To do away with the name "Siddhartha" Buddha's name in the Theravāda Canon

English translation by Tarana Duhaut Brown

Summary

The analysis of the occurrence of the word *Siddhat* ha (skt Siddh rtha) in the most ancient Buddhist texts, those of the P li Canon of Therav da, brings to light the marginal, late and deviant nature of the use of Siddhartha as "Buddha's name". This name symbolizes the pressure of the legend and the trends that developed the legend about the real personality of the Buddha, as well as his original doctrine. The Therav da tradition therefore has no reason to use this word.

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Introduc**ti**on

The present article stems from a surprise: the surprise of seeing how frequently the name Siddhatiha is attributed to the Buddha; a name I never came across throughout my long tryst with the most ancient Buddhist texts, those of the P Ii Canon of Therav da. This surprise brings about many questions: was Siddhatiha Buddha's name? If the ancient texts don't indicate that it was, then how, when and why did this name appear? And finally, in our view – that is based on the knowledge and correct practice of Therav da - what do we do with this word and most importantly, with whatever it represents?

First and foremost, it is necessary to look into how the Buddha is named or called in the canonical texts in P Ii (I); this allows to determine and analyse the place that the word Siddhatha occupies in this corpus of texts (II); the analysis leads to our reflection on the ineptness of this word in the Therav da tradition (III).

I - What was "Buddha's name"?

The Buddha (buddha, literally "the one who discovered" or "the one who accomplished") is not a proper noun but defines someone who has atlained the highest stage of spiritual evolution or Awakening (bodhi). What really then, was "Buddha's name"?

The Buddha possessed the name of a tribe and a surname, but above all, he was attributed multiple names justified by his Awakening.

The name of his tribe

The Buddha was part of the community or the large "tribe" of the Saky , whose capital city was Kapilavathu, in a region situated on the present India-Nepal border.

He was therefore often called Sakya-muni "the wise Sakya", mostly by outsiders looking to distinguish him from the multitude of spiritual masters of his time; or more commonly sakya-puta, "son of the Sakyas", to which one often added sakya-kula, meaning "of the Sakya lineage" and pabbajito, "the renunciant".

These appellations are those used in the most ancient written scriptures mentioning the Buddha: on the Rummindei Pillar erected by the emperor A oka around 250 BC, or on the Piprawa urn which contains a portion of the Buddha's relics¹.

« King Priyadra i, Beloved of the Gods, crowned king for the past 20 years, has come in person to worship the place of birth of Buddha Sakyamuni... »

Inscription on the Rummindei pillar (Nepal) Br hm script

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His family name

The name of his family – an extended family or a "clan" – was Gotama. Some therefore addressed him as Gotama, generally adding further elements to this name:

sama o gotamo sakyaputio sakyakul pabbajito

ascetic Gotama, the renunciant, son of Sakya, of the Sakya lineage²

Employed by itself, the name seems to indicate some sort of familiarity, at times condescending, for example, when the name is used by those who consider themselves superior to the Buddha, like the deities.

nanda, the Buddha's faithful servant, who was also his first cousin, was called with the same name. For example, following the Buddha's parinibb na, while nanda was submerged with visits from disciples seeking consolation, a deity concerned about his spiritual progress appeared before him and reprimanded him thus:

Meditate, Gotama, and do not be negligent! How is this clamour going to help you?³

How the Buddha referred to himself

The Buddha most often spoke of himself in the third person, not out of vanity, but to underline the fact that he was just a conveyor of teachings and that his own person did not matter.

He referred to himself as Tath gata, a pre-Buddhist and probably non-Aryan word, to which tradition attributed, a posteriori, the etymology tath , "thus" and gata, "to go" or agata, "to come", an interpretation seeking mainly to emphasize the adequacy between reality,

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ « This depository of the relics of Bhagav $\,$ Buddha, descendant of the Saky $\, \dots$ »

² S/D G I/3/255.

³ nanda-sutia (S/SA 1/9/5/225).

Buddha's teachings and his actions. The Buddha's life is a perfect illustration of his doctrine, the Dhamma, and his doctrine is a perfect explanation of reality:

All that the Tath gata said between the night of the Supreme Awakening and the night of his death, everything he said and presented, is "thus" and not otherwise, and for this reason he is named 'Tath gata': everything he says, he does and what he does, he says. And he goes by his word, and his word goes with his pace; we therefore name him 'Tath gata'.⁴

How did people address the Buddha

We have already seen that those outside of the community, of the Sa gha, generally addressed the Buddha by using his family name surrounded by details about his lineage and his status as a renunciant.

Lay or religious disciples addressed the Buddha (as they would to the most respected monks) by using bhante, a contraction of the word bhavante or bhadante. In all three cases, it is an extremely polite term, which is translated without much misinterpretation as "Venerable".⁵ Bhante is still widely used nowadays within Theravada Buddhism.

Laudatory designations of the Buddha

In order to speak of the Buddha, including during his lifetime, his disciples used a multitude of terms.

These evoked his quality of being a master: the teacher (sath), the instructor (akkh t) the one who knows the way (vedag), the spiritual friend (kaly amitia), the one who is perfect through his knowledge and the practices leading to it (vijj -cara a-sampanna), the perfect instructor of those who can be instructed (annutara-purisa-dhamma-s rath), the teacher of men and divine beings (sath deva-manuss na)...

The terms also refer to his state of attainment: the Enlightened (buddha) or the one who is fully enlightened by his own e orts (samm -sam-buddha), the knower of the world (lokavid), the conqueror of the path (magga-jina), the victorious (jina), the governor of Dhamma (dhamma-r j), the independent (sayambh), he who is constantly vigilant (s da sata), the one who "went well" (sugata), he who achieved the goal (siddhatha), the one who reached extinction (nibbuta), he who is liberated (arah)...

Finally, they also used purely laudatory names such as: the great sage (mahesi), the wise one at peace (muni), the protector (n tha⁶), the great man (mah -purisa), the great hero (mah -v ra), the one who has no equal (anu**t** ara), the revered (bhava)...

Most of these epithets and qualities are enumerated in the morning and evening recitations which nowadays punctuate the lives of monks and lay practitioners. The three most common terms recited in the lands of Theravada Buddhism being bhagav , arah and samm -sam-buddha:

Namo tassa (« homage to ») bhagavato, arahato, samm sambuddhassa⁷

⁴ P s dika-sut a (S/D G III/6/188).

⁵ It appears 12 300 times in the core of the p li Canon.

⁶ The term loka-n that is too often translated as « Saviour of the world » or « Lord of the world », probably in order to imitate christianism; the only correct translation is « protector of the world » or « sanctuary of the world ».

⁷ This formulation, recited during any religious ritual, is repeated three times, so that, given the tendency of the human mind to be distracted, it is pronounced with full awareness at least once. It is already mentioned in the sut : Brahm yu-sut a (S/MAJ II/5/1/388), Samacita-vagga (S/A G II/4/38) etc.

How does Siddhat ha fit into this multitude of appellations?

II - Siddhat ha was not "the Buddha's name"

The word siddhat ha is present in the P li Canon, but very rarely as "the Buddha's name" (A); when such is the case, it appears to be deviant additions of legendary elements (B).

A – The word siddhat ha in the Therav da Canon

The word siddhat ha appears in the P li Canon but, except for very rare occasions, not as "the Buddha's name".

The word siddhat ha

Siddhatiha is a compound word, combining the past participle of the verb sijjhati, "to complete" or "to accomplish", and the word atiha, which means result of an endeavour, "profit" or "success". It can therefore be translated as "[The one] who has accomplished his task", or "has atlained his goal". The western transcription Siddhartha⁸ comes from the Sanskrit version of the word.

Occurrences of siddhat ha

The Therav da Canon, in the P Ii language, is composed of the Tipi aka (*ti*, "three"; pi aka, "baskets") and ancient Commentaries. The Vinaya-pi aka includes all the texts relating to the codes of conduct governing daily life within monastic communities; the Sutia-pi aka collects all the teachings attributed to the Buddha himself and to his most eminent disciples; the Abhidhamma-pi aka reorganises, using precise philosophical terminology, the doctrinal principles of the Sutia-pitaka in a systematic framework, which can be used to study the nature of mind and matter. Since the pi ak texts cannot be modified, abundant explanations are provided through commentaries (a hakath) and sub-commentaries (k). The Tipi aka, compiled during the initial councils, was transmitted orally through recitation from the 3rd century BC and recorded in writing in the 1st century BC. The Commentaries were composed until the 1st century AD, and compiled later between the 4th and the 5th centuries; the Sub-commentaries were written from the 10th to 12th century AD.

In this vast⁹ canonical corpus, the word siddha*t*tha¹⁰ appears 256 times¹¹, mainly in the Commentaries; the occurrences are distributed as follows:

Sut	68
Commentaries	182
Sub-commentaries	2
Vinaya	0
Commentaries	0
Sub-commentaries	2

⁸ Popularised mainly by the title of the philosophical novel published in 1922 by Hermann Hesse.

⁹ The Pali Text Society version, in roman letters, for the Tipi aka alone comprises 53 volumes (more than 15,000 pages) and can count up to 279 volumes if we include the Commentaries, translations, references and annexures.

¹⁰ With all its variations.

¹¹ This is a very small number: comparatively, the name Gotama, listed solely as the nominative gotamo, appears 266 times in a single chapter of a single book: Majjhimanik ya's Majjhimapa sap i.

Abhidhamma	0
Commentaries	2
Sub-commentaries	0

Siddhat ha: one of the Buddha's accomplishments

In the great majority of these texts, siddhat ha is basically used in its simplest grammatical sense, as "having achieved his goal", in order to designate, among a multitude¹² of other laudatory labels, one of the Buddha's accomplishments.

For instance, one can find:

...katakiccena ni hitakiriyena siddhatihena vusitavos nena nir vara ena... ...having accomplished his task, completed his action, achieved his goal, finished his achievements...¹³

or:

...nibbute lokan thamhi siddhatihe dipadutiame...

...having extinguished passions, protector of the world, having achieved his goal, the greatest of men...¹⁴

or:

...parinibbute sugate siddhathe lokan yake...

...perfectly liberated, happy, having achieved his goal, lord of the world...¹⁵

ou :

...siddhata lokapajjota appameyya anopama ...

...having achieved his goal, illuminating the world, limitless, unparalleled...¹⁶

In fact, some of the interlocutors address the Buddha in these terms:

...« siddhat ha, nivat a »...

... "you who have achieved your goal, you who have reached extinction" ... 17

Siddhat ha : a Buddha of the past

Buddha, as outlined above, is not a proper noun but a term used to refer to one who has attained the highest stage of spiritual evolution, bodhi or Awakening. This ultimate stage of spiritual perfection has already been attained on multiple occasions in a distant past.

The most ancient Buddhist texts, such as the Mah pad na-sut a^{18} , mention the names of six perfect buddhas having lived before the Buddha of our time.

The Buddha-va sa, "Genealogy of buddhas", in turn draws up a list of twenty-four buddhas: the fifteenth buddha of this list is named Siddhat ha; he is not to be confused with the twenty-fourth buddha, the buddha of our age, Gotama.

¹² Therefore, in this type of sentence, isolating one of these labels as a "noun" is either due to lack of grammatical knowledge or bad faith.

¹³ S/KHU/Milindapañhap i/III/5/2.

¹⁴S/KHU/Ther pad nap i/II/1/1.

¹⁵ S/KHU/Ther pad nap i/XLII/6/124.

¹⁶ S/KHU/Ther pad nap i/III/5/156.

¹⁷ A /S/KHU/Dhammapada-a hakath /XIV/1/178.

¹⁸ S/D G II/1.

The Buddha-va sa thus introduces the presentation of the fifteenth buddha of the past, successor of the Dhamadassi Buddha:

Dhammadassissa aparena siddhatiho n ma n yako Nihanitv tama sabba , s riyo abbhuggato yath After Dhammadassi came a nobleman named Siddhatiha, Having finished with all the darkness, having atlained wisdom.¹⁹

And he thus refers to the sixteenth Buddha of the past, Tissa, successor to Buddha as Siddhat ha (which would su ce to prove, if need be, that it doesn't refer to the last Buddha, the Buddha of our time):

Siddhati hassa aparena asamo appa ipuggalo Anantatejo amitayaso tisso lokaggan yako After Siddhati ha came, unequalled, like none other, Eternal light, immensely renowned, Tissa, the Lord of the world.²⁰

The Buddha of our time, Gotama, for his part, does not appear until the end of this long lineage:

Ahametarahi sambuddho gotamo sakyava hano Now comes the perfect buddha, Gotama of the Saky clan.²¹

Siddhat ha: the name of the Buddha of our era

When it is not a laudatory epithet among numerous others and in the vast majority of occurrences, the word siddhat ha only refers to a buddha of the past.

The attribution of the name Siddhatiha to the Buddha of our era (or rather of the "first name" since his family name is Gotama) is however not totally absent from the canonical texts. But it can, and we will come back to this point, be considered abnormal or deviant; indeed two clues raise suspicion: on the one hand this appellation is very rare and never appears in the heart (m la) of the Canon; on the other hand, it always appears in the same Commentaries, in particular in two of them: the Commentaries of the J tak and the Commentaries of the Apad na.

These include, for example:

suddhodanassa putio siddhatiho Siddhatiha, son of Suddhodana²²

But almost all of the occurrences (26) refer, in very similar terms, to the episode during which M ra, personification of evil, tries to discourage the bodhisat a^{23} during his meditation: he speaks to him on first-name terms or by calling him bho siddhat ha, bho being a familiar way of addressing someone, of "casually speaking" to someone inferior²⁴.

¹⁹ Siddhati habuddhava so (S/KHU XII/18).

²⁰ Tissabuddhava so (S/KHU XII/19).

²¹Gotamabuddhava so (S/KHU XII/27).

²² Sutranip ta-a hakath (A /S/KHU//III/1/411).

²³ The term bodhisatia refers to a person who has decided to become buddha, and for this goal takes the long path of perfection through numerous lives; during his youth as well as his previous lives, and until his Awakening, such then is the stature of Gotama.

 $^{^{24}\,\}text{Sutanip}$ ta-a hakath (A /S/KHU//III/2/446).

In the entire Canon, the name Siddhat ha in reference to the Buddha of our time, appears only 32 times, divided as follows:

Suti	0
Commentaries	30
of which J taka-a hakath of which Apad na-a hakath	7 14
Sub-commentaries	1
Vinaya	0
Commentaries	0
Sub-commentaries	1
Abhidhamma	0
Commentaries	0
Sub-commentaries	0

The emergence of siddhat hakum ro

The occurrences of Siddhat ha used as the Buddha's first name are often accompanied by the word kum ro; this name designates the son of a person belonging to one of the two higher castes, the br hma and the khat y, or else the son of a king, r ja^{25} . One can thus find:

...suddhodanassa putio siddhatiho n ma kum ro...

...the young nobleman named Siddhatha, son of Suddhodana...²⁶

This combination of terms leads to the creation of a compound word, siddhat hakum ro by adjoining siddho, at ho and kum ro, the construction of which is actually explained in a unique passage²⁷.

One can thus find:

...suddhodanamah r jassa putio siddhatihakum ro...

...the young nobleman Siddhatha, son of the great king Suddhodana...²⁸

The use of this compound word is also very rare. It only appears²⁹ 36 times³⁰ throughout the whole Canon, mainly in the 2 aforementioned Commentaries:

Sut	0
Commentaries	32
of which J taka-a hakath of which Apad na-a hakath	12 10

 $^{^{\}rm 25}$ We can also find, less frequently and in the same type of context, $r\,$ jakum $\,$ ro.

²⁶ Sutanip ta-a hakath (A /S/KHU//III/1/411).

²⁷ Mah vaggayojan (k /V/41/105).

²⁸Ekakanip ta-a hakath (A /S/A G/14/1/206)

²⁹ With all its variations.

³⁰ In fact, a little less because several of these texts mutually comment each other.

Sub-commentaries	0
Vinaya	0
Commentaries	2
Sub-commentaries	2
Abhidhamma	0
Commentaries	0
Sub-commentaries	0

B - Siddhat ha, or the intrusion of a portion of legend into the Canon

The use of Siddhatha as the Buddha's "first name" stands out as an intrusion in the canonical body: what is the meaning of this intrusion?

An intruder: "Prince Siddhat ha"

We have observed that the use of Siddhat ha as a proper name is accompanied by the designation of the future Buddha as kum ro. This simple word implies his belonging to a cast, in this case to that of the khat y, the nobles; an assertion that is reinforced by the designation of his father, Suddhodana as a raj, a king, or perhaps even as a powerful mah r ja.

However, these assertions, which are nowhere to be found within the heart of the p li Canon, belong to the legend of the Buddha, not to reality.

Indeed, the Saky community, as with most of the communities of this region, was isolated enough to be able to self-govern and to build an original political format not envisioned by Brahmanism: an oligarchy. Therefore, contrary to the assertions that were born out of misunderstanding, prognoses and subsequent retrievals of the same, the Buddha's father was not actually a "king" but an elected chief, and the Buddha was not a "prince".

Living his life on the fringe of the Vedic influence left the young Gotama with intellectual, social and religious liberty that allowed him to discover a reality and a path away from sclerotic classifications of the dominant Indian tradition. It is at the beginning of his peregrinations, while travelling the middle plains of the Ganges that the Buddha encountered the Brahmanic culture "with the critical gaze of someone who hadn't been educated to take its assumptions for granted"³¹: this new and prevalent context forced him to adapt his teachings to the codes and criteria of understanding of populations under Brahmanic influence.

The best example of both the Buddha's distance and his adaptation can precisely be provided by the question of his belonging to a caste. Brahmanic India was based on (is still based on) the division of society into four major castes (va - skt var s): the br hma a (the purest, in charge of rites and religious teaching), the khat y (skt k atriy s) warriors and nobles, the vess (skt vai y s), traders and farmers, and the sudd (skt udra), dependant manual labourers. Those who were not, for any particular reason (for example due to their non-Indian ethnic origin), enrolled in these hereditary groups were "casteless" (vasal) and could not take part in social life, except for a few functions that were considered degrading. When the Buddha came into contact with the Brahmans who were so

³¹ Richard F. Gombrich, Therav da Buddhism, Routledge, Oxon (England), 2006.

attached to their caste, he could, as a member of a ruling family, accept to be classified as part of the high caste of "warriors" or "nobles", caste of the khat y, a term that his father had presumably never heard before. If the Buddha had not had the intelligence to make this e ort of cultural integration, he would have been classified as "outcaste" and neither his person nor his teaching would have received such a warm welcome and support from the religious and political elites.

The origin of the intrusion

The need for a legend

The ancient canonical texts, of which the P li Canon, the oldest and the most complete to have come down to us, contain very few details about the Buddha's life, more particularly about his life before Enlightenment.³²

The absence of a complete and linear historical narrative about the Buddha Gotama's life should not be considered to be a flaw in Buddhism. On the contrary, it is the simple application of one his most important a rmations: "the Buddha and his teachings are one".

He, who sees the Dhamma sees me, who sees me, sees the Dhamma.

Seeing the Dhamma, he sees me, seeing me, he sees the Dhamma.³³

The Dhamma and the Buddha being identical, the details concerning Gotama, like all the facts or the questions that are not relevant to the goal of extinguishing su ering, have been discarded. While the texts seem to make some apparent deviations from this rule, they are in fact opportunities to recall that the Buddha was a human being, subject to the laws of impermanence, which enhances his merit and reassures us of our own ability to atlain enlightenment and the extinction of su ering. For the same reasons, until approximately the 1st century A.D., the Buddha was not portrayed: those who followed his teachings worshipped his memory through symbols³⁴ suggesting his presence by default, like an empty throne or his footprints, or by referring to the major events of his life, a lotus plant for his birth, a wheel for his first sermon, a tree for his Enlightenment and a funerary monument for his extinction.



Original depiction of the Buddha through symbols: footprints, wheels, lotus Gandh ra (dawn of our era).

³² Which prompted Étienne Lamotle to assert: « writing S kyamuni's life is a desperate endeavour » - Histoire du bouddhisme indien, Tome 1, Louvain, 1958.

³³ Vakkali-sutia (S/SA III/1/5/87).

³⁴ This aniconism of the oldest form of Buddhism constituted a real breakaway from the profusion of representations of Indian deities.

It is in Gandh ra, in the North-West of India, in kingdoms placed under the authority of Alexander the Great's successors, that "Greco-Buddhist" art was born at the end of the 1st Century A.D. which was the origin of main-stream representations. At the same time, a more Indian iconology was developed by the Mathur school. However, despite the progressive introduction of personification, Buddhist art managed to preserve its only vocation, i.e. to remind the Master's disciples of the main points of his teachings, for which various parts of the body, various postures or various episodes of his life serve as an illustration.

This principle of primacy of Dhamma over its Teacher was shared by the first great disciples of the Buddha: for example, biographical details provided in the Canon with reference to Venerable Up Ii would hardly fill a page, even though he was considered to be a specialist in monastic discipline and he is the one who codified and recited the rules of Vinaya in the first council. And "once we leave the circle of monks whose lives intersected most closely with the Buddha's, the accounts become terse even to the point of silence. Apparently, with their insight sharpened by the contemplation of the lack of inherent nature of all phenomena, the ancient Buddhists were not particularly keen on compiling biographies of "selfless persons"³⁵.

For the less advanced devotees, accustomed to the extraordinary profusion of Indian legends, or for the most enthusiastic religious worshippers, the Buddha seemed to deserve more and better than this silence. In order to answer this hagiographical craving, a Buddhist legend came to be.

Development of the legend

Towards the dawn of our era, the legend which until then had been limited to filling in a few biographical gaps³⁶ and adding a few embellishments to existing texts, flourished in Buddhist communities in the North-East of India. The life of the Buddha ceased to be associated with canonical texts in order to become autonomous texts mixing ancient sources, tales and legends, such as the Lalitavistara ("Multitude of Graceful Actions") of the Sarv *stiv* da branch or the Mah vastu ("The Great Story") of the Lokotarav da branch of Early Buddhism. The hitherto disseminated episodes made way for complete life-stories, as in Vinaya of the M lasarv *stiv* da stream, and for lyrical pieces such as A vagho a's Buddhacarita. Written at a time when the Mah y na school was becoming predominant, these texts were highly influenced by it. The Buddha was no longer depicted as an ascetic master, or even as a man, he became a superhuman being, whom even the most extreme terms could hardly describe. Each episode of his life was revisited and became miraculous, each place in his life became an indescribable paradise.

Resistance of the P li Canon

The Buddhist tradition that was to gradually take on the name Therav da and whose centre was supposed to be located in the island of Ceylon managed to resist the enthusiastic waves of legends.

It achieved this for one simple reason: the content and organisation of the P li Canon had been set during the Third Buddhist Council which was held around 250 BC in Pa aliputta, the

³⁵ Bhikkhu Bodhi, Introduction: Venerable Nyanaponika Thera & Hellmuth Hecker, Great disciples of the Buddha: Their Lives, Their Works, Their Legacy, Wisdom Publications, Buddhist Publication Society 2003 (p. XXVII).

³⁶ Like, for example, the conception and birth of Gotama.

capital of the kingdom of Magadhā, under the reign of the emperor Aśoka³⁷. These were more definitively set in writing in the aftermath of the Fourth Council held in Ceylon in 96 BC³⁸. Even though some changes were brought to the text later and recorded during the following Councils, the fact of having made the texts of the Canon unalterable left only one possibility for those who wished to explain or complete these texts: to write commentaries or sub-commentaries. The most brilliant of the latter were compiled and integrated into the Canon, but in clearly separate sets and sections.

Besides this practical and material reason there exists a more fundamental and dogmatic one: the greater part of the Commentaries was written or compiled within the walls of the *Mahāvihāra* monastery in Anurādhapura, whose monks were fiercely opposed to ideas and exaggerations of the Mahāyāna, that were known in Ceylon by the term *Vetullavāda*, ideas which were accepted by their neighbours and competitors of the *Abhayagirivihāra* monastery.

This brief reminder seems to provide an explanation for the rarity of occurrences of *Siddhattha* as "the Buddha's name" and his status as "prince" and the concentration of such occurrences in a handful of texts:

- these terms do not appear in the heart of the Pāli Canon and therefore can only be later inventions;
- they only appear in the Commentaries and are, therefore, not prior to the beginning of our era, and probably not prior to the 4th Century;
- they appear mainly in two Commentaries and could thus have been written by one single commentator, or a small group of commentators;
- they mainly occur in connection with one event, that of Māra's temptation, mentioned in Suttanipāta's Padhānasutta³⁹, a sutta whose canonical status is sometimes considered doubtful because it was probably already influenced by the "Lives of the Buddha" that were flourishing in northern India⁴⁰;
- to comment on this episode belonging to the legend (and particularly highlighted by the legend), the aforementioned commentator would have had no choice but to use the terms of those spreading this legend, the Sinhalese monks like himself who belonged to an opposing heterodox current influenced by the Mahāyāna.

³⁷ Born around 300 BC, died around 230 BC. Crowned around 270 BC. The very same emperor sent nine missions to teach the *Dhamma* in faraway places. It was during one of these missions, led by his son Mahinda and his daughter Sanghamittā, both clerics, that Buddha's Path was permanently established in the island of Ceylon (around 247 BC.).

³⁸ This body of work, which took about 12 years to complete, was carried out by a congregation of clerics, in the Āloka-vihāra rock temple in Ceylon.

³⁹ Suttanipāta (S/KHU/III/2).

⁴⁰ Cf. Étienne Lamotte, La légende du Buddha, in Revue de l'histoire des religions, tome 134, 1-3, 1947, p.68-69.

Sources of deviation

As with the more generalised deviation of the original texts towards more legendary texts in late traditions, this twist on the P li Canon is the result of misinterpretations, voluntary or not⁴¹, of canonical elements and the sayings of the Buddha.

The first form of deviation is based on the isolation and the misuse of one of the numerous laudatory epithets of the Buddha, siddhatiha, "having achieved his goal".

The second form is based on the confusion of the Buddha Gotama with one of the buddhas of the past, the Buddha Siddhatha.

The third form of deviation is based on the attribution to Gotama Buddha of events belonging to the life of another perfect Buddha of the past, the Buddha Vipass. These plagiarized episodes⁴² are those of the miracles accompanying conception and birth, of the luxurious life in three vast palaces, of the famous four outings during which the young "prince", hitherto preserved, discovered sickness, old age, death and asceticism, those of the nocturnal escape...

About the miracles surrounding the birth of the Buddha, Etienne Lamotte wrote :

"It is as if pious biographers, unaware of the precise details of the birth of kyamuni, had later attributed to him a marvellous conception and birth, applying to him a legend intended to magnify the Buddha and the Cakravartin kings, a legend with predetermined themes. It is true that, from a theoretical point of view, one could support the opposite thesis and claim that the life of kyamuni served as a model and a starting point for the legend of Mah pad na; but this would mean implicitly admit ng the miraculous character of the Buddha's life. It does not seem that respect for traditions should be pushed to this extent".⁴³

The two forms of misappropriation above could find a justification in several canonical passages mentioning the points of coincidence between the perfect buddhas: they all reached enlightenment under a tree, they all hesitate to teach the Dhamma, all of them only give in at the insistence of a brahm ⁴⁴, and they are all accompanied by two principal disciples⁴⁵... This real trend of assimilating all the buddhas had a specific significance, which was not the generalisation of miracles, but on the contrary, to a rm that the details of the buddhas' lives were of no real importance since their teaching was necessarily the same:

All the buddhas have exactly the same dhamma.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Translation errors or incomplete texts are not to be ruled out, but they have in any case been swept aside by the wind of legendary enthusiasm.

⁴² Mah pad na-suta (S/D G/II/1/4 sq.).

⁴³ Cf. Étienne Lamotle, La légende du Buddha, op.cit.

⁴⁴ Milindapañha IV/5/10/10. The same text however emphasizes that the only thing the buddhas have in common is their at ainment, but their historical reality obviously di er : « the bodhisatic can be distinguished from each other on four aspects : family, progression from one life to the next, longevity and body measures ; but there is no di erence between them with regard to their physical appearance, morality, concentration, deep wisdom, liberation, knowledge and idea of liberation, state of Buddha as a whole » - Milindapañha V/3/2/2.

⁴⁵ Ukkacela-sutia (S/SA V/3/2/4/380).

⁴⁶ Milindapañha V/3/2/2.

Let me emphasise this point: the existence of buddhas of the past, buddhas of the future and buddhas of the present times (the arah) was frequently used by the Buddha in order to reassure his disciples regarding the accessibility of Awakening, and also to curb any temptation of cult of personality; thus, when one of his main disciples, S riputla, complimented him by stating that "nowhere is there another Saint or Brahman who has attained greater wisdom than the Awakening of the Bhagav ", and that "there has never been and there never will be another one"; the Buddha admonished⁴⁷: "S riputla, you have no knowledge of the perfect buddhas of the past, future and present; why then did you express such an idea?"⁴⁸.

By highlighting only the wonderful aspects of the buddhas, the legend and the currents that carry the legend, thus radically invert form and substance of what was taught by the Buddha himself.

The reference to "Prince Siddhat ha" being a symbol of this very inversion, how would the Therav da tradition relate to this reference?

III - The name Siddhat ha is of no use to the Therav da tradition

We have established that Siddhat ha does not appear in the heart of the P li Canon and appears only marginally in the Commentaries. We also observed that Siddhat ha, like the other elements of the legend, often contradict the Dhamma. Moreover, they obstruct any historical research undertaken.

Hence, there are at least three reasons to consider that the use of the name Siddhat ha is irrelevant to the Therav da tradition.

Siddhat ha and his legend contradict the canonical choices

The absence of Siddhat ha in the canonical texts is not the result of a gap or a shortfall; on the contrary, it translates a deliberate will based on doctrinal stances a rmed by the Buddha himself.

The first of these a rmations is that the life of Gotama, son of the Saky , only becomes interesting when it becomes useful to his followers, i.e. from the time of his Awakening (including prior virtuous and meditative practices). The only details of his youth mentioned by the Buddha are aimed at highlighting, on the one hand, his radical decision to renounce to his worldly life and his capacity to overcome the false doctrines of his first teachers on the other. As for the details of his innumerable previous lives⁴⁹, they are used to demonstrate that there are no shortcuts to attain liberation. It is a very long endeavour which includes an initial will and the assiduous practice of virtues⁵⁰.

The only true "miracle" is that Gotama was able to attain perfect liberation through his veryown e orts. This makes totally superfluous the legendary inventions of miracles announcing his success (at the time of his conception and his birth). And to make Gotama out to be a prince living in extraordinary luxury is just as useless, if only to highlight the importance of his decision to renounce as proportional to what he renounced, which is neither flattering

⁴⁷ This extremely rare reproach by the Buddha to his eminent disciple underlines how strongly the Buddha disapproved of the cult of personality.

⁴⁸ Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (S/DĪG II/3/145).

⁴⁹ Accounts of 547 among them, the most didactic ones, are found in the J taka-p li (S/KHU XIV & XV).

⁵⁰ The 10 transcendental virtues (p ramit): charity, ethical conduct, renunciation of sensory pleasures, transcendental knowledge, e ort, patience, search for truth, determination, benevolence and equanimity.

for the Buddha, nor encouraging for those of his disciples who had much less to lose than he did...

As we observed the second a rmation is that the teacher, be he as remarkable and as perfect as the Buddha, must obliterate his own self⁵¹ in front of the truth taught:

The Tath gata only shows the path.⁵²

Usually placed at the beginning of the sut , the biographical elements are therefore not intended to iconize the Buddha; they serve only two purposes: firstly, to authenticate⁵³ the sermons by indicating the place where they were delivered and the audience to whom they were addressed; secondly, to present the circumstances or the questions that brought about the sermons, since the Buddha speaks only when necessary.

The compilers of the P li Canon and the narrators of the later councils therefore rightly considered that neither Siddhatha nor the accompanying legends were necessary, thus applying the rule which the Buddha himself had set - that the Dhamma need only mention what is useful for spiritual progress:

The things I have learnt through direct practice, but have not taught, outnumber by far the ones I have taught. And why haven't I taught them? Because they are irrelevant to the goal intended, they are not important for leading a pure life, they lead neither to detachment nor to the extinction of su ering, nor to cessation, nor to appeasement, nor to deep knowledge, nor to Awakening, nor to nibb na. That is why I have not taught them.⁵⁴

Siddhat ha and his legend are contrary to the Dhamma

The only reason that could justify the utilisation of legendary elements would be their use as a pedagogical tool: more attractive than the canonical suti π , less dry than the definitions and classifications of Abhidhamma, they would perfectly illustrate the Dhamma while satisfying the need for fantasy of the least advanced followers.

The mere example of the reference to "Prince Siddhatha" su ces to demonstrate the weakness of this argument.

This reference, as we observed, introduces a whi of caste⁵⁵ into the doctrine; it is therefore absolutely contrary to the teachings of the Buddha who constantly called out to do away with the caste system:

For he who possesses the unmatched qualities of knowledge and virtue, the system of caste (j ti-v da) does not exist, the distinction of lineage (gotra-v da) does not exist; the at tude of constantly comparing does not exist; he does not

⁵¹ Nowadays, in the Theravada countries, monks recite canonical texts holding their hand fans in front of them, symbolizing the obliteration of the person who recites.

⁵² Dhammapada (S/KHU II/20/276).

⁵³ This authentication was necessary because the sut were recited (by nanda) and validated during the first « council » held a little while after the parinibb na of the Buddha; that is why major texts from the Sutra-pi aka begin with the words « as I have heard » – eva me suta .

⁵⁴ S sap vana-sut a (S/SA V/12/4/1/1101).

⁵⁵ A return to the idea of casteism can be found in the texts of later traditions; to cite an example, in Buddhacarita by A vagho a (XIII/9), M ra uses the name of the k atriy s caste to address the Buddha.

⁵⁶ Amba ha-sutia (S/D G I/3/278).

We have also observed that this reference introduces into the doctrine, a hint of the cult of personality which is absolutely contrary to the Buddha's constant wish to fade behind his teachings. If one desires to revere the Buddha, no need to create a golden legend, respecting his teachings would su ce:

If a monk, or a nun, or a lay disciple, man or woman following the path of Dhamma, being on the way to harmony with the others, living in tune with the Dhamma, he or she is the one who respects the Tath gata, who worships the Tath gata, who reveres the Tath gata, he or she is the one who pays the highest homage to the Tath gata.⁵⁷

The dubious nature of the instructional worth of legendary additions could be underlined for each one of them. For example, the departure of the young Gotama from the family home (the legend would say "from the palace") is thus narrated by the Buddha himself, in a very simple way:

I cut my hair and my beard although my father and my foster mother⁵⁸ opposed, their faces covered with tears; I took the yellow robe and left my family for a life without a dwelling.⁵⁹

The detail of the parents' tears contradicts by itself the legendary version of the secret and nocturnal escape, like a thief, from a palace miraculously fallen asleep⁶⁰, a version which can but surprise us because it is contrary to the nature, the will and the power of persuasion of the Buddha.

Gotama escapes from the marital bed, taking advantage of the magical sleep of the women in the palace

Gandh ra (Ill^e siècle).



More generally speaking, the desire to embellish, arouse enthusiasm or admiration, the absolute wish to sustain in comparison with the fabulous Hindu gods and heroes, seems to be very far from the aim, content and form of the Dhamma: the Buddhist teachings are not

⁵⁷ Mah parinibb na-sutra (S/D G II/3/199).

 $^{^{\}rm 58}$ After the demise of his mother M y , Gotama was brought up by his father's second wife, his aunt Mah paj pati; years later, she became the first buddhist nun, she was the one for whom the Buddha gave up his initial reticence and accepted full ordination for women, making some changes and additions in the rules – Bhikkhunikkhandhaka (VIN IV/10); Mah paj pati herself had two children, who later became the monk Nanda and the nun Nand .

⁵⁹ P sar si-sutia (S/MAJ I/3/6/277), Mah saccaka-sutia (S/MAJ I/4/6/371), Bodhir jakum ra-sutia (S/MAJ II/4/5/327), Sa g rava-sutia (S/MAJ II/5/10/475).

⁶⁰ This description seems to be copied from the 5th book of the R m ya a, which recounts the intrusion of the monkey-god Hanuman in Ravana's palace.

meant to stir passions but, on the contrary, to facilitate concentration and insightfulness. They encompass a beauty deeper than the flashy legends: the beauty of clarity, depth and wisdom.

The Buddha himself had, with lucidity, warned about the risk that his teachings could run:

In the future, there will be bhikkh who won't like to listen to the narrative of discourses comprising the words of Tath gata – profound, profound in their meaning, transcendent, pertaining to emptiness. They won't lend ear, won't set their hearts on knowing them, won't regard these teachings as worth understanding or mastering. But they will listen when the discourses that are literary works — the works of poets, elegant in sound, elegant in rhetoric, the work of outsiders, words of disciples — are recited. They will lend ear and set their hearts on knowing them. They will regard these teachings as worth understanding & mastering.

In this way could come about the disappearance of the discourses that are words of the Tath gata — profound, profound in their meaning, transcendent, pertaining to emptiness⁶¹.

Siddhat ha and his legend are contrary to history

Canonical texts abound in signs which could lead to a minimal knowledge regarding the historical Buddha and his environment: in order to satisfy such curiosity, it is necessary and reasonable to separate the wheat (that which could have historical value) from the cha (legendary elements); since the pioneering works by Hermann Oldenberg⁶², further analyzed by Hans Wolfgang Schumann⁶³, this research has proven its aptness.

Moreover, neither Siddhata, nor his princely status or the embellishments that come with it belong to history, because they do not figure in the most ancient texts and because they often even contradict history.

The same goes for the living conditions of the young Gotama, that he himself only briefly refers to and in very measured terms⁶⁴, but which later became an extravagant abundance in the texts that followed; each deviation in vocabulary is worth being highlighted.

To take an example, the Buddha mentions that his family had "three residences: one for the cold season, one for the hot season, one for the rainy season". Apart from the fact that it seems to be a tailored expression to symbolize material comfort⁶⁵, the term used in the ancient texts is p s da, which designates any concrete house built on foundations and accessible by a staircase; a luxury indeed at the Buddha's time, but a relative luxury; this straight forward definition, logically, should correspond to the most opulent houses, centuries before our era, in Kapilavathu, capital of the Saky . However, legendary texts render a very di erent version of this large town at the foothills of the Himalayas:

⁶¹ i-sutia (S/SA II/ 9/7/229).

⁶² Hermann Oldenberg, Buddha : sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde, Verlag Wilhelm Hertz, Berlin, 1881. In French : Le Bouddha : sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté, Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris, 1934.

⁶³ Hans Wolfgang Schumann, Der historische Buddha: Leben und Lehre des Gotama, Diederichs Gelbe Reihe, München, 2004. In French: Le Bouddha historique, Editions Sully, Vannes, 1999.

⁶⁴ Sukhum la-sutra (S/A G III/4/9/39).

⁶⁵ We can, indeed, find this expression used word for word for several other characters, like Kulaputta for example, one of the first lay listeners of the Buddha (Pabbajj -kath , VIN III/1/7) or Anuruddha, nanda's half-brother (Chasakyapabbajj -kath , VIN IV/7/1/330).

This city, unique in the world, scintillating with the splendour of precious stones (...), with its festive arbours, its arched gateways and pinnacles, each dwelling radiant with jewels (...). In the heavens, Indra has lost respect among the people as they see the glories acquired by the Saky (...) At night the moon rays fall on the silver palaces (...), by day the rays of the sun fall upon its golden palaces...⁶⁶

Conclusion

The study of the most ancient canonical texts which are available to us, proves beyond doubt the late (at least half a millennium after the parinibb na of the Buddha), marginal (outside the core of the Canon, concentrated in two Commentaries) and deviant (contrary to the Dhamma) nature of the use of the word Siddhatha as "name of the Buddha".

The presence of the word Siddhatiha atlests, like all the accompanying legendary elements, the existence of the heated battle which took place at the beginning of our era between the original doctrine of the Buddha, advocating ascetism, detachment, extinction of passions, perseverant and neutral teaching of truth and the path, and the inventions, "discoveries" or interpretations of new currents, symbolized by -and based on- the development of an exuberant legend, misappropriating the doctrine and the practice towards an unlimited exaltation of the religion.

There is absolutely no doubt that the ancient traditions lost this battle; the Buddha himself had predicted that the refusal to make e orts, the di culties of going against the current, the pressure of faulty doctrines, the need of more attractive words, the competition with the magnificence of the Indian pantheon, would deviate many an adept and many a renunciant from the Path.

Two millenniums later, Siddhatiha and his legend seems to be unanimously accepted and integrated into "Buddhism", not only by the simplifying and unifying West, but also in Asia, including in regions where the Therav da tradition dominates, not only by a large portion of lay people but also by a number of scholars.

Raising the curtain on Siddhat ha and his legend permits somehow to put up a form of resistance⁶⁷, modestly, refusing to accept the simplifying unicity of "Buddhism", to remind that there exists a very ancient tradition -undoubtedly closest to the teachings of the Buddha- and to invite one to discover his texts; in a word to move away from the legend in order to rediscover the Dhamma.

⁶⁶ Buddhacarita d'A vagho a (I/3 sq.).

⁶⁷ This stream of resistance exists in the West, initially represented by several German personalities, scholars such as Hermann Oldenberg (1854-1920) or monks ordained in Ceylon, like Nyanatiloka Mah thera (Anton Gueth, 1868-1957) and Nyanaponika Mah thera (Sigmund Feniger, 1901-1994), cofounder of the valuable Buddhist Publica*ti*on Society.

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