Pali "Vado Vedeyyo" and Upanisadic "Avāķi-Anādarah"

N the famous 'Sāṇḍilya-vidyā' Section of the Chāndogya Upanisad (3.14.1-4), also found in a somewhat different version in the Satapatha Brāhmana (10.6.3)1, occurs the following: "... Now, verily, a person (purusa) consists of volition (kratu). According as his volition isin this world, so does he become on departing hence (itah preiva). So lethim exercise forhim-Consisting of mind (manomava), having a body of life (prāṇasarirah), of the colour of light $(bh\bar{a}-r\bar{u}pah)$, of true conception, of the nature of $\bar{a}k\bar{a}\dot{s}a$, possessing all actions, all desires, all smells, all tastes, pervading all this, speechless and indifferent (avākyanādarah) . . . this self (ālmā) of mine within the heart—this is Brahma2—into him shall I evolve3 on departing from here." The Śatapatha Brāhmana version, while generally agreeing with the above, has the latter part as follows: "Let him meditate on the Self (Atmanam), consisting of mind . . . etc . . . changing its shape at will, swift as thought, of true conception, and resolve, possessing all smells, and tastes, which holds sway over all the regions and pervades all this, which is speechless and indifferent (avākkam-anādaram), . . . that self of life (prāna) is my self (ātmā); hence departing, into (this) self (Atmanam) shall I evolve3. A study of these passages shows that the attributes 'speechless' and 'indifferent' refer to the pantheistic Atman which is immanent in the transmigrating individual self in all its vicissitudes.

In his commentary on the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Śaṅkara interprets the term 'manomaya puruṣa' as "the self that resides in the prāṇaic or subtle body, i.e. the liṅga, consisting of the two energies of consciousness (vijñāna) and activity (kriyā)4. That the self transmigrates in the form of the liṅga is attested to at Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 4.4.6, which says "where one's mind is attached, the liṅga goes thereto with action . . ." Hence the passage may be taken generally to refer to the mental or intelligential self of the person departing from this life; it is to be observed that 'pretya' and other forms of $pra + \sqrt{i}$ in most Upaniṣadic contexts imply the departure of the individual self

The Chandogya passage is very early and belongs to what Belvalkar and Ranade have called the "Brahmano-Upanisadic Period." History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II. p. 135. Perhaps both versions go back to one original source.

This parenthetical phrase is probably a later interpolation, for it does not occur in the Brāhmana version.

^{3.} The verb ' $abhi + sa\dot{m} + \sqrt{b}h\ddot{u}$ ' is usually employed in the Upanisads in the sense of 'evolve into' with the accusative of the noun denoting the new state, as seen from Jacob's *Concordance*.

^{4.} Chāndogya Upaniṣad Bhāṣya (Ā.Ā. Series ed.), p. 170.

^{5.} See Jacob's Concordance, s. 'pre.'

at death. But the epithets beginning with 'manomaya' can apply, in the ultimate analysis, only to the macrocosmic $\overline{A}tman$, as the Brāhmaṇa text clearly shows and is interpreted by Sāyana in his $bh\bar{a}sya$ on the Mādhyandina recension. Similarly, Śaṅkara regards these attributes as belonging to \overline{I} śvara or God, although he interprets 'kratumayaḥ puruṣaḥ' as the individual self $(j\bar{v}va)^7$ who is said to become what he wills to be, having departed from this world. In fact, the pantheistic nature of the $\overline{A}tman$ described is patent from the epithet 'sarvamidamabhivyāpta', and the whole passage has to be taken in this double sense, as most similar passages in the Upaniṣads which maintain the identity of the microcosm and the macrocosm.

A comparison with other early Upanisadic texts clearly demonstrates that the particular self described by the terms "manomayah pranasarīro bhārūţah" is what may be called the anchistological aspect of the Upanisadic Atman, often also called the 'vijñānātman.' That the individual self has several aspects is proved not only by the famous 'pañcakosa' theory of the Taittiriya Up. (2.3.1,4.1) but also by many other contexts (e.g., Brhad., 1.5.3;4.4.5, etc.). According to the Taittiriva doctrine, just as the manomaya self is encased within the prānamaya, so is the vijnānamaya self posited within the manomaya. But, since manas is also one of the sense-functions in a way, and is therefore a prāna9, it is not surprising to find the vijñānamaya self itself being referred to as "the person among the functions (prānesu), inside the heart, an (effulgent) lightetc." (Brhad., 4.3.7), who being born attains a body and is joined by evils, and departing, on dying (utkrāman-mriyamānah), leaves the body and discards (those) evils " (ib.8). It is unnecessary to point out that this is the same self as the one that is cryptically called 'Indra,' at Tait. Up., 1.6.1 with regard to the dying person, and at Aitareya, 1.3.12,14 with regard to the pantheistic Atman as it enters the human body after the latter's first creation in order to enliven it. It is significant that this self is also regarded in the former context as the "manomaya person, immortal, resplendent (hiranmaya), within the space inside the heart . . ." Thus the two terms manomaya and vijñānamaya are promiscuously employed to denote the self as survivor at death (cp. Brhad., 4.4.4; Tait., 2.8.1;3.10.5). The progress of this anchistological self in its several stages from the moment of departure from one body till it is reborn in a fresh one is fully described at B had. Up., 4.4.1-2, thus: "When this self10 becomes weak, as it were, is reduced to senselessness, then the functions prānāh) get concentrated within him; he collects into himself all these particles

of energy and descends into the heart . . . [thus he becomes unified $(ek\bar{\imath}bk\bar{\imath}ta)$ with his functions (cp. Bihad., 2.4.14)]... Of him (thus unified) the hearttip becomes luminous; by that become luminous, the self (atman) leaves. In the wake of him leaving, life leaves; in the wake of life leaving all the vital functions leave; he becomes (just) consciousness (sa [?] viññāno bhavati), (and) as that very (eva) consciousness, he descends (into a womb) over again (anu-avakrāmati)"11. I have shown (loc.cit) that this theory of rebirth has at least this much in common with the Buddhist explanation of the phenomenon, that the departing and surviving factor is some form of consciousness (vijñāna=Pāli vi ināna). Furthermore, from the foregoing contexts it becomes clear that this Upanisadic self in transmigration is held to be radiant or effulgent (bhārūţa, jyotir, hiranmaya) -- an idea forcefully expressed at Brhad. Up., 4.3.9 where the vijnanamaya-purusa (the same as the self in the dream state) is identified with the self that arises from the crematory-oblation in the form of 'the person of the colour of light (bhāsvaravarnah).' This attribution of radiance to the anchistological vijñānātman in the Upanisads appears to be the result of the notion that at death the person discards the evils of the body, as mentioned above, but it is necessary to remember that from the Buddhist point of view12 it appears to be a fallacy arising from the confusion of the vijñānātman as survivor with the vijñāna of the perfected individual¹³.

Now, the characteristics of the ātman as found in the passages under discussion, that are more important for the Pāli terminological parallelism than those dealt with in the preceding paragraph, are the two contained in the Chāndogya phrase "avākī-anādarah" and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa's "avāk-kam-anādaram." Both 'avākī' and 'avākkam' can be grammatically regarded as possessive adjectival formations, and mean literally 'speech-less,' i.e., 'non-speaking,' as most translators take them¹⁴. But, as Sankara correctly remarks¹⁵, "the denial of speech (vāk) here is purely illustrative (upalakṣaṇā-rthaḥ), for it stands for the denial of all the sense-functions (karaṇāni) . . .", an interpretation justified by the special importance given to vāc as compared

^{6.} See Eggeling, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa Translation, S.B.E., Vol. XI.III, p. 400.

^{7.} Loc. cit., p. 169.

^{8.} Here Śańkara takes 'pretya' as "mrtvā," (ibid).

^{9.} See my article on "Upanisadic Terms for Sense-Functions" in the University of Ceylon Review, Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 20.

^{10.} Clearly called "sārīra ātmā" in the Śatapatha Brāhmana version (14.7.2).

^{11.} See my full discussion of this passage, with a new reading suggested, in the University of Ceylon Review, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 91, ff.

^{12.} Ibid. Vol. I, No. 2, p. 33.

^{13.} The promiscuous application of 'manas' and 'vijñāna' in Indian philosophy is well known. Thus Buddhism makes mano, viññāṇa and citta all synonymous (Dīgha Nikāya, I, p. 21).

^{14.} See Hume, The Thirteen Principal Upanishads, (trans.), p. 209. R. Mitra, The Twelve Principal Upanishads, (Eng. Trans., published by Tatya), p. 537. Max Müller, The Upanishads, S.B.E., Vol. I, p. 48. Cp. Atharva-veda, 5.20.11, vāgvin, speaker. Just as the suffix -vin, so the suffix -in or -ka may develop the agent sense; See Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, \$1145.

^{15.} Loc. cit., p. 172.

UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON REVIEW

with the other functions in the Upaniṣads¹⁶. It is seen that speech often heads the list of prāṇas or cognitive and motor functions (e.g., Chānd. Up., 5.1.1-15; Kaush. Up., 3.4-8 etc.)¹⁷. Thus the meaning of the epithet 'un-speaking' here must be taken in the broader sense of 'non-agent;' that is to say, the Ātman is devoid of agency. But in view of such passages as Bṛhad. Up., 4.3.26, where the Ātman is held to be the 'speaker' (i.e., agent) par excellence, the above interpretation would appear to present a contradiction. So Śańkara in order to meet this difficulty interprets the term ' $avāk^{\bar{i}}$ ' as "possessed of no organs such as speech (sci. but nevertheless, the speaker etc.)" (loc.cit.). The difficulty, however, results form the confusion of the sense of 'ātman' in the passage, which seems to waver between the microcosmic and the macrocosmic applications.

The same doubt seems to assail the investigator in attempting to decide the exact connotation of the word 'anādarah.' The form, like 'avākī,' occurs only in these contexts and is to be taken similarly as a possessive adjectival formation, literally meaning 'unconcerned' or 'indifferent,' that is to say, 'not moved by external events' 18. That in the Upanisadic period the verb $\vec{a} + \sqrt{dr}$ meant 'to regard' or 'be concerned with' is seen from Brhad. Up., 6.2.3, where 'anādrtya' is used in the sense of 'disregarding.' The Upanişadic application of these epithets to the Atman may be compared with the similar attribution to the Purusa (Spirit) of "percipience, (yet) non-agency and neutrality" (mādhyasthyam drasirivam akarirbhāvasca) in the Sānkhya-Kārikā (19). The very next Kārikā (20), in fact, asserts that "it is only by the association with the linga (or the transmigrating subtle body) that the 'indifferent one' (udasina) (i.e., the Purusa) becomes agent as it were (iva)." Thus it is seen that in these philosophies the denial of agency and concern applies in reality only to the macrocosmic Self or Spirit but not to the microcosmic correlates of these in the two systems, particularly not to the transmigrating self. Yet it is significant for the ensuing discussion that even the macrocosmic Self is regarded in the Sānkhya and the late Upanisads as 'enjoyer' (bhoktr), i.e., 'the experiencer19.

Now, it is of great significance for the evolution of early Indian religious and philosophical thought to find an apparently similar denial in Early Buddism of the self (attā) or consciousness (viññāṇa) as the "speaker and feeler (experiencer) (vado vedeyyo)". This expression occurs only twice in the Pāli

Nikāyas and both instances are found in the Majjhima Nikāya. In the Second or Sabbāsava Sutta of that collection it is said that the uninstructed, common person owing to irrational thinking may come to hold one of the following six false views (ditthi): "I have a self (attā); I have not a self; by self I perceive self; by self I perceive non-self (anattānam) by non-self I perceive self: or (finally) his erroneous view is to hold that 'this self (atta) of mine, the speaker and feeler (vado vedeyvo), (that) experiences the fruit of good and bad acts (kammānam), that for me is (identical with) the Atman (Cosmic Self), permanent, constant, eternal, unchanging, that will stand fast for all eternity' "(M.I.8)20. As the commentator Buddhaghosa explains it, the term ' vado' in this context literally means 'speaker' or 'the agent of the act of speaking '21, which like the Upanisadic parallel 'avākī' must be taken in the broader sense of 'agent' in general. Similarly 'vedeyyo' means the 'feeler' or the 'agent of experience '22. The more important occurrence (M.I.258) of this expression, however, is in the famous Mahätanhāsankhaya Sutta (38). A monk, Sati by name, comes to entertain the pernicious view that, as he understood the Lord's teaching of the Doctrine, "the same (tadeva)23 consciousness (viññanam) runs on and continues (sci. after death) without break of identity (anaññam")24. In his commentary Buddhaghosa completely ignores the force of 'tadeva' and 'anaññam' and takes the statement as a flat denial of any surviving factor such as viññāna²⁵, but as Oldenberg, Keith and Mrs Rhys Davids have shown²⁶, what is denied here is only the belief that the surviving consciousness that runs on and continues in samsara is identically the same as the living consciousness. Sati is sternly rebuked by the Buddha for holding this pernicious view, and is consequently asked to define his conception of viññāna (katamam tam Sāti viññānam?)—beit noted that this request to define it would not have been necessary at all if Buddha had started with a flat denial of a surviving viññana of any and every kind of description—and Sati replies: "Sir, it is that speaker and feeler (vado vedeyyo), who experiences (patisa mvedeti) the results of good and bad acts, in this or that existence (tatra tatra)." Sāti is again rebuked and told that such a viññāna must be purely empirical, arising

^{16.} See Brhad. Up., 1.2.5, 5.4; 4.1.2; Chand. Up., 1.2.11, 13.2, 3.18.3, 7.2.1, etc.

^{17.} See also other references given by me in the *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. II. Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 17, ff.

^{18.} Cp. Petersburger Wörterbuch, s. anādara; Eggeling, loc. cit.; Hume, Max Müller, etc., loc. cit.

^{19.} Sāńkhya-Kārikā 17 (bhoktrbhāvāt); Katha Up., 3.4, (bhoktr), 4.5, (madhvad); Svet. Up., 1.9, 12; 6.16 (kṣetra-jña); Muṇḍ. Up. 3.1, etc.

^{20. &}quot;... Atha vā pan' assa evam dithi hoti: Yo me ayam attā vado vedeyyo tatra tatra kalyānapāpakānam kammānam vipākam patisamvedeti, so kho pana me ayam attā nicco dhuvo sassato avipariņāmadhammo sassatisamam tath' eva thassatī ti."

^{21. &}quot;Tattha vadatī ti vado. Vacikammassa kārako ti vuttam hoti" (Pt. I, p. 71). The form is made from root vad, to speak, with the agent suffix -as.

^{22. &}quot;Vediyatī ti vedeyyo. Jānāti, anubhavati cāti vuttam hoti" (ibid). The form again is agent suffix -as added to a base vede- or vedaya-, from the root vid, to feel.

^{23.} That is the same as of the person when he was living.

^{24.} The translation is in agreement with that of Chalmers (S.B.B., Vol. V, p. 183).

^{25.} Cy., Pt. II, p. 305.

^{26.} In Buddha, p. 228 (cp. 253), Buddhist Philosophy, p. 79, and Sākya, p. 322, respectively.

UNIVERSITY OF CEYLON REVIEW

only by wayof causation (paticcasamup pannam) and not coming about without assignable conditions (añnatra paccayā natthi vinnānassa sambhavo). Then follows a long analysis of such empirical consciousness. It is highly significant that this very analysis is immediately succeeded by an unmistakably emphatic assertion of an extra-empirical element or factor at conception, which must be present along with the physical elements if the latter is to be successful, and, which is called the 'gandhabba' (p. 265-6). Elsewhere²⁷, I have shown that this 'gandhabba' is no other than the 'samvattanika-viññāna' (M.11.262), that is, the consciousness that evolves (in samsara), said to descend into the mother's womb for successful conception and parturition, clearly from outside as E. J. Thomas has argued²⁸, in more than one place in the early Nikāvas (D.11.63; M.11.501 etc.). The history of the evolution of this concept of the anchistological 'gandhabba' shows that even some of the later Buddhist Schools, interpreting the survivng factor as some being (satta) or personality (puggala) endowed with a full sense-apparatus and even, in the opinion of some, a subtle, transporting (ativāhika) body of some sort comparable to the lingasarira, had forgotten the exact import of the concept and ignored the term 'gandhabba' completely²⁹. But in my discussion of the subject already referred to, I pointed out with adequate justification that the term, at least for Early Buddhism, meant the samsaric consciousness, although having no empirical relationship with sense functions etc., as implied by the Upanisadic notion of the pranaic body or linga and therefore impossible to be regarded as either agent or experiencer.

The above considerations would suffice to demonstrate that, by the denial of the attributes of 'speaking' and 'feeling' to the surving factor as implied in the refutation of Sāti's view that the consciousness that fares on and continues in samsara is 'vado vedeyyo,' and also by the refusal to indentify it with any bermanent and unchanging self (attā), Early Buddhism took a stand radically different from the one taken by the Upanisads with regard to the important phenomenon of rebirth. As the above discussion of the Chandogva passage suggested the epithets 'avāki-anādarah' were in the ultimate analysis applied only to the macrocosmic Atman or, as Sankara interpreted it, to God (Isvara), but the foregoing discussion of the Buddhist phrase should have made it amply clear that Early Buddhism not only denied the existence of any such pantheistic Soul but directly applied the denial of the said attributes to the surviving factor itself. Herein lies the important distinction between the two apparently parallel usages—a distinction that is of the highest importance in a comparative study of the Atman doctrine of the Upanisads in relation to the Buddhist view of Anatta.

O. H. de A. W.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ARIYAVAMSA

The term Ariya-vasa occurring in several early inscriptions of Ceylon had been a subject of much speculation among scholars. Rev. W. Rāhula of the University of Ceylon examined* many attempts at explaining the term, in the light of the various usages of Ariya-vasa in the Pali texts and commentaries and came to the conclusion that it must have meant an institution or celebration in connection with the preaching and practice of the Ariyavamsa-Sutta.

I wish to point out that the traditional explanation of the term that seems to have been current in the 10th century A.D. as is attested by the Dhampiyā-Aṭuvā-Gäṭapadaya (p. 1943-5), (a Sinhalese exegetical work said to have been written by King Kāśyapa V,) lends support to the above conclusion of Rev. Rāhula. The main teachings of the Ariyavaṃsa-Sutta are clearly borne out by the definition given for Ariyavaṃsa-paṭipadā. The author says:—itarītara cīvarādi santōsa hay bhāvanārāmatā ariyavaṃsa-paṭipadā nam i.e., 'Contentment with whatsoever, robes etc. and fondness for (or delight in) meditation, are known as the practice (or the path) of Ariya-vaṃsa'. All the words in this definition, with the exception of hay and nam are loan-words from Pali. Hay is a conjunction meaning and, together with and corresponding to the indeclinable saha of Pali and Sanskrit. Nam corresponds to the indeclinable nāma of Pali and Sanskrit and means by name, (is or are) named, called or known as.'

By cīvarādi-santosa or 'contentment with robes etc.' the author refers to the first three principal sections of the Ariyavaṃsa Sutta, made out by Rev. Rāhula, and by bhāvanārāmatā or 'delight in meditation' he refers to the fourth. Much importance seems to have been attached to the inculcation of those two ideals, in the course of the Ariyavaṃsa-karaṇa. The Dhampiyā-Aṭuvā-Gäṭapadaya is known to preserve in numerous instances very valuable traditional explanations of various terms, grammatical, doctrinal, etc., and the present is one such instance.

D. E. HETTIARATCHI.

^{27.} University of Ceylon Review, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 88 ff.

^{28.} History of Buddhist Thought, p. 105.

^{29.} See my discussion in University of Ceylon Review, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 89, ff.

o. As I intend to present in a forthcoming publication on Atman and Anatta.

^{*}University of Ceylon Review Vol. 1 No. 1 pp. 59-68.