called the Visuddhimārga Mahāsannaya gives an identical list as in DAṬ. The above two items mentioned by Mizuno are included in the list of Vim, and Dhammapāla specifically refers to this kind of enumeration as that of 'keci' (some) who are likely the Abhayagirivāsins. Therefore it is rather surprising that the Visuddhimagga Ganthipada mentions a list of this nature, if it is an ancient work with some degree of authority.

298 Also found at DAṬ iii 67 is an identical list which is an explanation on the term 'atthārasabuddhadhamma' appearing at DA iii 875.

299 See also Lily de Silva, *Dīghanikāya - Aṭṭhakathātikā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, pp.lix ff

300 Jinālaṅkāra-vaṇṇanā, ed. W.Deepankara and B. Dhammapāla, Bentota, Ceylon, 1913. For the details of this text, see G.P.Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, reprint, Colombo, 1958, pp.109 ff and Somapala Jayawardhana, *Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Colombo, 1994, p.33

301 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku Bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.334

302 Ed.Bentara Saddhatissa, Kalutara, Sri Lanka, 2 vols., B.E.2494, 1950

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303 Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol.II, p.108

304 Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol.II, p.108

CHAPTER III

1 Cf. Kyosho Hayashima, *Buddha-kan Tenkai no Kicho (The Basis of the Development of the Concept of Buddha)*, Nippon Bukkyo Gakkai Nenpo (The Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association) Vol.53, Tokyo, 1988, pp.1 ff.

2 D ii 1 ff

3 DA i 258-262

4 SnA i 352-356

5 Vism 211; VA i 124. Cf. KhpA 108; etc. See also Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.207; *The Illustrator of Ultimate Meaning*, p.118

6 UdA 87

7 E.g. MA ii 25; SA ii 43; AA v 10; UdA 403; NdA iii 55; PtsA iii 625; BvA 42; VibhA 397; etc.

8 KhpA 172

9 VibhA 397. Other sources such as SA, AA, UdA, etc. have *saṅkhatan*. See above for references.

10 Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Dispeller of Delusion*, II, p.142

11 Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Dispeller of Delusion*, II, p.214, Footnote 5

12 DPPN ii 54

13 See Minoru Seki, *Shakuson-kan no Ichi Danmen (An Aspect of the Concept of Buddha)*, Nippon Bukkyo Gakkai Nenpo, The Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association, Vol.50, 1985, p.49 f

14 E.g. BvA 296

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15 Cf. Miln 285; etc.

16 See e.g. Vism 211, 234; VA i 43; DA i 40, iii 972; MAii 167, iii 22; SA iii 48; AA i 181; KhpA 108; Dhpa ii 41, iii 102; JA i 444; ItA i 10; UdA 87; ThagA iii 46-47; CpA 332; VvA 315, 323; BvA 45, 87, 247; etc. It seems that among these sources, the thirty-two bodily marks, eighty minor marks and the halo are often mentioned together, while other physical marks are sometimes treated independently.

17 E.g. M ii 133; S i 89, 114, 120; A i 163; etc.

18 Ven. B.Wimalaratana, *Concept of Great Man (Mahāpurisa)*, Singapore, 1994 (?).

19 E.g. Thīg 333

20 See Hajime Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, pp.513 & 523, footnote 79

21 Hajime Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.513

22 E.g. D i 89, 114, 120; A i 163; M ii 136; etc.

23 See e.g. DPPN, Vol.II, p.534, s.v. *Mahāpurisa*, etc.

24 B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, p.196 f

25 B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, p.8

26 S v 158

27 Sn 1040-1042

28 Dhpa 352

29 Dhpa iv 71. See for further references to *mahāpurisa* in the Nikāyas, H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, pp.182 ff; etc.

30 D iii 287. Cf. A iv 229. See also *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part iii, pp.261-262

31 Cf. B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, p.19

32 Various authorities speak of different lists of bodily marks of Buddha or

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Bodhisattva. See *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, pp.1554 ff; B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, pp.73 f; etc.

33 SA iii 154-155

34 AA iii 283. See a list showing the different meanings attached to those qualities possessed by a *cakkavatti* king and a Buddha, B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, p.69

35 S i 33, 55; D i 88; DhA i 35; BvA 3; etc.

36 E.g. CpA 332

37 ItA i 13

38 DA iii 919

39 D iii 145

40 B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, p.29

41 Minoru Seki writes that the causal relations between former good deeds and their resultant marks may be considered as a Buddhist characteristic which differentiates Buddhism from other religions. However, in the light of Indian philosophy or religions in general, such a concept (adopted by the Buddhists) is not so conspicuous in the fundamental way of thinking (of Indian people). M. Seki, *Shakuson-kan no Ichi Danmen (An Aspect of the Concept of Buddha)*, Nippon Bukkyo Gakkai Nenpo (The Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association), Vol.50, 1985, p.56

42 DA i 249 = MA iii 364 = SnA ii 448

43 DA i 248 = MA iii 363

44 *Loc.cit.* (DA i 248 = MA iii 363)

45 MA v 106. Cf. Vin ii 304. See also Kyosho Hayashima, *Shoki Bukkyo to Shakai Seikatsu (Early Buddhism and Social Life)*, pp.269 ff.

46 DA i 249 = MA iii 364 = SnA ii 448-449

47 Bv XXI v 27: 'Anuvyañjanāsampannaṃ dvattiṃsavaralakkhaṇaṃ;

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sabbaṃ samantarāhitaṃ nanu rītā sabbasaṅkhārā.

48 Ap i 156. The Apadāna specifies the number eighty.

49 E.J.Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p.172

50 A.Hirakawa, *Indo Bukkyo-shi*, Vol.I (*A History of Indian Buddhism*, Vol.I), p.334; A.Hirakawa, tr.by Paul Groner, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, p.263

51 Ap i 156

52 Pre-commentarial references to the term *asīti-anuvyañjana* are found, for instance, at Miln 75 where it is mentioned together with the thirty-two bodily marks and a fathom long halo of the Buddha.

53 BvA 247

54 See I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of Sweet Meanings*, p.352

55 ThagA iii 46-47

56 See for the list in the Mahāvastu, B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.* Appendix II, pp.193 ff.

57 MilnṬ 17-18

58 The Dharmapradīpikā [Dhmpdp], ed. Baddegama Wimalavamsa, Gunasena & Co., Colombo, 1967, pp.13 f

59 Ap i 156

60 Miln 75

61 Various opinions have been expressed with regard to the date of the composition of the Apadāna. Some believe that it belongs to a period three or four centuries after the king Asoka. Some say that it is about the first century B.C. Yet others maintain that it is definitely before the Aṭṭhakathā literature. See Egaku Mayeda, *Genshi Bukkyo Seiten no Seiritsu-shi Kenkyu* (*A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts*), pp.765-767. Cf. Oliver Abeynayake, *op.cit.*, especially pp.108-113

62 Taisho Vol.25 255 c. See Kosho Kawamura, *Ubu no Buddha-ron* (*A Study of the Concept of Buddha of the Sarvāstivāda School*), p.201;

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Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary, p.4213

63 Lal 106 ff

64 Mtu ii 43

65 Mhvyut 268 ff

66 See B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, p.30. See also for a comparative analysis of lists found in the Buddhist Sanskrit sources, F.Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol.II, p.34.

67 Milnṭ 17-18

68 Jinalṭ 198. See the Milindapañha-ṭīkā, PTS, p.17, Footnote 1

69 Dhmpdp, 13 f; etc.

70 DA ii 446

71 E.J.Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, p.222

72 See Kosho Kawamura, *Ubu no Buddha-ron (A Study of the Concept of Buddha of the Sarvāstivāda School)*, p.201

73 DA i 249. Cf. Vism 301

74 SA i 25; AA i 115; etc.

75 See *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.II, Fascicle 3, p.380

76 D ii 133

77 T.W. & C.A.F.Rhys Davids state with reference to the above anecdote that it was the commencement of the legend which afterwards grew into an account of an actual 'transfiguration' of the Buddha. See *Dialogues*, part ii, p.146, footnote 1.

78 Thīg 333

79 Bv I v 45

80 Vv 213

81 Miln 75

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82 See *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.II, Fascicle 3, p.380

83 Bv I v 15, VII v 24, XIII v 2, etc.

84 BvA 36. Cf. *ibid.*, 171 (*ādicco viya*), 204 (*divasakaro viya*). The term *sahassaramsiyo* is also used in the *Vimānavatthu* [Mahāratha-vimāna v 5] to describe the beauty of a chariot.

85 E.g. DA iii 918, 972; MA ii 167; SA iii 48; ItA i 10; JA i 89; VvA 213, 323; BvA 41, 87; etc.

86 E.g. JA i 89; ApA 94; etc.

87 E.g. DA i 39, iii 860, 972; MA iii 21; SA iii 47; JA i 444; Dhpa ii 41, iii 102; ThagA iii 124; VvA 323; etc.

88 *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.II, Fascicle 3, p.381 s.v. *Aura*.

89 See I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, p.46

90 UdA 105; BvA 31; DhsA 13; etc.

91 SA iii 47

92 'Hattha' (hand) is said to be a unit of length between the elbow and the fingertips. See Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *A Pāli-English Glossary of Buddhist Technical Terms*, p.141

93 The first appearance of this word (i.e. *chabbanna*) in the Pāli tradition seems to be in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* [Pṭs i 126] of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* in connection with the Buddha's *yamakapāṭihīra-ñāṇa*. However, the context in which the reference to it is made is somewhat peculiar and problematic as will be discussed later.

94 DhsA 13

95 See also PṭsA ii 404-405 where the same passage occurs up to this point. But *mañjeṭṭha* and *pabhassara* are more detailed in PṭsA than here as will be shown later.

96 DhsA 13-14

97 DhsA 307. Cf. *Vism* 445

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98 Cf. D i 115

99 D i 115

100 Vism 353

101 DA ii 451

102 *Loc.cit.*: ‘*na sakalanīlanetto, nīlayuttaṭṭhāne pan’ assa ummāpupphasadisena ativisuddhena nīlavañṇena samannāgatāni nettāni honti.*’

103 Pts i 126

104 Pts i 125-126

105 How far faithful the Pāli Aṭṭhakathā texts are in their translations, re-arrangements, etc., to their respective Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās, is the matter that has to be investigated carefully. However, evidence points to the likelihood that the Pāli Commentators used varied amount of discretion to re-arrange the base sources and even to introduce views of other schools or individuals where and when necessary. See also Sodo Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushakubunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.469 ff.

106 PtsA ii 404

107 *Loc.cit.*

108 PtsA ii 405

109 DhsA 14

110 DhsA 15

111 DA i 57

112 BvA 31-32

113 BvA 31-32 = DA i 57

114 See Paravahera Vajirañāṇa, *Buddhist Meditation in Theory and Practice*, Colombo, 1962, p.139

115 I.B.Homer, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, pp.46-47. The original Pāli passage reads as follow: ‘...rasmisu pana dutiyā dutiyā rasmi

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purimāya purimāya yamakā viya ekakkhaṇe pavattati, dvinnāñ ca cittānaṃ ekakkhaṇe pavatti nāma n' atthi. Buddhānaṃ pana bhavaṅgaparivāsasa lahukatāya pañcah' ākārehi cinnavasitāya etā rasmiyo ekakkhaṇe viya pavatanti. Tassā pana rasmiyā āvaḷḷanaparikkammādhittānāni visuṃ yeva.'
[BvA 31 = DA i 57]

116 Dhpa iii 214-215

117 BvA 8 also refers to the fact that the Buddha displayed the Twin Miracle on the eighth day after his Enlightenment in order to clear the doubt of devatas.

118 DhsA 13

119 DA iii 899; MA iv 117; VibhA 433; etc.

120 E.g. Dhpa i 22, iii 102; VvA 323; etc.

121 Dhpa ii 41

122 BvA 143

123 BvA 143. See also BvA 297; SnA ii 408; CpA 97

124 SnA ii 408. See also BvA 297

125 *Loc.cit.*

126 BvA 297

127 DA ii 424; ItA i 136

128 SnA ii 407-408

129 Miln 157; BvA 299; VA i 179. Lists appearing at these places are a little different from each other in their contents. The Chinese version of the Samantapāsādikā gives a different list compared with VA i 179. See, P.V.Bapat in collaboration with A.Hirakawa, *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha*, Poona, 1970, pp.130-131

130 Ap ii 508

131 ApA 112

132 SnA i 140-141

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133 VvA 323

134 JA i 89 = ApA 94

135 D iii 149

136 Bv I v 9

137 Miln 111

138 Vism 211

139 VA i 124

140 KhpA 108

141 MA iii 25; SA iii 50; UdA 416

142 See Sodo Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.264 ff for the origin of Porānā.

143 See Chapter I for a discussion on the notion of *devātideva*

144 DhpA i 147

145 JA iv 158

146 VvA 284

147 ThagA i 226

148 DA iii 925

149 BvA 32

150 The Sinhala edition of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī [DA ii 674 (SHB)] begins the passage as follows: '*Sata-puñña-lakkhaṇaṃ ti satena satena puñña-kammena nibbattaṃ ekekaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ. ...*' The rest are the same.

151 The Burmese edition (Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyana) reads '*paṭikkhittaṃ*' (rejected) instead of '*pakkhittaṃ*' (inserted). See I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, p.49 Footnote 2.

152 A iv 241

153 DAṬ iii 139

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154 DAṬ iii 139

155 Sodo Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.286-292

156 Sodo Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.460

157 DAṬ iii 139

158 See C.E.Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955, p.31

159 Dhampiyā-Aṭuvā-Gāṭapadaya, ed. D.E.Hettiaratchi, Colombo, 1974, p.56

160 Visuddhimārgaya Mahāsanne, ed. Bentara Saddhatissa, Kalutara, Sri Lanka, 1949 (B.E.2493), Vol. I, p.509

161 VvA 284: 'Satapuññalakkhaṇan ti anekasatapuññavasena nibbattamabāpurisalakkhaṇan.'

162 VvA 284

163 See for a detailed study on views attributed to 'some' (*keci*, etc.), Sodo Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.111 ff & 561 ff

164 See for the canonical development of *buddhapāda*, *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.III, Fascicle 3, pp.450 ff, s.v. *Buddhapāda*

165 See B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, pp.75 ff

166 PED renders this phrase as 'having net-like hands and feet', s.v. *Jalahatthapāda*

167 A ii 37 f

168 AA iii 76

169 SA ii 379

170 ThagA i 84

171 ThagA ii 25

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172 Dhpa iii 194-195

173 SnA ii 543 gives the word *padanikkhepa* for the Buddha's footprint while other sources give *padacetiya* or *padavalañja*.

174 AA iii 77-78

175 See *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.III, Fascicle 3, p.451. The original passage at AA iii 77 ff reads as follows: '*Buddhānaṃ hi sukhumacchavitāya akkhantaṭṭhānaṃ tūlapicunā patiṭṭhitatṭhānaṃ viya hoti. padavalañjo na paññāyati; yathā ca balavato vātajavasiṇdhavassa paduminipatte pi akkantaṃ mattaṃ eva hoti, evaṃ mahābalatāya Tathāgatenā akkantaṭṭhānaṃ akkantaṃ mattaṃ eva hoti, tatha padavalañjo na paññāyati; buddhānaṃ ca anupadaṃ mahājanakāyogacchati. Tassa satthu padavalañjaṃ disvā maddituṃ aviśahantassa gamanavicchedo bhaveyya, tasmā akkantaṃ akkantaṭṭhāne yo pi padavalañjo bhaveyya so antaradhāyate va.*'

176 See for detailed references to the relevant commentarial explanations, B.Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, pp.77 ff.

177 See *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.III, Fascicle 3, p.452

178 H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.189

179 DA ii 445-446

180 MA iii 375. See for the lists, H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p. 189 Footnote 4 and *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.III, Fascicle 3, pp.451-452. The latter reference counts the number of items to be nearly forty, while the former says that the number is thirty-two. This discrepancy in the number seems to be due to the fact that the list in DA includes '*aṅkusala*' and '*setuppala*' which are not found in the list of MA and some items are either collectively or separately counted. Ven.H.Ñāṇāvāsa bases his argument only on MA while the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* quotes only DA.

CHAPTER IV

1 The term *Navaguṇa* is used here for convenience. It does not seem to occur in the Pāli Canon nor in the Aṭṭhakathā. It is mentioned in a Sinhala

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work called the *Amāvatura*, one of the oldest texts in Sinhala ascribed to the authorship of Guruḷugomi who lived in the twelfth century A.D. (See Piyaseeli Wijemanne, *Amāvatura: A Syntactical Study*, Colombo, 1984, p.3) This shows that the origin of the term *Navaguna* can go back at least to the twelfth century A.D. See *Amāvatura*, ed. Kodagoda Nāṇaloka, 1967, p.1.

2 E.g., D i 49, iii 76; M i 267; A i 168; Sn 103, 132; etc. In the Northern Buddhism, the ten titles or appellations are usually grouped into a set and are called the Ten Titles of the Buddha. A marked difference between the Pāli tradition and that of the Northern Buddhism is that the latter includes '*tathāgata*' in the list, while the former does not.

3 There is an excellent work on the concept of *arahant* in Buddhism. See I.B.Horner, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1979, 328 pp.

4 '*Āsavas*' are defined at DhsA 48 as '*āsavagocchake āsavantī ti āsava.*' (*āsavas* are things which flow.) It is also explained that *āsavas* are those which beget suffering of *samsāra* for a long time (*āyatam vā samsāradukkhaṃ savantī pasavantī ti āsava*) [DhsA 48]. See also DhsA 369-372 for a classification of *āsavas*.

5 PED, s.v. *Arahant*

6 I.B.Horner, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, p.154

7 There is a comprehensive study of the contents and their interpretations found in the *Kathāvatthu*. See S.N.Dube, *Cross Currents in Early Buddhism*, Manohar, Delhi, 1980, pp.xvi + 375

8 Even canonical texts mention that there are less arahants than before. e.g. S ii 224

9 S.N.Dube, *op.cit.*, p.113

10 See I.B.Horner, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, specially pp.183 ff

11 Miln 31: '*Kin ti mahārāja idaṃ dukkhaṃ nirujjeyya aññañ ca dukkhaṃ na uppaḷḷeyyāti etadatthā mahārāja amhākaṃ pabbajjā, anupādā paṇinibbānaṃ kho pana amhākaṃ paramattho ti*'. See T.W.Rhys Davids,

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The Questions of King Milinda, p.49

12 Miln 32

13 Vism 425 also refers to lay *sotāpanna* (*gihisotapāna*)

14 Miln 162-164

15 Miln 164

16 Miln 146

17 Miln 149

18 Sn 849

19 Cf. Dhp 114, 374, etc. DhPA iv 110 supplements the word *amatam* at Dhp 374 to read *amatamahānibbānam*.

20 Nd i 159

21 Miln 207

22 Miln 266

23 Miln 267

24 Kv II 2. See also S.N.Dube, *op.cit.*, p.101

25 See T.Endo, *Some Significant Epithets and Qualities of the Buddha as Found in the Milindapañha*, Ananda, Essays in Honor of Dr.Ananda W.P.Guruge, ed. Y.Karunadasa, Colombo, 1990, pp.160-171

26 Cf. Miln 266

27 K.Hayashima, *Shoki Bukkyo to Shakai Seikatsu (Early Buddhism and Social Life)*, p.615

28 I.B.Horner, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, p.182

29 Vism 198. Similar passages are also found at VA i 112-115 (the entire explanations are almost identical with those in Vism except that VA does not mention the verses on pp.198 and 201 of Vism); DA i 146; MA i 52, ii 328; AA i 112, ii 286-287; SnA 441; ItA i 12; UdA 84, 267 (Here the word *ari* is not used, but *kilesas* are said to be destroyed); NdA i 184-185; PtsA

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213-215; VvA 105-106; PvA 7; etc. (these are brief in explanation and some refer to Vism for details)

30 Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.192

31 Vism 198

32 Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.192

33 Vism 198

34 Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.193

35 Vism 198

36 Vism 201

37 Cf. Dhp 195

38 Vism 201. The Chinese Vimuttimaggā enumerates only three definitions of the word *arahān*. They correspond to Nos. (4), (2) and (3) of Vism in descending order. Here again *kilesas* as enemies are prominent, but the fact that 'worthy of gifts' is placed first, may suggest that the Chinese Vimuttimaggā tries to maintain and give importance to the aspect of 'worthiness of gifts' of arahantship, which seems to be more of original sense than the rest. See N.R.M.Ehara, Soma Thera and Kheminda Thera, *The Path of Freedom*, BPS, Kandy, 1977, p.141. A Chinese translation of the Samantapāsādikā (CSmp), on the other hand, gives the following: He is called 'A-Io-han' (*arahān*) because, 1. the Tathāgata breaks down the spokes of the wheel of the three *Dhātus*; 2. the Tathāgata has killed the thief of defilements. Also 'A-Io' means all evil Karma; 3. 'Han' means to stay far away from the wheel of the three *Dhātus*; 4. he deserves [special] offerings; and 5. 'Raha' means something to hide, 'A' means 'not'. That is to say: nothing to hide. (See P.V.Bapat, tr. in collaboration with A.Hirakawa, *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* [A Chinese version of the Samantapāsādikā], Poona, 1970, pp.80-84. Here we notice that the spoke of wheel is given a prominent place in the interpretation of arahant. The Pāli VA, as seen elsewhere, is almost identical with Vism in this instance.

39 MA i 42. See also MA ii 44; SnA 470; ItA i 165; DhA 349; etc.

40 MA ii 8; AA v 84. See also MA ii 198

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41 MA iii 13

42 SA i 138. Cf. DhpA iv 228

43 PvA 7. See also AA ii 3

44 SA iii 88. Cf. SA ii 20

45 I.B.Homer, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, p.180

46 I.B.Homer, *The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, p.181

47 PugA 203

48 A ii 149 ff; etc.

49 Pts ii, s.v. the Vimokkha-kathā

50 Vism 658, etc. See also DhpA ii 172 where three types of *vimokkha* are enumerated.

51 KhpA 178, 183

52 Vism uses the word *suddhavi-passaka* (pure insight worker) instead. See for further discussions on these two terms, Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Illustrator of Ultimate Meaning*, PTS, 1978, pp.192 f, footnote 25

53 See S i 4; Sn 177, 556, 559- 560, 596-597, 992, 995; Thag 287, 354, 513, 907, 912, 1046, 1239, 1253; Thīg 135, 144, 154, 309; Dhp 181; etc.

54 See S i 140; etc.

55 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha II, Early Buddhism II*, p.479

56 D ii 83

57 Nyanatiloka says that the closest allusion to the three kinds of attainment in the canonical texts is found in the Nidhikkaṇḍa sutta of the Khuddakapāṭha. See *Buddhist Dictionary*, p.34.

58 AA i 115

59 SnA i 72-73

60 Pug 73

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61 For a historical development of the concept of Omniscience in Buddhism, see Tilak Kariyawasam, *The Development of the Concept of Omniscience in Buddhism*, Ananda, Essays in honour of Dr. Ananda W.P. Guruge, ed. Y. Karunadasa, Colombo, 1990, pp.223 ff

62 Vism 201. Other Aṭṭhakathā texts that follow the Visuddhimagga are, VA i 115-116; PtsA 215; MA ii 8; AA v 84; ItA i 139; VvA 212; etc. The following sources directly refer to the Visuddhimagga for details: MA i 52; AA i 112, iii 72; UdA 84, 268; etc.

63 Vism 201: 'tathā hi esa sabbadhamme sammāsambuddho, abhiññeyye dhamme abhiññeyyato buddho, pariññeyye dhamme pariññeyyato, pahātabbe dhamme pahātabbato, sacchikātabbe dhamme sacchikātabbato, bhāvetabbe dhamme bhāvetabbato.' See Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.196

64 SA ii 197. SA ii 20-21 states: 'sammāsambuddhassā ti sammā nayena hetunā sāmaṇṇ paccatta-purisākārena cattāri saccāni Buddhassa.' See also MA ii 189

65 MA iii 13

66 Cf. S v 433 (Sammāsambuddha sutta)

67 ItA i 139-142

68 Dhammapāla specifically refers to the Visuddhimagga for detailed explanations at UdA 85, 268.

69 ItA i 142

70 See N.R.M. Ebara, Soma Thera and Keminda Thera, *The Path of Freedom* (Vimuttimagga), BPS, Kandy, 1977, p.141. CSmp [84-85] also follows a similar explanation as Vism.

71 See S i 153, 167; ii 284; D i 99; iii 97, 98, 196 f; M i 358; A iv 238; etc. In all these instances, the term occurs in *gāthās*.

72 D iii 97 f

73 See K. Hayashima, *Sboki Bukkyo to Shakai Seikatsu (Early Buddhism and Social Life)*, p.414

74 M i 22 f

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75 D i 100

76 Vism 202; VA i 116. See also BvA 14. Cf. also MA iii 33; SA i 219, 247; ItA ii 84; etc. In some places only three kinds of 'vijjā' along with fifteen types of 'caraṇa' are referred to; see AA iv 125. The Chinese Vimuttimagga speaks of only three kinds of knowledge, see N.R.M.Ehara, Soma Thera and Kheminda Thera, *The Path of Freedom* (Vimuttimagga), pp.141 f. CSmp [85] mentions three & eight kinds of knowledge, and a classification of 'caraṇa' too is very similar to that of Vism.

77 Vism 203; VA i 116

78 ItA ii 84

79 SnA ii 441

80 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai* (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni), p.508

81 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai* (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni), p.508

82 See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *A Manual of Buddhism*, p.116; H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai* (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni), p.508; etc.

83 Vism 203; VA i 116. See Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p. 198. Cf. also CSmp 85-86 where similar explanations are given.

84 MA iii 440

85 SA ii 197. Cf. SnA ii 470

86 SA iii 89

87 AA iii 321

88 Cf. SnA ii 442

89 Cf. SnA i 43

90 UdA 88-89

91 See Vism 203; VA i 117

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92 Vism 204-207

93 VA i 117-120

94 Three kinds of worlds are also enumerated at DA i 173; AA i 97; ItA 81-82; etc.

95 See N.R.M.Ehara, Soma Thera and Keminda Thera, *The Path of Freedom* (Vumittimagga), p.143. See also P.V.Bapat, *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga: A Comparative Study*, p.63. Cf. CSmp 86-89 where similar explanations are given as in Vism.

96 See, for instance, *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, pp.2242 f. Some Mahāyāna texts, however, do consider 'anuttara-purisadammasārathī' as one combined title. See e.g. the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra, chapters 21 & 24; etc. The commentary or glossary on the Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra (Mahāyāna text), chapter 18 mentions that the Satyasiddhi-śāstra and Āgamas combine anuttara and purisadammasārathī as one title. See *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, p.2243.

97 Vism 208; VA i 120-121

98 See N.R.M.Ehara, Soma Thera and Kheminda Thera, *The Path of Freedom* (Vimuttimagga), p.143.

99 Vism 207; VA i 120. 'Attanā pana guṇehi viṣiṭṭhatarassa kassaci abhāvato natthi etassa uttaro ti anuttaro. Tathā h' esa silaguṇena pi sabbaṃ lokam abhibhavati, samādhi-paññā-vimutti-vimuttiñānadassanaguṇena pi'. See also MA iv 154 (*Anuttaran ti uttaravirabitaṃ sabbasetṭhaṃ*), i 41, ii 69 (*Anuttarassā ti seṭṭhassa*); SA i 52 (*Anuttarā ti sabba-seṭṭha asadisā ti*), iii 122; DhP A i 423 (*Anuttaro asadiso appambhāgo ti*); SŌA ii 443 (*Attano pana guṇehi viṣiṭṭhatarassa kassaci abhāvā anuttaro*); VvA 164 (*Anuttaro ti seṭṭho*). KbpA 193 qualifies 'guṇa' with 'lokuttara' in the following passage: 'lokutaraguṇehi adhikassa kassaci abhāvato anuttaro.'; etc. Cf. CSmp 89-90 where ideas expressed are similar to those in Vism.

100 The phrase 'sassata-vāde anuttaro' here appears to pose a serious problem for interpretation at first sight. But the Buddha is said to be an excellent exponent of the doctrine of eternalism in the Sampasādanīya sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya [D iii 108 ff]. According to the text, the doctrine of eternalism includes three kinds which are discussed in the Brahmajāla sutta. The Sumaṅgalavilāsini also refers this to the Brahmajāla sutta [DA iii 894].

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A strange thing, however, is that the Buddha is not considered as an incomparable exponent of the doctrine of *uccheda-vāda*. Both views usually find mention together.

101 DA iii 875

102 D iii 108 ff

103 Vism 207; VA i 120

104 SnA i 161

105 SnA ii 443

106 Amāvatura, ed. Kodagoda Nāṇaloka, Colombo, 1967, pp.lxviii + 494

107 Nd i 446

108 Vism 208; VA i 121

109 Vism 208; VA i 121

110 SnA ii 443-444

111 Vism 208; VA i 121

112 See also Vibh 422; KhpA 123; VvA 30, 25 (only two); VibhA 518; etc., for a similar classification of *devas*.

113 See Vin ii 194 ff; J v 333 ff; etc.

114 See VvA 216 ff. CSmp 90-91 gives this story to illustrate the point and quotes stanzas from the Vimānavatthu [v 649]. This is not found in Vism.

115 See Dhpa iv 46 in which is mentioned that a certain hen listened to the voice of a monk preaching and subsequently was born as princess Ubbari

116 See Dhpa iii 223 where it is said that there lived little bats in a cave and they overheard two monks reciting the Abhidhamma. By virtue of this merit, they were later born in heaven.

117 N.R.M.Ehara, Soma Thera and Kheminda, *The Path of Freedom* (Vimuttimagga), p.144

118 *The Expositor*, p.294

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119 Cf. SnA ii 444

120 Vism 209; VA i 122

121 Nd ii 457

122 Pts i 174

123 ApA 100

124 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.554 ff.

125 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.549 ff & 557

126 Cf. Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Illustrator of Ultimate Meaning*, p.8

127 Nd i 142-143

128 Vism 209; VA i 122. Cf. also KhpA 106

129 Nd i 143

130 Pts i 174

131 Nd i 142

132 See Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, pp.205-208. Also see *ibid.*, p.777, footnote 25.

133 Vism 211; VA i 124. Cf. KhpA 108

134 Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, pp.207-208

135 Vism 211; VA i 124. Cf. KhpA 109

136 CSmp 92-94

137 Nd i 143, 212

138 CSmp 93

139 CSmp 94

140 ItA i 5-6; UdA 23-24

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141 The content of what follows in the detailed explanations suggests that it should read '*bhatavā ti bhagavā*' instead of '*bhāgavati va bhagavā*'. See ItA i 8. SHB edition [ItA 5] also has '*bhatavā ti bhagavā*'.

142 ItA i 6

143 E.g., UdA 335-336; CpA 6-7; etc.

144 ItA i 7-8

145 ItA i 8

146 PTS edition of ItA 8 gives this number. But it must be '*catuvīsati-koṭi-sata-sahassa*' (twenty-four hundred thousand *koṭis*) as mentioned in SHB edition (p.6) The version of SHB edition is supported by the fact that the Buddha's *samāpatti* elsewhere [e.g. ItA (PTS) 7] is said to be '*catuvīsati-koṭi-sata-sahassa*'.

147 ItA i 8-9

148 ItA i 9: '*Viṭṭhārato pana padesarajja-issariya-cakkavatti-sampatti-devarajja-sampatti-ādi vasena jhāna-vimokkha-samādhi-samāpatti-ñāṇa dassa na magga-bhāvanā-phalasa cchikiriyādi uttarimanussadhammasena ca aneka-vihite anañña-sādhāraṇe bhage vāni bhaji sevi.*'

149 See PED, s.v. *Bhattavant*

150 ItA i 10: '*Ye tassa ovāde paññitā aveccappasādena samannāgatā honti, kenaci asamhāriyā tesam sambhatti samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devena vā mārena vā brahmuṇā vā. Tathā hi te attano jīvita-pariccāge pi tatha pasādaṃ na pariccajanti tassa vā āṇaṃ dalha-bhatti-bhāvato.*'

151 ItA i 11

152 ItA i 12: '*Athavā bhāge vāmī ti sabbe pi kusalākusale sāvajjānavajje hīnappaṇīte kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭibhāge ca dhamme ariyamagga-ñāṇamukhena vami uggiri anapekkho pariccaji pajahi paresaṃ ca tathattāya dhammaṃ deseti.*'

153 ItA i 2

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1 See H.Nagasaki, *Tathāgata-ko (The Meaning of Tathāgata)*, p.25

2 Sn 455-486. This sutta is otherwise called the Pūralāsa sutta.

3 Cf. Sn 494 where these are repeated. See also H.Nakamura, *Buddha no Kotoba (Words of the Buddha)* (tr. of the Suttanipāta), footnote p.343 for verse 469. Nakamura says that these passions are in agreement with those of Jainism and are anterior to the time of a systematization in Hīnayāna Buddhism.

4 Sn 236-238

5 However, H.Saddhatissa takes this word as a title of the Buddha, not as being adjectival to the words, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. See H.Saddhatissa, *The Suttanipāta*, p.25

6 See e.g., H.Oldenbergh, *Buddha*, s.312. He translates it as 'der Vollendete'. The English translation of same by W.Hoey adopts the word 'Perfect One', pp.126, 278 ff, etc. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp.183 ff, 302 ff, etc.

7 See K.Mizuno, *Tathāgata [Nyorai] no Igi-yoho (Meanings and Uses of the term 'Tathāgata')*, IBK, Vol.5-1, 1957, pp.46-48; K.Watanabe, *Jaina-kyo Bunken ni okeru Tathāgata [1] (Tathāgata in the Jaina Sources (1))*, IBK, Vol.27-2, 1979, pp.172-173; H.Nagasaki, *Tathāgata-ko (The Meaning of Tathāgata)*, pp.25-49. H.Nakamura points out that the term *tathāgata* is employed in the Mahābhārata XII,146.26 to mean 'to have achieved superb or wonderful state.' - H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.506. Also see H. Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.55.

8 H.Nagasaki, *Tathāgata-ko (The Meaning of Tathāgata)*, pp.33-34. For further discussions on *tathāgata* in Jainism, see K.Mizuno, *Tathāgata [Nyorai] no Igi-yoho (Meanings and Uses of Tathāgata)*, IBK, Vol.5-1, 1957, pp.46-48; K.Watanabe, *Jaina-kyo Bunken ni okeru Tathāgata [1] (Tathāgata in the Jaina Sources (1))*, IBK, Vol.27-2, 1979, pp.172-173; etc.

9 H.Nagasaki, *Tathāgata-ko (The Meaning of Tathāgata)*, pp.38-43

10 H.Nagasaki, *Tathāgata-ko (The Meaning of Tathāgata)*, p.44

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11 Such instances where the term *tathāgata* is meant what is otherwise called arāhant, are many in the canonical texts; e.g. S iii 109-115; M i 331, 250, 280, 464, 487; Thag 1205; etc. See also H. Nāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, pp.54 ff. In the context of the *avyākata* questions, some scholars believe that the term is used in the same sense as above. See, for instance, E.J.Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p.125 Footnote 1; etc.

12 It 7

13 DA i 118, iii 915; MA ii 201, iii 141; SA ii 201, 311; AA iv 37; DhsA 371; etc.

14 UdA 340; etc. SnA ii 389 interpreting 'satto' at Sn 435 also equates it with 'atta.' For details, see S.Murakami & S.Oikawa, *op.cit.*, Vol.III, pp.68 ff, footnote 16.

15 NdA i 193, 243-4

16 For his literary activities, see S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.549-553

17 For historical relations between Buddhaghosa and Upasena, see S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, especially pp.552-553

18 See, for instance, Udagama Sumaṅgala & K.Minami, *The Use of the word Tathāgata*, Honen Gakkai Ronso, No.6, 1988, Japan, pp.23-33

19 Kenji Watanabe, *Sañjaya setsu no tathāgata Saiko (A Re-examination of Sañjaya's theory of Tathāgata)*, Journal of Taisho University Research Institute, Vol.4, 1982, pp.63-71; quoted by H.Nagasaki, *Tathāgata-ko (The Meaning of Tathāgata)*, p.45

20 Quoted by H.Nagasaki, *Tathāgata-ko (The Meaning of Tathāgata)*, p.45

21 M i 256-271

22 S iii 109 ff

23 NdA i 244: 'Hoti tathāgato ti ādisu satto tathāgato nāma; so paraṃ maranā hoti ti gaṇhato paṭhama sassataditthi. Na hoṃ ti gaṇhato dutiya ucchedaditthi.' Cf. also DhsA 371; UdA 340; etc.

24 S iii 114 f; etc.

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25 M i 258

26 M i 140

27 The English translation of the passage at MA ii 117 is by K.R.Norman, *Death and the Tathāgata*, p.776. The Pāli original reads as follows: ‘*Tathāgatassa ti ettha satto pi tathāgato ti adhippeto, uttamapuggalo khīṇāsavo pi. Ananuvejjo ti asaṃvijjamāno vā avindeyyo vā. Tathāgato ti hi satte gahite asaṃvijjamāno ti attho vaṭṭati; khīṇāsave gahite avindeyyo ti attho vaṭṭati....Bhikkhave, ahaṃ dīṭṭhe va dhamme dharamānakaṃ yeva khīṇāsavaṃ, tathāgato satto puggalo ti na paññāpemi; appaṭisandhikaṃ pana parinibbutaṃ khīṇāsavaṃ satto ti vā puggalo ti vā kiṃ paññāpessami ? Ananuvejjo tathāgato. Na hi paramatthato satto nāma koci atthi....*’

28 M i 484; etc.

29 NdA i 243: ‘*Keci pana tathāgato ti arahā ti vadanti.*’ Also see NdA i 193: ‘*(tathāgato ti satto); arahā ti eke.*’ This evidence goes certainly against the view expressed by M.Manda who believes that the *tathāgata* in the *avyākata* formula and of Sañjaya means the same as ‘enlightened or liberated person’ as *tathāgata* in the general sense, and it also means such a liberated person who is now living with his corporal body. See M.Manda, *Zoku Sañjaya Setsu no Tathāgata-ko (A Study of Sañjaya’s Tathāgata (continued))*, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies, IBK, Vol.XL No.2 March, 1992, p.535 (or 19)

30 D i 188-189 (*Poṭṭhapāda Sutta*): ‘*Na h’etaṃ Poṭṭhapāda attha-saṃhitāṃ na dhammasaṃhitāṃ na ādibrahmacariyakaṃ na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānāya saṃvattantī ti. Tasmā taṃ mayā avyākatan ti.*’

31 Vin i 9; D ii 142-3; M i 5, 171; S i 220, iii 65, iv 127, v 257; A i 22, 76-7, 110, ii 34, iii 242; Pts ii 194; etc.

32 See also H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.506

33 Vin i 43; D ii 114, 150, iii 273; M i 171-2; Sn 1114; etc.

34 Cf. S i 140: ‘*Ye ca aṭṭe sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatā...*’; A i 21; etc. See also H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.516.

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35 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, pp.489, 491. He says that the concept of seven 'ṛsi' had come down from the time of Ṛg-veda. Buddhism inherited this idea.

36 Thag 490-491: 'Yen'eva maggena gato Vipassī yen'eva maggena Sikhī ca Vessabhū, Kakusandhakoṇāgamano ca Kassapo ten'añjasena agamāsi Gotamo. [490] *Vītatañhā anādānā satta buddhā khayogadhā, yeh'ayan: desito dhammo dhammabhūtehi tādihi.* [491]'

37 D ii 149; etc.

38 S i 127

39 M.Anesaki, *ERE*, s.v. *Tathāgata*, p.203

40 DA i 59; MA i 45; AA i 103

41 *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, p.4141 b states that the Buddha fulfilled six *pāramitās* according to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. However, it is yet to be located in DA.

42 DA i 60 and MA i 45 give the following five: *aṅga-pariccāga*, *nayana-*, *dhana-*, *rajja-*, and *puttadāra-*, while AA i 103 mentions *aṅga-pariccāga*, *dhana-*, *rajja-*, *putta-* and *dāra-*. BvA 15 gives a yet another list as follows: *aṅga-pariccāga*, *jīvita-*, *dhana-*, *rajja-*, and *puttadāra-*. The list at CpA 272 reads *varadhana-pariccāga*, *putta-*, *dāra-*, *aṅga-*, and *rajja-*. UdA 128 gives only the number and simply says, '*pañca-mahāpariccāge pariccajītvā...*' Discrepancies in the order of items mentioned in the above sources suggest that a systematic order is not important, but the items enumerated.

43 UdA 128 mentions the following sentence which the other sources lack: '*...tena aṭṭha-guṇa-samannāgatena ayaṃ pi Bhagavā āgato.*' It appears that 'eight qualities' (*aṭṭha-guṇa*) meant here are the eight conditions which are required for anyone to be a bodhisatta and subsequently attain Buddhahood. See e.g. JA i 14.

44 Cf. M iii 123

45 See Vism 486; VibhA 82

46 DA i 65; MA i 49; AA i 108; UdA 129; BvA 16

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47 DA i 65-66; MA i 49-50; AA i 108-109; UdA 130-131; BvA 16

48 DA i 66; MA i 50; AA i 109-110; UdA 131; BvA 17

49 DA i 67; MA i 51; AA i 110; UdA 131; BvA 17

50 DA i 67; MA i 51; AA i 110-111; UdA 131-132; BvA 17

51 For literary activities of both Upasena and Mahānāma, see S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.549-558

52 'A pi ca tathāya gato ti pi tathāgato, tathaṃ gato ti pi tathāgato. Gato ti avagato atīto patto paṭipanno ti attho. Tatha sakala-lokaṃ tīraṇa-pariñāya tathāya gato avagato ti tathāgato, loka-samudayaṃ pahāna-pariñāya tathāya gato atīto ti tathāgato, loka-nirodhaṃ sacchikiriyāya tathāya gato patto ti tathāgato, loka-nirodha-gāminī-paṭipadaṃ tathaṃ gato paṭipanno ti tathāgato... Idam pi ca tathāgatassa tathāgata-bhāva-dīpane mukhamattaṃ eva. Sabbākārena pana tathāgato va tathāgatassa tathāgata-bhāvaṃ vaṇṇeyya.' DA i 67-68; MA i 51-52; AA i 111-112. This passage is also found at ItA i 120-121, ii 186-187; PtsA 212-213; UdA 132-133; NdA i 183-184

53 See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp. 530-539.

54 Cf. JA i 14; etc.

55 Cf. above (A)-1. where only six previous Buddhas are referred to.

56 ItA i 121-122; UdA 133-134

57 ItA i 122-123; UdA 134-135

58 Cf. D iii 275; Netti 17

59 ItA i 123-132; UdA 135-148

60 ItA i 132-135; UdA 148-151

61 ItA i 135-136; UdA 151-152

62 ItA i 136; UdA 152

63 Corrected according to ItA i 136

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64 ItA i 136; UdA 152

65 ItA i 136-139; UdA 153-155

66 Quoted in *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, p.4142

67 Taisho Vol.26, p.20 ff The Dasabhūmika-vibhāṣa-śāstra is a work translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. See *Buddhist Dictionary*, H.Nakamura, Editor-in-chief, Taipei, 1977, p.130f

CHAPTER VI

1 PED, s.v. *Dhammatā*

2 Walpola Rahula, *Zen and the Taming of the Bull*, p.88

3 Walpola Rahula, *Zen and the Taming of the Bull*, pp.88 ff

4 M iii 119 ff

5 Cf. JA i 48 ff where some more common features or general rules among Bodhisattas are mentioned. Also see *DPPN*, Vol.Π, p.298

6 BvA 298

7 I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, pp.429-430

8 DA ii 479

9 Dhpa iii 164. It is said that the Buddha was visiting his birth place Kapilavatthu and reflected that all Buddhas of the past went from house to house for alms, and he too followed the tradition. Tradition says that Suddhodana was agitated over his son's act and told him that he put shame to his father. But the Buddha replies that he is merely keeping up the tradition of his lineage (...*attano kulavamsaṃ anuvattāmi*).

10 DA ii 424; BvA 131; MA ii 166 where these four places are designated as *acalacetīyatthānādi* (places of unshakable monuments); etc.

11 Cf. Miln 157 where the four things are differently enumerated.

12 DA i 173; MA ii 200; AA i 98; etc.

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13 Dhpa iii 205. See also *DPPN*, Vol.II, pp.296 ff for further elucidations of common features among all Buddhas.

14 D ii 2 ff

15 See also *Dialogues*, Part II, pp.6-7

16 DA ii 407 ff

17 DA ii 421

18 D ii 6-7

19 DA ii 421

20 See E.W.Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp.38 ff

21 DA ii 422 ff

22 Cf. the *Buddhavaṃsa* and its Commentary for the sections dealing with the six previous Buddhas.

23 Cf. the *Buddhavaṃsa* and its Commentary for sections dealing with the six previous Buddhas.

24 BvA 131 also speaks of two divergences for Gotama Buddha only.

25 See T.W.Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, Part II, pp.132-133, Footnotes

26 'Padhāna' (striving) may be as a Buddha while (xx) 'padhāna' is as a Bodhisatta. See I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, p.3 Footnote 3

27 Here the term *upaṭṭhāka* suggests chief lay-supporters.

28 BvA 128-129

29 BvA 128-129: 'Yassa yadi n' eva jātanagaraṃ na pitā na mātā paññāyeyya, immassa pana n' eva jātanagaraṃ na pitā na mātā paññāyati, devo vā Sakko vā yakkho vā Māro vā Brahmā vā esaṃ aññe devānaṃ pi ṛdsam paṭihāriyaṃ anacchariyaṃ ti maññamānā na sotabbaṃ maññeyyaṃ, tato abhisamayo na bhavēyya, asati abhisamaye niratthako buddhappādo bhavēyya, aññiyānikaṃ sāsanaṃ.'

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1 See Sodo Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, especially p.460

2 See for a detailed study of the doctrine of Bodhisatta and its related subjects in Pāli Buddhism, T.Sugimoto, *Pāli Butten ni mirareru Bosatsu (Bodhisatta as seen in the Pāli Buddhist Canons)*, pp.97-120; Sanath Nanayakkara, *The Bodhisattva Ideal, Buddhist Thought and Ritual*, ed. David Kalpanana, Paragon House, New York, 1991, pp.57-68; etc.

3 T.Sugimoto, *Pāli Butten ni mirareru Bosatsu (Bodhisatta as seen in the Pāli Canons)*, pp.98-101

4 M i 17, 91, 163, 240; S ii 169, iii 27, iv 233, v 263, 281, 317; A i 258, iii 240; etc.

5 D ii 1 ff

6 M iii 118-124

7 M i 21, 83

8 See for a detailed discussion on this concept of *aṭṭhadhammā*, Chapter VIII

9 See also H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.150

10 Cf. M.Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II, p.158

11 Cf. H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p 143 ff

12 Ud 48 v 2

13 Apart from this issue discussed in the Kathāvatthu, I have made references to the other usages of the term *bodhisatta* in the Kathāvatthu, T.Endo, *The Development of the Concept of Buddha in the Pāli Commentaries*, the thesis submitted to and approved by the Postgraduate Institute of Pāli and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1995, pp.331-338

14 KvA 200

15 Cf. T.Şugimoto, *Bosatsu no Gogi (Various Meanings of Bodhisattva*

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15 Cf. T.Sugimoto, *Bosatsu no Gogi (Various Meanings of Bodhisattva (Bodhisatta))*, p. 280 (501) f

16 A detailed study regarding the Bodhisatta Ideal discussed in the Kathāvatthu has been carried out by S.N.Dube, *Cross Currents in Early Buddhism*, pp.151-173

17 KvA 199-200 says that the proponent of this point quotes the Jātaka (No.514), etc., to show that the Bodhisatta was born freely at his own free-will. However, this position in later Buddhist texts became rather ambiguous. For example, the Buddha refers to a former birth as an animal at Dhpa iii 212 as follows: '... *ahetukatiracchānāyoniyam nibbattakāle...*' (when I [the Buddha in his previous birth] was born as an animal without any cause...). The word '*ahetuka-*' signifies that the Bodhisatta was born without any cause that makes him born in that state. Because of this implication of the word, Burlingame (*Buddhist Legends*, Reprint by PTS, 1979, Part 3, p.45) in fact translates the passage thus: 'In previous states of existence, also, in which, solely through my own volition, I was born as an animal,...' This passage may suggest that the Bodhisatta is indeed capable of choosing any form of birth at his own will. If the above assumption were correct, it would be difficult to say how far the Theravādins maintained the position that the Bodhisatta could not be born into various states at his own will, particularly in later works.

18 See *Points of Controversy*, PTS, 1979, p.367, footnote 1 and *The Debates Commentary*, PTS, 1969, p.244

19 CpA 289-290

20 See N.Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, p.104

21 Kv XIII 4

22 See *Points of Controversy*, p.275 f

23 S.N.Dube also says: 'By calling one a Bodhisatta, the Theravādins do not attribute to him spiritual predestination for Buddhahood on any special virtue unattainable by the śrāvakas.' See *Cross Currents in Early Buddhism*, p.163. Some other scholars also point out that there is no distinction in the Southern Theravāda Buddhism between arahant and bodhisatta, see T.Sugimoto, *Bosatsu no Gogi (Various Meanings of Bodhisattva (Bodhisatta))*, p.284 (497) & p.288 (493), footnote 45

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24 See Nathan Katz, *Buddhist Images of Human Perfection*, pp.270-276

25 It appears that Miln is the only Pāli source which enumerates five previous teachers of the Buddha. It is interesting to note that the *devata* whose words the Bodhisatta was agitated at is regarded as one of the five teachers. See T.W.Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, part ii, SBE, Vol.XXXVI, pp.45 f, footnote 4; I.B.Homer, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol.II, p.39, footnote 4

26 Miln seems to be the only source in the Pāli tradition where the eight so-called investigations are mentioned in connection with the life of the Buddha. It is generally counted as five, as in the case of JA i 48, for example. See also T.W.Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, SBE Vol.XXXV, Part I, p.271 footnote 1

27 Miln 194

28 Miln 245

29 It is recorded at Ap i 301 that the Bodhisatta reviled and abused Kassapa Buddha in his previous birth and as a result, Gotama Bodhisatta had to practise austerities for six years.

30 Miln 285

31 Miln 286

32 Miln 287

33 Miln 288

34 Miln 289

35 Miln 274 ff

36 Miln 274

37 Miln 276

38 K.Hayashima also says that the Bodhisatta-concept is discussed (in the Milindapañha) within the formational framework of the Buddha-concept. See K.Hayashima, *Shokai Bukkyo to Shakai Seikatsu (Early Buddhism and Social Life)*, p.427

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39 E.g. S v 423; etc.

40 E.g. S v 312 ff; etc.

41 E.g., Vibh 244, 249; etc., and it is also found in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. See Mrs.Rhys Davids, Preface to the edition of the *Vibhaṅga*, PTS, pp.xiv-xvi for a comprehensive list of references to the term *bodhi pakkhiya-dhamma* in the Piṭakas.

42 E.g. Netti 112; etc.

43 Bv II vs 121, 126, 131; Cp 73 I vs 1; etc.

44 E.g. Sn 503; etc. See T.W.Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part I, pp.190 ff for a discussion on *sambodhi*.

45 VA i 139; MA i 54; SA ii 153; etc.

46 See for a detailed discussion on the epithet *sammā-sambuddha*, Chapter IV

47 Pe Maung Tin, *The Expositor*, PTS, 1976, p.294

48 The knowledge of four paths (*catumaggañāṇa*) as a meaning of *bodhi* can be seen in the Mahāniddeśa [i 456]. References to *catumaggañāṇa* as *bodhi* can also be found in Aṭṭhakathā texts such as at VA v 952; MA i 54, iii 326; AA ii 19, 95 (here together with *sabbāññīutañāṇa*), iii 257; etc.

49 VA i 139; MA i 54; SA ii 153

50 BvA 55

51 BvA 145. See I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, p.209

52 BvA 146

53 *Loc.cit.*

54 See VA i 139; MA i 54; SA ii 153; AA ii 95; BvA 118; etc.

55 MA i 54; VA i 139; SA ii 154. SA ii 154 reads as follows: 'idha pana Bhagavato arahattamagga adhi ppeto.'

56 *Loc.cit.*

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57 See Sodo Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.116 & 654

58 CpA 18; UdaA 27; etc

59 CpA 18

60 *Loc.cit.*

61 First published in London in 1932. Reprints in India in 1970, 1975, 1978, etc., pp.xix + 392

62 Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.9

63 T.Sugimoto, *Bosatsu no Gogi (Various Meanings of Bodhisattva (Bodhisatta))*, pp.275-288 (506-493)

64 See Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Illustrator of Ultimate Meaning*, p.223, etc.

65 The word *tathāgata* in this context appears to be out of place. It may have been a deliberate attempt by later copyists of the text to use it. For they would have seen the structure of the following sentence '(Tathāgato) ... āgato' in the original. 'Āgata' being one of the etymological exegeses of *tathāgata*, the copyists immediately connected it to *tathāgata*. Hence its insertion there. SHB edition of AA [i 453] also has *tathāgata*. There may be yet another possible interpretation. That is, whenever Buddhaghosa interprets the word *tathāgata* in the context of *avyākata* questions, he gives the meaning of 'satta' (see Chapter V, footnote 13) to it. Here the *satta* implies a being who has not yet attained liberation from *dukkha*. If so, the *tathāgata* in this context may mean simply 'a being' who tries to attain *bodhi*. However, the only hitch here is that the context is nothing to do with the *avyākata* questions.

66 SA ii 21

67 SnA ii 486

68 T.Sugimoto gives a classification of sixteen meanings of Bodhisattva that can be arrived at from various sources of both Northern and Southern traditions. See T.Sugimoto, *Bosatsu no Gogi (Various Meanings of Bodhisattva (Bodhisatta))*, pp.275 (506)-288 (493)

69 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.7; T.Sugimoto, *Bosatsu no Gogi (Various*

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Meanings of Bodhisattava (Bodhisatta), p.284 (497)

70 See T.Sugimoto, *Pāli Butten ni mirāveru Bosatsu (Bodhisatta as seen in the Pāli Canons)*, p.102; *Bosatsu no Gogi (Various Meanings of Bodhisattva (Bodhisatta))*, p.284 (497)

71 For references to *catumaggañāṇa* as a meaning of *bodhi*, see VA v 952; MA i 54, iii 326; AA ii 19, 95, iii 257; etc.

72 For references to *arahattamaggañāṇa* as a meaning of *bodhi*, see VA i 139; MA i 54; SA ii 153; AA ii 95; BvA 1 18; etc.

73 See e.g., ThAgA i 9; CpA 17; etc. where *mahābodhisatta* occurs obviously to distinguish Buddhas-to-be from other bodhisattas. The word *mahāsatta* is found, for example, at DA ii 428 (referring to Vipassī Buddha); SA ii 1 17 (Gotama Buddha); AA i 144 (Gotama Buddha), ii 240 (Gotama Buddha); DhA iii 195 (Gotama Buddha); and at numerous places in CpA, etc.

74 It is wrongly observed in the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* [Vol.III, Fascicle 2, p.178, footnote 3, s.v. *Bodhi*] thus: 'It is noteworthy that the term *sāvaka-bodhi* does not occur in Pāli canonical and commentarial literature though its Sanskrit equivalent *śrāvaka-bodhi* is quite common in Buddhist Sanskrit texts.'

75 DA i 160-161

76 SA ii 340

77 VA i 126

78 See PED s.v. *Kalyāṇa*

79 The same passage occurs at Vism 214.

80 Cf. also PṛsA iii 645 where *sāvakabodhi*, *paccekabodhi* and *abhisambodhi* are referred to.

81 Vism 116

82 However, one may think that the word *mahāsambodhisatta* can be parsed as '*mahā + sambodhi + satta*' (great + enlightenment + a being attached to) as parsing it as '*mahā + sam + bodhisatta*' is rather unusual. Then *mahāsambodhisatta* means 'a being attached to the great enlightenment.' In the same way, '*paccekabodhi + satta*' (a being attached to the unproclaimed

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enlightenment) and 'sāvaka**bodhi** + *satta*' (a being attached to the enlightenment of disciples), although PTS edition of ThagA has *pacceka-bodhisatta* and *sāvaka-bodhisatta*. This particular method of hyphenation gives a different shade of meaning. On the other hand, if the transcription in PTS edition be accepted, *mahāsambodhisatta* is to be parsed as '*mahā* + *sambodhisatta*.' But yet the word *sambodhisatta* appears to be unusual and in fact, as far as my investigations go, it cannot be found anywhere else in the Aṭṭhakathā literature, though I do not claim that my investigations are comprehensive. As for the other two, because of the context in which they are used and references to them at other places [see below for references], it is very likely that they are different types of bodhisattas prefixed by *mahā*, *pacceka* and *sāvaka* respectively.

83 ThagA i 9-12. '*Sāvaka-bodhisatta*' and '*pacceka-bodhisatta*' are also mentioned either together or independently at CpA 286, 315, 317; etc. The word *pacceka-bodhisatta* occurs at Pṭsa iii 645; SnA i 52, 67, 72; etc., as well. The authorship of Pṭsa is ascribed to Mahānāma who is said to have lived during the fifth and sixth century A.D. It is believed that Pṭsa was written in 514 A.D. at Mahāvihāra. See S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushakubunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.557.

84 See e.g., Pṭs ii 19; etc.

85 W.Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p.96. Also cf. Nandasena Mudiyanse, *Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon*, pp.24 ff

86 W.Rahula, *op.cit.*, p.62

87 W.Rahula, *op.cit.*, p.70

88 See Nandasena Mudiyanse, *op.cit.*

89 Vism 419 = Pṭsa i 372

90 References (e.g. DA iii 870; AA iii 318; BvA 194; etc.) to it are countless in the Aṭṭhakathā texts.

91 His terminology when referring to Gotama Buddha or Buddhas in general seems to be *mahāsatta* or *mahābodhisatta* [see CpA, etc.] as seen above. The frequency of the use of the word *mahāsatta*, which is very often employed in Mahāyāna Buddhism to refer to the bodhisatta, may be further evidence that Dhammapāla kept pace with the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition. It must be admitted that Buddhaghosa along with the term *sabbaññu-bodhisatta* also

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uses *mahāsatta* at DA ii 428; SA ii 117; AA i 144, ii 240; etc.

92 AA i 113-114

93 AA ii 27

94 AA iii 257

95 AA iii 318

96 PtsA iii 599

97 PugA 189

98 VibhA 413

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1 Bv II v 2 Bv II v 61

3 Bv II vs 62-70

4 See e.g., D ii 1 ff (*Mahāpadāna sutta*); etc.

5 Thag 1240. The Commentary on this [ThagA iii 195] gives two meanings as follows: '*Isīnan isisattamo ti sāvaka-pacceka-buddha-isīnaṃ uttamo isi; Vipassī-sammāsambuddhato paṭṭhāya isīnaṃ vā sattamako isi.*' From this, we understand that the phrase '*isisattama*' means; (1) the best sage among disciples and paccekabuddhas and (2) the seventh sage in the lineage of Buddhas. Takayoshi Namikawa says that in Early Buddhism the first meaning is to be adopted. T.Namikawa, *Genshi Bukkyo ni okeru Buddha to Buddeshi - Ryosha ni kansuru Hyogen no Ido to Kosho yori mite (The Difference Between the Buddha and His Disciples - A Study of Their Common Epithets and Referential Expressions in Early Verses of the Nikāyas)*, p.299 (482)

6 M i 386; S i 192; Sn 356; etc. SnA i 35 l, commenting on the verse 356 of the Suttanipāta, says that Gotama Buddha is the seventh sage counting from Vipassī Buddha. Cf. MA iii 97

7 See H.Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha - Shakuson no Shogai (Gotama Buddha - The Life of Sākyamuni)*, p.489

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8 H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.7

9 H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.7. See also *Ibid.*, pp.280 ff for detailed discussions on the development of the idea of past Buddhas.

10 See for discussions on the Buddhavaṃsa and its related subjects; M.Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II, pp.155 ff; E.W.Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp.34 ff; Oliver Abeynayake, *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, pp.108 f; E.Mayeda, *Genshi Bukkyo-seiten no Seintsu-shi Kenkyu (A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts)*, pp.767 ff; S.Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, pp.540 ff; etc.

11 For instance, E.W.Adikaram (*op.cit.*, p.38) points out that the commentator of the Buddhavaṃsa states that the ten sections known as 'sambahuḷavara' must be inserted there. But in the Buddhavaṃsa, they are found precisely the same as in the Aṭṭhakathā. The inference drawn from here, says Adikaram, is that those ten were inserted in the Buddhavaṃsa at an appropriate place after its Commentary was composed. For, if that section was originally in the Buddhavaṃsa, the commentator would not have specifically mentioned that those ten items should be inserted there.

12 The Aṭṭhakathā texts differentiate three kinds of aspiration (*abhinīhāra*) specified for Buddhas, paccekabuddhas and sāvakas respectively (*buddhapaccekabuddhasāvakānaṃ sabbesaṃ patthanā ca abhinīhāro ca icchitabbo*.) [SnA i 47]. Cf. ApA 139; etc.

13 E.g. SnA i 51; ApA 142; etc. Ñāṇāvāsa mistakenly remarks that the idea of eight types of persons who are to fulfill their respective aspirations is a post commentarial development. But, this evidence suggests that it is a commentarial one. See H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, pp.152 f. Cf. also BvA 273 where *Buddhamātā* (mothers of Buddhas) are said to fulfil their perfections (*pārami*) for a hundred thousand *kappas*.

14 H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.17

15 H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, pp.160, 166

16 See Saddharmālaṅkāra, ed. Kalutara Sarananda Thera, Colombo, 1953, p.59. The Pāli work called the Rasavāhinī based on which the Saddharmālaṅkāra is said to have been written does not contain this infor-

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mation.

17 E.g. DA ii 410; AA iii 44-45; JA i 44; CpA 15; BvA 131; etc. The Buddhavaṇṇisa [Bv XXVII v 1] also mentions three more previous Buddhas before Dīpaṅkara, but this portion of the text together with the last Chapter (i.e. Ch.XXVIII) seems to be a later addition as its commentary does not comment on it. Therefore, it can be said that those three Buddhas appeared for the first time in the commentaries in the Pāli tradition.

18 DhPA i 11

19 E.g. Sodo Mori, *Pāli Bukkyo Chushaku-bunken no Kenkyu (A Study of the Pāli Commentaries)*, p.101 After examining cross quotations among the Aṭṭhakathā texts, Mori thinks that DhPA and JA belong to a different tradition from that of other Aṭṭhakathā texts.

20 A ii 142

21 A ii 142: 'Yadā bhikkhave kappo samvattati taṇi na sukaraṇi saṅkhatuṇi ettakāni vassānīti vā ettakāni vassasatānīti vā ettakāni vassasahassānīti vā ettakāni vassasatasahassānīti vā.' Cf. CpA 11: 'Dīgho kho bhikkhave kappo na sukaro ettakāni vassānīti vā ettakāni vassasatānīti vā ettakāni vassasahassānīti vā ettakāni vassasatasahassānīti vā saṅkhatuṇi ti.'

22 Vism414, 419. See also A ii 142; D i 14, iii 109; CpA 11; ItA ii 135; etc.

23 E.g. SnA i 47, 51; ApA 142; etc. (See the reference above)

24 BvA 65

25 A ii 142; etc.

26 CpA 11; Cf. BvA 65

27 CpA 12

28 CpA 12

29 *Loc.cit.*

30 CpA 12

31 CpA 12: 'Asaṅkheyyaṇi ti eko gaṇanāvīseso ti eke, te hi ekato paṭṭhāya mahābalakkhapaṇiyosānāni ekūnasatṭhittānāni vajjetvā dasa

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mahābalakkhāni asaṅkheyyaṃ nāma saṅghimathānantaraṃ ti vadanti.'

32 See Sharmishtha Sharma, *Buddhist Avadānas*, Delhi, 1985, p.49. M.Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II, p.268 ascribes it to the second century A.D.

33 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.78

34 CpA 12

35 Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.79

36 BvA 191. Cf. DA ii 410-411. UdA 95 mentions '*Buddha-suñña-loka.*'

37 DA ii 410-411. Cf. also AA iii 44-45

38 DA ii 411; BvA 208; JA i 38 = ApA 42

39 BvA 208

40 BvA 223

41 When the Southern tradition of the names of previous Buddhas as, for instance, found in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is compared with the Northern tradition [e.g. the *Mahāvastu*, pp.110-120 & 136-139], both traditions recognize Dīpaṅkara as the Buddha from whom Gotama Bodhisatta received 'declaration' for the first time and the six previous Buddhas starting from Vipassī are also common to both. Other Buddhas are arranged differently. See J.J.Jones, *Mahāvastu*, pp.87 ff. & 108 ff.

42 BvA 191

43 Of the five kinds of *kappa*, '*maṇḍakappa*' seems to be the only term appearing in the *Buddhavaṃsa* [Bv XI v 2].

44 D ii 2 mentions the word *bhadda-kappa*. However, the context in which it is used, suggests that its meaning is simply 'auspicious aeon', and not in the technical sense as found in the Aṭṭhakathā texts. Cf. DA ii 410: '*Bhadda-kappe ti pañca Buddh'uppādapaṭimanditattā sundara-kappe sāra-kappe ti.*'

45 BvA 191

46 The Sinhala edition of BvA does not give this verse either. See BvA (SHB) 159. Also see I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, pp.x

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& 277

47 ApA 541 f

48 ApA 542

49 D ii 2

50 See Bv II v 1. Cf. Miln 232

51 The Northern Buddhism generally believes that Gotama Bodhisatta spent three *asañkheyyas* and a hundred *kappas* before his attainment of Buddhahood. See e.g., Taiken Kimura, *Shojo Bukkyo Shiso-ron (A Study of Hīnayāna Buddhist Thought)*, p.51. The Sarvāstivāda school, on the other hand, considers it to be three *asañkheyya-kappas* and ninety-one *kappas*. The reason why Gotama Bodhisatta cut short by nine *kappas* is because of his extensive and hard training (i.e. *virīya*) [Cf. Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣāśāstra, Taisho, Vol.27, p.890 (b)]. See Kosho Kawamura, *Ubu no Buddha-ron (A Study of the Concept of Buddha of the Sarvāstivāda School)*, p.219

52 SnA i 50-51; ThagA i 11; ApA 142; etc. Cf. also SA i 349; AA i 115, iv 92; etc.

53 SnA i 51; ApA 141; etc.

54 SA ii 95; AA i 115; KhpA 133; SnA i 47; ThagA i 10-11; CpA 329; ApA 139; etc.

55 AA i 115

56 SnA i 47 = ApA 139

57 CpA 329. This reminds us of the passage in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra [Taisho, Vol.25, p.283 b] (extant only in Chinese translation) that both Gotama and Maitreya made resolves at the same time, but Gotama's period of training was reduced by nine *kappas* because of his excellence in energy (*virya*). See Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyo Koyumeishi Jiten (Dictionary of Proper Names of Indian Buddhism)*, p.422. The Sarvāstivāda school also follows the idea of a reduction of nine *kappas* for Gotama Bodhisatta, but with a different explanation. See K.Kawamura, *Ubu no Buddha-ron (A Study of the Concept of Buddha of the Sarvāstivāda School)*, p.219

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58 CpA 329

59 Cf. PtsA iii 646 where only three are explained. See also H. Nāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p.162

60Bv II v 59; BvA 91, 271; JA i 14, 44; MA iv 122; AA ii 15; SnA i 48; ItA i 121; UdA 133; ThagA i 11; CpA 282; ApA 16, 48, 140; VibhA 437; etc. Cf. CpA 16 & 284 and ThigA 1 where these are named *aṭṭha-aṅga*. Of the above sources, JA i 14 is the same as ApA 16; JA i 44 as ApA 48; and AA ii 15 as VibhA 437. These passages becoming identical with each other are quite clear because of the fact that ApA repeats the 'Dūrenidāna' of JA. ApA 140, on the other hand, is a repetition of the passage at SnA i 48 including the explanations that follow. Cf. PtsA iii 644 where only the term occurs.

61 BvA 91-92. Cf. JA i 14-15 where the explanations, though shorter, are similar to those in BvA. CpA 16 and ItA i 121 do not give detailed explanations. In the latter source, Dhammapāla gives them in the explanation of *tathāgata*. SnA i 48-49 [= ApA 140], while giving substantially the same explanations as BvA, adds that the states of human existence and being male should be aspired through the accumulation of meritorious acts like giving (*dānādīni puññakammāni katvā manussattaṃ/purisabhāvo yeva patthetabbaṃ/patthetabbo.*)

62 AA ii 15

63 VibhA 437

64 See for a detailed study on this physical mark, Bellanwila Wimalaratana, *op.cit.*, pp.95 ff ; etc.

65 D iii 142 ff

66 Bv II vs 116 ff; BvA 104

67 See H. Nāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, (Appendix iv), pp.438 f

68 SnA i 51 = ApA 142

69 SnA i 48; ApA 140; etc.

70 CpA 285 ff

71 CpA 284. The term *cittu ppāda* is interesting and may be compared with

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citt-otpāda (the production of the thought of enlightenment) of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, pp.58 ff

72 CpA 284ff

73 CpA 286: 'Ekanten'ev'assa yathā ajjhāsayo sambodhininno hoti sambodhipoṇo sambodhipabbhāro tathā sattānaṃ hitacariyā. Yato cānena purimabuddhānaṃ santike sambodhāya paṇidhānaṃ kataṃ hoti manasā vācāya ca: ahaṃ pi ediso sammāsambuddho hutvā sammad eva sattānaṃ hitasukhaṃ nipphādeyyan ti.'

74 CpA 286: 'Idha upanissayasampanno mahāpuriso yathā visadindriyo hoti visadañño, na tathā itare. Parahitāya paṭipanno hoti, na attahitāya. Tathā hi so yathā bahu janahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ paṭipaṭṭi, na tathā itare.'

75 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, pp.17 f.

76 The context here does not seem to accommodate the idea of 'pride'. The sentence reads as follows: 'Bāhirabalaṃ: yā sammāsambodhiyaṃ parasannissāya abhiruci, ekantaninna jhāsayatā; yāya mahāpuriso lokādhipati māna jhāsayo [Burmese edition reads 'mānapassayo'. See CpA 288 footnote 7] abhinihārasampanno ca hutvā pāramiyo pūretvā sammāsambodhiṃ pāpuṇāti.'

77 CpA 289: 'yā sammāsambodhiṃ tajjā payogasampadā, sakkaccakāritā; yāya mahāpuriso visuddhapayogo nīrantarakārī abhinihārasampanno ca hutvā sammāsambodhiṃ pāpuṇāti.'

78 CpA 289

79 *Loc.cit.*

80 *Loc.cit.*

81 Vism 116. Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.115

82 Vism 116. Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.116

83 Cf. The Japanese translation of the Visuddhimagga in *Nanden Daizokyo*, Vol.62, p.230 & p.236, footnote 39.

84 SnA i 50

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85 ApA 141-142

86 CpA 290

87 CpA 27

88 H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, pp.155 f

89 D iii 235. Cf. D iii 133 = A iv 370. Here too the term 'abhabba' (cannot become) is found.

90 AA i 129

91 A Sinhala work named Pūjāvaliya also discusses 'abhavayasthānas' of a bodhisattva, but the number of them is given as thirteen (*terasa*) [p.58]. A perusal of the list mentioned therein reveals that it comes much closer to Group A and also includes women. See Pūjāvaliya, ed. Buddhaputra Thera, Colombo, 1953, pp.55-58

92 See for the chronology of Buddhist Pāli texts, T.W.Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p.188; Egaku Mayeda, *Genshi Bukkyo Seiten no Seiristu-shi Kenkyu* (*A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts*), pp.735 ff. & pp.767 ff.; etc.

93 See M iii 65; A i 28

94 Mtu i 103. See J.J.Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, Vol.I, p.81. See also Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.223

95 See H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, pp.144 f

96 ItA i 15

97 CpA 320: 'Samudāgamanakālesu vā pūriyamānā pāramiyo, Bodhisattabhūmiyaṇi puṇṇā upapāramiyo, Buddhabhūmiyaṇi sabbākāraparipuṇṇā paramatthapāramiyo.'

98 Miln 163 also uses the word *bhūmi* in this sense when it mentions 'arahantbhūmi' (the realm of arahants).

99 DhsA 214

100 BvA 116

101 CpA 290

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102 *Ibid.* Cf. also CpA 27 & 319 where the term 'catasso *Buddhaḥbhūmiyo*' is referred to.

103 CpA 284

104 See I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning (Madhuratthavilāsinī)*, p.152

105 BvA 113

106 CpA 19

107 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.75

108 UdA 89; ItA i 8, ii 82; ThīgA 1; CpA 17, 330. The PTS edition of ThīgA has 'nāṅgathacariyā' instead of 'nātatthacariyā'. However, SHB edition gives 'nātatthacariyā' [ThīgA (SHB) 1]. Further, only ItA i 8 gives its order as *lokathacariyā*, *nātatthacariyā* and *buddhatthacariyā*. Buddhaghosa also refers to these three kinds of *cariyā*. See e.g. AA i 98. Cf. PtsA i 207 where only two kinds, namely, *nātatthacariyā* and *buddhatthacariyā*, are mentioned.

109 Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.75 f

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1 See Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, pp.619-620. Har Dayal also makes references to other scholars who followed this etymological explanation in his *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, p.165

2 See e.g. I.B.Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol.I, p.28, footnote 5 & p.166, footnote 5; Ven.H.Saddhatissa, *The Birth-Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas and the Dasabodhisattupattikathā*, PTS, London, 1975, p.96, footnote 12; etc.

3 E.g. S i 195; DhP 348; etc.

4 E.g. M i 135; S ii 277; Sn 803; etc.

5 See e.g. Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.166; T.W.Rhys Davids and William Stede, *Pāli-English Dictionary*, PTS, s.v. *Pāramī*.

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6 Sn 1018 & 1020

7 SnA ii 584. Cf. Hajime Nakamura, *Buddha no Kotoba (Words of the Buddha)*, p.414

8 M iii 28-29

9 MA iv 91

10 Netti 87

11 Miln 21. I.B.Horner seems to translate this in the technical sense of perfections numbering ten. See I.B.Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol.I, p.28 together with the footnote 5.

12 NdA i 84

13 Bv I v 77, II vs 117 ff (Here they are referred to as 'bodhipācana')

14 Of the ten perfections, the text relates only seven; namely, *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma*, *sacca*, *adhiṭṭhāna*, *mettā* and *upekkhā*. See also below.

15 Bv II v 116

16 BvA 104. Cf. CpA 277

17 Bv II vs 121, 126, etc.

18 Cp I v 1

19 See Bv I v 79

20 BvA 105

21 See above (Chapter VII). Also T.Endo, *Bodhisattas in the Pāli Commentaries*, pp. 75 ff

22 See also Bv I v 76

23 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.168; *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, pp.5074 f; etc.

24 Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.168. See also *Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*, pp 2367 ff.

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25 Taisho Vol. 27, 892 b

26 The Mahāvastu iii 226 also speaks of six *pāramitās*. See J.J.Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, Vol.III, p.221

27 See K.Kawamura, *Ubu no Buddha-ron (A Study of the Concept of Buddha of the Sarvāstivāda School)*, p.228; A.Hirakawa, *Indo Bukkyo-shi (A History of Indian Buddhism)*, Vol.I, p.383, etc.

28 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.168

29 E.J.Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p.211

30 Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.167

31 Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.167

32 Bv I v 76 in fact refers to the ten perfections (*dasapāramī*) But, a doubt has been expressed by S.Tachibana about a later interpolation of the first chapter, i.e. 'Katanacaṅkamanakaṅṭam' of the Buddhavaṃsa. See S.Tachibana, *Nanden-daizokyo*, Vol.41, pp.4-5 However, it is certain that this section was composed before the Sīhala Aṭṭhakatbā.

33 CpA 277-278

34 CpA Editor's Preface, p.xiv

35 E.g. E.J.Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, p.172

36 E.g. *Loc.cit.*

37 H.Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, pp.6 f

38 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p.169

39 CpA 321

40 CpA 321-322

41 CpA 278

42 See above (Chapters VII and VIII). Also T.Endo, *Bodhisattas in the Pāli Commentaries*, pp.72 ff, for the commentarial development of the Bodhisatta Doctrine.

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43 E.g. Vism 203; MA iii 22; SA i 21, iii 48; AA i 98, 103; DhPA i 84; JA i 25, 73; ItA i 8, 117; UdA 89, 128, 413; BvA 15, 59; CpA 3; PtsA i 207; etc. See also Ap i 1

44 PED gives the meaning of *upapāramī* as 'minor perfection'. However, according to the gradation of perfections, its translation as 'higher perfection' is preferred here and throughout as adopted by I.B.Horner in her translation of the *Madhuratthavilāsinī* (i.e. *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, PTS, London, 1978), since it gives a clear meaning in the context.

45 Bv I vs 76-77

46 See below for a summary of the ten perfections discussed in the *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*.

47 CpA 278-280

48 CpA 278

49 The PTS edition here reads as '*dānāntaram*.' It is corrected according to the SHB edition of CpA 216

50 CpA 278

51 *Loc.cit.*: '*Sīlena dāyakaṭṭiggāhakaṣuddhito, parānuggahaṃ vatvā parapīlānivattivacanato, kiriyādhamaṃ vatvā akiriyādhamaṃvacanato, bhogaṣampattihetuṃ vatvā bhavaṣampattihetuvacanato ca dānaṣa anantaraṃ sīlaṃ vuttaṃ.*'

52 ThagA iii 206

53 ThagA iii 95. Cf. *Ibid.*, 162, 180, 208-209; SA ii 62, 95; etc.

54 SA ii 95: '*Kasmā vā sata-saḥaṣṣa-kappādhikaṃ ekaṃ asaṅkheyyaṃ pūritapāramino Sāriputta-Moggallānā viya sāvaka-pāramī-nāṇaṃ na paṭivijjhasi.*'

55 SA iii 1 18: '*Ānanda-tthero sāvaka-pāramī-nāṇaṣa matthaṃ apattatāya sakalaṃ pi maggabrahmacariyaṃ kalyāṇamitta-sannissayena labbhatī ti na aññāsi. Dhamma-senāpati pana sāvaka-pāramī-nāṇaṣa matthake thitattā aññāsi.*'

56 VvA 2: '*Tatthāpi yebhuyyena yo so kappānaṃ sataṣaḥṣādhikaṃ ekaṃ asaṅkheyyan buddhaṣa Bhagavato aggaṣāvakaḥhāvāya*

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puññāñāṇasambhāre sambharanto anukkamena sāvaka-pāramiyo pūretvā ... sakalassa sāvaka-pāramiñāṇassa matthakaṃ patto dutiye aggasāvakaṭṭhāne t̥bito...'

57 E.g. DA i 100; SA i 122, ii 95, iii 118, 208; VAi 139, v 976; KhpA 229; DhpA iv 75; UdA 244, 271, 282; etc.

58 Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Minor Readings*, p. 192

59 DhpA i 327. Cf. DhpA i 340-341, AA i 296; ThagA iii 112; ApA 308; etc.

60 DhpA ii 266: '*Saithā...taṃ [Patācārathēriṃ] āgacchamānaṃ addasa kappasatasahassaṃ pūritapāramiṃ abhinīhārasampannaṃ.*'

61 Incidentally, the identification of Velukanthakī as one of the two chief female disciples has been subjected to speculation. See *DPPN* ii 934 f (s.v. Velukantakī).

62 DhpA i 340: '*..iti ime aṭṭha jane ādiṃ katvā thānantarapatta sabbe pi sāvaka ekadesena dasannaṃ pāramiṇaṃ pūritattā mahāpuññā abhinīhārasampannā.*'

63 JA i 49; BvA 273; ApA 54; etc.

64 Pug 70

65 Interestingly, the list does not include female disciples of the Buddha.

66 ThagA iii 206

67 *Loc.cit.*

68 *Loc.cit.*

69 Sāriputta and Moggallāna are said to have made their resolves to become the chief disciples of a Buddha during the time of Anomadassī Buddha one *asaṅkheyya* and a hundred thousand *kappas* ago. See AA i 148 ff; DhpA i 110; etc. See also *DPPN* ii 542 (s.v. MahāMoggallāna Thera). Similarly, Mahākassapa who is regarded as the third disciple in line (*tatiya-sāvaka*) is also said to have made his wish in the time of Padumuttara Buddha a hundred thousand *kappas* ago [ThagA iii 121 ff]. See also *DPPN* ii 478 (s.v. Mahā Kassapa Thera).

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70 ThagA i 11

71 J vi 480

72 ThagA i 11

73 JA i 49; BvA 273; ApA 54; etc. A conflicting view as regards the time in which Mahāmāyā made her wish between the Jātaka version [J vi 480] and that of the Aṭṭhakathās is suggestive of the following: (1) When this portion of the Vessantara story in the Jātaka was written, the accepted number of past Buddhas was still six like in the canonical tradition. (2) The assigning of periods for the fulfillment of *pāramīs* to various categories of individuals beginning with Buddhas was a commentarial development. As a result, the commentators had to make certain adjustments even at the expense of the canonical tradition. The discrepancy in Mahāmāyā's case is one such instance.

74 Ven.B. Wimalaratana tries to see a parallel between the *pāramitā* and the ethical norms mentioned in the Lakkhaṇa Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya which produce the thirty-two physical marks of a Great Man (*Mahāpurisa*) as a resultant end. Ven.B. Wimalaratana, *Concept of Great Man (Mahāpurisa)*, pp. 180 ff.

75 See Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, etc. For further discussions on the relations of the perfections to basic Buddhist concepts, see Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, pp. 172 ff.

76 Sn 623 = DhP 399.

77 See J iii 274; etc.

78 Rev. Ñāṇāvāsa also tries to see similar ethical principles among the ten perfections (*pāramī*), the ten norms of kingship (*dasā-rājadhammā*) and the ten meritorious deeds for lay followers (*puṇṇākiriya*). See, H. Ñāṇāvāsa, *op.cit.*, p. 157

79 See Har Dayal, *op.cit.*, p. 171

80 ThagA i 11

81 For example, AA i 124-158 relate stories of male, female and lay disciples of the Buddha. They show how the present existences are related to their former births. In all the cases mentioned in AA (except of course Sāriputta

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and Moggallāna for obvious reasons), their previous stories in fact start from Padumuttara Buddha. Exceptions, however, may be noted that Bakkula's story [AA i 304 ff] is traced as far back as the time of Anomadassī Buddha and the story on 'Nakulamātā Gahapatānī' [*Ibid.* 457] has no mention of Padumuttara Buddha. Cf. Dhpa, ThagA, ThīgA, ApA, etc., for similar stories.

82 Vism 411

83 See T.Endo, *Bodhisattas in the Pāli Commentaries*, pp.82 ff.

84 CpA 276-277: 'tañhā-māna-ditthīhi anūpahatā karuṇupāyakosalla-pariggahitā dānādayo guṇā pāramiyo.'

85 CpA 277

86 See below. SA ii 154 substitutes 'sāvakānaṃ' for 'aññesaṃ'.

87 VA i 139: 'Aññesaṃ arahattamaggo anuttarā bodhi hoti na hotī ti. Na hoti. Kasmā. Asabbaguṇadāyakattā, tesam hi kassaci arahattamaggo arahattaphalaṃ eva detikassaci tisso vijjā kassaci cha abhiññā kassaci catasso paṭisambhidā kassaci sāvaka-pāramiññānaṃ, paccekabuddhānaṃ pi paccekabodhiññānaṃ eva deti, buddhānaṃ pana sabbaguṇasampattiṃ deti, abhiseko viya rañño sabbalokissariyabhāvaṃ. Tasmā aññassa kassaci pi anuttarā bodhi na hotī ti.' Cf. SA ii 154 where the word 'sāvakānaṃ' replaces the opening word 'aññesaṃ' in VA, but the rest are identical with each other.

88 SA iii 208: 'Sambodhiyaṃ ti sabbaññuta-ñāṇena arahatta-magga-ñāṇena vā arahatta-maggen'eva hi Buddha-guṇa nippadesā gahitā honti. Dve hi agga-sāvakā arahatta-maggen'eva sāvaka-pārami-ñāṇaṃ paṭilabhanti; pacceka-Buddhā paccekabodhi-ñāṇaṃ; Buddhā sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ c'eva sakale ca Buddhaguṇe sabbam hi tesam arahatta-maggen'eva ijjhanti. Tasmā arahatta-magga-ñāṇaṃ sambodhi nāma hoti.'

89 SA i 122

90 PtsA iii 653: 'Sāvaka-pārami-ppatto' ti ettha mahāpaññānaṃ aggassa mahāsāvakassa sattaṣaṭṭhiyā sāvakaññānaṃ pāragamaṇaṃ pāramī. ... Sattaṣaṭṭhiyā sāvakaññānaṃ pālako pūrako ca so mahāsāvako paramo. Tassa paramassa ayaṃ sattaṣaṭṭhibheda-ñāṇakiriyā paramassa bhāvo kammaṃ vā' ti pāramī.'

91 Pts 3

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92 DA i 100

93 *Loc.cit.*

94 CpA 8: 'mādisassa nāma sāvakaṭṭhāraṇāṇaṃ tīhitaṃ Buddhagūṇa nānena paricchinditum na sakkā.'

95 See Bhikkhu Bodhi, *A Treatise on the Pāramīs*, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Sri Lanka, 1996, 76 pp. for a translation of the Pakiṇṇakakathā of the Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā. Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation originally appeared in his book called *The Discourse on The All-embracing Net of Views*, BPS, 1978, pp.243-317.

96 CpA 280: 'Ettha avisesena tāva sabbā pi pāramiyo parānuggahalakkhaṇā, paresaṃ upakāraṇarasā, avikampanarasā vā, hitesitāpaccupaṭṭhānā, buddhatta-paccupaṭṭhānā vā, mahākaruṇāpadaṭṭhānā, karuṇūpāyakosallapadaṭṭhānā vā.'

97 They include: 1. *manussattaṃ* (being a human being), 2. *liṅgasampatti* (a male sex), 3. *hetu* (cause), 4. *sattāradassanaṃ* (seeing a teacher), 5. *pabbajjā* (going forth), 6. *guṇasampatti* (possession of virtues or special qualities), 7. *adhikāra* (fulfillment of proper deeds) and 8. *chandatā* (will-power). See, Bv II v 59; BvA 91, 271; JA i 14, 44; MA iv 122; AA ii 15; SnA i 48; ItA i 121; UdA 133; ThagA i 11; ApA 16, 48, 140; VibhA 437; etc. See also above (Chapter VIII)

98 See above (Chapter VIII)

99 'Ummaggo nāma bodhisambhāvesu upāyakosallabhūtā paṇṇā.'

100 'Avatthānaṃ nāma adhiṭṭhānaṃ acalādhīṭṭhānatā.'

101 See also SnA i 50 where these four are called 'buddhabhūmi'.

102 CpA 303: 'dānapāramiyā tāva sukhū pakarāṇa-sarīra-jīvitapariccāgena bhayāpanudanena dhammopadesena ca bahudhā sattānaṃ anuggahakaraṇaṃ paṭipatti.'

103 See above (Chapter VIII)

104 See above (Chapter VIII) for a further discussion on the notion of 'abhabbatthāna' in Pāli Buddhism.

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105 The inclusion of '*adhittāna*' in this list of the Buddha's attainments and virtues appears to be somewhat different from similar lists found in the Aṭṭhakathās. See e.g. Vism 325; etc.

106 E.g. Bv II v 116; BvA 104; etc.

107 JA i 19, 25; CpA 277

108 ItA i 8

109 VvA 2

110 SA ii 277

111 See SA ii 95, iii 63; AA i 115; KhpA 133; SnA i 47; ThagA i 10-11; CpA 329; ApA 139; etc.

112 AA i 112-113

113 MA iv 170

114 MA iv 169; DA i 427

115 Vism 325

116 BvA 59 ff

117 Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, p.318

118 DA ii 651

119 Vism 13

120 A i 22.

121 See also Nārada Mahā Thera, *The Buddha and His Teachings*, The Buddhist Research Society, Singapore, 1986, pp.341-361

122 BvA 59, 105, 113; JA i 25. BvA 59 presents a confusion in the definitions of *pāramī* and *upapāramī*. So is JA i 25. The edition of these two Aṭṭhakathā texts is said to have been based on the Sinhala manuscripts. BvA (SHB) 50 also follows the same mistake. However, judging from the content, the correct readings must be those in the Burmese edition of BvA as I.B.Horner

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too claims. BvA 113, on the other hand, shows the correct reading. See I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, p.89, footnote 1.

123 BvA 103-104; JA i 20. See I.B.Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, p.150

124 BvA 59; CpA 272

125 Cf. JA i 45 where the list of Jātakas for the illustration of *dāna-pārami* includes the former births of the Bodhisatta as Akittibrāhmaṇa, Saṅkhabrāhmaṇa, Dhanañjayarāja, Mahāsuddassana, Mahāgovinda, Nimimahārāja, Candakumāra, Visayhaseṭṭhi, Sivirāja, Vessantara and Sasapaṇḍita.

126 BvA 59-60

127 BvA 106

128 BvA 106

129 Cf. JA i 45. Here the Jātakas mentioned are Silavanāgarāja, Campeyyanāgarāja, Bhūridattanāgarāja, Chaddantanāgarāja, Jayaddisarāja, Alīnasattukumāra-putta and Saṅkhapāla.

130 BvA 60

131 Cf. JA i 45. JA gives the following Jātakas: Somanassakumāra, Hatthipālakumāra, Ayogharapaṇḍita and Cūlasutasoma.

132 Cf. JA i 46. JA list is the same as that of CpA.

133 See also JA i 46; CpA 274

134 JA i 46 gives only the Mahājanaka-jātaka for illustration.

135 BvA 60; JA i 46

136 JA i 47. See Egaku Mayeda, *Genshi Bukkyo Seiten no Seiritsu-shi Kenkyu (A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts)*, p.770

137 BvA 61; JA i 46

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138 JA i 46 mentions the Mugapakkhajātaka instead of Temiyakumāra. However, they are the same. See *DPPN* ii 647.

139 BvA 61; JA i 47

140 BvA 61; JA i 47

CHAPTER X

1 See e.g., Oliver Abeynayake, *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, pp. 110-113

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