1 Sutta analysis

1.1 BRAHMIN IDEOLOGY AND THE REFORM MOVEMENT

1.1.1 What is a brahmin? In Buddhist terminology, the term “brahmin” (brāhmaṇa) has these two senses: (1) a member of the brahmin class, and (2) one leading a truly virtuous life, especially an arhat. The Buddha unequivocally rejects the first, and proclaims that anyone who is morally virtuous, especially with some level of spiritual peace is truly a brahmin. The early Buddhists, as such, reject the class and hereditary connotations of being a brahmin, and use it to refer to any spiritually liberated person.

The Buddha and the early saints unrelentingly reject the abuse of power and deluded notions of self-importance of the brahmins and their class system. Some important examples of special teachings that counter brahminical wrong views and malpractices include the following: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pāli</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Brahmical</th>
<th>Buddhist meaning</th>
<th>Teaching (S = Sutta)</th>
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<tr>
<td>brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>mouth-born</td>
<td>abstains from evil</td>
<td>Aggaṇa Sutta</td>
<td>D 27.22-23/3:94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brahmā</td>
<td>brahmā</td>
<td>High God</td>
<td>divine qualities</td>
<td>Te, vijja Sutta</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhamma</td>
<td>dharma</td>
<td>social duties</td>
<td>truth, justice</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa Dhammika S</td>
<td>Sn pp50-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamma</td>
<td>karma</td>
<td>ritual action</td>
<td>proper work</td>
<td>Aggaṇa Sutta</td>
<td>D 27.21-25/3:94 f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamma</td>
<td>karma</td>
<td>ritual purity</td>
<td>self accountability</td>
<td>Vāseṭṭha Sutta</td>
<td>M 98 = Sn 3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jāti</td>
<td>jāti</td>
<td>birth class</td>
<td>spiritual rebirth</td>
<td>Vasala Sutta</td>
<td>Sn 142</td>
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<tr>
<td>nahātaka</td>
<td>snātaka</td>
<td>baptism</td>
<td>inner washing</td>
<td>Vatṭhûpama Sutta</td>
<td>M 7.20/1:39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggi</td>
<td>agni</td>
<td>the Fire God</td>
<td>the 3 fires (roots)</td>
<td>Uggata, sarīra Aggi S</td>
<td>A 7.44/4:41-46</td>
</tr>
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</table>

By the Buddha’s time, the brahmins had, especially in the west of the central Gangetic plain, become a wealthy and powerful class of religious professionals. They were, in sociological terms, virtuosi or specialist experts in religious ritual and lore, and worked out a religious and social ideology which placed them at the top of the class system (vaṇṇa, Skt varna) (born from God’s or primal man’s mouth). The kshatriyas or nobles were to protect them, the vaishyas or merchants to fund them, the shudras or menial workers to serve and labour for the three upper classes, and the “outcastes,” to perform the lowest of tasks and keep a strict social distance from these four classes, especially the brahmins. 2

1.1.2 The reform movement. Religious history is not only the study of the rise of religions, but also of what makes this rise possible, and how certain religions or aspects of religions succeed and grow, how they are constructed and recorded as history. Religious history, if we examine it with care and curiosity, is also a record of the struggles of individuals or classes to attract and accumulate, even reserve, for themselves, power, wealth and resources. 3

1 See K R Norman, “Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism: Brahmanical terms in a Buddhist guise,” Oxford: PTS, 1991, which deals with the Buddha’s usage of brahmanical terms in three categories: (1) terms and structures taken over by the Buddha, such as deva, and the brahmanical myths and fables (see above); (2) terms taken over by the Buddha but used with new senses, such as aggi, amata, jhāna, etc; (3) terms referred to but rejected, such as atta (Skt ātman). For a summary, see Piya Tan, The Buddha and His Disciples, ch 4 “The secret of the Buddha’s success,” 2004.

2 See Aggaṇa S (D 27/3:80-97), SD 2.19; see also Uma Chakravarti, The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism, Delhi, 1987:94-121.

3 A socioeconomic study of Buddhism in Singapore in the late 20th - early 21st centuries shows such clear trends, esp in the early 2000s, we see a greater atomization of the mainstream Buddhists into ethnic groupings, viz the Chin-
The Buddha’s time (6th century BCE) marked a mature peak of the Iron Age in India (1200-1800 BCE). Iron provided the raw material for sophisticated agricultural tools and military weapons. Double cropping of rice provided more food for the population, which increased significantly, and supported the great armies of the powerful kings who conquered the old republics, and laid the foundations for the Indian empire.

By the Buddha’s time, the brahmins were in the thick of asserting themselves as the dominant class in Indian society by way of social status and religious ideology. At this time, too, in the face of political changes and the rise of urbanization, which entailed greater individualization, a growing number of thinkers and teachers began to reject the brahmins’ claim to supremacy and the religious ideology. While the brahmins affirmed (astika) the Vedas, the sacred texts of their ideology, the reform movements rejected (nāstika) them.

An important thread in the Buddha’s fabric of teachings is his unrelenting and unequivocal rejection of the brahmins’ claim to superiority and their class ideology. One of the vital thrusts of the Buddha’s teachings against them is that the brahmins have become corrupted and degraded by forgetting their spirituality, as exemplified by their own ancestors, the great ancient seers (isi, Skt ṛṣī). The brahmins of the times, in short, have forgotten their past, lost their roots [1.2.1]. This is a powerful undercurrent in the Doṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta.

### 1.2 THE 5 KINDS OF BRAHMINS

#### 1.2.1 Sutta summary

The Doṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta opens with the the brahmin Doṇa approaching the Buddha, complaining that he does not respect the brahmins, as he should, especially as they are venerable old members of the priest class [§§1-2.1]. Other suttas on similar complaints against the Buddha by other brahmins include the following:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Sutta</th>
<th>complainants</th>
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<tr>
<td>Uruveḷa Sutta 2</td>
<td>some elderly brahmins</td>
<td>(A 4.22/2:22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta</td>
<td>the brahmin Doṇa</td>
<td>(A 5.192.2/2:223)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verañja Sutta</td>
<td>the brahmin Verañja</td>
<td>(A 8.11/4:173 = Pār 1.1.2/V 3:2)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Buddha first ascertains that the complainant is himself a brahmin [§2.2], which commits the latter to his word, as this is vital for the argumentation that follows. Doṇa declares himself as defined in those terms, or rather as the early Buddhists define a brahmin [§§2.2-2.3]

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5 Rice as vihī (Skt vṛhī) or broadcast rice (Oryza sativa) had its origins in India around 3000 BCE and was certainly known to later Vedic people. It was a rainy season crop ripening in autumn but whose yield was limited. This form of rice when cooked is called odana (ts), i.e boiled rice. The change came when the people learned and used the art of paddy transplantation or wet paddy production, which was grown as a winter crop. This better quality rice was known as sāli (Skt sālī) (R Sh Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India*, 1983:96, 161f).

This is the surplus that created the institutions of kings (S Collins, “The Discourse on What is Primary (Aggañña Sutta),” 1993:309). For other socioeconomic factors of the Ganges Plain during the Buddha’s time, see *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* (D 16), SD 9 (7).

6 The Indian kingdoms of the Iron Age were the “great countries” (mahā janapada, 700-300 BCE), the Magadha (684-424 BCE), the Nanda (424-321 BCE) and the Maurya (321-272 BCE). See Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India*. 2002:139-173.

7 On the Vedas, see *Tevijja Sutta* (D 13) @ SD 1.8 (2).

8 See *Kuṇḍalīya Sutta* (S 46.6/5:73-75), SD 35.3(1.2): types of wanderers.

9 See *Agañña Sutta* (D 27), SD 2.19 (6).
The Buddha then alludes to the 5 famous ancient brahmins, saying that they spoke of 5 kinds of brahmins [§2.4]. Doṇa, however, admits that he has not heard of them [§2.5], and on his request, the Buddha explains further [§2.6].

The first kind of person is a brahma-like brahmin (brahma, sama brāhmaṇa), who lives for 48 years as a celibate brahmin or bachelor student [§3.1], and in due course teaches, supports himself by teaching [§3.2]. He does not engage in any other means of living, but support himself through the charity of others [§3.3].

In the next stage of his life, he renounces the world (like a monk) [§3.4], and practises the 4 divine abodes [§3.5]. When he dies, he is reborn in a brahma world [§3.6].

The second kind of person is a deva-like brahmin (deva, sama brāhmaṇa) [§4.1], who lives for 48 years as a celibate brahmin or bachelor student, and in due course, supports himself by teaching [§4.2], but (like the first) does not engage in any other means of living, except through the charity of others [§4.3].

In the next stage of his life, he looks for a suitable wife [§4.4], that is, only a brahminee, none other [§4.5]. This is to ensure he begets a healthy and pure child [§§4.6-4.7], and not for sexual pleasure, but only for having a child [§4.8].

Once, he has a child (a son), he renounces the world (like a monk) [§4.9] and practises the four dhyanas [§4.10]. As a result, at death, he is reborn in a deva world [§4.11].

The third kind of person is a bounded brahmin (marivyāda brāhmaṇa) [§5.1], who lives for 48 years as a celibate brahmin, and in due course, supports himself by teaching [§5.2].

In the next stage of his life, he looks for a suitable wife [§5.3], that is, only a brahminee, none other. This is to ensure he begets a healthy and pure child [§§5.4-5.8], and being attached to his family, he does not renounce family life [§5.9], and also does not meditate. However, since he has not seriously transgressed the brahminical code, he is called a bounded brahmin [§5.10].

The fourth kind of person is a bound-breaking brahmin (marivyāda sambhinna brāhmaṇa) [§6.1], who lives for 48 years as a celibate brahmin, and in due course, supports himself by teaching [§6.2], but (like the first) does not engage in any other means of living, but supports himself only through the charity of others [§6.3].

In the next stage of his life, however, he looks for a wife without bothering about the rules [§6.4], that is, he marries any kind of woman, including a minor [§6.5], and seeks pleasure in the woman, as well as for having a child [§6.6]. However, he continues enjoying family life and does not meditate. Since he has transgressed the brahminical code in a small way (that is, in not meditating), he is called a bound-breaking brahmin. [§6.7]

The fifth kind of person is an outcaste brahmin (brāhmaṇa caṇḍāla) [§7.1] who lives for 48 years as a celibate brahmin, and in due course, supports himself not by teaching, but by any kind of trade, without regard for the brahminical code [§7.2], but continues to live on the charity of others [§7.3].

In the next stage of his life, he looks for a wife [§7.4], that is, any kind of woman, including a minor [§§7.4-7.5], and he marries for sake of sexual pleasure, as well as for having a child [§7.6].

When other brahmans question him regarding his latitude, he replies that since he is a brahmin, his purity is unaffected by his actions [§7.7]. However, since he engages in any kind of work, he has seriously transgressed the brahminical code, and as such is called an outcaste brahmin [§7.8].

The Buddha then reminds Doṇa that the brahmans of his time are living descendents of the teachings of the ancient seers, the true brahmans [§8.1]. When the Buddha asks Doṇa what kind of brahmin he is, he replies that he is all of them except the last [§8.2]. Doṇa, impressed by the Buddha’s wisdom, takes refuge [§8.3].

1.2.2 Sutta analysis
1.2.2.1 WHAT HAVE THE BRAHMINS FORGOTTEN? What is the Buddha saying here? Since Doṇa has complained that the Buddha does not respect even elderly brahmans (and Doṇa is not the only complainant), the Buddha surely is not here endorsing the brahminical code and tradition. In fact, we can take the

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Doña Brāhmaṇa Sutta as a sort of Aggañña Sutta (D 27) in essence. Like the Aggañña Sutta, the Doña Brāhmaṇa Sutta, too, is a statement on the true “original” nature of the ancient brahmins [§2.5].

What have the brahmins forgotten here? From the Buddha’s teachings in the Aggañña Sutta (D 27), the Doña Brāhmaṇa Sutta (A 5.192), and such discourses, it is clear that the brahmins of the Buddha’s times have forgotten that it is not their birth that makes their brahmins, but their conduct. The Buddha quotes the ancient seers, the founding fathers of the brahminical system of his own time, who speak of the 5 kinds of brahmins. The first two—the brahma-like brahmin and the deva-like brahmin—are the exemplary brahmins, each of whose life is described as follows:

3.2 For forty-eight years, he lives as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras. Having lived for forty-eight years as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras, he goes in quest of a teacher’s fees from teaching only in keeping with the Dharma, not against the Dharma.

3.3 And therein, Doña, what is the Dharma? [225]

He does not earn a living by way of farming [as a plowman], nor by trading, nor by cow-herding, nor by bowmanship, nor in the king’s service, nor in the arts, or in any other way, except by going about for alms, not despising the beggar’s bowl.

3.4 After handing over the teacher’s fees for teaching, he shaves off his hair and beard, and donning the saffron cloth, goes forth from the house into homelessness. (A 5.192.3.2-3.5/3.224 f)

1.2.2.2 THE TRUE BRAHMINS. Of the 5 types of brahmins, strictly speaking, only the first two—the brahma-like brahmin and the deva-like brahmin—are spiritually true brahmins. The key reason for this is that they both are serious meditators in the later part of their lives.

The first part of a true brahmin’s life (lasting 48 years) is spent in tutelage, that is, learning the Vedas [§3.2]. The Dharma here refers to the social code of conduct (which the Buddha uses pregnantly as having the Buddhist sense, too). In the second stage of his life, at 49 years old, the true brahmin becomes a teacher, supported by the teacher’s fee (dakkhiṇa; Skt daksīṇa), avoiding any other gainful livelihood, and fully relies on public charity [§3.3].

In the third and last stage, the true brahmin renounces even the teacher’s fee, living a monk-like anchorite’s life [§3.4], spending his time meditating. The brahma-like brahmin cultivates the divine abodes (brahma, vihāra) §§.5.3, and are reborn in the brahma world [§3.6], while the deva-like brahmin cultivates dhyana [§4.10], and is reborn in the deva world [§4.11].

The only difference between the two kinds of true brahmans is that while the former remains celibate through his life, the latter marries, according to the brahminical code, and once he has fulfilled his familial duty of producing offspring, renounces the world just like the former. Another interesting difference is the kind of meditation they do: the former cultivates the divine abodes, while the latter does dhyana-based meditation.

1.2.2.3 WHY THE BUDDHA DOES NOT RESPECT THE OLD BRAHMINS. While only the first two kinds of brahmans—the brahma-like and the deva-like—are spiritually true brahmans [1.2.2.2], the third and fourth

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10 D 27/3:80-97 @ SD 2.19.
11 (Sāriputta) Niddasa, vatthu S (A 7.39) says that one who “has lived the holy life perfectly pure for 48 rains” (attha, cattāraññ ce pi vassañi paripuññañi parisuddham brahma, cariyam carati) is said to be a “commendable monk” (niddasa bhikkhu) (A 7.39.5/4:37), SD 19.10. See also Brāhmaṇa Dhammika Sutta (Sn 289) & SnA 316-325, where Doña Brāhmaṇa Sutta (A 5.192) is alluded. Cf Āpastamba 2:12 f (Sacred Books of the East 2:7; incl Manu).
12 (a) learning the Vedas (AA 3:308).
13 See §3.3 n.
14 Teacher’s fee (or honorarium), dakkhiṇā, Skt daksīṇā (VvA 229 f).
15 Technically, both the divine abodes (of the brahma-like brahmin) and “dhyana” meditation (of the deva-like brahmin) lead to dhyana. However, while the former meditation is based on feeling, ie the positive emotions of loving-kindness, compassion, gladness and equanimity, the latter is based on an internal mental object such as the breath. Furthermore, this also attests that dhyana meditation was done before the Buddha’s time: see The Buddha discovered dhyana, SD 33.1 (4.4.1).
types of brahmins—the bounded [§5] and the bound-breaking [§6]—are social acceptable brahmins, as they have not seriously transgressed the brahminical code. The bounded brahmin still keeps to the brahminical rules regarding textual study and teaching, marriage and livelihood, except that he does not meditate. The bound-breaking brahmin, too, keeps to the rules regarding learning and teaching, but flouts the rules regarding marriage and livelihood; hence, he is said to have broken the bounds (the rules). And despite his not meditating, too, he is still socially accepted as a brahmin.

The outcaste brahmin only completes his training and teaching, but flouts all the other rules. He marries anyone he likes and for the sake of sexual pleasure, and does any kind of work to support himself, without any consideration for the dignity of his being a teacher and moral exemplar of society.

From Dona’s answer at the sutta’s close [§8.2], we can deduce that the acceptable definition of a brahmin, at least around the Buddha’s time, includes the first four kinds of brahmins. This means that a brahmin, like a Buddhist monk, is expected to renounce the world (in old age), and live a contemplative life.

Nothing is said in the Sutta as to exactly why the Buddha does not show his respect even to the old brahmins. However, from Dona’s own admission at the Sutta’s close—‘Such being the case, master Gotama, we do not even fulfill the outcaste brahmin!’ [§8.2]—we can obliquely conclude that most, if not all, the brahmans of the time have forgotten their religious roots, and as such have forfeited their religiosity, leading luxurious, even immoral, lives, and as such, do not deserve any respect. [1.2.2.1]

1.2.3 The four-part brahminical religious life. Another very interesting point about the Dona Brahma Sutta is that in the Buddha’s definition of the basic religious lives of the 5 kinds of brahmans (quoting the teachings of the ancient seers), we can deduce three stages of religious life, that is, (1) the celibate student, (2) the family man and teacher, and (3) the anchorite [1.2.2.1]. These are, in fact, the first three stages of what became the well known four stages or aspects of Hindu religious life (Skt aśrama) after the Buddha’s time.

Most scholars cite this passage from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, a pre-Buddhist brahminical work, as evidence of a primitive system of the three-part brahminical religious life:

There are three divisions of dharma. Sacrifice, study, and giving are the first. Austerity indeed is the second. A Vedic student living in his teacher’s house is the third—he settles himself permanently in his teacher’s house. All these will take possession of worlds earned by merit. He who is steadfast in Brahman attains immortality. (Chāndogya Upaniṣad 2.23.1; Olivelle’s tr)\(^\text{16}\)

Around the 5th century BCE, that is around the Buddha’s time, or soon after him, the four-part religious life or aśrama system arose. By the 4th century BCE, the system was recorded in Dharma Sāstra literature.\(^\text{17}\) The aśrama, dharma, as it traditionally known, may be translated as “stages of the religious life,” if the practitioner kept to it fully.

The first stage of the four-part brahminical religious life (5-24) was that of the student (brahma, cāri), a term cognate with the English “bachelor,” that is, the stage of the “celibate student.” The next stage was that of the “householder” (Skt gṛhastha) (25-49), when the youth takes a wife, and lives a family life.\(^\text{18}\) The third stage was that of the “forest dweller” (Skt vana, pastha) (50-74), a life of solitude. The fourth and last stage, that of the “mendicant” (Skt samnyāsin) (75-100), is a life of renunciation and religious practices leading to release (Skt mokṣa).

Some scholars have speculated that this four-part aśrama system, especially the last two stages, was probably introduced to counter the rise of Buddhist monasticism.\(^\text{19}\) However, as attested by the Dona

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\(^\text{16}\) For a history of its interpretation, see Srockhoff 1981:80-82. Cf Brhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad: “It is he [ātman] that Brahmans seek to know by means of vedic recitation, sacrifice, gift-giving, austerity, and fasting...that wandering ascetics undertake the ascetic life of wandering” (4.4.22, tr Olivelle 1998:125), a passage quoted by Deussen 1906: 60, 368), but see P Olivelle 1993:106-111 & n100.

\(^\text{17}\) Olivelle 1993:102.

\(^\text{18}\) Crawford, 1982:61-70.

\(^\text{19}\) Cf P Olivelle 1993:7 & passim.
Brāhmaṇa Sutta, the system was already well known in the Buddha’s time. Moreover, it is not a rigid system, as the practitioner may opt out at any time. In fact, as suggested by Olivelle, the āśrama system was introduced, not so much as a reactionary strategy, but rather as “a scheme within which the pivotal category of dharma could be extended to include religious modes of life different from that of the Brāhmanical householder.” In short, it was an effort to liberalize the brahminical religious life.\(^{20}\)

2 Who is Doṇa?

From whatever internal evidence we have, it is difficult to establish exactly who the Doṇa of the Doṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta is. To facilitate discussion, we shall dub him Doṇa III. Here is a list of appearances of the name Doṇa in the suttas:

- Doṇa I (Pāda) Doṇa Sutta (A 4.36/2:37 f) High-road between Ukkaṭṭhā and Setavyā
- Doṇa II Mahā.parinibbāna Sutta (D 16.6.25/2:166) Kusinārā
- Doṇa III Doṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta (A 5.192/3:223-230) (unknown location, probably in the west)

We have a better idea that Doṇa I, the footprint reader and protagonist of the (Pāda) Doṇa Sutta (A 4.36), and Dōṇa II, the Buddha-relic distributor (D 16),\(^{21}\) are probably the same person.\(^{22}\)

Doṇa III could not have been Doṇa I because the latter meets the Buddha for the first time in the footprint reading story, as recorded as the (Pāda) Doṇa Sutta. It is unlikely that Doṇa III would complain to the Buddha that he is disrespectful to the old brahmins, not even at a later time, because it is said that Doṇa I becomes a non-returner as a result of the Buddha’s instruction (DA 2:607).

Since we have established that Doṇa I and Doṇa II are the same person, we must conclude that Doṇa III is a different person altogether. Moreover, Doṇa (Skt Droṇa) is a common name: the SED records at least four well-known namesakes.

3 Buddhist brahmīns?

3.1 The Dharma as a Tool. The Buddha Word is timeless.\(^{23}\) On a simple level, especially for the purposes of personal development and Buddhist work, we can say that the Dharma was good and true in the past, is good and true now, and will be good and true in the future. Let us reflect on the Doṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta in this light.

As a historical record, a Dharma of the past, the Sutta records how the Buddha clears the brahmin Doṇa’s mind of a misconception that he “disrespects old brahmins” [§2.1], and patiently guides him to understand the nature of higher things, that is, the true spiritual life. The Sutta addresses us in the present, too, in reminding us not to fail in our spiritual training. If we take this training seriously, then the future of the Buddha Dharma, the Buddhist community and society at large would be bright.

Indian society of the Buddha’s time and Singapore society of our times share some important characteristics. Both societies have reached a high level of urbanization and social progress. In both cases, there is a wide range of religious and other groups that thrive in the midst. We will here address the “brahmin” problem in the monastic situation in early 21\(^{st}\)-century Singapore that seems to have echoes from the Sutta. It is meaningful to discuss some prevalent Buddhist realities here in terms of the typology of “the 5 pieces of cloth,” that is, the buddha-like monastic [3.2], the deva-like monastic [3.3], the bounded monastic [3.4], the bound-breaking priest [3.5], and the outcaste priest [3.6].

3.2 The Buddha-like Monastics. The first of the 5 kinds of brahmīns mentioned by the Buddha in the Doṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta is the brahma-like brahmin [§3]. He is a celibate brahmin who keeps strictly to his training, completing which he becomes a teacher without engaging in any other kind of livelihood.

\(^{20}\) Olivelle1993:100 f.
\(^{21}\) Mahā.parinibbāna S (D 16.6.25/2:166), SD 9.
\(^{22}\) See (Pāda) Doṇa S (A 4.36) @ SD 36.13 (2).
\(^{23}\) See Dhammānuussati, SD 15.9 (2.3); cf S 729*/1:189 = Sn 453 = Tha 1229; Uv 8.14.

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In due course, he renounces the world and leads a meditative life, cultivating the divine abodes, so that at death he is reborn in the brahma world.

We have today monastics—monks and nuns—who keep strictly to the Dharma training as laid down in the early Buddhist forest tradition. Their monastic life is founded on a full tutelage (nissaya), living in a truly monastic environment with other spiritual friends, so that they imbibe the true spirit of renunciation. This is a vital period when the novices or novice monastics learn to renounce their old selves, to be completely empty, as it were, of their self, so that they can fill themselves up with the monastic spirit of the Dharma.

During the tutelage, they imbibe both the Vinaya and the Dharma. The Vinaya or monastic discipline prescribes their daily routines and monastic life, and provides the ideal physical and social environment for their monastic training. The Dharma, on its part, inspires them to keep to the timeless teaching, and prepares them for mental training.

Having well understood the moral ethics of monastic life and the Buddha’s teachings on the mind and mental development, they go on to learn and master the breath meditation and the cultivation of loving-kindness, and other suitable meditations from experienced and wise teachers. These monastics keep up a regular practice of personal meditation and fellowship with their Dharma and meditation teachers, so that they truly grow spiritually over the years.

These monastics relentlessly keep up their Dharma training. As the occasions arise, they might be invited by the laity to give teachings, or run centres or retreats, and they do so with great mindfulness and with Vinaya-centred and Dharma-moving fellowship with the laity managing the worldly aspects of such projects (such as handling property and money). The monastics own nothing except their robes and bowl, which are with them wherever they go.

Even their silent presence is an inspiration to others to emulate their stillness. Such monastics have neither ambitions nor plans to set up temples, centres or retreats, but are singlemindedly set on their quest for arhathood in this life itself, if not at least streamwinning. They are truly the Buddha-like monastics.

\[ \text{Paṁsukūla, dharaṁ jantuṁ} \quad \text{A person in a dust-heap robe,} \\
\text{kisaṁ dhamani, sanhatam}^{24} \quad \text{lean, with veins showing all over,} \\
\text{ekāṁ vanasmiṁ jhāyantaṁ} \quad \text{who meditates alone in the forest—} \\
\text{tam ahaṁ brūmi brāhmaṇam} \quad \text{him, I call a brahmin.} \quad (\text{Dh 395}) \]

3.3 The Deva-like Monastics. The second of the 5 kinds of brahmins mentioned in the Doṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta is the deva-like brahmin [§4]. He is comparable to the brahma-like brahmin who is celibate, but lives a morally virtuous married life. Once he has a child, he renounces the world and lives a contemplative life, so that at death, he is reborn in a deva world.

We have today monastics who keep to the Dharma training as prescribed in early Buddhist forest tradition. Having properly completed their tutelage under experienced and wise teachers, like the Buddha-like monastics [3.2], they dutifully take up Dharma and meditation trainings, so that they have an excellent spiritual foundation.

Some of them may go on to specialize in Vinaya or Dharma studies, and become experts in their fields. Some of them might even venture to study in a secular environment, but they carefully preserve their monastic body and mind, so that they are not swept away by worldliness. Although they may earn titles for their learning, they are humble in giving their monastic status the foremost priority. They remain simple monastics with great learning, wisely and energetically devoted to teaching and inspiring others to the Dharma.

Like the Buddha-like monastic, their silent presence, too, can be an inspiration to others to emulate their stillness. Such monastics usually have neither ambitions nor plans to set up temples, centres or retreats. If their academic role or status does not overwhelm them, then they are truly good Dharma teach-

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24 See M Hara 1995:381 f.
ers, so that they are able to set their minds on the quest for arhathood in this life itself, if not at least for streamwinning. They are the deva-like monastics.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bāhita, pāpo 'tī brāhmaṇo} & \quad \text{He is far away from evil, hence he is a brahmin,} \\
\text{sama, caṛiśā sameṛo 'tī vuuccati} & \quad \text{he is called a recluse because he lives in peace,} \\
\text{pabbajay'atto malaṇ} & \quad \text{he has given up his own impurities,} \\
\text{tasmā pabbajīto 'tī vuuccati} & \quad \text{therefore, he is called a renunciant.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Dh 388)\textsuperscript{25}

3.4 The Bounded Monastics. The third of the 5 kinds of brahmins mentioned in the Doṇā Brāhmaṇa Sutta is the bounded brahmin \([\S 5]\). He finishes his basic student training, goes on to teach, and then set up a family, but he neither renounces the world nor meditates. Although he seems to be somewhat lax, he keeps to the brahminical code, so that he is still bound by it.

A number of monastics today, after completing their tutelage, like the deva-like monastics \([3.3]\), take up secular learning, mainly for academic proficiency and status. Unlike the first two monastics, the bounded monastics do not have strong faith in the Dharma-Vinaya, and so look to the scholarly status to cultivate charisma to attract followers and funds.

Unlike the deva-like monastics, they are not always naturally calm. In fact, they tend to attract a lay following that look up to their status, success and “social engagement,” so that it is difficult, even unnatural, for them to maintain the calm demeanour of even the deva-like monastic. They feel a need to be sociable to the laity to win their assistance and support for their own Buddhist works and plans.

Although they may have some training in meditation, they are not inclined to meditating. However, when invited by the faithful, they would oblige in teaching them whatever they know. They might even skillfully craft together some workable methods of meditation taught by others, and use them as their own. They may or may not have any desire for awakening in this life, but if they were to be inspired by truly Dharma-moved teachers, they might in time, upgrade themselves to a deva-like level, or even higher.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yamhā dharmānī vijāneyya} & \quad \text{From whomever one may understand the Dharma} \\
\text{sammā, sambuddha, desitaṇī} & \quad \text{taught by the fully self-awakened one,} \\
\text{sakkaccaṁ tāṁ namasseyya} & \quad \text{one should honour him with respect,} \\
\text{aggi, huttāṇī va brāhmaṇo} & \quad \text{as a brahmin worship his sacrificial fire.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Dh 392)

3.5 The Bound-Breaking Priests. The fourth of the 5 kinds of brahmins mentioned in the Doṇā Brāhmaṇa Sutta is the bound-breaking brahmin \([\S 6]\). After his training, he becomes a teacher but supports himself with any kind of gainful occupation, marries for both sexual pleasure and procreation, and does not bother about the rules, so that he also does not meditate. In the parable of the seven kinds of shipreceded persons, given in the Udakūpama Sutta (A 7.15), he is “the one, having emerged, then submerges.”\textsuperscript{26}

In the current Buddhist scene, we have Buddhist priests, who, like the bounded monastics, are painfully aware of the efficacy of appearances, status, and wealth. As such, they are driven to secular learning, social work and other public activities that would promote respectability for themselves in the eyes of society. The idea is to project a public omnipresence for the sake of personal success in the name of Buddhism.

Since their tutelage is often weak or non-existent, they usually lack Vinaya training. As such, they are comfortable when the laity speak of “modernizing” the monastic system (whatever this means). Since they have only a superficial knowledge of the Dharma, even with some command of a helpful Dharma word list, they would often be drawn to worldly management methods or scientific wisdom.

As they are often driven by their intellect and personal success, they strive to throw their weight as widely as possible. As such, they are capable of exchanging their traditional cloth for any outfit, including

\textsuperscript{25} On a philological analysis of this verse, see Dh:N 155 n388.

\textsuperscript{26} A 7.15/4:11-13 @ SD 28.6.
civvies, if it serves their purpose.\textsuperscript{27} They tend to be sensitive of their status, so that they do not tolerate any dissent or criticism from the laity, whom they view should dutifully obey and serve them as good followers.

They are usually skillful enough to put up some semblance of dignity so as not to publicly show their disdain or anger, but may, especially if they lack Dharma depth, surreptitiously work against those they perceive as being in their way. Their notion of enlightenment is that they are a friend and teacher to the world.\textsuperscript{28}

Na câhaṁ brâhmaṇam brûmi
yonijâmaṁ, sambhavan
bho, vâdi nâma so hoti
sa ce hoti saâincano
aââcanaanm anââdânam
tam aâhaṁ brûmi brâhmaṇam

I do not call him a brahmin
because he is born of a (brahmin) mother’s womb:
he is but a “sir”-caller
if he is has things.
One with nothing, without attachments—
him I call a brahmin. \textsuperscript{30}

\textbf{3.6 The Outcaste Priests.} The last of the 5 kinds of brahmins mentioned in the Doña Brâhmaṇa Sutta is the outcaste brahmin \textsuperscript{[§7]}. After his training, he does not teach, and does whatever work he likes, marries anyone he chooses for the sake of both sexual pleasure and procreation, and meditation is never on his mind. Indeed, he does not even deserve the name of brahmin.

In the current Buddhist scene, we have priests, who, like the bound-breaking priests, are painfully aware of the power of appearances, status, and wealth. These outcaste priests often come from traditional and ethnic Buddhist background, so that they are familiar with political correctness, and hold the delusion that they are above the law. They wear the robe merely for appearances, as it commands the respect and fear of those who look up to uniforms or symbols of power.

The outcaste priests are careful to avoid the presence of informed Buddhists and bona fide monastics, as they would stand out like a dead stump amongst lotuses. However, once they have won the confidence of a temple or centre, these Tartufes\textsuperscript{29} will use every vile to worm their way into nothing less than taking over the set-up themselves. They freely promise to collect funds for noble purposes, but once the money is in their hands, they do what they like with it.

They usually drive around in their own vehicle, but might not always be recognizable by their cloth because they might be in civvies and wearing a wig! They are known to visit casinos and other dens of vice. Those foolish enough to be close to them would invariably be molested or manipulated by them. Hence, it is best to always keep a safe distance from them.

The outcaste priests are often pathological individuals who have fallen into the subhuman states, almost bereft of any sense of good and evil (they tend to be amoral), ever eyeing for opportunities to be exploited. They are not easily identified, unless we understand how the Buddhism of greed, hate and delusion works.\textsuperscript{30} The outcaste priests thrive because of our silence, a silence due to ignorance, fear or inaction.\textsuperscript{31}

\textbf{Anikkasāvo kāsāvaṁ} Whose stains are still unremoved

\textbf{Kāsāva, kaṇṭhā bahavo} Many yellow-necks [with a saffron robe around their necks],
pāpā, dhammā asaññatā Being evil, on account of their evil deeds,
pāpā pāpehi kammehi they are reborn in hell,
nirayam te upapajjare

\textbf{Na cāhaṁ brāhmaṇam brūmi} I do not call him a brahmin
yonijāmaṁ, sambhavan because he is born of a (brahmin) mother’s womb:
bho, vādi nāma so hoti he is but a “sir”-caller
sa ce hoti sāincano if he is has things.
aṇācanaṇāṁ anādānāṁ One with nothing, without attachments—
tam ahaṁ brūmi brāhmaṇaṁ him I call a brahmin. \textsuperscript{30}

\textbf{Kāsāva, kaṇṭhā bahavo} Many yellow-necks [with a saffron robe around their necks],
pāpā, dhammā asaññatā Being evil, on account of their evil deeds,
pāpā pāpehi kammehi they are reborn in hell,
nirayam te upapajjare

\textbf{Anikkasāvo kāsāvaṁ} Whose stains are still unremoved


\textsuperscript{28} See further \textbf{Wanderers of today}, SD 24.6b.

\textsuperscript{29} See Me: \textit{The nature of conceit}, SD 19.2a (2.3.2).

\textsuperscript{30} See \textbf{Bad friendship}, SD 64.17.

\textsuperscript{31} See further \textbf{The Three Roots Inc}, SD 31.12 (3.4.4).

\textsuperscript{32} For a discussion on the fact that a piece of saffron cloth on the neck does not make a monk, see Oskar von Hinüber 1994:92 f.
Superstition strains self-hearted minds are narrow, then our view of Buddhism is narrow short, solve our problems or turning to other people coming

Dh:G 221

33 Dh: P 164 dhansinā; cf Uv 37.3 dhvāṅkṣinā; Dh:Br 221 dhakṣīna, see Brough 1962:244; also Dh:N 121 n244.
34 See eg How Buddhism became Chinese, SD 40b5.5.
35 On the Buddha’s criticism of selfish prayer, see Itthā S (A 5.43/3:47-49); cf Thāna S (A 5.48/3:54). See also Superstition, SD 79.1.
36 Here, it is worthwhile reflecting on the samsaric myth of Sisyphus: see Myth in Buddhism, SD 36.1 (6.2.1).
bliss, true peace and liberating wisdom. Then, we have immunized ourselves from religion and empowered ourselves to exorcize the ghosts, demons and shape-shifters amongst us in the guise of buddhas, gods, and gurus.

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The Discourse to Doṇa on Brahmins

A 5.192

Doṇa’s complaint

1 Then the brahmin Doṇa approached the Blessed One, and exchanged greetings with him. When this courteous and friendly exchange was concluded, the brahmin Doṇa sat down at one side.

   Sitting thus at one side, the brahmin Doṇa said this to the Blessed One:  
2 “Master Gotama, I have heard that the ascetic Gotama does not greet brahmins who are old, elderly, full of years, accomplished in years; nor does he rise for them; nor does he offer them a seat.  

2.2 This very thing, master Gotama, is indeed so. For, the master Gotama does not greet brahmins who are old, elderly, full of years, advanced in age, accomplished in years; nor does he rise for them; nor does he offer them a seat.

   This very thing, master Gotama, is simply improper.”

Doṇa’s claim to brahminhood

2.3 “Doṇa, do you not declare yourself a brahmin, too?”

   “Master Gotama, anyone saying so, would be speaking rightly, that the brahmin is well born on both the mother’s and the father’s sides for seven generations, with neither reproach nor defect in terms of birth.

2.4 He is a mantra-reciter, a mantra-expert, a master of the three Vedas, along with their invocations and rituals, phonology and etymology, and the iti, hāsa Purāṇas as the fifth; learned in the vedic padas, a grammarian, and well versed in nature lore and the marks of the great man.

37 The Chinese version (MĀ 158) here has a different opening: Doṇa (頭那梵志 tóunā fánzhì) is on his afternoon walk, goes to the Buddha’s dwelling and greets him. He has no complaint. The Buddha at once asks Doṇa whether he calls himself a brahmin: “頭那！若有問汝是梵志耶？汝梵志汝自稱說？” (T1.26.680b24-25). The sutta then proceeds with §2.3 onwards.


39 Tay-idaṁ, bho gotama, tath’ eva.


41 Brāhmaṇo ubhato suṣāto mātito ca pitito ca samuddhā, gahaṇiko, yāva sattamā pitāmaha, yugā akkhitto anupakkuttho jātī, vādana: this is stock: V 4:160; Sūna, daṇḍa S (D 4/1:113 (x2), 120 (x2), 121, 123); Kuṭa, danta S (D 5/1:130 (x2), 131 (x2), 137, 138, 139 (x2), 140, 141); Ĉāṇika S (M 95/2:165 (x2), 166 (x2)), Vāsēṭṭha S (M 98/2:196 = Sn p115); Ti, kaṇṭha S (A 3.58/1:163); Jānussoṇi S (A 3.59/1:166); Yassaṁ, Disaṁ S (A 5.134/3:151); Pat-thañṇa S 1 (A 5.135/3:152 f); Pat-thañṇa S 2 (A 5.136/3:154); Doṇa Brāhmaṇa S (A 5.192/3:223 (x2), 224, 225, 227, 228 (x2)).

42 “A mantra-reciter… the marks of the great man”: aṭṭhaṭṭhakapo manta, dharo tinnaṁ vedānaṁ pāragā sa, nighaṇṭu, -ketuṭṭhānaṁ sākkhara-p, pabhedānaṁ iti, hāsa, paṇcāmaṁnaṁ padako veyyākaraṇo lokāyata, mahā purisa, lakkhaṇesu.
Master Gotama, one saying this would indeed be speaking rightly of me.

2.5 For, I, master Gotama, am well born on both the mother’s and the father’s sides for seven generations, with neither reproach nor defect in terms of birth.

2.6 I’m a mantra-reciter, a mantra-expert, a master of the three Vedas, along with their invocations and rituals, phonology and etymology, and the Iti,ha Sūtra as the fifth; learned in the Vedic padas, grammarian, and well versed in nature lore and the marks of the great man.”

The Buddha’s speaks of the ancient brahmins

2.7 “Even so, Doṇa, those ancient rishis [seers] of the brahmins, [224] mantra makers, mantra preachers—

that is to say, Aśṭaka, Vāmaka, Vāma,deva, Viśvā,mitra, Jamad-agni, Āṅgi, rasa, Bhāra, dvāja, Vāsiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, and Bhagur—

they have declared these 5 kinds of brahmins, that is to say, the brahma-like, the deva-like, the bound-ed, the bound-breaker, and the outcaste brahmin as the fifth.

2.8 Which of them, Doṇa, are you?”

“We, master Gotama, know nothing of these 5 kinds of brahmins, but we do know that we are truly brahmins.

If would be good if master Gotama would so teach the Dharma that I might know these 5 kinds of brahmins.”

2.9 “In that case, brahmin, listen, pay close attention: I will speak.”

“Yes, sir,” the brahmin Doṇa answered to the Blessed One.

2.10 The Blessed One said this:

anavayo; this is stock: Ambaṭṭha S (D 3.1.3/1:88), Soṇa,danda S (D 4.5/3/1:114), Kūta,danta S (D 5.6/3/1:130); Assalāyana S (M 93.3/2:147); Ti,kāṇṇa S (A 3.58/1/1:163), (Tevijja) Jānu,soṇī S (A 3.59/1/1:166), Doṇa Brāhmaṇa S (A 5.192/2.4+6/3:223 f). The Majjhima “brahmin pericope” omits “a mantra-reciter, a mantra-expert” (ai,jhāyako manta, dharo); Brahmāyū S (M 91.2/2:133), an aged brahmin; Sela S (M 92 = Sn 3.7/p105); Assalāyana S (M 93.3/2:147), a 16-year-old brahmin youth (qqv). Cf Tha 1171 (“expert in the Three Vedas,” tīmaṁ vedāna pāragu); also Mil 10, Divy 619.20, 620.19. Here mantra refers to a particular Vedic hymn or sacrificial formula. Ajjhāyaka (Skt ādhyāyika, adhyāyin) is a Vedic student or scholar, one skilled in reciting the Vedas, a brahminical teacher. Aggaṇa S (D 27) plays a humorous pun on its etym: na… jhāyanti, “they do not meditate,” hence they are called ajjhāyaka, ie non-meditators. See D 27.23/3:94 @ SD 2.19.

43 Iti,hāsa Pūrāṇa are the oral tradition of brahminical legends of kings and sages.

44 Padako veyyākaraṇa, ie, well versed in the pada, pātha of Sanskrit grammar. Technically, this refers to the pada (or literal, word for word) method of reciting (or writing) Veda sentences, ie, “a method of arranging each word of a Vedic text separately in its original form [cf pada] without regard to the rules of [sandhi]; cf krama- and samihitā-pātha.” (SED). By itself, pada can here be translated as “word or word structure.”

45 On veyyākaraṇa, see BHSD: sv vyākaraṇa, = vaiyākaraṇa (p517).

46 Lokāyata. This seems to be the early meaning of the term. Its reference of the materialistic philosophy of Cārvāka is apparently later: see Rhys Davids, RD 1:166-172. See Lokāyatikā Brāhmaṇa S (A 9.38/4:428-432), SD 35.2. See also Jayatilleke 1963:48-58 (§§55-67).

47 For details on the 32 marks, see Buddhānussati, SD 15.7(4.1) n & Lakkaṇṇa S (D 30/3/142-179), SD 36.9.

48 This passage on the ten ancient brahmins is stock: Ambaṭṭha S (D 3/1:104+2); Tevijja S (D 13/1:238, 239, 241-243); Caṇki S (M 95.2/169, 170); Subha S (M 99/2:200+2); Doṇa Brāhmaṇa S (A 5.192/3:224, 229); Dāna Maha-p,phala S (V 1:240, A 7.49.7/4:61); DA 1:273; VvA 265,15). Cony here repeats DA 1:273. See Tevijja S (D 13/1:235-252), SD 1.8 (note 2.1). Skt cognates: Aśṭaka (son of Viśvā,mitra & author of Rg,veda 10.104), Vāmaka (cf RV 10.99), Vāma,deva (author of RV 4.1-41, 45-48), Viśvā,mitra (RV 3.33; author of most of RV 3 & 9.67.13-15, 10.137.5, 167), Jamad-agni (descendent of Bhrgu, son of Bhargava, and father of Paras,ā; often named with Viśvā,mitra as adversary of Vasiṣṭha; RV 3.62.18, 8.101.8, 9.62.24, 62.25), Aṅgū,rasa (one of the seven great rishis, author of RV 9), Bhāra,dvāja (a son of Bṛhaspati), Vasiṣṭha (one of the seven great rishis, author of RV 7, adversary of Viśvā,mitra), Kāṣyapa (one of the seven great rishis and priest of Paras,ā and Rāma, candra; cf RV 9.114.2), and Bhrgu (one of the seven great rishis). See Vinaya Texts (tr Rhys Davids & Oldenberg) 2:130 n3 & V:H 4:337 nn5-9.
(1) The brahma-like brahmin (celibate)

3. “And how, Doña, is a brahmin brahma-like (brahma, sama)?

Here, Doña, a brahmin is well born on both the mother’s and the father’s sides for seven generations, with neither reproach nor defect in terms of birth.

3.2 For forty-eight years, he lives as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras.

Having lived for forty-eight years as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras, he goes in quest of a teacher’s fees for teaching only in keeping with the Dharma, not against the Dharma.

3.3 And therein, Doña, what is the Dharma? [225]

He does not earn a living by way of farming [as a plowman], nor by trading, nor by cow-herding, nor by bowmanship, nor in the king’s service, nor in the arts, or in any other way, except by going about for alms, not despising the beggar’s bowl.

3.4 After handing over the teacher’s fees for teaching, he shaves off his hair and beard, and donning the saffron cloth, goes forth from the house into homelessness.

3.5 The 4 divine alobes. Thus gone forth,

(1) with a heart of lovingkindness, dwells suffusing one quarter; so, too, the second; so, too, the third; so, too, the fourth; thus above, below, across, everywhere, and to everyone as well as to himself, he dwells suffusing all the world with lovingkindness that is vast, grown great [exalted], immeasurable, without hate, without ill-will.

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49 Cf MA 2:162, 21-28. According to Āpastamba (a work of the Taittirya brahmins, its Dharma, sūtra section compiled, 450–350 BCE), the minimum tutelage duration is 12 years, or he could train for 24 years, or for 36 years, and 48 years are the maximum period, ie for learning “all the Vedas” (Āpastamba 2:12 f, Sacred Books of the East 2:7; incl Manu). Understandably, if the student is to marry, he would clearly do so at a young age, perhaps at 24 years.

50 (Sāriputta) Niddasa, vatthu S (A 7.39) says that one who “has lived the holy life perfectly pure for 48 rains” (atri, cattārīsā cāpi vassāni pariṣṭhānā pariṣuddhham brahma, cāriyaṁ cārati) is said to be a “commendable monk” (niddasa bhikkhu) (A 7.39.5/4.37), SD 19.10. See also Brāhmaṇa Dhammika S (Sn 289) & SnA 316-325, where Dona Brāhmaṇa S (A 5.192) is alluded. Cf Āpastamba 2:12 f (Sacred Books of the East 2:7; incl Manu).

51 So ettha, cattālīsa, vassāni komāra, brahmacariyaṁ cārati mante adhiyāmāno. “Reciting the mantras,” ie learning the Vedas (AA 3:308).

52 “Teacher’s fee for teaching” (ācāryaṁ cācāryaṁ dhana), an honorarium, ie, dakkhina, Skt daksinā: M 52.15.5/-1:353, 8 = A 11.17/5:347, 5; Mahā Sāla S (S 7.14/1:177, 9); Dona Brāhmaṇa S (A 5.192/3:224-229×10), SD 36.14. (VvA 229 f).

53 Attha, cattālīsa, vassāni komāra, brahma, cāriyaṁ cāriyaṁ mante adhīyātāvācāriyaṁ dhanaṁ pāryesaṁ dharmam eva, no adhammaṁ.

54 N eva kasiyā na vanijjāya na go, rakkhena na issatthena na rāja, porisena na sipp ‘aṇṇatarena, kevalam bhikkhā, cāriyāya kapālam anatimaṇṇamāno. This passage repeats for the next section (the 2nd kind of brahmin). Comy explains that at the completion of his tutelage as a brahmaṇcāri, he stands at the door of his family (kula), announces his this and asks for alms (AA 3:308). Comy glosses “the beggar’s bowl” (kapāla) as “alms vessel” (bhikkhā, bhāja-na. id). These forms of livelihood are listed (positively), yadi kasiyā yadi vanijjāya yadi go, rakkhena yadi issatthena yadi rāja, porisena yadi sipp ‘aṇṇatarena, at M 1:85 = Nc §199/121 (preceded by “if he is a finger-counter, or an accountant, or a calculator,” yadi muddāya yadi ganaṁyā yadi saikhāyena); A 4:281, 286, 322; Nn 2:267.

55 This whole section henceforth is stock: Cañka, vatti Sīhaṇāda S (D 26.28a(4)/3:48), SD 36.10 (said to be in the wealth for a monk (bhikkhuno bhogasmin), Saṅgīti S (D 33.1.11(6)/3:223); Mahā Vedalla S (M 43.31/1:297), SD 35.1, Aṭṭhaka, nāgara S (M 52.8-11/1:351 f), SD 41.2 (leading to either arhathood or non-return), Jivaka S (M 55.6/1:369), SD 43.4, Dhānañjāni S (M 97.32-33/2:195), SD 4.9, Subha S (M 99.24-27/2:207 f), SD 38.6, Anuruddha S (M 127.7/3:146), SD 54.10; Goetta S (S 41.7/4:296); (Saṅgha) Uposatha S (A 4.190.4/2:184), SD 15.10b, Dasaama Gaha, pati S (A 11.17/5-6/5:344), SD 41.2; Pvm 2:39; Vbh 13.1-2/72, 699/282, see 272-284 for cony.

56 The mind “grown great” (maha-gata) or exalted perception refers to the mind in dhyanā, ie in the form sphere (rūpāvacara). See Catuttha Jhāna Pañha S (S 40.4), SD 24.14 (4).
(2) Further, with a heart of compassion, he dwells suffusing one quarter,
so, too, the second; so, too, the third; so, too, the fourth;
thus above, below, across, everywhere, and to everyone as well as to himself,
his dwells suffusing all the world with compassion
that is vast, grown great [exalted], immeasurable, without hate, without ill-will.

(3) Further, with a heart of gladness, he dwells suffusing one quarter,
so, too, the second; so, too, the third; so, too, the fourth;
thus above, below, across, everywhere, and to everyone as well as to himself,
his dwells suffusing all the world with gladness
that is vast, grown great [exalted], immeasurable, without hate, without ill-will.

(4) Further, with a heart of equanimity, he dwells suffusing one quarter,
so, too, the second; so, too, the third; so, too, the fourth;
thus above, below, across, everywhere, and to everyone as well as to himself,
his dwells suffusing all the world with equanimity
that is vast, grown great [exalted], immeasurable, without hate, without ill-will.58

3.6 Having cultivated these four divine abodes, after death, with the body’s breaking up, he is reborn in a brahma world.59

Thus, indeed, Doṇa, is a ‘brahma-like brahmin.’

(2) The deva-like brahmin (married)

4 And how, Doṇa, is a brahmin deva-like (deva,sama)?

Here, Doṇa, a brahmin is well born on both the mother’s and the father’s sides for seven generations,
with neither reproach nor defect in terms of birth.

4.2 For forty-eight years, he lives as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras.

Having lived for forty-eight years as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras, he goes in quest of a
teacher’s fees from teaching only in keeping with the Dharma, not against the Dharma.

4.3 And therein, Doṇa, what is the Dharma?

He does not earn a living by way of farming [as a plowman], nor by trading, nor by cow-herding, nor
by bowmanship, nor in the king’s service, nor in the arts, or in any other way, but fully by going about for
alms, [226] not despising the beggar’s bowl.

4.4 After handing over the teacher’s fees for teaching, he seeks a maiden [a wife] in accordance with
the Dharma, nor against the Dharma.

4.5 And therein, Doṇa, what is the Dharma?

Neither through buying nor selling, only with a brahminee handed over with water.60 He goes only to
a brahminee.

He goes not to a kshatriya woman nor a vaisya nor a shudra,61 nor to an outcaste woman nor a hunter
nor a bamboo-worker nor a cart-maker nor a refuse-cleaner.62

57 The recurrence of these last two phrases—“without hate, without ill will”—attests to the fact that lovingkind-
ness is the basis for all the other three abodes, ie, they are actually a refinement of lovingkindness applied on deeper
and broader levels.

58 For similes of these 4 divine abodes, see Te,vijja S (D 13.76-79/1:251), SD 1.8; see also: D 2:185, 250, 3:49,
78, 223; M 1:38, 283, 297, 355×2, 351, 369, 2:76, 77, 78, 81, 195, 207, 3:146; S 4:296, 322, 351, 352×2, 5:115, 116,

59 So ime cattāro brahma,vihāre bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedā parama maraṇā sugatiṁ brahma,lokam upapajjati.

60 N’eva kayena na vikkayena, brāhmaṇinī yeva udakāpasaţṭhām. Comy glosses udakāpasaţṭhā as pariccaţţam,
“given away,” explaining that after pouring water on her hands, they hand her over to him (AA 3:309). In other
words, he does not obtain a wife by purchasing one himself, nor by having another purchase one for him. The pouring
of water on the recipient’s hands to signify giving is called dakkhin’odaka, “water of giving” (J 3:20, 4:370; DA
133; Va 221).

61 These 3, along with the brahmins (brāhmaṇa) are to the “4 classes” (cattāro vaţţa, M 2:183), ie, those who
have various religious privileges, esp religious services from the brahmins: see Kaţţakaţţhala S (M 90/2:125-133),
He goes not to a woman with child, nor to one giving suck, nor to one not yet with season.\textsuperscript{63}

4.6 And why, Doña, does he not go to a woman with child? If, Doña, a brahmin goes to a woman with child, the boy child or the girl child would surely be most foul.\textsuperscript{64}

Therefore, Doña, a brahmin does not go to one with child.

4.7 And why, Doña, does he not go to a woman giving suck? If, Doña, a brahmin goes to a woman giving suck, the boy child or the girl child would surely be unclean.\textsuperscript{65}

Therefore, Doña, a brahmin does not go to one giving suck.

4.8 And why, Doña, does he not go to a girl not yet with season? If, Doña, a brahmin goes to a brahmīne [girl] who is with season,\textsuperscript{66} she is for him not for the sake of lust, nor for sport, nor for pleasure, but only for the sake of offspring.\textsuperscript{67}

4.9 When the coupling [wedlock] has borne fruit,\textsuperscript{68} he shaves off his hair and beard, and donning the saffron cloth, goes forth from the house into homelessness.

4.10 THE FOUR DHYANAS. Thus gone forth,\textsuperscript{69}

(1) quite secluded from sensual pleasures, secluded from unwholesome mental states, he attains and dwells in the first dhyana, accompanied by initial application and sustained application, and with zest and joy born of solitude.

(2) And, furthermore, Doña, with the stilling of initial application and sustained application, by gaining inner tranquillity and oneness of mind, he attains and dwells in the second dhyana, free from initial application and sustained application, with zest and joy born of concentration.

SD 10.8 (6); cf Esukāri S (M 96.14-15/2:182 f), SD 37.9. The others (see foll) are “outcasts.” On the Buddha’s criticism of this class system, see eg Aggañña S (D 27/3:80-97), SD 2.19. Here, the import is that the ancient brahmīns were endogamous, marrying only within their own class. The general idea is that they kept to a strict social and ethical code of a religious lay practitioner.

\textsuperscript{62} Na caṇḍāliṇi na nesādiṁ na veniṁ na rathikārīṁ na pukkusinā (V 4:6; M 3:169; S 1:94; A 2:85; Pug 51; cf PvA 176). This phrase lists the outcasts (caṇḍāla, nesāda, venī, ratha,kāra, and pukkusinā), ie those outside the “4 classes” (see prec n).

\textsuperscript{63} Na gabbhiniṁ gacchati, na pāyamānaṁ gacchati, na anutunīṁ gacchati. These clearly refer to the sexual mores of the ancient (pre-Buddhist) brahmīns, who abstaining from marrying or having sexual relations with a pregnant woman, a woman nursing an infant, or a pre-adolescent woman. Gabbhini (adj f) comes from gabbha, “womb,” ie referring to “one with child” (V 2:267; S 3:202; J 1:151, 290, 4:37; Pv 16.6; PVA 31, 82; VvA 110). Pāyamana (pp of pāyeti, caus of pibati, “he drinks”). D 1:166; M 1:77; A 1:205, 2:206, 2:227; Pug 55; DhA 1:49. Anutunī (A 2:-221, 226) is na (“not”) + utuni (“in season, menstruating”): utuni, a menstruating woman, ie a woman in season (V 3:18, 4:303; Miln 127), or one who has reached adolescence (S 4:239; cf A 2:221, 226). Cf gabbhīni pāyamānā puris’antara,gatā (women with child, milking an infant, and those having sexual relations with men) (M 1:77 = A 1:-295; M 1:238, 307, 342 = 2:162 = Pug 55; A 2:206). On puris’antara,gata, see Mahā Siha,nāda S (M 12.45/1:77), SD 49.1.

\textsuperscript{64} Sace, doña, brāhmaṇa gabbhiniṁ gacchati, atimilhaṁ nāma so hoti mānavako vā mānavikā vā.

\textsuperscript{65} Sace, doña, brāhmaṇa pāyamānaṁ gacchati, asuci,patipīḷito* nāma so hoti mānavako vā mānavikā vā. Be asuci, patipīḷo; Ce Ee Se asuci, patipīḷo.

\textsuperscript{66} This italicized section [§4.8] up to here, omitted in Be Se; treated as pe in Ee. Ce Ee Sace doña brāhmaṇa anutunīṁ* (wr) gacchati: surely here anutunī is a wr, and should read utunī ("who is with season"), which makes better sense. The context clearly refers to a woman who is able to bear children.

\textsuperscript{67} Tassa sā hoti brāhmaṇī n’eva kām’ etthā na dav etthā na rat’ etthā, pāj’ etthā’ va brāhmaṇaṁ brāhmaṇī hoti.

\textsuperscript{68} So methunam upekkhā. PED omits this sense of methuna (vī methuna), but see DPL; SED: methuna, maithuna.

\textsuperscript{69} This whole section on the 4 dhyanas—we can call this “the short dhyana formula”—is stock: D 3.2/1:100; D 22.21(viii)/2:313; M 25.12-15/1:159; S 16.9/2:211; A 3.88/1:235. This is in fact the stock def of “right concentration” (sammatha,samādhi); D 2:313; S 5:10; Pm 1:42. More commonly, this dhyana formula appears in some context, eg Mahā Dukkha-k. khandha S (M 13, they do not bring affliction to anyone) (M 13.33-35/1:89 f), SD 6.9. For a full list of the 4 dhyanas with parables, see Sāmañña,phala S (D 2.77-84/1:74-76), SD 8.10. For detailed study, see Dhyana, SD 8.4(5).
(3) And furthermore, Doṇa, with the fading away of zest, he remains equanimous, mindful and clearly knowing, and feels joy with the body. He attains and dwells in the third dhyāna, of which the noble ones declare, ‘Happily he dwells in equanimity and mindfulness.’

(4) And furthermore, Doṇa, with the abandoning of joy and abandoning of pain, and with the earlier disappearance of pleasure and displeasure, attains and dwells in the fourth dhyāna that is neither painful nor pleasant, and with mindfulness fully purified by equanimity.

4.11 Having cultivated these four dhyānas, [227] after death, with the body’s breaking up, he is reborn in a heavenly world.  
Thus, indeed, Doṇa, is a ‘deva-like brahmin.’

(3) The bounded brahmin

5. And how, Doṇa, is a brahmin bounded (mariyāda)?

Here, Doṇa, a brahmin is well born on both the mother’s and the father’s sides for seven generations, with neither reproach nor defect in terms of birth.

5.2 For forty-eight years, he lives as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras. Having lived for forty-eight years as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras, he goes in quest of a teacher’s fees from teaching only in keeping with the Dharma, not against the Dharma.

5.3 And therein, Doṇa, what is the Dharma?
He does not earn a living by way of farming [as a plowman], nor by trading, nor by cow-herding, nor by bowmanship, nor in the king’s service, nor in the arts, or in any other way, but fully by going about for alms, not despising the beggar’s bowl.

5.4 After handing over the teacher’s fees for teaching, he seeks a maiden [a wife] in accordance with the Dharma, nor against the Dharma.

5.5 And therein, Doṇa, what is the Dharma?
Neither through buying nor selling, only with a brahminic handed over with water.  He goes only to a brahminic.

He goes not a kshatriya woman nor a vaisya nor a shudra; nor an outcaste woman nor a hunter nor a bamboo-worker nor a cart-maker nor a refuse-clearer.

He goes not to a woman with child, nor to one giving suck, nor to one not yet with season.

5.6 And why, Doṇa, does he not go to a woman with child?
If, Doṇa, a brahmin goes to a woman with child, the boy or the girl would surely be most foul.

Therefore, Doṇa, a brahmin does not go to one with child.

5.7 And why, Doṇa, does he not go to a woman giving suck?
If, Doṇa, a brahmin goes to a woman giving suck, the boy or the girl would surely be unclean.

Therefore, Doṇa, a brahmin does not go to a woman giving suck.

5.8 And why, Doṇa, does he not go to a girl not yet with season?

70 So ime cattāro jhāne bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedā paraṁ maraṇā sugatiṁ saggaṁ lokaṁ upapajjati. Comy says that this also refers to the brahma world (AA 3:310), which actually makes sense as the ref here is to dhyāna-attainers.

71 Mariyāda (f) (cf Ved mariyāda): (1) boundary, limit, shore, embankment (V 3:50; D 3:92 = Vism 419; A 3:227; J 5:325, 6:536; Miln 416. (2) a strictly defined relation, rule, control (J 2:215; Vism 15). Here as mariyāda (adj m) keeping to the boundaries or limits, observin strct rules (A 3:227, qu SnA 318, 325); cf ~bandha, “keeping within limits” (V 1:287). Opp vimariyādā,kata (vi + mariyādā + kata, lit made without bounds) unrestricted, liberated, set free (S 2:173, 3:31 vippanutto vimariyād, kātena cetassā viharati, “he lives with a mind liberated, free of limits,” 6:11; A 5:151 f); cf Thu 184 (vl for vipariyādā, kātā).

72 See §4.5 ad loc.

73 See §4.5 ad loc.

74 See §4.5 ad loc.

75 Sace, doṇa, brāhmaṇo gabbhiniṁ gacchati, atimīḷhajo nāma so hoti māṇavako vā māṇavikā vā.

76 Sace, doṇa, brāhmaṇo pāyamānaṁ gacchati, asuci,paṭipīḷito* nāma so hoti māṇavako vā māṇavikā vā. Ee asuci,paṭipīḷito; Ce asuci,paṭipīḷo.
If, Doṇa, a brahmin goes to a girl is with season, the brahmīnee is for him not for the purpose of lust, nor for sport, nor for pleasure, but only for the sake of offspring.

5.9 When the coupling [wedlock] has borne fruit, being caught up is his fondness of his children, he continues to lives a family life, and does not go forth from the house into homelessness.

5.10 He keeps to the bounds of the brahmins of old; he does not transgress them.

Doṇa, since he keeps to the bounds of the brahmins of old and does not transgress them, therefore he is said to be a ‘bounded brahmin.’

(4) The bound-breaking brahmin

6 And how, Doṇa, is a brahmin one with broken bounds (sambhinna mariyāda)?

Here, Doṇa, a brahmin is well born on both the mother’s and the father’s sides for seven generations, with neither reproach nor defect in terms of birth.

6.2 For forty-eight years, he lives as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras.

Having lived for forty-eight years as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras, he goes in quest of a teacher’s fees from teaching in keeping with the Dharma, or not in keeping with the Dharma.

6.3 And therein, Doṇa, what is the Dharma?

He does not earn a living by way of farming [as a plowman], nor by trading, nor by cow-herding, nor by bowmanship, nor in the king’s service, nor in the arts, or in any other way, but only by going about for alms, not despising the beggar’s bowl.

6.4 After handing over the teacher’s fees for teaching, he seeks a maiden [a wife] in accordance with the Dharma, or not in keeping with the Dharma, by buying or by selling, or with a brahmīnee handed over with water.

6.5 The brahmin goes to a kshatriya woman or a vaisyā or a shudra; or an outcaste woman or a hunter or a bamboo-worker or a cart-maker or a refuse-cleaner. He goes to a woman with child, or to one giving suck, or to a woman with season, or a girl not yet with season.

6.6 To him, that brahmīnee is a brahmin’s brahmīnee for the purpose of lust, or for sport, or for pleasure, or for the sake of offspring.

6.7 He keeps not to the bounds of the brahmins of old; he transgresses them.

Doṇa, since he keeps not to the bounds of the brahmins of old and transgresses them, therefore he is said to be a ‘bound-breaking brahmin.’

(5) The outcaste brahmin

7 And how, Doṇa, is a brahmin an outcaste brahmin (brāhmaṇa caṇḍāla)?

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78 This whole §5.8 is reconstructed as Kasmā ca doṇa brāhmaṇa na anutuniṁ gacchati, sace doṇa brāhmaṇo anutuniṁ gacchati, tassa sā hoti brāhmaṇi n’eva kāmatthā na davatthā na ratatthā pajaṭthā’va brāhmaṇassa brāhmaṇī hoti. Se faulty here; Be Ce Ee omit up to anutuniṁ, but this is essential as peyyāla. Ee has pe right up to na ratātthā:

79 Like §4.8, this section [§5.6] up here, omitted in Be. Ce Ee Sace doṇa brāhmaṇo anutuniṁ* gacchati: surely here anutuniṁ is a wr, and should read utuniṁ (“who is with season”), which makes better sense. The context clearly refers to a woman who is able to bear children. Cf §6.4.

80 Be Ce Ee Sace anutuniṁ, Be Ce omit.

81 Cf §4.5.

82 Brāhmaṇīṁ pi udakāpasaṭṭhami, so Be Ce Ee, but Se omits brāhmaṇīṁ pi.

83 Cf §4.5.

84 Gabbhinim pi gacchati pāyamānam pi gacchati utuniṁ pi gacchati anutuniṁ pi gacchati. Cf §4.5.

85 Tassa sā hoti brāhmaṇi kāmatthāpi davatthāpi pajaṭthāpi brāhmaṇassa brāhmaṇī hoti.
Here, Doṇa, a brahmin is well born on both the mother’s and the father’s sides for seven generations, with neither reproach nor defect in terms of birth.

7.2 For forty-eight years, [229] he lives as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras.

Having lived for forty-eight years as a celibate youth, reciting the mantras, he goes in quest of a teacher’s fees from teaching in keeping with the Dharma, or not in keeping with the Dharma.

7.3 He earns a living by way of farming [as a plowman], or by trading, or by cow-herding, or by bowmanship, or in the king’s service, or in the arts, or in some other way, or by going about for alms, not despising the beggar’s bowl.

7.4 After handing over the teacher’s fees for teaching, he seeks a maiden [a wife] in keeping with the Dharma, or not in keeping with it, by buying or by selling, or with a brahminee handed over with water.86

7.5 The brahmin goes to a kshatriya woman or a vaisya or a shudra; or an outcaste woman or a hunter or a bamboo-worker or a cart-maker or a refuse-clearer.87

He goes to a woman with child, or to one giving suck, or to a woman with season, or a girl not yet with season.88

7.6 To him, that brahminee is a brahmin’s brahminee for the purpose of lust, or for sport, or for pleasure, or for the sake of offspring.89

7.7 He earns a living by all kinds of work.

The brahmins said this to him,

‘Why, sir, do you, declaring yourself a brahmin, earn a living by all kinds of work?’

He says thus:

‘Sirs, just as fire burns what is clean or what is foul, but the fire is not defiled,91 even so, sirs, as a brahmin, I earn a living by all kinds of work, but a brahmin is not defiled by that.’

7.8 Doṇa, since he earns a living by all kinds of work, therefore the brahmin is said to be an ‘outcaste brahmin.’

The Buddha questions Doṇa

8 Even so, Doṇa, those ancient rishis [sages] of the brahmins, mantra makers, mantra preachers, whose these92 ancient mantras [verses] and hymns that are uttered and compiled even today—they are sung after, recited after, what is to be chanted is chanted, what is to be repeated is repeated93—

that is to say, Aṣṭaka, Vāmaka, Vāma, deva, Viśvā, mitra, Jamad-agni, An̄gi, rasa, Bhāra, dvāja, [230] Vāsiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, and Bhagu94—they have declared these 5 kinds of brahmins, that is, the brahma-like, the deva-like, the bounded, the bound-breaker, and the outcaste brahmin as the fifth.

8.2 Which of them, Doṇa, are you?"95

“Such being the case, master Gotama, we do not even fulfill the outcaste brahmin!”96

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86 Cf §6.4.
87 Cf §4.5.
88 *Gabhinnim pi gacchati pāvamānam pi gacchati utunim pi gacchati anutunim pi gacchati.* Cf §4.5.
89 *Tassa sā hoti brāhmaṇi kāmatthāpi davatthāpi ratatthāpi pujatthāpi brāhmaṇassā brāhmaṇi hoti.*
90 *Se Ee jīvītām; Be Ce jīvīkām.* The latter is preferred.
91 *Seyyathā pi, bho, aggi sucim pi dhihi asucim pi dhihi, na ca tena aggi upalippati.* For a similar but more detailed parable, see Mahā Rāhul’ovāda S (M 62.13-17/1:423 f), SD 3.11. Cf Sn 547, 812; J 5:485.
92 “And whose are these,” Be Se yesam idāṁ; Ce Ee yesāṁ c’idāṁ.
93 *Evarahi brāhmaṇā porāṇaṁ manta,padāṁ gītām pavuttaṁ samīhitān, tad anugāyanti tad anubhāsanti bhāsitaṁ anubhāsanti sajjhāyitam anusaññihāyatāṁ vācātām anuvācenti.* Be Ce only: sajjhāyitam anusaññihāyatāṁ.
94 On these seers, see §2.4.
95 Here, the Buddha completes his instruction which begins at §2.4, and so he questions Doṇa.
96 *Evāṁ sante mayāṁ, bho gotama, brāhmaṇa, caṇḍālam pi na pārema.* The Chinese Madhy’āgama version similarly says: 瞿昙！說此最後梵志旃茶羅者，我尚不及況復餘耶？ Qū tán, shuō cǐ zuìhòu fànzhì zhāncháluó zhě, wǒ shǎng bǐjǐ, kuāng fū yù yě, “Gautama, speaking of these, I’m not even as good as the outcaste brahmin, not to speak of the rest!” (MĀ 158 = T1.26.681c18-19). See Intro (1.2.2.3).
Dona goes for refuge

8.3 Excellent, Master Gotama! Excellent! Master Gotama!
Just as if one were to place upright what had been overturned,
or were to reveal what was hidden,
or were to show the way to one who was lost,
or were to hold up a lamp in the dark so that those with eyes could see forms,
in the same way, in numerous ways, has the Dharma been made clear by the Blessed Gotama.

I go to the Blessed Gotama for refuge, to the Dharma, and to the community of monks. May the Blessed Gotama remember me as a lay follower who has gone for refuge, from this day forth, for life.”

— evam —

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