


Article

Did the Buddha Teach to Be Called ‘Buddha’?—Focusing on the Meaning of *Brāhmaṇa* and How Buddhist Authors (re)Formulated His Words to Praise Him—

Efraín Villamor Herrero 

Foreign Languages, Teikyō University, Tokyo 192-0395, Japan; evillamor@usal.es

Abstract: The attainment of enlightenment by Gautama Buddha is the very beginning of Buddhism as a religious phenomenon. Because of his attainment of enlightenment, he has been remembered as Buddha for centuries, even though it is uncertain whether *buddha* was the preferred title to remember him by from the earliest times. Previous scholarship has demonstrated that the term *buddha* was a common noun in the Indian religious context, and it was also employed to refer to his higher disciples. The verses of the *Suttanipāta* represent a complex corpus rich in many fundamental concepts common to Jain religious thought. Many epithets were introduced by Buddhists to praise their monastic founder as Jains do. Among them, *buddha* does not seem to be the preferred one among them. Contrarily, by redefining *brāhmaṇa*, Buddhists participate in the ascetic discourse of praising their master as the one who deserves to be regarded as that ideal. This paper argues that Buddhists advocated their master as a *brāhmaṇa*, a title that is not only consistent with the teachings of Jains but also one that may have preceded the popularity of Buddha as his most memorable title.

Keywords: *brāhmaṇa*; buddha; Aṭṭhakavagga; Brāhmaṇavagga; Uttarajjhāyā



Citation: Herrero, Efraín Villamor. 2024. Did the Buddha Teach to Be Called ‘Buddha’?—Focusing on the Meaning of *Brāhmaṇa* and How Buddhist Authors (re)Formulated His Words to Praise Him—. *Religions* 15: 1315. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15111315>

Academic Editors: Soon-Il Hwang and Jaehee Han

Received: 18 September 2024

Revised: 12 October 2024

Accepted: 15 October 2024

Published: 28 October 2024



Copyright: © 2024 by the author. Licensee MDPI, Basel, Switzerland. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

1. Introduction

For centuries, Buddhists have accepted without question that the founder of their doctrine was always known as the Buddha. However, it is not that evident whether the Buddha was referred to as ‘buddha’ or whether he used that term to teach the path to enlightenment. These assumptions were probably too basic to be considered in previous studies. However, the issue of why Buddhist followers did not preserve such an important term in certain passages where *brāhmaṇa* is described as the ascetic ideal requires further scholarly attention. The similarities¹ between early Jain scriptures and *Dhammapada* (Dhp) and *Sutta-nipāta* (Sn) have been noted by previous scholars (Watanabe 2006, 2015). As in the Sn and the Dhp, a similar formulation for redefining a ‘true Brahmin’² appears in the Jain text of *Uttarajjhāyā* (Utt) as ‘him we call a Brahmin’ (*taṃ vāyaṃ bṛma māhaṇaṃ*³) (Utt XXV.20–29). This parallelism has been mentioned before (Flügel and Qvarnström 2015, p. 12; McGovern 2019, p. 210; Norman and Yamazaki 2000, p. 31). However, previous scholarship did not analyze these allusions in detail⁴. Therefore, in this study⁵, we will examine the references to *brāhmaṇa*⁶ in the Sn and explore the similarities⁷ of its definitions with Jain thought⁸ of the Utt. First, we will reconsider the term ‘buddha’ to refer to the founder of Buddhism.

2. The Religious Context Around the Term ‘Buddha’

The term *buddha* was commonly accepted in ancient India, not just within Buddhism⁹, to refer to those who had attained liberation from rebirth. From the time of the Early Upanisads¹⁰, the epiphany of awakening was described as ‘awakening from dreaming’. In BĀU IV 4.13, the term *pratibuddha*¹¹ is introduced in a similar manner to point to an individual who has attained a state of awakening. There is a consensus among scholars that the term ‘buddha’ was not exclusive to Buddhism. Indeed, it was also common among

Jains and Vedic Brahmins to describe someone who had realized the ultimate truth. Thus, we can assume that the term *buddha* was not exclusive to Buddhism since it was widely used among the followers of other religious movements in ancient India. Hence, it is conceivable as a historical fact that ‘buddha’ was a common adjective in the philosophical and religious context of ancient India even before the Buddha’s time. It is noteworthy, however, that the *Atthakavagga*¹² (Av) (considered one important part of the oldest strata¹³ of Buddhist scriptures¹⁴) uses only one instance (Sn 957) of this term to refer to the Buddha.

‘To the Buddha, unattached, impartial, not a schemer, one who has come as leader of a group, I have come in need with a question on behalf of the many here who are bound’ (Bodhi 2017, p. 369) *Tam Buddham, asitam, tādīm, akuhañ, gaṇīm āgatam, bahunnam idha baddhānam, atthi pañhena āgamim.* (Sn 957)

There is no indication that the Buddha himself coined this term in the passage. There is no further evidence in the Av that the founder of Buddhism was addressed or referred to by this title. It is important to note that this term is used to commend him in these verses and their exegetical explanation¹⁵. The term *buddha*¹⁶ is used in several compounds of the Sn as a common noun to refer to his disciples, too¹⁷, and in several other passages where *buddha* is introduced to describe them in the plural¹⁸. Therefore, it is difficult to believe that, at his time, he was regarded exclusively as *the* Buddha. In this regard, I believe that this passage (Sn 957) must have been added later, after *buddha* became recognizable as his most iconic title. I follow the evidence found by Namikawa (2006), which is convincing enough to consider it to be historical. If there is still a skeptical reader who does not agree with my point, he/she should try to explain how, in the context of Gautama’s time (when his disciples were also called by the term *buddha* and many other former Buddhas were known), one could have determined who the individual referred to in the singular as Buddha in Sn 957 is. It is commonly believed that at a certain point, after the spread of Buddhism, the Buddha began to be referred to by his family name¹⁹, as Gotama Buddha (Yamazaki 2010, p. 109). However, despite his frequent identification in many dialogues as ‘samaṇa Gotama’ or being called by his contemporaries as ‘bho Gotama’²⁰ and by his followers as ‘bhavaṃ Gotama’²¹, references to him by his family name as Gotama Buddha surprisingly are sparse in the Canon²². This absence can be attributed to the success of the campaign to remember him solely as the Buddha. After his lifetime, his popularity made it possible to refer to him simply as Buddha, which became his most iconic title. However, it is difficult to assert that *buddha* was the most used term to refer to him in early Buddhist scriptures, even if we disregard the possibility of the KN antiquity²³. Given that in other supposedly later chapters of the Sn there are verses which recall how Buddhists explained what was meant by ‘Buddha’ in other religions (Sn 517), we must consider that for a certain period this term seems to have been subject to interpretation and clarification within the Buddhist community, suggesting that it may not have been regarded as the most natural title for the Buddha from the earliest period. If not, and we assume that this is a reference to the historical Buddha, why did Buddhists use the expression ‘they call’ (*āhu*)? We can see here how many epithets were introduced by his followers with the aim of worshipping the Buddha from the religious context they knew. In fact, the common ascetic religious background is plausible in the use of the expression ‘they say’ (*tam āhu*)²⁴. The interpretations of several key philosophical terms are explained using the passive verb form of *pavuccati*. These terms appear to be defined in this way from the accepted interpretations, probably among ascetic religious traditions (*tanhā* Sn 436, *bhīru* Sn 437, *buddho* Sn 513, *nāgo* Sn 518, *muni* Sn 523), and the expression *tādi pavuccate* (*samaṇo* Sn 520, *nāgo* Sn 522, *khettajino* Sn 524, *kusalo* Sn 525, *paṇḍīto* Sn 526, *anuvīdita* Sn 530, *dhīro* Sn 531, *ājāniyo* Sn 532). The presence of the term ‘buddha’ (Sn 513) among the titles adopted by Buddhists, presumably from other ascetic traditions, is quite remarkable. This explanation of *buddha* must have preceded the nominalization of the term as the founder of Buddhism. In contrast, many passages of the Sn tend to refer to someone who has achieved the highest religious goal as a *brāhmaṇa*. The following section will examine the Av’s teachings on the definition of *brāhmaṇa*.

3. The Definitions of *Brāhmaṇa* in the Av

Historical evidence suggests that during the time of the Buddha, the region designated as Greater Magadha (Bronkhorst 2007) was not under Brahminical dominion²⁵. The classical dichotomy²⁶ between Brahmanism and Buddhism did not exist at the time of the Buddha (McGovern 2019, pp. 69–70; Walser 2018). During his lifetime, the Buddha had interactions with many Brahmins, as evidenced by the numerous dialogues recorded in the Pāli Canon. Their encounters with the Buddha are usually narrated as the turning point of their conversion to Buddhism. These passages depict a myriad of astonishingly heterogeneous thoughts because of these dialogues. The religious goal of Buddhism in the Av is presented by many terminologies²⁷ related to Brahmanism²⁸. It is worth noting, for example, that many verses in the Sn refer to the Buddha as a ‘Veda-master’ (*vedagū*)²⁹ and as someone who is versed in the ‘end of the Vedas’ (*vedantagū*)³⁰. The Av depicts the Buddhist religious ideal figure as a *brāhmaṇa*. In the Av³¹, the term is introduced to refer to (1) one who has virtuous conduct (*sīla*) (Sn 790, 803), (2) one who has overcome passion (*raga*) (Sn 795), (3) one who does not cling to any views (Sn 802, 907, 911) (Bodhi 2017, p. 50), and (4) one who does not deviate from the truth (*sacca*), a sage (*muni*)³² who stands on high ground (Sn 946) (Norman 2001, p. 123). The definition of the Buddhist religious ideal as *brāhmaṇa* in Sn 843 is presented as one who does not compare himself in any way (Sn 842).

That the Buddha taught differently according to the background of his listeners is an accepted theory of his ‘skill in means’³³. It would not be inaccurate to suggest that this formula may have somehow begun in some of the Buddha’s sermons, as it was quite common for him to reinterpret many terms as metaphors³⁴. In this sense, scholars have understood and translated this term as a metaphor to distinguish Buddhism from the Brahminical context³⁵. However, there was no such antagonism³⁶ between Buddhists and Brahmins in the Buddha’s time³⁷. The Av uses the term *brāhmaṇa*, the honorific used by Jains and Buddhists in earlier traditions to refer to the founders of their monastic orders, as was the case with *muni* or *bhikkhu* (McGovern 2019, pp. 98, 171). Therefore, it is fair to say that these terms were not exclusive to the Buddha and that Jains and Buddhist thought were under constant mutual influence. The hagiographic image and discourse advocating his figure as the Buddha was probably one of the key factors contributing to the spread of his popularity as ‘the Buddha’.

The Buddhist tradition transmitted the definitions of *brāhmaṇa* in the Sn as the Buddha’s own words, although it is not difficult to observe that he is at the same time praised by many of his own alleged definitions. The Buddha did not place much value on distancing himself from his disciples. However, his followers used various portrayals and titles³⁸ to elevate him and maintain their monastic existence. The figure of the Buddha was mythicized through many appellatives³⁹. Buddhists honored him by constructing a plethora of rhetorical frameworks, in which the attribution of epithets⁴⁰ was a crucial activity (Long and Sarao (2017, pp. 274–75). Among the various terms used to honor and praise him, *brāhmaṇa* was also used in early Jain scriptures to indicate their common concept as referent. McGovern (2019) suggests that early Buddhists and Jains attempted to be perceived as the authentic Brahmins, for whom they reclaimed this concept as their religious (social) identity⁴¹. McGovern (2019, p. 219) presents a compelling analysis of the articulation of Brahminhood among Indian religions and points out how Buddhists and Jains reinvent the meaning of this key term from the Brahminical context (Ibid., p. 52). However, while I do not disagree with the arguments he presents, I suggest in this paper that the Utt and Sn traditions not only reveal the efforts and sophistication of Jains and Buddhists in legitimizing their religious identity as Brahmins but also that the advocacy of the title *brāhmaṇa* by Buddhists could have preceded the nominalization of Buddha as a proper name to refer to Gautama.

4. The ‘True Brahmin’ for Jains

This section will discuss the terminology and concepts⁴² of *Uttarajjhāyā sūtra* (Utt)⁴³, focusing on the definitions of a ‘true Brahmin’ in the twenty-fifth chapter of the Utt, which have a remarkable amount of thought in common with the Sn.

The chapter on sacrifice (Jannaijja) (Utt XXV) explains the meeting of two men referred to as Brahmins: Jayaghosa, born into a Brahmin family, who was famous for performing the Vedic sacrificial ritual known as *yama*, and Vijayaghosa, a Brāhmaṇa who was versed in the Vedas. Vijayaghosa refused to give alms to Jayaghosa (Utt XXV.8). He calls Jayaghosa a beggar (*bho bhikkhū*) (Utt XXV.8). Moreover, the author of the Utt praises this Brahmin wanderer, Jayaghosa, as a great sage who ‘walk the right path’, clearly an allusion to the practice of Jainism (*maggaḡāmī mahāmunī* Utt XXV.2). His refusal to provide alms led to a dialectical confrontation between them that attracted the interest of the people around them. The Utt relate that people gathered around them and asked Jayaghosa to teach them the best of the Dharmas (*būhi dhammāṇa vā muham*) (Utt XXV.14). Then, the discussion of who was a ‘true Brahmin’ from the Jains perspective, began. As noted in [Kawasaki and Fujinaga \(2022, p. 8\)](#), Jains claim this concept to praise the founder of Jainism, Mahāvīra (*kāsavo*), their ideal Brahmin: ‘the most sacred figure for them above all dharmas’ (*dhammāṇa kāsavo muham* Utt XXV.16)⁴⁴. The discursive voice differs from the formula in the Sn only in that Jains defined their interpretation of a true Brahmin using the plural of the first person⁴⁵.

The arguments expounded began with the statement that one can have excellent Brāhmanical knowledge (*vijjāmāhana*), but without reflection and penance (*gūdhā sajjhāyatavasā*), they are like fire covered with ashes (*bhāsacchannā ivaggīno*) (Utt XXV.18)⁴⁶. The next statement claims that a true Brahmin is one who acts according to the ethical values of the Dharma⁴⁷.

‘The one who is revered in the world, like fire, as Brahmin (*bambhaṇo*)⁴⁸, that one will I now describe, the one whom the wise value, we call him a [a true] Brahmin (*māhana*)’.

jo loe bambhaṇo vutto | aggīva mahio jahā/sayā kusalasamdittham | tam vayam būma māhanam. (Utt XXV.19)

After this explanation, it is stated that according to Jainism, a genuine Brahmin is someone who, after leaving behind their previous life, roams without any remorse or attachment (Utt XXV.20), teachings that remind the verses of Sn 631 and 639. In Utt XXV.21, it is asserted that ‘being purified (as gold is by fire)’ (*niddhanta*) from attachment (*rāga*), anger (*dosa*), and fear is of great importance. This assertion bears a resemblance to the teachings found in Sn 631, which use the very same terms *rāga* and *dosa*, and verses that advise against acting upon sensual pleasures (*kāmābha*) (Sn 639) or the existence of desire (*tanhābhava*) (Sn 640). Furthermore, Jains designate an ascetic who has achieved mastery of austerities, has become emaciated with bones and flesh, and has attained *nirvāṇa* (*nivvāṇa*) as a true Brahmin (Utt XXV.22). The term *kisa* (in Sanskrit *kr̥ṣā*), used to describe such an ascetic in the Utt, can also be found in Sn 165 and Dh 395, where the Buddhist discursive intention to praise the Buddha is evident. The similar expressions here refer to the sage (*muni*) Gotama (Sn 165) as the most sacred figure, the representative religious ideal for Buddhists, who for them deserved to be regarded as a true Brahmin (*brāhmaṇa*) (Dh 395). Furthermore, the past participle form (*patta*) of the verb *pāpunāti* provides additional evidence that the individuals responsible for preserving Buddhist verses also structured their ideal of a ‘true Brahmin’ similarly to the Jains (*pattanivvāṇam* Utt XXV.22). It is apparently implausible that the ideal figure of a ‘true Brahmin’ for Buddhists was anything other than the Buddha himself. This can be seen in other passages of early Buddhist scriptures, which provide evidence that Buddhists worshiped the Buddha in the same sense that Jains did construct their concept of the ideal Brahmin, for example, in the description of one who has attained the destruction of birth (*jātikkhayam patto*)⁴⁹ serves to define the Buddhist ideal of *brāhmaṇa* (Sn 647, Dh 423).

The notion outlined in (Utt XXV.23) of one who does not harm any kind of creature in the three ways (by thoughts, words, and actions) (*jo na himṣai tivoiheṇa*) as a defining characteristic of what Jains regarded as a true Brahmin is consistent with the teachings of (Sn 629–632)⁵⁰. Buddhists express their interpretation of their ideal through the term *brāhmaṇa*, and noble (*ariya*) to one who practices the principle of non-violence (*ahimsā*) toward any living being (*sabbapānānam*) (Dhp 270). In addition, following this argument logically, those who cause harm to living beings (*pāṇāṇi himṣati*) were regarded, again metaphorically, as the true underclass (*vasalo*) (Sn 117). The ascetic traditions based on mutual ethical values retold the social stigma established by Vedic Brahmins. The next section (Utt XXV.24) admonishes not to speak untruth (*musa*) about any matter, of which anger (*kohā*)⁵¹ is clearly the aspect most often mentioned by Buddhists⁵², who also state that one who speaks untruth or behaves with anger (Sn 116), whatever the reason, should also be considered an outcast (*vasalo*) (Sn 122)⁵³. In contrast, the reference icon for Buddhists was, of course, the Buddha himself. In the Sn 650, the very same message that a true sage (*muni*) is unafraid without anger (Sn 850, 941) are words used to define the supreme person, as the narratives explain, as the definitions of the Buddha⁵⁴. Here, we can see that Buddhists, as in the Jain context, sought to praise the Buddha by reformulating terms as his own words. The presentation of their teachings, with the intention of lauding their religious prototype, the founder of their religious traditions, by redefining who a true Brahmin really was, had more resonance.

Again, the Jains' and Buddhists' definition of a 'true Brahmin' is based on not taking anything that is not directly given to be received (*adatta* Utt XXV.25; *adinna* Sn 633). The following depiction of a genuine Brahmin is one of the essential vows of Jain ascetics, which requires complete abstinence from carnal contact (*mehunam*) (Utt XXV.26)⁵⁵. As noted by previous scholars, the classic metaphor of 'not being attached by water' (*novalippai vāriṇā*) (Utt XXV.27) defines a true noble one as someone who is not attached to sensual pleasures. This metaphor not only refers to the ideal ascetic, who is again defined as a Brahmin by Jains⁵⁶, but to what is implied by the ideal *brāhmaṇa* among Buddhists. Buddhists defined a genuine Brahmin as one who has conquered their desires (*tanha*) and destroyed their desirous existence (*tanhābhavaparikkhīnam*) (Sn 640). This concept is in line with Jain texts that also recognize the subjugation of desire, coupled with the three toxins of attachment (*rāga*), anger (*dosa*), and delusion, as the primary reasons for misery resulting in (re)birth and death (Utt XXII.6–9). The affinities between these verses of the Sn and the Utt can also be seen in the recommendation to free oneself from all kinds of bondage (*sabbayogav-isamyuttam*) (Sn 641)⁵⁷.

Needless to say, renunciation of sensual pleasures (*kāme pahatvāna*) and wondering homelessly (*anāgāra*) (Sn 639) were fundamental aspects held by both Jains and Buddhists. Remarkably, in Jainism, the avoidance of sensual pleasures (*pahāya kāme*) is also a prerequisite for spiritual attainment (Utt IV.10). Renunciation of domestic life (*anāgāra*) and all pleasure (*bhoga*) is also found in the Jain version of the redefinition of a true Brahmin (*māhaṇa*) (Utt XXV.28)⁵⁸, which is not linked to Vedic rituals, such as animal sacrifice, aspects of the Vedic traditions that are clearly discouraged (Utt XXV.30).

'One who lives undisturbed by longing or desire, without attachment, without house, without possessions, and free from clinging among householders, we call him a great Brahmin' *aloluyam muhājīvim | anāgāram akimcanam/asamsattam gihatthesu | tam vayam būma māhaṇam*. (Utt XXV.28)

As we can see, their definition of someone authentically y holy is determined by the ethics shared between these ascetic traditions. Precisely after the passages in Utt XXV.20–29, when it was defined what Jains meant to be an authentic Brahmin, in Utt XXV.30–33⁵⁹, we can notice the cultural substrate⁶⁰ of Greater Magadha (Bronkhorst 2007) under the importance of karma instead of birth, as the central point definer of one's social status. The basic pragmatic view of the ascetic traditions is stated in the thirty-third verse of Utt XXV.

‘It is through one’s karma that one becomes a *brāhmaṇa*. It is through one’s karma that one becomes a *ksatriya*. It is through one’s karma that one becomes a *vaiśya*. It is through one’s karma that one becomes a *śudra*’ *kammunā bambhaṇo hoi | kammunā hoi khattio/vaiso kammunā hoi | suddo havai kammunā*. (Utt XXV.33)

These lines leave us the message implicit in Dhṛ 393, Sn 136, 142, 650 when the image of Vedic Brahmins is used to state that depending on his karma, anyone, even Brahmins, can be impure⁶¹. Based on the teachings of the Buddha⁶², who completely rejected any type of discrimination (probably since it was not precisely uncommon at his time too), in other passages, the definition of *brāhmaṇa* is consistently redefined as someone who tries to uphold Buddhist morality (Sn 136, 142, 650). The verses of Sn 649–650 explain how Buddhists emphasize high morality, that is, good *kamma* (Sn 625, Dhṛ 401) (Yamazaki 2010, pp. 68–69), in order to be considered a ‘true Brahmin’, as opposed to someone who is only noble by birth⁶³.

Jains recall that these pragmatic teachings were taught by the ‘Buddha’, here, a term used to honor, presumably, their mentor: Mahāvīra (Utt XXV.34). In the same line of this Jain text, he was treated as the authentic iconic figure, which for them was the representation of whom they defined as a true Brahmin. Their religious ideal was defined by pointing to one who has practiced the ‘true bath ritual’ (*śināya*), another metaphor for one who has purified all his karma. This argument, along with the teaching of one who has completed his training and purified himself through the ‘bath’ (*nahātaka*) of action, can also be seen in Sn 646. Here, *brāhmaṇa* was equivalent to *buddha* and was also described within the concept of hero (*vīram*). The definitions of *brāhmaṇa* in Sn 642 and Sn 646 are in clear agreement with the Jain views, which define them as those who have conquered all kinds of bondage (*sāvajjajoga*) (Utt IXXX.200.13). Finally, the colophon of this dialectical encounter ends with the conclusion of his reference to Jayaghosa as a higher mendicant (*bhikkhu uttamā*) (Utt XXV.39), the knower of the authentic knowledge, the true ‘Veda’ (*veyaviūviū*) of the ascetic traditions: the Dhamma (Utt XXV.38), as a connection with the Truth, which is a discursive source for them to extol the teachings of the supreme Brahmin, the founder of Jainism: Mahāvīra. The dialogue is used, as Buddhists did, to laud his teachings as (in harmony with) the Dharma and to portray the necessity of abandoning worldly life and becoming a homeless beggar (*anaḡārassa nikkhanto*), refusing all enjoyment (*bhogesu*) in order to transcend the *samsāra* (Utt XXV.41, 44)⁶⁴.

In the Utt, the redefinition of their term for Brahmin (*māhana*) is used to glorify their master, Mahāvīra, as the ‘true Brahmin’. Various concepts and terms in this text coincide with the interpretation of Buddhists in the Sn. The Buddha’s encounter with Sundarika, from the Bhāradvājas family of Brahmins, is a clear example of a redefinition of who deserves to be worshiped as the ideal *brāhmaṇa* (Sn 463–466). Subsequent passages discuss that the ‘Tathāgata’ is ‘worthy of the sacrificial cake’ (Bodhi 2017, p. 270) (Sn 467–478), embodying the concern of Buddhist authors for the continuation of the *saṅgha*. In Sn 469, the term *brāhmaṇa* is used as an equivalent for Tathāgata, which supports my thesis that Buddhists introduced this term to praise the Buddha, not just as an abstract ideal, since for them, the ideal figure was always represented by the Buddha. Many verses in the Canon demonstrate this initiative with the refrain ‘I call him a Brahmin’ (*tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇam*)⁶⁵, composed in the singular in the first person to appear as direct words of the Buddha⁶⁶.

5. The Buddhists’ Claim of *Brāhmaṇa*

Outside of the Av, the formula already mentioned is introduced after explaining who is not a Brahmin (*na brāhmaṇo*)⁶⁷ (Sn 611–619)⁶⁸. The allusions to this formula in the Sn are very diverse. However, it seems to be fair to say that most of them are related to the ideal characteristics that defined it, in the Utt, which seem to be teachings shared by ascetic religious traditions. The passages of the Sn ascribe to one what the Buddha defined as a *brāhmaṇa*, which refers to the ascetic austerity of not possessing anything (*ākiṇcañña*) (Sn 620, Dhṛ 396, 421). This practice of possessing nothing, common to both Jains and Buddhists⁶⁹,

is referred to in many verses of the Sn (Sn 976, 1070–1072, 1091) and Dhp (Dhp 88, 200, 221). Moreover, it is associated with the idyllic image of a ‘true Brahmin’ (Sn 1115) compared to the ‘island of nirvana’ (Sn 1094). Furthermore, the lines of Sn 1063 show how this concept is used in conjunction to praise the Buddha as the ‘(true) Brahmin who possesses nothing’ (*akiñcanam, brāhmaṇam*)⁷⁰. Moreover, the emphasis on defining their religious ideal as the ‘true Brahmin’ without possessions (*akiñcana*) (Sn 645), along with being homeless, is also explained by Jains *anaḡāram, akimcanam* (Utt II.14), to propagate the ascetic antithesis by referring to as ‘brahmin’ those whom they consider deserving, being regarded as holy.

The following lines in the Sn describe to *brāhmaṇa* someone who is free from detachment (Sn 621, 626), who reacts with patience as their virtue (Sn 623), one who acts without anger (*kodha*) (Sn 624), and one who does not cling to sensual pleasures (Sn 624). Jains and Buddhists used the very same concepts and wording. In the same manner, for Buddhists, *brāhmaṇa* was employed for referring to one who has reached the supreme goal (Sn 627)⁷¹, who wanders and who has renounced his home (Sn 628)⁷²; someone who does not kill (*hanti*) or provoke to kill (*ghātetī*) with special stress on remaining away from punishing others (*nīdhāya dandaṃ*) (Sn 629)⁷³ and hostility (*viruddha*) (Sn 630); one from whom lust (*rāgo*) and hatred (*doso*) have fallen (Sn 631)⁷⁴; one who does not hurt anyone by using rough words (Sn 632)⁷⁵. It is specified that a true Brahmin is one who does not accept anything not given (*adinnaṃ*) (Sn 633), highlighting the context of ethical or moral discussions in Buddhist teachings, where actions, thoughts, or qualities are categorized as either wholesome or unwholesome (*subhāsubham*) based on their ethical nature, which is a concept also discussed in Jainism⁷⁶. The formula of who deserves to be regarded as a *brāhmaṇa*, an ascetic without desire (*nirāsayaṃ*) (Sn 634), was a common concern argued largely by Buddhists and Jains⁷⁷. Also, the formula was introduced for pointing to one who has reached (*anuppattam*) the highest gain (*uttamattham*)⁷⁸ (Sn 635), ideas discussed with the very same terms by Jains. The next Buddhist definition of a ‘true Brahmin’ describes one immersed (*ogadha*) in deathlessness (*amata*) (Sn 635), in whom there are no attachments, who is pure (*suddha*)⁷⁹ and free from defilement (*viraja*) (Sn 636). For someone who, like the moon (*canda*)⁸⁰, is stainless (*vimala*)⁸¹, pure, clear, and limpid (Sn 637), and one who has crossed the sea of rebirth (*tiṇṇo pāragato*) (Sn 638)⁸². Buddhists consider the Buddha himself as their most iconic reference and, therefore, the true Brahmin. In Sn 643, the enlightened one (Buddha) is described as the ‘true Brahmin’ (*brāhmaṇa*). This description is consistent with the following Jain lines, which refer to the omniscience (*savvaṇṇū*) of the conquerors (*jine*) who have already awakened (*sambuddha*).

‘Thus, an arahant [is known] by the name of ‘Supreme Conqueror’, a guide for the world, a supreme fully enlightened one, omniscient; the founder of Dhamma’

jine pāsi tti nāmena | arahā logapūio/sambuddhappā ya savvaṇṇū | dhammatitthayare jine. (Utt XXIII.1)

The passage of the Sn 644 explains *brāhmaṇa* in a very similar way, as someone who deserves donations (*arahanta*)⁸³, one whose goal transcends the realms of gods, *gandharvas*, and men (*devā gandhabbamānūsā*). This idea finds its antecedent in the Jain explanation that the glory (*pāliya*) of the awakened (*sambuddhā*) prevails (*mahajjuī*) in the five (*pañca*) directions (*vayāim*) in a celestial body (*caittu deham*), free from (*malapamka*) impurities (*puvvaṃyam*), [whether] attained (*siddhe*) or yet to be attained (*sāsae*). The unpredictability of where Buddha’s go is described with the same references to that place not belonging to any realm among gods (*deva*), *gandharvas* (*gandhavva*), or humans (*maṇussa*) (Utt I.46–48).

The actual form of the Pāli Canon that we know today is a network of several different teachings that have been rearranged over time. These texts collected many different views, including those regarding the Buddha’s Brahminical status. While the Buddha himself seems to have insisted that he was not born into a Brahmin family (Sn 455, 457), there are passages in which the Buddha is said to have considered himself a Brahmin (SN 10.8, AN 3.35 and AN 8.85), and also other texts in which he is called a Brahmin by others (SN 1.1, SN 2.18, SN 7.8, SN 7.9, Sn 2.12) (Ellis 2021, p. 43). In this regard, it is noteworthy that

despite the scarce presence of the term *buddha* in the Av, many verses in the Sn equate the concept of an awakening one with the term *brāhmaṇa*, in the same manner as the Jains did to praise the founder of their religion.

6. Praising the Buddha as *Brāhmaṇa*

In the final verses of the *Vāsetṭha-sutta* (Sn 655–656), the catechetical way of introducing the ethical Buddhist teachings to attain ‘supreme Brahminhood’ can be noted⁸⁴. The commentary on the last verse of this chapter explains the gnostic statement presented in Sn 656, which cites the most popular Vedic gods. It is likely that Buddhist authors made these statements to legitimize the uniqueness that they wished to ascribe to the figure of the Buddha⁸⁵. In fact, there are several passages in the third chapter of the Sn where *brāhmaṇa* is directly employed to express the singularity of the term *buddha*⁸⁶, as the very definition, in the singular, which is also stated as his own words (Sn 622, 643, 646)⁸⁷. These passages⁸⁸, some of the counterpart verses of the *Brāhmaṇavagga* (Dhp 383–423)⁸⁹, tend to directly express the goal of Buddhist practice with the title *buddha*⁹⁰, lines that also included the classical formula of *aham brūmi brāhmaṇam*. It is worth considering that these verses might be a previous step toward his mythification as the Buddha.

‘The one awakened, having cut off strap and thong, the cord together with the bridle, having lifted the crossbar: **that one I proclaim a brahmin’** (Feldmeier 2013, p. 151) *chetvā nandhim varattañ ca sandānam sahanukkamam ukkhittapaligham buddham tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam*. (Dhp 398/Sn 622)

‘The one who has realized the dissipation and arising of beings, who is unattached, well-gone, awakened: that one I proclaim a brahmin’ (Feldmeier 2013, p. 154) *cutim yo vedi sattānam upapattiñ ca sabbaso, asattam sugatam buddham tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam*. (Dhp 419/Sn 643)

‘The excellent one who is a bull, a hero, a great sage, a conqueror, free of craving, the one who has taken the (ritual) bath, who is now awake: that one I proclaim a brahmin’ (Feldmeier 2013, p. 169) *usabham pavaram vīram mahesim vijitāvinam anejam nhātakam buddham tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam*. (Dhp 422/Sn 646)

In contrast with this usage, in other verses of the Sn, *brāhmaṇa* was associated with the term *buddha*, not as a common noun, but as the very significant title for their master. In the third chapter of the Sn, we find the first mention in the Sn of the Buddha affirming to a (Vedic) Brahmin (Sn 558) that he is *the Buddha*⁹¹. However, like many others, these lines do not seem to be a direct quotation from the Buddha himself since they are presented in an inspirational way to fascinate the audience. The similarity of these lines to the *Brahmāyusutta* (MN 91) is quite striking. The successive verses of MN 91 are parallel to those of Sn 647 (also found in SN 1.1-8-5) and Dhp 423.

Buddhists recall and praise their master as Jains by exploring the use of polyonymies. Exclusive titles were added later to distinguish the Buddha from his disciples⁹². However, as historically recorded in Buddhist traditions, among the many epithets shared by Buddhists and Jains, *buddha* was the one that later became the preferred one⁹³ to refer specifically and properly to the founder of Buddhism (Long and Sarao (2017, pp. 273–74). The spread of Buddhist narratives succeeded in the mythification of the Buddha. Since he was considered to be unique, the term *buddha* has been used by Buddhist writers in reference to his uniqueness (Namikawa 2006, p. 51). It is certain that several accounts of the Sn indicate the necessity of presenting the term *buddha* as his most representative appellative, which seems to be part of the establishment of it as the most appropriate title to praise him.

‘You are the Buddha, you are the Teacher, you are the *muni*, the conqueror of Māra. Having cut off the latent tendencies, crossed over, you lead this population across’ (Bodhi 2017, p. 286–87) *tuvaṃ Buddho*⁹⁴, *tuvaṃ Satthā, tuvaṃ Mārābhū muni, tuvaṃ anusaye chetvā tinṇo tāres’ imam pajam*. (Sn 545, 571, Th 839) (Namikawa 2017, p. 17)

‘For you know the course and destination of the world together with its devas. There is none equal to you, one who shows the subtle meaning, for they say **you are the excellent Buddha**’ (Bodhi 2017, p. 254) *tuvam hi lokassa sadevakassa gatim pajānāsi parāyanañ ca: na t’ atthi tulyo nipunatthadassī, tuvam hi Buddhāṃ pavaram vadanti.* (Sn 377)

His image already flourished as the Buddha can be seen in many verses in the Sn⁹⁵, probably of later occurrence. It is quite interesting to observe how Buddhist authors used many of these lines to inspire⁹⁶ narratively their audience. The register of their descriptions was more inductive than epigraphic. The discursive intention to convince potential listeners of the Buddha’s ability to convert Brahmins is not contradictory to the possibility that Buddhist Brahmins provided the Vedic background terms. As a matter of fact, we know that many Brahmins were converted to Buddhism. A significant portion of the motifs we have in the Canon are the result of the Buddha’s reinterpretation of Vedic concepts (Bronkhorst 2012; Gombrich 2006, p. 42; 2018, pp. 60, 88, 193; Jurewicz 2000; Shults 2014), but also of the consensus among converted Brahmins (Bronkhorst 2011) to interpret his teachings in the light of Brahmanism⁹⁷.

It is possible that some of the inconsistencies in the analyzed passages could be accidental. The Buddhists, on the other hand, needed to distinguish themselves from the Vedic and other religious groups who claimed to be Brahmins. However, as this work demonstrates, there is a consistent portrayal of *brāhmaṇa* for praising their religious ideal, the Buddha himself, within the frameworks and paradigms Jains used to praise their founder. If we consider that this was preserved in the Buddhist tradition of the Canon after many councils, and if we take seriously the number of paradigms from Brahminical thought that have been accepted by Buddhists for centuries as *Buddhavacana*, we are faced with a new problem: that the significance of the impact of Brahmanism on the transmission of Buddhism may date from earlier than we had expected.

7. Conclusions

Did the Buddha teach to be called *buddha*? He probably did not. The concept of awakening expressed by the term ‘*buddha*’ was quite common in his time. However, as this paper has shown, this designation was not always used as the most prestigious title for worshipping Śākyamuni. The scarce allusion to this term in the *Av*, and the prolific expansion of the claim to the ascetic ideal as *brāhmaṇa* referred to throughout the Sn, lead us to reconsider that the influence of Brahmanism in the transmission of Buddhism cannot be entirely attributed to later development. We have ample evidence of how Buddhist Brahmins interpreted the teachings of the Buddha upon Vedic and Upaniṣadic ideas, principally to praise the Buddha in a similar manner in the Nikāyas, as the(ir) true Brahmin: the very knower of Brāhman/Brahmā (Villamor 2024c). This suggests an earlier interaction between Buddhist and Brahminical traditions, which I believe must have resulted from the very contact of these ideas in the minds of converted Brahmins.

Jains and Buddhists shared many terms, including common doctrines and terms consistent with their ideal as expressed by their concept of *brāhmaṇa*, which they redefined in the singular. They did not worship the same figure or just a conceptualization of their religious practice. They worshiped their founders as true saints. Their catechetical references as *brāhmaṇa*, analyzed in this paper, show how they reinterpret the meaning of this Brahminical term for this purpose. Their use of this category to worship the remembered figure of their religious founders is consistent with the understanding of this term as a noble category, as affirmed by Vedic Brahmins. Nevertheless, their explorations have been introduced to accurately portray the uniqueness of their masters.

As analyzed in this article, the definitions of the archetype of *brāhmaṇa* in the Sn share key concepts and terminology with the Jain scripture of the Utt. This common understanding of the values they ascribed to praise their masters makes up the main body of the ethical structure between these ascetic traditions. On the other hand, the Jains and the Buddhists differed in their attribution of the definition of *brāhmaṇa*. The Buddhists attributed it to the

Buddha's own words, possibly because they believed it to be an infallible way to place their praise in the Buddha's preferred mode of teaching. In terms of narrative, they made every effort to ensure that his myth was memorable. This effort led to centuries of recognition. The development of Buddhism, as reflected in the many layers that formed the preserved composition of the Canon, reveals a complex interaction with Brahminical motifs. If 'brāhmaṇa' emerged as a term to refer to the Buddha, then the conceptual associations must have been established by Brahminical followers. However, it is less clear when 'buddha' became the preferred title for praising him; it is likely that it was not from the beginning regarded as the most representative epithet for honoring his figure, and it is uncertain whether it preceded his association as the ideal 'brāhmaṇa'.

Funding: This research and the APC to publish the article were funded by Teikyo University, to whom I am sincerely grateful for all the support they have given me in a fantastic research environment.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement: Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement: The original contributions presented in the study are included in the article, further inquiries can be directed to the corresponding author.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aṅguttara Nikāya</i>
Av	<i>Aṭṭhakavagga</i>
Āy	<i>Āyāraṅga sutta</i>
BĀU	<i>Brhad-Āranyaka-Upaniṣad</i>
Bv	<i>Buddhavaṃsa</i>
ChU	<i>Chāndogya Upaniṣad</i>
G-Dhp	<i>Gāndhārī Dharmapada</i> (Brough 1962)
Dhp	<i>Dhammapada</i>
DN	<i>Dīgha Nikāya</i>
Div	<i>Divyāvadāna</i>
Isi	<i>Isibhāsiyāim</i>
Iti	<i>Itivuttaka</i>
Ja	<i>Jātakatthavaṇṇanā</i>
KN	<i>Khuddaka Nikāya</i>
Lal	<i>Lalitavistara</i>
MBh	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
MN	<i>Majjhima Nikāya</i>
Mvu	<i>Mahāvastu</i>
MW	<i>Monier-Williams (1960) Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i>
Nidd I	<i>Mahāniddeśa</i>
Nidd II	<i>Cūlaniddeśa</i>
PES	<i>Pali-English Dictionary</i> (Davids and Stede 2015)
Pj I	<i>Paramatthajotikā I (Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Pj II	<i>Paramatthajotikā II (Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā)</i>
Pv	<i>Pārāyanavagga</i>
Ps	<i>Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhī (Khuddaka Nikāya)</i>
RV	<i>Rgveda</i>
Sn	<i>Sutta-nipāta (GRETIL)</i>
SN	<i>Samyutta Nikāya</i>
Th	<i>Theragāthā</i>
Thī	<i>Therīgāthā</i>
Thī Ap	<i>Therīpadāna</i>
TLB	<i>Thesaurus Literaturae Buddhicae</i>

Ud	Udāna
Utt	Uttarājñhāyā (recovered from GRETIL, based on Charpentier, J. (1922) The Uttarādhyayanāsūtra: the first Mūlasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Jains—Uppsala)
Vin	Vinaya Piṭaka
Vin Mv	Theravāda Vinaya Mahāvibhaṅga

Notes

- Early Buddhist texts and the oldest Jain scriptures share fundamental ethical teachings, including refraining from killing, stealing, lying, and indulging in sensory pleasures (Sujato and Brahmali 2015, p. 35).
- Buddhism and Jainism embraced the term *brāhmaṇa* and conducted a campaign to claim that it is karma that makes one noble, not birth (Norman and Yamazaki 2000, p. 17). In Vedic ideology, being a Brahmin was not related to ethics but focused on the precise performance of their traditional rituals (Bronkhorst 2016, pp. 156–57; Norman 1992, p. 193). The criticism of the status quo established by Vedic Brahmins, which refers to what it really means to be a ‘true Brahmin’ regardless of one’s *jāti* or *varṇa*, can be found in Brahminical sources such as BĀU III 5, ChU IV 4.1–5, and Mbh III.261.15 (Nara 2010, pp. 55–56). Bailey (2011) analyzed the intertextuality of the quotations in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh) (*taṁ devā brāhmaṇaṁ viduḥ*). This shows that the discussion of who should be considered a true Brahmin was also present in the epic literature.
- With a few exceptions where the word *māhana* (the Ardhamāgadhī spelling for ‘Brahmin’) is coupled with the term *samaṇa* (ĀS 1.4.2.3, 1.8.4.11), in the first book of the Jain *Āyāraṅga Sutta*, the similarity to the religious ideal expressed by the Jains through the word *māhana* recalls the Buddhist definition found in the Av for the ideal *brāhmaṇa* (McGovern 2019, p. 91). In the Isi 10.2, 14.6, *samaṇa* and *māhana* are also referred to alongside.
- McGovern (2019) examined the emergence of discourse around religious identity and the ways in which various religious movements, such as Jains and Buddhists, engaged with these narratives, often centered on Brahminhood. However, a detailed analysis of this topic was not provided.
- This paper was published under the auspices of Teikyō University, to whom I am very grateful. Many friends have read earlier drafts of this article and given me helpful advice on how to improve my English. In particular, I would like to thank Sanāthāvihārī Bhikkhu, and Professor Noriaki Hosoda (Bukyō University, Japan) for reading an earlier draft of this article, and my family in Spain for their invaluable emotional support during more than a decade of academic pursuits in Japan. Needless to say, any errors in this paper are mine.
- It is noteworthy that *brāhmaṇa* is a Sanskritism (an Old Indo-Aryan spelling), not a Middle Indo-Aryan phonetic (Ruegg 2008, p. 7). The term *brāhmaṇa* is related to the verbal root $\sqrt{bāh}$, meaning ‘to expel’, a play on words related to Middle Indo-Aryan dialects in which *bāhana* was pronounced (Bodhi 2017, p. 1598). The etymology development of this term (referred also as *māhana* in Jain scriptures) is *brāhmaṇa* > *b^hm^hhana* > *bambhana* > *bā(b)hana* > *bāhana* > *māhana* (Yamazaki 2010, p. 42) For further explanation on this, see Karashima (2016, pp. 101–2).
- For a detailed analysis of the common terms shared by Jainism and Buddhism, see Norman and Yamazaki (2000) and Tsukamoto (1982). For a historical perspective, please refer to the works of Bronkhorst (2007, 2010, 2016) and Watanabe (2005).
- A philological approach can help us identify shared philosophical patterns among ascetic traditions. It is important to note that similarities in concepts and terms can be useful in assembling a body of literature for this purpose (Norman 1997, p. 168). Norman and Yamazaki (2000, p. 42) support this position of using a contrastive method. (De Jong 1993, p. 27) also agrees with this methodology to clarify the religious and cultural common background of Jainism and Buddhism in ancient India.
- The term *buddha* was employed also in Jain early scriptures to point to ascetics who attained final liberation (Namikawa 2006, pp. 23–24; 2017, p. 20; Yamazaki 1992, p. 90; 2010, p. 99).
- As demonstrated in the *Upaniṣads*, the term *buddha* was commonly used among ascetics and philosophers during the emergence of Buddhism (Takeda 2012, p. 138). The BĀU and ChU were composed chronologically before the Buddhist Canon (Oldenberg 1991, p. 188). Some scholars argue that the older *Upaniṣads* and early Buddhism share structural ideas about the unsatisfactory nature of existence, rebirth, karma, and the importance of knowledge in the process of liberation (Cohen 2018, p. 110). Scholars have discussed the potential connections between the early *Upaniṣads* and the teachings of the Buddha. It has been demonstrated that the Buddha redefined the use of several concepts from older *Upaniṣads* (Bronkhorst 2009, p. 20) and that the philosophical arguments exposed in the BĀU were specifically referred to by the Buddha through many metaphors (Gombrich 2013, pp. 60, 193; Villamor 2023, 2024b).
- This term can be found in the compound *paṭibuddha* (Sn 807) in the Av. However, as Bodhi (2017, p. 345) has translated, this word is used here in a general sense to refer to the experience of a person’s awakening rather than to refer to the Buddha himself. The commentaries later associated this passage with praising the master, saying, ‘The Buddha who has overcome enmity and peril.’ He is referred to as ‘the Buddha’ because he has awakened from the sleep of unknowing (*paṭibuddhattā*) (Pj I 13–22). The term *paṭibuddha* is also present in Jainism (Utt IV.5), and even earlier, in a *Rgveda* hymn — the oldest Vedic composition — where it appears in the plural, as an exhortation to be ‘very vigilant’ (*pratibuddhā abhūtana*, RV I.191.05).
- The verses of the Av were probably an independent scripture in India (Allon 2022, p. 28) before being added to the KN (Minami 1984, p. 84). Williams (2005) mentions that the poems of the Av may go back to the Buddha himself and to Mahākac-

cāna, among others. Regarding their historicity, it has been argued that we can believe that the verses of the Av, as an oral tradition, go back directly to the days of the Buddha (Gombrich 2018, p. 48). However, other scholars are more skeptical and place its composition at some time before the Emperor Aśoka (Namikawa 2017, p. 68). Furthermore, some scholars doubt about the canonicity of the entire Sn, although they acknowledge that these texts offer more insight about early Buddhism than later texts (Yamazaki 1992, p. 279; 2010, pp. 26–27).

13 Due to prosodic limitations, the texts from early Buddhism unify rhyme not only in content but also in word form and vocabulary. Consequently, the antiquity of the verses alone cannot serve as the exclusive basis for research. As the verses were arranged to fit rhyme restrictions, we must assume that even the early Buddhist texts may not provide a fully reliable representation of historical facts but rather a product of literary development influenced by temporal and spatial variables (Enomoto 2021, pp. 218–19). Nevertheless, together with the evidence from other sources, such as Jain scriptures, among the Buddhist recopied in the Canon, we, on the other hand, have no reason to believe that the Sn (Nakamura et al. 2014, p. 593) and DhP do not contain insightful passages for understanding early Buddhism (Yamazaki 2010, p. 26).

14 According to the metrical and lexical analysis, it is widely accepted that the Sn IV (Av) and Sn V (Pv) are the earliest forms of Buddhist texts (Allon 2022, p. 8; Ellis 2021, p. 18; Gombrich 1990/2012, p. 20; Hirakawa 2011, p. 57–58; Kajiyama and Fukita 2012, p. 182; McGovern 2019, pp. 60–61; Nakamura 1987, p. 57; Namikawa 2006, pp. 9–10; 2017, pp. 26–27; Sik 2009, p. 18; Sujato and Brahmali 2015, pp. 79–80). For the discussion of the historical formation of the Canon and the later addition of the KN to it, see also the scholarship of Baba (2005, 2017, 2018, 2022), Watanabe (1979), and Wynne (2005).

15 The commentaries on this passage in Nidd I 344–45 explain that ‘buddha’ is a term used to describe those who have achieved ultimate liberation. This term is not limited to just the Buddha but also includes other *buddhas* who have attained omniscient knowledge (Bodhi 2017, p. 107). The explanations of Nidd I 457–58 on the term ‘buddha’ used in Sn 957 present the same interpretation that ‘buddha’ refers to the supposedly all-knowing state attained of a *buddha*:

Buddho’ ti netam nāmam mātarā katam, na pitarā katam, na bhātarā katam, na bhaginiyā katam, na mittāmaccehi katam, na nātisālo-hitehi katam, na samaṇābrāhmaṇehi katam, na devatāhi katam. Vimokkhaṅkamaṅ buddhānaṃ bhagavantaṅ bodhiyā mūlo saha sabbaññūtaññassa paṭilābhā sacchikāpaññatti yadidaṃ buddhoti—tam buddham.

‘The name ‘Buddha’ was not given by his mother, nor his father, nor his brother or sister, not by his friends or relative, ascetic, brahmin, or deity. Rather, it signifies the attainment of enlightenment, which is the foundation of his awakening, alongside the acquisition of omniscient knowledge. Thus, buddha refers to the genuine confirmation of Enlightenment. **That [means] buddha**’.

Other exegetical definitions of the term *buddha* show it the interest of presenting the master as omniscient:

Buddhoti yo so bhagavā sayambhū anācariyako pubbe ananusutesu dhammesu sāmam saccāni abhisambujjhi, tattha ca sabbaññutam pāpunī, balesu ca vasībhāvam Ps 1.173.

‘The Buddha said: ‘He, the Blessed One, is one who exists independently and who, without the help of a teacher, has fully understood by himself the truths that have never been heard before. Thus he attained omniscience and mastery on that, and evil things among powers’.

16 Bodhi (2020) has suggested that the etymological meaning of the term *buddha* at the time of the Buddha probably sounded with the connotation of the attainment of ‘supreme knowledge’ (p. 77), supposedly obtained after experiencing *nirvāṇa*.

17 Namikawa (2006, pp. 26–34) has elaborated this claim based on evidence from words such as *buddhasettḥa*, *buddhānubuddha*, *anubuddha*. The first of these terms, *buddhasettḥa* ‘the foremost buddha’ (Sn 383), is a term in which the beginning of the mythification campaign for Gautama as the Buddha can be seen (Namikawa 2017, p. 11).

18 DhP 181, 194–195, 255; SN IV 1-6-5; SN IV 2-1-4 (Namikawa 2006, p. 195).

19 In the Av and Pv, there are many cites when the Buddha is called by his family name, Gotama (Sn 848, 1057, 1083, 1117), Gotamasāsana (Sn 933, 1084), and in the DhP for referring to his followers (Gotamasāvakā) (DhP 296–301).

20 This informal way of addressing him appears to have concerned Buddhist authors. One who addresses him informally (*bhovādīn*) is described as not conforming to the religious ideal identified as *brāhmaṇa*, words that were traditionally attributed to Buddha’s teachings (Sn 620).

21 The honorary title of Blessed One, Bhagava(n)t, seems to be one of the oldest and most recurrent titles for the Buddha. In the Av, it appears in Sn 815, 837, 839, 841, 849, 914, 916, 934, 954, 963, 975, and it is also mentioned in DhP 19, 20.

22 There are a few exceptions in the Canon where the title of Buddha appears alongside his family name. For example, in the *Mahāpadānasutta* (DN 14.1), this usage relates his lineage with former Buddhas. In the *Tikaṇṇasutta* (AN 3.58), the verses are presented as the definition of the Three Knowledges stated by the Buddha in response to the Brahmin Tikaṇṇa. ‘By these three knowledges, one is called a ‘three-knowledge Brahmin’; I say these are the three knowledges, not another’. In the noble discipline, one who possesses the three knowledges is considered a knower (*tevijjo hoti brāhmaṇo; Tamahaṃ vadāmi tevijjāṃ, nāññāṃ lapitalāpananti*). However, the text appears to have many interferences unless we assume that the Buddha also formulated the lines when he was being praised: ‘They worship Buddha, the one with the last body, Gotama’ (*Buddhaṃ antimadehināṃ, taṃ namassanti gotamaṃ*). Another example of referring directly to Gotama as the Buddha can be seen in the Canon for praising him,

such as in *Āṭṭhānāṭṭiyasutta* DN 32, *Paripunnakatheragāthā* Th 1.91, and *Pañcadāpikātherāpadāna* Thī Ap 9. He also refers to himself as ‘I am, myself, Gotama, the Fully Enlightened Buddha’ (*Ahaṃ gotamasambuddho*) (*Gotamabuddhavaṃsa* Bv 27) (see note 78 in this paper). Perhaps this can be dated as part of the campaign to establish him as the Buddha. His popularity won since the reference to him as Gotama, the Buddha, seems to be considered redundant in the Canon.

- 23 Textual analysis clarifies the historical chronology and resolves inconsistencies in the divergent narratives of early Buddhist scriptures. We must admit the chronological inconsistency of some of the passages of the early Buddhist scriptures, an assertion that agrees with Enomoto (2021), who convincingly states that because of the limitations and idiosyncrasies of metrics, the ancient psalmody of the Canon also has parts that were modified. Baba (2018, pp. 66, 75; 2022, p. 4247) suggests that the KN was added after the Buddhist councils. But even if this is true, why are there no broader references to their master as the Buddha in the Av, when in the Nikāyas ‘Buddha’ is the most accurate epithet for remembering him? We must then consider the plausible possibility of saying that the Av represent an earlier development of Buddhism that was later incorporated into the Canon. In fact, we know that the verses of the Av were collected early from oral tradition and arranged according to the principle of increasing length from the *RgVeda* (Williams 2005, p. 76), which, as I argue, requires an earlier consideration of the role and possible interference of Brahmins who converted to Buddhism.
- 24 This occurs in the definitions of sage (*muni*) and great rishi (*mahesi*) (Sn 208), one who is ritually bathed (*nhātaka*) (Sn 521), to define as noble (*ariya*), one who is influenced by mental constructs (Sn 535), and also to refer to the ethical discrepancies among ascetic religions (Sn 782, 883).
- 25 Bronkhorst (2011, pp. 3–4). Regarding Vedic ascetics and their mentions in the Pali Canon (*jaṭilas* as Brahmin ascetics, *parivṛājaka* wanderers) and the possibility that the Buddha historically encountered ‘a fully developed type of Brahmin ascetics’, see Ellis (2021, pp. 60–66).
- 26 I agree with the argument that although the diachronic arrangement of the early Buddhist literature is a difficult goal, the Av and Pv offer insightful suggestions about the conception of the relationship between the categories of *śramaṇa* and *brāhmaṇa* (McGovern 2019, p. 62). Furthermore, as McGovern (2019) has shown in his monograph that the dichotomy between ascetics (*samaṇa*) and Brahmins (*brāhmaṇa*) (the ‘classical’ alleged controversy over these entities stems from Patañjali’s classification of them as opposites (S. *virodha*) (McGovern 2019, p. 66; Ruegg 2008, p. 5) was the result of the later emergence of identity between religious groups in ancient India, whereas in the early Buddhist oral literature, references to *śramaṇas* and Brahmins were not presented in opposition (McGovern 2019, p. 45). In early Buddhist scriptures (Sn 1079–1080) and also in ancient Jain texts (Utt XXXII.21) these terms, also as a compound, were used to refer to renowned ascetics who were described as *brāhmaṇa*, *id est* as legitimate deserving recipients of alms, which was the main concern underlying this discourse (Yamazaki 2010, p. 103). There are some instances in the Canon where the combination of the two terms *samaṇa* and *brāhmaṇa* are introduced to refer to Buddhist renunciants (Ellis 2021, pp. 42–44).
- 27 The Av refers to the Buddha as a seer of the Vedas, which is a terminology also found in other post-canonical texts (Ellis 2021, pp. 43, 68). Referring to the Buddha in this way probably had the function of contextualizing his teachings for a Brahminical audience (Ibid., p. 69).
- 28 Schlieter (2012) schematizes the chronology of the discursive definitions of the ideal of the true Brahmin after Buddhist ‘Sanskritization’ by monastic Buddhists who had continuous economic and political support (Schlieter 2012, p. 148). Furthermore, he argues that passages in Buddhist texts that consist of ideas from a Brahminical context may be of a secondary nature (Ibid., p. 143). However, while I think part of his argument may be true, we should not forget that Brahminical thought, like Buddhism, was transmitted orally from the beginning. It is unlikely to think that the Buddha’s (and his followers’) encounters with the Brahmins of their time had nothing to say about the use of all the terms and concepts from Vedic ideas (Ellis 2021; Norman 1992; Shults 2014) for Buddhist purposes. It is more plausible to see it as a process of dialogue and interpretation of Brahminical terms rather than a later exegesis (although no one can categorically deny that there was no such interference even in its transmission), determined not only by the Buddha himself (Gombrich 2013) but also by the influence of the understanding of Buddhist teachings among converted Brahmins (Villamor 2023b, 2024b, 2024c).
- 29 Sn 463. For further arguments on this term as an epithet for the Buddha, see Ellis (2021, p. 79).
- 30 The usage of this term portrays the later influence of Brahminical thought in certain suttas (Ellis 2021, p. 92).
- 31 The core teachings of the Av introduce, in an apophatic way (through negative terms), what does *not* define a *brāhmaṇa* (McGovern 2019, p. 89; Namikawa 2017, p. 55).
- 32 The statements of Sn 911–912 indicate the correspondence of the ideal sage (*muni*) with the notion of *brāhmaṇa*, presumably terms introduced here to refer indirectly to the Buddha as one who abstains from argument and remains equanimous.
- 33 That the Buddha taught differently according to the background of his listeners is an accepted theory of his ‘skill in means’ (Gombrich 2006, pp. 18–19; Wynne 2010, p. 194).
- 34 The Buddha often used the vocabulary of the Vedic Brahmins he met to better convince them. Several terms from the Brahminical paradigm were introduced to explain his teachings as allegories (Gombrich 2013, p. 88). Repeatedly the Buddha rephrased the meaning of different terms from the Brahminical context (Jurewicz 2000; Villamor 2023), sometimes with satire and humor (Gombrich 2013, pp. 181–82), but commonly accepting them to point something different accordingly to his teachings (Ibid., p. 188).

- 35 This affirmation has previously been translated in Norman (2001) as ‘him I call a Brahmin’, whereas Japanese scholars tend to interpret this as a metaphor for a ‘true Brahmin’ or ‘authentic Brahmin’ (in Japanese: *shin no baramon* 真のバラモン) (Aramaki et al. 2015; Ellis 2021; Namikawa 2006).
- 36 At the time of the early Buddhist *sūtras*, the *varṇa* system was not fully accepted, but only by Vedic Brahmins. In fact, the categories of Brahmin and *śramaṇa* are not opposed in early Buddhist texts since Jains and Buddhists claimed to be Brahmins, and simultaneously, they were also *śramaṇas* (McGovern 2019, p. 197). A characteristic example of the appreciation of the ascetic idyllic lifestyle in the definition of a ‘true Brahmin’ is found in Dhṛ 388. There are, on the other hand, entries in the Sn that, using the same term *brāhmaṇa*, criticize the social status that Vedic Brahmins ascribed to themselves through their own lineage (Sn 1043–1045) and distinguish their practices from the Buddhist path (Sn 1079–1082). Moreover, the *Soṇasutta* (AN 5.191) refers to an interesting compound, *brāhmaṇadhamma*, used to devalue the ‘ancient traditions’ (*paṭhamo porāṇo*) of Vedic Brahmins. The reclamation of Brahmin identity by Buddhists in this text is striking, as they refer to themselves as the ‘true Brahmins’ with the same term (*brāhmaṇa*), that they used to satirize their coetaneous contemporaries, the Vedic Brahmins, with the pejorative term ‘dog’ (*sunakha*). In the exegesis of the *Brāhmaṇadhammikasutta* (Sn 51–55), the compound *brāhmaṇadhamma*, contrarily, is used to refer to the Buddha’s teachings. The same term introduced to express their Brahminical discourse, as is common in the Canon, portrays different meanings depending on the context, perhaps one of the most important distinctions resulting from Buddhist thought that is not accepted in Vedic ideology.
- 37 Walser (2018, p. 121). In fact, the Buddha had a certain affinity with the thought of old Brahmins who did not accumulate wealth or sacrifice living beings, instead of his obvious criticism of the Brahmins of his time (McGovern 2019, pp. 208–9). The Buddha refused the caste system and, therefore, the legitimacy of the Vedas. However, he did interact respectfully with Brahmins. As noted in previous scholarship, the Buddha also had amicable relationships with contemporary Brahmins. The fierce competition between Buddhists and Brahmins is a product of later times (Ellis 2021, pp. 267, 269–70).
- 38 Jains and Buddhists share many titles such as *jina*, *sambuddha*, and *sammāsambuddha* (not compiled in the Av but common in later sections of the Sn (Namikawa 2006, p. 195) and *sambuddha* (Utt I.3, I.46, IX.2, IX.9, IXX.96, XXI.9, XXII.49, XXIII.1), among many other references to the use of ‘buddha’ in early Jain scriptures.
- 39 Norman (1997, pp. 35–36) noted that Jains and Buddhists used epithets to refer to the founders of their religions, as well as previous awakened ones and conquerors of absolute truth. The Buddha was referred to by his followers with many epithets, which are also found in Jainism. Jains used several terms to describe their religious leader Mahāvīra, including *jina*, *arhat*, *mahāvīra*, *sarvajñā*, *sugata*, *tathāgata*, *siddha*, *buddha*, *sambuddhaparinirvṛta*, and *mukta* (Takeda 2012, p. 135). In addition, Mahāvīra was also referred to as *muni* and *bhagavat* (Hirakawa 2011, p. 30). Yamazaki (1992, p. 280) identified seventeen relevant terms that signify the ideal of asceticism shared in ancient Jain and Buddhist scriptures. There are similarities in the vocabulary used by Buddhist and Jain practitioners, both for ascetics and for those who have completed their practice. The concept of a ‘buddha’ is a clear example of this. However, in their early texts, Jains explain their unique perspective on the conditions and situations that led to Buddhahood (Tanikawa 1994, p. 244). Furthermore, some perspectives can be seen as implicitly critical of Buddhists when compared to Buddhist scriptures. This may derive from the Jains’ criticism of Buddhism for its alleged lack of ethics and denial of *ātman*. This criticism seems to be one of the turning points that influenced their different interpretations of Buddhahood (Ibid., p. 253).
- 40 *ādhiccabandhu* (Sn 915), *mahāpurisa* (Sn 1040, 1042), *mahesi* (1054, 1057, 1061, 1067), *vīra* (Sn 1096, 1102), *muni* (Sn 780, 812, 823, 838, 845, 850, 860, 877, 912, 914, 946, 954, 1052, 1058, 1075, 1081, 1085, 1091), *dhīra* (Sn 775, 778, 838, 877, 890, 913, 964, 1052) (Namikawa 2006, p. 195).
- 41 Early Buddhists and Jains articulated their identity as Brahmins not based on birth, and by the time of the Mauryan Empire (c. IV BC), they began to declare themselves entirely in that category (McGovern 2019, pp. 26, 165), a claim based on the practice of *brahmacariya* (Ibid., p. 129). The categories of *brāhmaṇa* and *śramaṇa* were not inherently opposed, as many religious ascetic (*śramaṇas*) groups in ancient India claimed to be also Brahmins. Their attempt to articulate a Brahminical religious identity based on renunciation (Ibid., p. 25) had to be abandoned with the rise of the householder lifestyle of Vedic Brahmins, who claimed their status based on birth and ritual sacrifice (Ibid., p. 95). Thus, many ascetics, including Buddhists (born Brahmins), began to abandon this discourse (Ibid., p. 216). This was the beginning of the dichotomy between the later known religious identity categories of *śramaṇa* and *brāhmaṇa* (Ibid., p. 66). Following their confrontation, the category of *brāhmaṇa* to refer to Buddhists was framed as a polemic in exegetical and later narratives (McGovern 2019, pp. 34–35).
- 42 For the translation of the Utt, the author of this work contrasted the earlier interpretation in Hermann (Hermann 1895/1968, pp. 136–41) and gained valuable insights for the recent Japanese translation of the Utt published by Kawasaki and Fujinaga (2022, pp. 216–20). Unless otherwise noted, all the translations in this work were provided by the author.
- 43 The Utt is a Jain scripture, one of the earlier religious texts of the Śvetāmbara Canon (Watanabe 2001). It is part of the *mūla-sūtras*, the most basic texts learned by new Jain mendicant monks at the beginning of their monastic formation. Bronkhorst (2010) has reflected that Śvetāmbara Jainism in its formative period was deeply influenced by the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism and much less by Brahmanism and that the surviving redaction of the Śvetāmbara canonical texts probably predates the *āyāgapataṣas*, the carved stone tablets found at Mathurā. According to Alsdorf (1962, p. 132), the common nucleus of Utt XXII and Ja 497 originated from a protocanonical Eastern Prakrit and is similar to some *pādas* of Buddhist texts. Furthermore, regarding the canonicity of the Utt, Alsdorf argues that the textual evidence found in Utt XXV.7 suggests that the entire Jain textual tradition

available today, including the oldest commentaries, may have originated from a single manuscript rather than from oral tradition (Als Dorf 1962, p. 134).

- 44 The content of these lines is remarkably like the Buddhist verses of Sn 568–569 (Kawasaki and Fujinaga 2022, p. 483).
- 45 The first-person singular of the verb $\sqrt{brū}$ was adopted in the Sn as the Buddha's redefinition of a true Brahmin. This verb form, *brūmi*, has been used in many passages as the very words of the Buddha. However, as it is used also to describe a Veda-master who receives an offering (Sn 458), one who is reborn in the Brahma-world after performing a sacrifice (Sn 509), it seems necessary to propose that we should be cautious of this as a reminiscence of the very words of the Buddha. On the contrary, based on this evidence alone, we should not categorically reject every use of the same conjugation (*brūmi*) as a discursive tool of Buddhist authors. Using this verb conjugation, it described the ideal practitioner, who is peaceful and indifferent to sensual pleasures (*tam brūmi upasanto ti kāmesu anapekhinam*, Sn 857), one who knows the truth (*sacca*) (Sn 884), and one who avoids arguing (Sn 882, 896). These teachings are attributed to the Buddha's words in various other definitions (Sn 945, 952, 1033, 1035, 1078, 1080, 1082, 1083, 1093, 1094, 1107). As in the Sn 1060, where again the Buddhist religious ideal is referred to as the Veda-master (*vedagu*), the definitions attributed to words of the Buddha in other verses (Sn 1042, 1046, 1048) clearly praise the idyllic religious archetype portrayed by their definitions of a 'true Brahmin', which for them, was no other than the Buddha himself. In the Dhṛ, in addition to defining a 'true Brahmin', there is an instance where *brūmi* is used to indicate that someone who restrains themselves from anger (*kodha*) is a 'true charioteer' (*sārathi*) (Dhṛ 222).
- 46 Kawasaki (2006, p. 1125) translates this passage according to the parallel found in the Mbh, saying that the definition of a 'true Brahmin' here included more than mere knowledge of Vedic rites, but 'true wisdom that generates cognitive power' *vidyā*.
- 47 The concept of virtue in Utt XXV.19 utilizes the term *kusala*, which is also a long-standing expression within the Buddhist tradition. Its use in the Sn serves to remind the correct perspectives of the Buddha. The Sn references *kusala* to inquire about who should be remembered in that sense (Sn 523), to describe the Buddha in his early years (Sn 686), and as 'profitable or good' (Sn 712, 965, 973, 981), emphasizing the importance of virtue, regardless of religious tradition (Sn 881). The term also refers to the skilled individual (presumably the Buddha's view on ethical behavior) (Sn 783, 798, 830, 909) and also for indicate toward past sages (*muni*) (Sn 1078) and condemn those who claim expertise through arguing with others (Sn 825, 876, 878, 879, 885, 898, 903).
- 48 The distinction in mentioning the Jain religious ideal as *māhanā* rather than the establishment of the alleged caustic superiority (*varṇa*) of Vedic Brahmins (*bambhana*) can be found in the next passage. 'Which path is indicated in the teachings? All friends, lend me your ears. Why do Brahmins adopt the color and glory of a Brahmin. Do really 'true Brahmins' learn at battle?' *Katara dhamme paṇṇatte? | Savva' āuso sunedha me/Kinā bambhana-vanṇ' ābhā | Yuddham sikkhanti māhanā ||* Isi 1.26.1 ||'. The discussion of the ideal ascetic in early Jain texts has been discussed since the time of Isi, one of their earlier compositions. These verses describe a social condition in which the roles or statuses traditionally associated with *varṇa* for Vedic Brahmins were distorted (Isi 1.26.2). This text presents textual evidence of the tendency of Jains to define as a true Brahmin those who practice celibacy by not engaging in sexual intercourse (*mehuna*) and non-possession (*pariggaha*), key aspects of the Dharma (Isi 1.26.5), and also references to being in agreement with truth (*sacca*) and moral practice (*sīla*) (Isi 1.26.6), along with the idea of practicing compassion (*dayā*) for every kind of living being (*savva-satta*) in order to be defined as a true Brahmin (*māhana*) (Isi 1.26.7). The following verses define a true Brahmin (*māhana*) by emphasizing qualities such as moral virtue, truthfulness, and compassion for all beings (Isi 1.26.6–7, 15; 32.4) and remarked that true Brahmins (*māhanesu*) are those who have truly conquered the five senses (Isi 1.26.11).
- 49 The Sn 647 describes as *brāhmaṇa* one who has achieved the 'destruction of birth' (*jātikkhayam patto*). The resonance of the inner struggle expressed by the allegory of the destruction of the chain of rebirth was also discussed by Jains (Utt XIV.4)).
- 50 Japanese scholars have noted the similarity between one of the five great vows of Jains (Mahāvratā) and the teachings found in verses Sn 629 and Dhṛ 405, where Buddhists also redefined their ideal as a true Brahmin (Kawasaki and Fujinaga 2022, p. 484).
- 51 Abandoning anger (*kodha*) is another common teaching among Buddhists. For example, in Dhṛ 221, it is mentioned alongside the Jain concept of possessing nothing (*akiñcana*). The similarity with the Jain context is even more obvious in Dhṛ 223–224 when the importance of conquering (*jina*) and speaking the truth (*sacca*) without anger (*kodha*) is explained. In the Sn 624, a true Brahmin is defined as one who acts without anger (*akkodhana*).
- 52 It has been noted by previous scholars that this definition is related to other of the great vows of the Jains, which is also consistent with the teachings found in Sn 632 and Dhṛ 408, where Buddhists redefine for themselves what it means to be a truly noble person, using the term *brāhmaṇa* (Kawasaki and Fujinaga 2022, p. 484). Furthermore, these teachings can be found in many other Buddhist texts, where the very same teachings of avoiding harming living beings and speaking falsehood (*musā*) are commonly expressed (Dhṛ 246, Sn 100, 129, 242, 397, 400).
- 53 The *Vasala sutta* (Sn 116–142) extends the teachings on who, by their behavior, deserves to be considered a 'true outcast'.
- 54 Similar teachings are introduced to explain how a true follower of the Buddha should avoid anger (Sn 968) and defamatory speech (*pesuniya*) (Sn 928).
- 55 The identical taboo conveyed through the corresponding Pāli term, *methuna* (Sn 814–821, 926), was used to depict the ideal as a sage (*muni*) (Sn 218) and the perfect *bhikkhu* (Dhṛ 267). Numerous verses (Sn 284–294) detail references to past seers (*isayo pubbakā*) and Brahmins (*brāhmaṇā*) to explain the importance of maintaining celibacy (*brahmacariya*) and abstaining from sexual contact (*methuna*). These Buddhist lines introduce terminology from a Brahminical background and phrases that demonstrate

significant parallels with the Jain teachings. In Sn 400, it is emphasized that one should refrain from killing living beings (*pāṇam na hane*), taking what is not given (*na cādinnam ādiye*), lying (*musā na bhāse*), and engaging in sexual misconduct (*abrahmacariyā virameyya methunā*). It was common to present these ideas collectively (Sn 704). Thus, it appears evident that the state of celibacy (*brahmacariya*) (Dhp 312) was deemed the holiest mode of living (Dhp 142) within these ascetic traditions.

56 As noticed by previous scholars, in the Utt, the same discourse of what is implied to be defined by *brāhmaṇa* can be found by using the ancient metaphor of ‘not being attached by water’: ‘As the lotus that grown from water not being attached, one who has not attached by sensual pleasures, that is who we call a Brahmin (*jahā pomam jāle jāyam | novallippai vāriṇā/evam alittam kāmehim | tam vayan buma māhaṇam Utt XXV.27*)’.

57 ‘Monks, conduct harmoniously, behave with compassion towards all beings, bearing patience, conquering the fears and being detached from all bonds’ (*savvehim bhūehim dayāṇukampī | khantikkhame samjayabambhayārī/sāvajjajogam parivajjayanto | carijja bhikkhū susamāhiindie Utt XXI.13*).

58 Previous scholars have noted the similarities of this message with the Buddhist verses of Sn 628, 645 (and its parallel verses of Dhp 404, 421), which, as analyzed below, share key concepts and terms with the thought of Utt.

59 ‘One does not become a *samaṇa* by the simple act of shaving. Someone does not become a brahmin just by reciting *om*. Residing in the forest does not turn someone into a saint (*muni*). Wearing clothes made of kusa-grass does not mean that someone is an ascetic practitioner’ (*na vi muṇḍiṇeṇa samaṇo | na omkāreṇa bambhaṇo/na muṇi ranṇavāseṇam | kusacireṇa tāvaso Utt XXV.31*). ‘Through meditation one becomes an ascetic. Through practicing celibacy, one attains nobility as a Brahmin. By knowledge, one become a sage and by practicing austere self-discipline, one can embrace the ascetic lifestyle’ (*samaṇe samaṇo hoi | bambhacereṇa bambhaṇo/nāneṇa u muṇi hoi | taveṇa hoi tāvaso Utt XXV.32*)’.

60 Furthermore, the connection between the thoughts and descriptions presented in the Jain passages above can also be observed in the words credited to Buddha in G-Dhp 8 (parallel verse of Sn 655), addressing his interlocutor, a Brahmin (G-Dhp 9): *taveṇa brammayiryena/saiṇamena damena caledena brahmaṇo bhodileda brahmaṇa utamu* (G-Dhp 8) ‘Through asceticism, celibacy, self-control and discipline, one can attain the status of a Brahmin. This is considered the highest level of nobility’ (Brough 1962).

61 For the diverse Chinese transliterations on these assertions, see Villamor (2024a).

62 For the Buddha *karma* meant intention (AN III.415) (Gombrich 2006, p. 55).

63 The term *brāhmaṇa* was not always used to denote only the ascetic ideal but the ideal of the ascetic: one who is pure (*brāhmaṇo*) by virtue of his actions, not by virtue of his birth (*Na jaccā brāhmaṇo hoti, na jaccā hoti abrāhmaṇo; Kammunā brāhmaṇo hoti, kammunā hoti abrāhmaṇo* Sn 653, MN 98). It was discussed in previous studies that both Buddhists and Jains claimed this religious identity for them because they practice *brahmacariya* (McGovern 2019, p. 99). In Sn 658, the practice of religious austerity (*tapena*) and holy living (*brahmacariyena*), as well as self-control (*samyamena*) and restraint (*damena*), are the key factors that constitute the principles for being considered the highest *brāhmaṇa* (*brāhmaṇamuttamam*) (Sn 658, MN 98, Th 12.2). However, the term, of course, is also widely used to refer to Vedic Brahmins as interlocutors of Buddhists and to criticize those from Brahmin families who consider themselves noble solely because of their lineage. In Sn 241, 315, the term *brahmabandhu* refers to someone who takes advantage of his status. This vocable was also introduced in the Buddhist literature to refer to an ‘unworthy or merely nominal brahmin’ (Th 2.251; Ja VI.532; ThA 206) (PES 2015: 548). In a similar sense, it was also briefly mentioned in the ChU (*śvetaketur hāruneya āsa | tam ha pitovāca śvetaketu vasa brahmacariyam | na vai somyāsmat kulīno ‘nanūcyā brahmabandhur iva bhavatīti ||* (ChU VI 1.1)) to refer to a lazy Brahmin who does not engage in the proper practice (Sk. *brahmacariya*): the study of the Vedas. In contrast to this meaning, the use of *brahmacariya* in the Buddhist Canon did not imply that literally, since the historical Buddha adopted this term to encourage spiritual life among his monastic followers (Ellis 2021, pp. 141–42, 268; Kajihara 2016).

64 At the end of this chapter, it is said that Jayaghosa and Vijayaghosa both realized the highest spiritual state of the Dharma, mentioned in Buddhism (Sn 478, 486, 557) as *anuttara* (Utt XXV.45).

65 The formula can be found in Gāndhārī as *tam aho bromi bramaṇo*, in Sanskrit as *yah sa vai brāhmaṇaḥ smrtah*, and in Chinese as in Ud 1.6 as 是謂梵志 (Baums 2009, p. 581). For further transcriptions of this formula in early Chinese translations, see Villamor (2024a).

66 Bodhi (2005) argues that this formula represents the Buddha’s own words for redefining the meaning of what it means to be a ‘true Brahmin’ (*brāhmaṇa*) (Ibid., p. 113). I do not agree with this view. Although we cannot completely exclude the possibility that the Buddha himself made a similar statement in his time, as I analyze in this paper, the definitions of this term in the Sn are not used as a common reference for any ascetic, but for their master, as the Jains also did. I also follow McGovern’s (2019, p. 56) suspicion of the use of the first-person pronoun (*aham*) in the formula, which, as the various transcriptions of the G-Dhp show (*tam ahu brommi bramaṇa; tam aho bromi bramaṇa; tam aho bromi brahmaṇa* (TLB)), may be a corruption, or perhaps an adaptation of (‘they say’ *tam āhu* (c.f. note 24)) a formula that circulated in ascetic circles.

67 Other texts inherited similar definitions of the values and pragmatic virtues as thought by the Buddha, who was remembered by the oral transmission of the Canon as one who did not call someone a Brahmin just because of his lineage (*na cāham brāhmaṇam brūmi, yonijam mattisambhavam MN 98, Dhp 396, Sn 625*).

68 Similarly, some verses in the Dhp refer to the Buddha as the most shining among ascetics (*Buddho tapati tejasā Dhp 387*). These same verses are presented in *Mahākappinasutta* SN 21.11, pronounced by the Buddha. The verses in Dhp 387–390 do not quote the classic formula for defining a true noble practitioner. However, the teachings of refraining from harming living beings (Dhp 390)

and emphasizing the role of karma (Dhp 391) in defining their idea of *brāhmaṇa* align with the perspectives of Jains and Buddhists. The following verse (Dhp 392) positively suggests that the catechetical intent of these passages is to embrace the Brahminical background. These lines encourage one to venerate, as a Brahmin does the sacrificial fire (*aggihuttam brāhmaṇo iva*), those who transmitted the Buddha's teachings, the Dharma taught by the perfectly enlightened one, which seems rather likely words of his later followers.

69 The teaching of nothingness preserved in the Pāli Canon presents the Buddha's interpretation of an (other) ancient Jain formula already in circulation among the *śramaṇas* (Jones 2023, p. 93). This is explained, along with the concept of having nothing (*ākicācāñña*), as one of the 'Brahminical truths' (*brāhmaṇasacca* AN 4.185) (Ibid., p. 77).

70 The commentators of this passage also acknowledge the Buddha as a Brahmin (Nidd II 83) (Bodhi 2017, p. 1468). This is most probably to praise him from a Brahminical point of view, although they must know that his status by birth belonged to the warrior *varṇa*.

71 The term *uttamattha*, employed in Sn 627, is a concept shared and discussed also in Dhp 386, Dhp 403 (parallel verse of Sn 627). We can also find some similarities between the teachings of these Buddhist texts and those in Utt XI.31–32. In this Jain scripture is mentioned how difficult it is to cross (*durāsayā*) and to destroy (*duppahamsayā*) the depth of the ocean (*samuddagambhīrasamā*) while for seeking the supreme state (*uttamatthagavesae*), action (*kamma*) and succumbing against the net of desire (*jeṇappāna*) is regarded as the superior approach (*uttama*).

72 The requirement of being homeless as a wanderer (*anāgāra*) is also widely repeated among Jains (Utt IX.16 among others).

73 Jain thought also stressed the importance of refraining from violence, for which they served punishment (*danḍa*) to discuss the harmful consequences of violent actions (Utt V.8), associating as worthy of respect (*gārava*) as noble rulers (*khattā*) to those who do not commit violence (Utt XIX.91, XII.18).

74 Some Jain passages appear to highlight the interplay between the mentioned mental states of lust and hatred, actions (*kamma*), delusion (*moha*), and the cycle of birth and death, emphasizing the role of these factors in the arising of suffering (*dukkha*) (Utt XXXII.7, XXVIII.20).

'Passion, which is also hatred, is the root of action. Action born of delusion leads to action, which leads to birth and death. They lead to suffering, birth and death'.

rāgo ya doso vi ya kammabīyam | kammam ca mohappabhavam veyanti/

kammam ca jāīmaranassa mūlam | dukkham ca jāīmaranam veyanti (Utt XXXII.7).

'Desire, hatred and delusion, for one who actually overcomes ignorance through the commands [of the Jinās], that person is actually no longer subject to lamentation'.

rāgo doso moho | annānam jassa avagayam hoīlānāe roemto | so khalu ānāruī nāmam (Utt XXVIII.20).

75 The passage in Utt XII.15 suggests a similar message of endurance and patience, advising leaders to tolerate harsh words (*girānam*) without anger (*ahijja*), as authentic saints (*munīno*) do.

76 Some lines of the Utt discuss the significance of the five precepts (*pañca samīio*) in providing protection and restraint in one's actions, emphasizing their role in avoiding any type of unwholesome (*asubhatthesu*) conduct (Utt XXIV.26), and the way for achieving freedom from unhealthy actions (*asubhāna kammānam*) (Utt XXI.9) and passages that consider the dual nature of actions (*suhamasuham*) and their consequences, suggesting a possible increased sense of responsibility or accountability for virtuous actions (Utt XXXIII.13).

77 Utt XX.52 describes an individual who demonstrates conduct without defilements (*nirāsave*) and with clear knowledge (*samkhaṇḍavīyāna*) in a supreme and enduring state (*anuttaram*). Other lines explain the conditions of a monk (*bhikkhu*) who emphasizes the simplicity of his diet and accepts tasteless alms (*piṇḍam nirasam*) (Utt XV.13), which could be taken to describe a monk who is content with simple, tasteless alms and does not seek sensual pleasures or desires beyond the necessities of sustenance during his journey. Utt XXX.6 expresses the metaphor of conquering the fire of action without impurity. One can extinguish the furnace of existence, suggesting liberation from the cycle of birth and death through virtuous and purified actions ('But if you thus conquer the fire of action without impurity, may the furnace of existence be completely extinguished by your effort' (*evam tu samjayassāvi | pāvakammanirāsave/bhavakodīsamciyam kammam | tavaśā nijjarijjai* Utt XXX.6)).

78 *Uttamattham* is a term used for describing the ideal ascetic as someone unrivaled (*nirathiyā*) (Utt XX.49).

79 Term used in Jainism to emphasize the connection between purity, the practice of the Dhamma, and the ultimate goal (*nivvāna*) (Utt III.12).

80 The moon is often a symbol of purity and enlightenment in various spiritual traditions. In Jainism, the figurative image of the shining moon is used to praise certain spiritual elements, suggesting the sublime nature of the Dhamma compared to Vedic ritualistic practices (*aggihutta*) (Utt XXV.16). The next passage combines several metaphors. It seems to explain that Jain practitioners embody jewels (*maṇa*), the Jain teachings. Thus, Jain practitioners (*maṇahāriṇo*) are described as paying homage to the supreme moon, which seems to be used to symbolize the Dhamma as 'shining' absolute truth. 'Those embodying jewels pay homage with folded hands to the supreme moon (the Dhamma) when it is bowed down to and shines after having seized [its radiance]' (*jahā candam gahāiyā | ciṭhanti pamjaliudā/vandamānā namamśantā | uttamam maṇahāriṇo* Utt XXV.17). Previous scholarship has noted

the intrinsic relationship between the lexicon and the ideas presented in this passage with Sn 598. ‘As the people, when they see the moon waxing again waning), salute and worship her with joined hands, Gotama in the world’ *Candam yathā khayātitaṃ pecca pañjalikā janā vandamānā namassanti, evaṃ lokasmim Gotamaṃ* (Sn 658). (Aldorf 1962, p. 135).

- 81 The use of the term ‘stainless’ to emphasize the purity of renunciation as opposed to the pleasure of the sacrificial practices of the Vedic seers (Utt XXII.44) is related to the redefinition of a great sage (*mahārisī*) in Utt XXII.46–46. The epithet *mahesi* is also commonly used along the Sn (Sn 82, 176, 177, 208, 481, 646, 915, 1054, 1057, 1061, 1067, 1083) to refer to the ideal image of Buddhism, which was the Buddha himself. The references to this state (Sn 1059) are consistent with the veneration of the Buddha as the ‘true Brahmin’ who is the Veda-master (*vedagu*), the ‘great ṛishi’ (*mahesino*) (Sn 1057). The Sn contains titles for praising the Buddha, such as ‘sage’ (*muni*) and the ‘ṛṣi of excellent conduct’ (*sampannacaraṇaṃ isin*) (Sn 1126–1127). This was the usual eulogistic discourse with which Buddhist writers commemorated the Buddha’s teachings. In the above lines, Jains claimed that among the seers (*isinaṃ*), here probably referring to Vedic Brahmins, the greatest is the one who takes refuge in the Dhamma, renounces anger, and attains the highest spiritual state (*uttamaṃ thānaṃ*), stainless (*vimalā*) and purified (*visuddhā*).
- 82 *vijjācaraṇapāragā* Utt XVIII.22, *dhammāṇa pāragā* Utt XXV.7, 38, *tiṇṇo* (*hoti*) *pāraṅgato thale titṭhati brāhmaṇo* AN 4.5, AN 7.15, SN 35.228, Iti 69.
- 83 According to Bodhi (2017), the arahant, regarded as the true Brahmin, is considered the spiritual ideal of the Sn, which ultimately refers to the Buddha himself (pp. 59–61). Gombrich discusses that the titles of *arahant* and *jina* could go back to the Buddha, interpreting them as metaphors introduced by the Buddha from Jainism, to make his teachings understandable (Gombrich 2013, p. 182). The term ‘arahant’ is used as a synonymous for *brāhmaṇa* in the Sn 638 and in many other Buddhist passages (SN 35.228, SN 35.238, AN 4.5, AN 7.15) (Ellis 2021, p. 42). We can see here how Buddhist scriptures depict the constant preoccupation among renunciants with receiving alms from laypeople. The image of the Buddha is often used to gain recognition from the audience. In Sn 486, the Buddha is regarded as the primary ‘field of merit’ (*puññakkhetta*). This concept served as a literary source and a means for renunciants to obtain alms from laypeople.
- 84 ‘By austerity, by the spiritual life, by self-control and by inner taming— this one becomes a brahmin; **this is supreme Brahminhood**’ (Bodhi 2017, p. 311) *Tapena brahmacariyena samyamena damena ca etena brāhmaṇo hoti, etaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ uttamam* (Sn 655). This was interpreted also in Pj II as ‘Because this is supreme brahminhood: this action is supreme brahmahood’ (Bodhi 2017, p. 1130) *Yasmā etaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ uttamam, yasmā etaṃ kammaṃ uttamo brāhmaṇabhāvo ti vuttam hoti* (Bodhi 2017, p. 1684).
- 85 ‘Peaceful: one with the defilements stilled. As Brahmā and Sakka: One like this is not only a brahmin but for those wise ones who understand he is also Brahmā and Sakka [...]’ (Pj II on Sn 656) (Bodhi 2017, p. 1130).
- 86 McGovern (2019, p. 212) convincingly argued that by explicitly claiming that the Buddha and his awakened disciples were the true Brahmins, Buddhist narratives describing encounters with Brahmins played a fundamental role in constituting the distinction between Buddhists, who sought to be seen as socially noble (Brahmins) and as representatives of the ascetic lifestyle, and Vedic Brahmins.
- 87 [...] *buddham ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ* (Sn 622), [...] *sugataṃ buddham ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ* (Sn 643), [...] *buddham ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ* (Sn 646). The commentary attributed to Buddhaghosa (V d. C) of these verses did not omit repeating the same resolute formula (Pj II) (Bodhi 2017, p. 1682).
- 88 Sn 620–647 are parallels of Dh 396–423 (Norman 2001, p. 287). Other scholars, such as Bailey (2011, p. 8), have pointed out that the verses of Sn 623–650 are identical to those of the Dh. These verses are also parallel *pādas* of the Jain scripture Utt IX.14 and are included in the metrical part of a Buddhist tale (Ja 539) (Yamazaki 2010, p. 39). On an earlier English translation of the Sn see Andersen and Smith (1913), for an updated version see Bodhi (2017).
- 89 It has previously been argued that this statement was first included in the Dh 396–423, from where the verses were copied nearly identically into the verses of the *Vāsetṭha-sutta* (Sn 620–647) (McGovern 2019, p. 239).
- 90 In a Gāndhārī version of the *Uddāna* (*Dharmapada-Uddāna* 9.21–37), it is found in the same allegory, where *bramaṇo* is explained as a synonym for pointing the Buddha: ‘(*Who) warding off evil dharmas (*moves about) always mindful, with fetters exhausted, enlightened, (*that one indeed is in the world) a Brahmin’ (*vahita pavaga dhama (*yo caradi) sada spado kṣiṇasayoyana budho (*so ve logaspi) bramaṇo*) (Baums 2009, pp. 337–39).
- 91 ‘Therefore, Brahmin, I am [the] Buddha’ (*tasmā Buddho ‘smi brāhmaṇa* Sn 558), a verse that it can be found in other texts of the Canon, where it is told how the Buddha tried to position himself as the Buddha among several Brahmins (Th 16.6, MN 91, MN 92, AN 4.36). The lines of Sn 560 present a similar affirmation: ‘I am he, Brahmin, the Fully Enlightened Buddha’ (so *‘haṃ brāhmaṇa sambuddho*). This claim was present in many later stories: ‘He is not the false Buddha, but the eternal Buddha. [This is who I am’ (*Vitatham natthi buddhānaṃ, Dhuvaṃ buddho bhavāmahāṃ* (*Sumedhapatthanākathā* Bv II)). Passages in which the Buddha praised himself (‘because I am’ (*ahañhi*)) by explaining the superiority of his awakening to any other in the world (*Verañjasutta* AN 8.11) (*Svāhaṃ, brāhmaṇa, jeṭṭho seṭṭho lokassa methunadhamma* Vin Mv 3.1–3.40).
- 92 ‘Descendent of the god of the sun’ (*ādiccabandhu*), ‘matchless person’ (*appaṭipuggala*), ‘one who has the eye to see the truth’ (*cakkhumant*), ‘protector of the world’ (*lokanātha*) and master (*satthar*) (Namikawa 2006, p. 53).
- 93 The individualization of the *vox* ‘buddha’ as a proper name is linked to the distinction of the Buddha as a savior figure, which was also derived in the creation of his stories as the Bodhisatta (Namikawa 2006, p. 64; 2017, p. 17), unified in the *Ja* collection

(Hiraoka 2020, pp. 20–21). The term *bodhisatta* was not recorded in the Sn or DhP, except for the partial allusion to it in the verses recorded as Sn 683, which again indicates the later intervention in the composition of its lines.

- ⁹⁴ Similar references to making his figure recognizable as the Buddha can also be found in other close verses in the Nikāyas (MN 92, Th 16.6, *Tuvaṃ buddho tuvaṃ satthā* Thī 13.4). MN 92 and Th 16.6 share this campaign to promote the Buddha as a ‘buddha’ among the Brahmins (see 98 of this article). Moreover, several passages also appeal to his self-definition as ‘Buddha’ in the third person (‘Brahmin, hold in mind that I am that, the Buddha’ (*Buddhoti mam, brāhmaṇa, dhārehīti* AN 4.36). ‘I have said, householder, that I am the Buddha’ (*Buddho tyāham, gahapati, vadāmi* ti Vin 2.155).
- ⁹⁵ In these verses, the catechetical tone prevails to praise him and the figure of his disciples. In the Sn and DhP, the campaign to distinguish his singularity as the Buddha (as a singular proper noun) can be found in Sn 83, 134, 167, 236, 252, 357, 429. Furthermore, the term *buddha* was used to worship him as the Fully Enlightened Buddha (*sambuddha*) (Sn 178, 180, 192, 446, 565, 995, 1016, 1126, 1145; DhP 59, 187, 392), *Buddhavaca* (Sn 202).
- ⁹⁶ It must be taken into consideration that particularly the *Dhammapada* was collected as verses used by monks for teaching to lay Buddhists, it would be regarded as an instrumental text to convert lay people (Bailey 2011, p. 18).
- ⁹⁷ Many Brahmins who converted to Buddhism were involved in systematizing and approving the incredible number of encounters and teachings of the Buddha, not only according to what they had memorized but also what they had reconstructed from memory as having happened. This involved the constant practice of (re)remembering what had been formulated, which means a process of change. It cannot, therefore, be ruled out that this may have influenced the interpretation and, thus, the transmission of the Buddha’s words from oral tradition. The transformation of his words and message through the transmission that formed the Canon was probably inevitable but not fortuitous at all since fundamental aspects of Buddhist thought (Villamor 2023b, 2024b) and many of his metaphors from the Brahminical context were unified through the theological framework of Brahmins, to praise the Buddha (Villamor 2024c).

References

- Allon, Mark. 2022. Early Buddhist Texts: Their Composition and Transmission. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 50: 523–56. [CrossRef] [PubMed]
- Alsdorf, Ludwig. 1962. Uttarajjhāyā Studies. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 6: 110–36. Available online: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24646523> (accessed on 5 December 2023). [CrossRef]
- Andersen, Dines, and Helmer Smith. 1913. *Sutta-Nipāta*. London: Pali Text Society, Recovered from GRETEL. Available online: http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretel/2_pali/1_tipit/2_sut/5_khudd/sutnippu.htm (accessed on 5 December 2023).
- Aramaki, Noritoshi 荒牧典俊, Yoshifumi Honjō 本庄良文, and Fumio Enomoto 榎本文雄, trans. 2015. *Suttanipāta: The Words of the Buddha* 『スッタニパータ：釈尊のことば』. Tokyo: Kōdansha. 東京：講談社.
- Baba, Norihisa. 2005. On the Order of the Compilation of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* and the *Khuddakanikāya*. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 53: 11–14. [CrossRef]
- Baba, Norihisa 馬場紀寿. 2017. Reconsidering the Formation of the Khuddaka Nikāya: A Comparative Study with the Sarvāstivāda School 「小部の成立を再考する：説一切有部との比較研究」. *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 『東洋文化研究所紀要』 171: 348–4.
- Baba, Norihisa 馬場紀寿. 2018. *Early Buddhism: Tracing the Thought of the Buddha* 『初期仏教——ブツダの思想をたどる』. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. 東京：岩波新書.
- Baba, Norihisa 馬場紀寿. 2022. *Buddhist Orthodoxy and Heresy: The Birth of Pāli Cosmopolis* 『仏教の正統と異端：パーリ コスモポリスの成立』. 東京：東京大学出版会. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press.
- Bailey, Greg. 2011. Him I Call a Brahmin: Further instances of intertextuality between the *Mahābhārata* and some Pāli Texts. *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 110: 3–19.
- Baums, Stefan. 2009. A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses: British Library Kharosthī Fragments 7, 9, 13 and 18. Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu. 2005. *In the Buddha’s Words: An Anthology of Discourses from the Pāli Canon*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu. 2017. *The Suttanipāta. An Ancient Collection of the Buddha’s Discourses Together with Its Commentaries (The Teachings of the Buddha)*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu. 2020. On Translating “Buddha”. *Journal of the Oxford Center for Buddhist Studies* 19: 52–78.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. 2007. *Greater Magadha. Studies in the culture of Early India*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. 2009. *Buddhist Teaching in India*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. 2010. Reflections on the History of Jainism. Paper presented at the International Conference on Jainism Through the Ages: An Historical Perspective, Mysore, India, October 8–10; pp. 1–17.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. 2011. *Buddhism in the Shadow of Brahmanism*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. 2012. Buddhist thought versus Brahminical thought. In *World View and Theory in Indian Philosophy*. Edited by P. Balcerowicz. New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 21–28.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes. 2016. *How the Brahmins Won: From Alexander to the Guptas*. Leiden: Brill.
- Brough, John. 1962. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada: Edited with an Introduction and Commentary*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, Signe, ed. 2018. *The Upanisads: A Complete Guide*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Dauids, Thomas William Rhys, and William Stede, eds. 2015. *Pali-English Dictionary*. London: Pali Text Society.

- De Jong, J. W. 1993. The beginnings of Buddhism. *The Eastern Buddhist* 26: 11–30.
- Ellis, Gabriel. 2021. Early Buddhism and its Relation to Brahmanism. A Comparative and Doctrinal Investigation. Doctoral thesis, University of Warsaw, Warszawa, Poland.
- Enomoto, Fumio 榎本文雄. 2021. The Thought of Early Buddhism. In *The Japan Buddhist Association's Buddhist Encyclopedia* 「初期仏教の思想」. Tokyo: Maruzen Publishing, 東京: 丸善出版.
- Feldmeier, P. 2013. *Dhammapada: The Way of Truth. A Fresh Translation and Commentary on Buddhism's Most Beloved Text*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Flügel, Peter, and Olle Qvarnström, eds. 2015. *Jaina Scriptures and Philosophy*. London: Routledge.
- Gombrich, Richard F. 1990/2012. 'Recovering the Buddha's message'. In *The Buddhist Forum: Vol I*. Edited by T. Skorupski. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, pp. 5–30.
- Gombrich, Richard F. 2006. *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*. London: Routledge.
- Gombrich, Richard F. 2013. *What the Buddha Thought*. London: Equinox.
- Gombrich, Richard F. 2018. *Buddhism and Pali*. Oxford: Mud Pie Books.
- Hermann, Jacobi, trans. 1895/1968. *Jaina Sūtras. Part II: The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, The Sūtrakritāṅga Sūtra*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, Sacred Books of the East. vol. XLV.
- Hirakawa, Akira 平川彰. 2011. *History of India (Jō)* 『インド仏教史(上)』. Tokyo: Shunjūsha. 東京: 春秋社.
- Hiraoka, Satoshi 平岡聡. 2020. *Defining Bodhisattva* 『菩薩とはなにか』. Tokyo: Shunjūsha. 東京: 春秋社.
- Jones, Dhivan Thomas. 2023. From Nothing to No-thing-ness to Emptiness the Buddhist Recycling of an Old Jain Saying. *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 22: 75–100.
- Jurewicz, Joanna. 2000. Playing with Fire the *pratītyasamutpāda* from the Perspective of Vedic thought. *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 26: 77–103.
- Kajihara, Mieko 梶原三恵子. 2016. A Point of Contact between the Upanishads and Early Buddhist Texts: The Rituals of Initiation and Ordination and Brahmacharya 「ウパニシャッドと初期仏典の一接点—入門 受戒の儀礼とグラフマチャリヤー—」. *Jinbun-gakuhō* 『人文學報』 109: 33–102. [CrossRef]
- Kajiyama, Yūichi 梶山雄一, and Takamichi Fukita 吹田隆道, eds. 2012. 『Collected Works of Yuichi Kajiyama (Volume 3): Miracles, Views on the Buddha, and Cosmology. 梶山雄一著作集(第3巻) 神変と仏陀観 宇宙論』. Tokyo: Shunjūsha. 東京: 春秋社.
- Karashima, Seishi. 2016. Indian folk etymologies and their reflections in Chinese translations—brāhmaṇa, śramaṇa and Vaiśramaṇa. *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 19: 101–23.
- Kawasaki, Yutaka. 2006. A Note on *Uttarajjhāyā* 25.18. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū)* 54: 1121–25. [CrossRef]
- Kawasaki, Yutaka 河崎豊, and Sin Fujinaga 藤永伸, eds. 2022. *Selection of Jain Scriptures* 『ジャイナ教聖典選』. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai. 東京: 国書刊行会.
- Long, Jeffery D., and Karam T. S. Sarao, eds. 2017. *Encyclopedia of Indian Religions: Buddhism and Jainism*. New York: Springer.
- McGovern, Nathan. 2019. *The Snake and the Mongoose: The Emergence of Identity in Early Indian Religion*. Oxford: University Press.
- Minami, Kiyotaka 南清隆. 1984. One case of Early Buddhist Scriptures: Focusing on the *Aṭṭhakavagga* 「初期経典の一樣態: 『スッタニパータ』アッタカヴァッガを中心に」. *Bukkyō Daigaku Daigakuin Kenkyū Kiyō* 『佛教大學大学院研究紀要』 12: 83–107.
- Monier-Williams, M. 1960. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. [rev. 2008]. Clarendon: Oxford University Press.
- Nakamura, Hajime 中村元, Koji Fukunaga 福永光司, Yoshirō Tamura 今野達, and Fumihiko Sueki 末木文美士, eds. 2014. *Iwanami Buddhist Dictionary* 『岩波仏教辞典』. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. 東京: 岩波書店.
- Nakamura, Hajime 中村元. 1987. *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*. (No. 9). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publications.
- Namikawa, Takayoshi 並川孝儀. 2006. *Gotama Buddha* 『ゴータマ ブッダ』. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan. 東京: 大蔵出版.
- Namikawa, Takayoshi 並川孝儀. 2017. *Constructing Buddhist Thought: Constructing Buddhist Thought - Gautama Buddha: The Source of the system of Dependent Origination* 『構築された仏教思想 ゴータマ ブッダ: 縁起という「苦の生滅システム」の源泉』. Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing. 東京: 佼成出版社.
- Nara, Yasuaki 奈良康明. 2010. Buddhism in Hindu Culture 「ヒンドゥー世界の仏教」. In *Shin Ajia Bukkyōshi 01 Indo I: Bukkyō Shutsugen no Haikai*. 『新アジア仏教史01インドI: 仏教出現の背景』. Edited by Y. Nara 奈良康明; and M. Shimoda 下田正弘. Tokyo: Kōsei Shuppan, 東京: 佼成出版社, pp. 16–60.
- Norman, Kenneth R. 1992. Theravāda Buddhism and Brahminical Hinduism Brahminical Terms in a Buddhist Guise. In *The Buddhist Forum*. Berkeley: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, vol. 2, pp. 193–200.
- Norman, Kenneth R. 1997. *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London).
- Norman, Kenneth R. 2001. *The Group of Discourses (Sutta-nipāta)*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Norman, K. R., and M. Yamazaki 山崎守一, trans. 2000. Comparing Early Buddhism and Jainism 「初期仏教とジャイナ教との比較」. *Chūō Gakujutsu Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 『中央学術研究所紀要』 29: 16–51.
- Oldenberg, Hermann. 1991. *The Doctrine of the Upaniṣads and the Early Buddhism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.
- Ruegg, David S. 2008. *The Symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia and of Buddhism with Local Cults in Tibet and the Himalayan Region*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 58.
- Schlieter, Jens. 2012. Did the Buddha emerge from a Brahmanic environment? The early Buddhist evaluation of “noble Brahmins” and the “ideological system” of Brahmanism. In *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 137–48.

- Shults, Brett. 2014. On the Buddha's Use of Some Brahminical Motifs in Pali Texts. *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies* 6: 106–40.
- Sik, Hin-Hung. 2009. The Pearl of the Tripiṭaka, Two Vagga-s in the Sutta-Nipāta. In *Buddhist and Pali Studies in Honour of the Venerable Professor Kakkapalliyē Anuruddha*. Edited by K. L. Dhammajoti and Y. Karunadasa. Hong Kong: Centre of Buddhist Studies, pp. 417–28.
- Sujato, Bhikkhu, and Bhikkhu Brahmalī. 2015. The Authenticity of the Early Buddhist Texts. *Morrisville: Lulu Press. Recovered from Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*. Available online: <https://ocbs.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/authenticity.pdf> (accessed on 5 December 2023).
- Takeda, Ryu 武田龍. 2012. One interpretation of the Etymology of Tathāgata 「Tathāgata の語義解釈の一視点」. *Society for the Study of Pali and Buddhist Culture* 『パーリ学仏教文化学』 26: 131–46. [CrossRef]
- Tanikawa, Taikyō 谷川泰教. 1994. The Origins and Development of the Śramaṇa Path: A Comparative Study of Early Buddhism and Jainism 『沙門道の源流と展開—初期仏教とジャイナ教の比較研究—』. Doctoral Dissertation, Tōyō University 博士論文, 東洋大学, Bunkyo City, Tokyo.
- Tsukamoto, Keishō 塚本啓祥. 1982. The origin and foundation of the culture of Buddhism and Jainism 「仏教 ジャイナ教の発生基盤とその形成」. *Tōhoku Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Nenpō* 『東北大学文学部研究年報』 32: 1–39.
- Villamor, Efraín. 2023. The metaphors of udaka in the Pāli Canon— The allegories of Gautama Buddha for refusing the wor(l)d of Vedic Ideology and Early Upaniṣads — 「パーリ仏典におけるudakaの譬喩—ヴェーダやウパニシャッド思想の「世界」を譬喩で否定した釈尊の教えに遡って—」. *Society for the Study of Pali and Buddhist Culture* 『パーリ学仏教文化学』 36: 132–53.
- Villamor, Efraín. 2023b. On the Foundation of Avijjā—Focusing on avijjā and vijjā in Pre-Buddhist Brahminic texts and the Pāli Canon 「Avijjā の形成について—仏教以前のバラモン文献とパーリ仏典におけるavijjā と vijjā を中心に—」. *Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū* 『印度學佛教學研究第』 72: 480–77.
- Villamor, Efraín. 2024a. 'Did Chinese Buddhists translate the old formula of 'him I call a brahmin'?—The reconstruction of Buddhism as the path of *nirvāṇa* in Early Chinese translations—. *Estudios de Traducción* 14: 65–76. [CrossRef]
- Villamor, Efraín. 2024b. Once again on the foundation of avijjā— Transcending the Root of Suffering: On the Cessation of Ignorance and Its Necessity— 「再び Avijjā の形成について—苦の根源をこえて、無明の克服とその必然性」. *Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū* 『印度學佛教學研究第』, 73, *in press*.
- Villamor, Efraín. 2024c. 「The Compounds of Brahma(n) in the Pāli Canon—The thought and terminology of the Pāli Buddhist Scriptures constructed from the Brahmanical Context—パーリ仏典における「ブラフマン」の複合名詞—バラモン教文脈から構築されたパーリ仏典の思想と用語—」. *Society for the Study of Pali and Buddhist Culture* 『パーリ学仏教文化学会』, 38, *forthcoming*.
- Walser, Joseph. 2018. When Did Buddhism Become Anti-Brahminical: The Case of the Missing Soul. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 86: 94–125.
- Watanabe, Fumimaro 渡辺文磨. 1979. Considering the origin of the Khuddaka Nikāya 「クッダカニカーヤのオリジナル考」. *Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū* 『印度學佛教學研究』 28: 455–50.
- Watanabe, Kenji 渡辺研二. 2005. *Jainism: Non-possession, Non-violence, Non-killing—Its Teachings and Practical application in life* 『ジャイナ教—非所有 非暴力 非殺生 その教義と実生活』. Tokyo: Ronsōsha. 東京: 論創社.
- Watanabe, Kenji 渡辺研二. 2001. Current Transmission of Jain Scriptures: Traces and Evidence of Editing 「現在ジャイナ教聖典の伝承—編集の痕跡と証拠」. *Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū* 『印度學佛教學研究』 49: 969–67.
- Watanabe, Kenji 渡辺研二. 2006. A Select Comparison of Passages from the Dhammapada and the Āyāraṅga sutta. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū 印度學佛教學研究)* 54: 910–2, 1328. [CrossRef]
- Watanabe, Kenji 渡辺研二. 2015. 'A Comparable Passage on the Origin of Suffering between the Āyāraṅga sutta and Suttanipāta'. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū 印度學佛教學研究)* 63: 866–61. [CrossRef]
- Williams, Paul, ed. 2005. *Buddhism: Critical concepts in religious studies. Vol III, The Origins and Nature of Mahayana Buddhism; Some Mahayana Religious Topics*. London: Routledge.
- Wynne, Alexander. 2005. The Historical Authenticity of Early Buddhist Literature: A Critical Evaluation. *Vienna Journal of South Asian Studies* 49: 35–70.
- Wynne, Alexander. 2010. The Buddha's 'skill in means' and the genesis of the five-aggregate teaching. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 20: 191–216.
- Yamazaki, Moriichi 山崎守一. 1992. Study of the Śramaṇa in Ancient India 『古代インド沙門の研究』. Doctoral Dissertation, Tōhoku University 博士論文, 東北大学, Sendai, Japan.
- Yamazaki, Moriichi 山崎守一. 2010. *The Establishment of the Buddha as Śramaṇa: Between Early Buddhism and Jainism* 『沙門ブツダの成立—原始仏教とジャイナ教の間』. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan. 東京: 大蔵出版.

Disclaimer/Publisher's Note: The statements, opinions and data contained in all publications are solely those of the individual author(s) and contributor(s) and not of MDPI and/or the editor(s). MDPI and/or the editor(s) disclaim responsibility for any injury to people or property resulting from any ideas, methods, instructions or products referred to in the content.