

Notes

All the discourses of the Pali Canon can be found in both Pali and English at <http://suttacentral.net/>.

The complete works of Plato, translated by Benjamin Jowett, are available at <https://www.holybooks.com/wp-content/uploads/plato-complete-works.pdf>.

All the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, translated by George Theodoridis, are available at <https://bacchicstage.wordpress.com/>.

Abbreviations

- A. *Anguttara Nikāya*. Bodhi, trans., *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*.
- Ap. *Apology* [*Defense Speech*]. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- BCA. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.
- Cri. *Crito*. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- D. *Dīgha Nikāya*. Walshe, trans., *Long Discourses of the Buddha*.
- Dhp. *Dhammapada*. Fronsdal, trans., *Dhammapada*.
- DL. Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*.
- Euthphr. *Euthyphro*. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- Grg. *Gorgias*. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- M. *Majjhima Nikāya*. Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi, trans., *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*.
- Mil. *Milindapañhā*. Horner, trans., *Milinda's Questions*.
- MMK. *Mūlamadhyamakakārika*. Garfield, trans., *Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way*. Batchelor, *Verses from the Center*.
- Mx. *Menexenus*. Plato, *Complete Works*.

- Phd. *Phaedo*. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- Phdr. *Phaedrus*. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- R. *Republic*. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- S. *Samyutta Nikāya*. Bodhi, trans., *Connected Discourses of the Buddha*.
- Smp. *Symposium [Drinking Party]*. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- Sn. *Sutta Nipāta*. Bodhi, trans., *Suttanipāta*. Fronsdal, *Buddha before Buddhism*.
- Tht. *Theaetetus*. Plato, *Complete Works*.
- Xen. Xenophon. *Conversations of Socrates*.

Prologue

1. Duncan Howitt-Marshall, “Statues of Socrates and Confucius unveiled at the Ancient Agora,” <https://www.ekathimerini.com/culture/1168500/statues-of-socrates-and-confucius-unveiled-at-the-ancient-agora/>.

2. Tasos Kokkinidis, “Confucius and Socrates Statues Mark Greece-China Year of Culture,” <https://greekreporter.com/2021/09/17/confucius-socrates-statues-mark-greece-china-year-culture/>.

3. In particular, I refer to the work of Heinz Bechert and Richard Gombrich. See Bechert, *When Did the Buddha Live?* The Buddha is still often dated from c. 563–c. 483 BCE.

4. See Armstrong, *Great Transformation*.

5. A Stoic reading of *On Not-Self* is found in Chapter 16; a secular iteration of the eightfold path is presented in Chapters 27 and 28.

1.

Life as Practice

1. Gampopa, *Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, p. 208.

2. The Parable of the Raft is in M. 22. The Parable of the Arrow is in M. 63.

2.

The Wisest Man in Greece

1. Ap. 21b.

2. DL. 2:20–21.

3. The Battle of Delium is described by Thucydides in *History of the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Finlay, trans. Warner, 4:14.

4. DL. 2:28.

5. The presence of Socrates in the audience at the premiere of *Clouds* is reported by the third century CE Roman author Aelian in his *Varia Historia*. See Dover, ed., *Aristophanes: Clouds*, p. xxxiii.

6. Alcibiades’s encomium to Socrates is from Smp. 215b–222c.

7. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 362.

8. Smp. 216b.

9. Smp. 216c.

10. DL. 2:25.

11. Smp. 216e.

12. R. 1.354c.

3.

Fraternal Twins

1. M. 12.

2. D. 16.

3. A. 3:65.

4. M. 4; M. 38.

5. Ap. 40c–d.

6. Phd. 65a.

7. Elsewhere, Gotama states that consciousness cannot exist independently of the physical world and other mental states (*namarūpa*) and thus cannot be reborn. See S. 22:55, and Batchelor, *After Buddhism*, [Chapter 7](#).

4.

Diotima's Middle Way

1. Mx. 249d.

2. Smp. 201e.

3. Smp. 201e–202a.

4. Smp. 202a.

5. Smp. 202e.

5.

An Unbearable Silence

1. See Ellis, *Buddha's Middle Way*, for an in-depth examination of the dharma from a middle way perspective.

2. S. 44:10.

3. This is the *Discourse to Kaccānagotta* (S. 12:15). I consider the person Kaccānagotta in this discourse to be identical to the monk Mahākaccāna. Both are called Kaccāna. The former has the suffix *gotta* (“clan” or “lineage”) added, implying that initially he was known simply by his clan name. The latter has the honorific prefix *mahā* (“great”) added, which acknowledges the eminent status Kaccāna achieved in the community later in his life. For details on the life of Kaccāna, see Nyanaponika and Hecker, *Great Disciples of the Buddha*, pp. 213–244.

4. S. 12:15.

5. S. 12:15.

6. S. 22:86.

7. Two accounts of this story are found in the canon, a longer version in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya* (see Horner, *Book of the Discipline*, vol. 4, pp. 260–267) and a shorter one in the *Udāna* [5.6] (see Ireland, trans., *Udāna*, pp. 75–78).

8. Sn. 772. This and all following quotations from *The Chapter of Eights* are from my own translation. See Batchelor, *Art of Solitude*, pp. 157–162. Cf. Fronsdal, *Buddha before Buddhism*, [Chapters 2–5](#).

9. Sn. 791.

10. Sn. 794.

11. Sn. 796.

12. M. 9.

13. Dh. 183.

14. See Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, vol. 2, pp. 23–28.

6.

The Socrates Show

1. Ax. 366d. This dialogue, *Axiochus*, is no longer regarded by scholars as a work of Plato.
2. Scholia to Aristophanes, *Clouds* 144, and Plato, *Ap.* 21a. Scholia are textual comments made to classical works in antiquity, which have subsequently been collected and compiled by scholars. See Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship*.
3. *DL.* 2:18.
4. Telecleides, Fragments 41 and 42.
5. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1490–1499.
6. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 390.
7. Aristophanes, *Law and Order Women* 380.
8. Aristotle, *Poetics* 11.2.
9. Euripides, *Suppliant Women* 239, trans. John Peacock (unpublished).
10. Euripides, *Suppliant Women* 199, trans. John Peacock (unpublished).
11. *Tht.* 150c–d.

7.

Whose Buddha? Whose Socrates?

1. *DL.* 2:48.
2. *Xen.* 1.4.1.
3. *Xen.* 1.2.
4. *Xen.* 2.1.
5. *Xen.* 1.4.
6. *Xen.* 2.2.
7. *Xen.* 1.2.
8. *Xen.* 1.2.
9. *Culavagga* XI. See Horner, *Book of the Discipline*, vol. 5, pp. 401–2, and Batchelor, *Confession of a Buddhist Atheist*, p. 233.
10. *Theragāthā* 1036. See Caroline Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*.
11. *D.* 31.
12. See Graeber and Wengrow, *Dawn of Everything*, for further examples of this phenomenon.

8.

Convenient Fictions

1. Herodotus, *The Histories*, 7:152.
2. See Attwood, “Possible Iranian Origins for the Śākyas and Aspects of Buddhism.”
3. *S.* 4:20. See Batchelor, *Living with the Devil*, for a study of Buddha and Mara.
4. *M.* 93.
5. *M.* 28.
6. *M.* 79.

9.

The Quest for Certainty

1. This oft-cited Tibetan verse is not found in the Pali Canon, though it is entirely in keeping with the early discourses. In the *Numerical Discourses* Sāriputta compares having his understanding tested by Gotama in the same way a goldsmith tests gold. See A. 7:70.

10. The Tragedy of Being Human

1. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 175–180. Sarah Ruden’s translation is in Mary Lefkowitz and James Romm, eds., *The Greek Plays*, p. 58.

2. The text of this speech is available at Wikisource:
https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Speech_on_the_Assassination_of_Martin_Luther_King,_Jr.

3. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 790.

4. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 5:89.

11. A Religion Is Born

1. Phdr. 275a–b.

2. Phdr. 276a, my italics.

3. A. 3:119–139.

4. For Mahānāma, see Batchelor, *After Buddhism*, [Chapter 2](#); for Jīvaka, Batchelor, *After Buddhism*, [Chapter 8](#).

12. Nāgasena or Nāgārjuna?

1. Plutarch, *Moralia* 28.6; cf. D. 16.

2. Mil. I.6, II.6.

3. Mil. VI.

4. M. 28. See Batchelor, *After Buddhism*, [Chapter 3](#), Section 1.

5. MMK. 24:11.

6. MMK. 13:8.

7. MMK. 15:7. See [Chapter 5](#).

8. MMK. 24:40.

9. The four plays of Euripides which conclude with a version of this refrain are *Medea*, *Alceste*, *Helen*, and *Ecstatic Women (Bacchae)*.

13. Refining Gold

1. The story of Pukkhūsāti is found in the *Dhātuvibhanga Sutta* (M. 140).

2. M. 140.

3. A. 3:101.

4. A. 5:23.

5. A. 3:102.

6. D. 2.

7. From the novel *Casanova in Bolzano*. See Sándor Márai, *Casanova in Bolzano*, trans. George Szirtes.

8. A stock passage cited widely in the canon to describe creativity (*iddhi*). See, for example, D. 2.

9. D. 11.

10. These four steps of creativity (*iddhipada*) outlined by Gotama are similar to the four stages of creativity proposed by the British social psychologist Graham Wallas in the 1920s. Wallas's four stages are preparation, incubation, illumination, and verification. Preparation, like Gotama's aspiration, describes the phase when one identifies and investigates the nature of the problem one desires to solve. Incubation is the period when one no longer consciously thinks about finding a solution but lets it gestate in the unconscious. Gotama likewise compared the process of cultivating virtues to how a hen incubates her eggs by maintaining the right conditions for them to be able to hatch in their own time. Wallas's third stage, illumination, refers to those moments of intuitive insight in which a solution to the problem suddenly dawns, which corresponds neatly to Gotama's "intuition" (*citta*). The fourth stage in Wallas's model, verification, refers to the phase of putting one's intuitions to the test by realizing them as concrete forms in the world. Gotama calls this final step "experimentation," which likewise has to do with testing and figuring out how to make the intuitive solution work.

11. S. 12:65. Cf. Batchelor, *After Buddhism*, pp. 87–89.

12. S. 22:94.

13. See the dialogue with Sīvaka: S. 36:21.

14.

The Truth of Comedy

1. Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, pp. 14–15. This passage is analyzed in [Chapter 15](#).

2. Aristophanes, *Law and Order Women* 390.

3. See Auden's 1940 poem "Musée des Beaux Arts."

4. Aristotle, *Poetics* 4.1.

5. Quoted in Young-Bruehl (1982), p. 331.

15.

Ataraxia

1. DL. 9:35.

2. DL. 9:38.

3. DL. 9:36.

4. DL. 9:72.

5. DL. 9:40.

6. Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Professors*, 7.87–88.

7. Aetius, *Placita Philosophorum*, i.5.4.

8. DL. 9:61.

9. Long and Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*, pp. 14–15.

10. S. 35:23.

11. DL. 9:76.

12. Sn. 786, 800.

- 13. DL. 10:12.
- 14. DL. 10:4.
- 15. Lucretius, *Nature of Things* 3.1043–49.
- 16. Lucretius, *Nature of Things* 2.1–33.

16. A Dialogical Self

- 1. DL. 6:3.
- 2. D. 16.
- 3. *Mahavagga* I.11. See Horner, trans. *Book of the Discipline*, vol. 4, p. 28.
- 4. Xen. 8.2.
- 5. DL. 6:6.
- 6. DL. 6:21.
- 7. DL. 6:24.
- 8. D. 24.
- 9. DL. 6:31.
- 10. DL. 6:74–75.
- 11. DL. 7:3.
- 12. S. 22:59.
- 13. Dhp. 80.
- 14. DL. 10:2.

17. The Foolish and the Wise

- 1. See Sacks, *Anthropologist in Mars*, Chapter 4.
- 2. M. 43.
- 3. M. 43.

18. Only Tragedy Can Save the City

- 1. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 65.
- 2. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 950.
- 3. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1020, 1040.
- 4. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1490.
- 5. Xen. *Apology*, 8.

19. The Great Matter of Birth and Death

- 1. Nishitani, *Religion and Nothingness*, p. 16.
- 2. Nishitani, *Religion and Nothingness*, p. 20.

3. *Mahāpadāna Sutta* D. 14.
4. Nishitani, *Religion and Nothingness*, p. 18.
5. Ferguson, *Zen's Chinese Heritage*, p. 199.
6. Ferguson, *Zen's Chinese Heritage*, p. 199.
7. This is the first case in the *Blue Cliff Record*. See Cleary and Cleary, *Blue Cliff Record*, p. 1.
8. A. 7:70.
9. Case 86 of the *Blue Cliff Record*. See Cleary and Cleary, *Blue Cliff Record*, p. 554.
10. Hakuin, *Wild Ivy*, p. 79.

20.

What Is This Thing?

1. Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, Chapter 8.
2. Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, Chapter 8.
3. See Awakawa, *Zen Painting*, for all these paintings.
4. Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu*, Chapter 3.
5. Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu*, Chapter 4.
6. M. 10.
7. Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu*, Chapter 2.
8. Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 3:12, *On Physiognomy*.
9. Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 3:12, *On Physiognomy*.
10. Cited in Buswell, *Korean Approach to Zen*, p. 335.

21.

A Cartography of Care

1. D. 16.
2. D. 16.
3. A. 7:71.
4. A. 7:71.

22.

Silencing Socrates

1. Plato's *Euthyphro* is the first dialogue in his *Complete Works*.
2. Euthphr. 3c.
3. See Wilson, *Death of Socrates*, p. 93.
4. Ap. 33b.
5. Ap. 29b–c.
6. Ap. 42a.

23.

A Revaluation of All Values

1. Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, p. 9.
2. Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, pp. 54–55.
3. Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols and the Anti-Christ*, cited in Emily Wilson, *The Death of Socrates*, p. 198. I have modified the translation following the German text available online.
4. Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, p. 60.
5. Nietzsche, *The Wanderer and His Shadow*, p. 86.
6. Cited in Mistry, *Nietzsche and Buddhism*, p. 1.
7. Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, p. 72.
8. See Mistry, *Nietzsche and Buddhism*, p. 140.
9. See Mistry, *Nietzsche and Buddhism*, p. 17.
10. See Mistry, *Nietzsche and Buddhism*, p. 117.
11. Parkes, *Heidegger and Asian Thought*, p. 94. In 1989, Reinhard May published a book, which later appeared in English under the title *Heidegger's Hidden Sources*. May does not dispute that the major sources of Heidegger's work are to found in his close reading of texts within the Western philosophical and theological traditions, but he convincingly demonstrates how East Asian thought played a major role in inspiring and shaping his ideas. He accuses Heidegger of "unparalleled . . . clandestine textual appropriation of non-Western spirituality," which could have "far reaching implications for our future interpretation of Heidegger's work." May, *Heidegger's Hidden Sources*, p. xviii.
12. Arendt, *Life of the Mind*, p. 174. See footnote on pp. 236–237.
13. Arendt, *Life of the Mind*, p. 175.
14. "Only a God Can Save Us": The *Spiegel* Interview (1966), *Der Spiegel*, Nr. 23 (1976), pp. 193–219. For an English translation: <https://www.ditext.com/heidegger/interview.html>.
15. Graham Parkes, in May, *Heidegger's Hidden Sources*, p. 106.

24.

For Love of the World

1. See Batchelor, *Confession of a Buddhist Atheist*, p. 53.
2. Arendt, *Human Condition*, pp. 1–3.
3. Young-Bruel, *Hannah Arendt*, p. 49.
4. Grg. 482c.
5. Arendt, *Promise of Politics*, p. 18.
6. MMK. 18:1.
7. Arendt, *Promise of Politics*, pp. xxv, 20–21.
8. A. 4:23.
9. Grg. 482c.
10. A. 6:55.
11. Arendt, *Promise of Politics*, p. 32.
12. Arendt, *Promise of Politics*, p. 33.
13. Arendt, *Promise of Politics*, pp. 33–34.
14. Heisig, *Philosophers of Nothingness*, p. 184.
15. Arendt, *Life of the Mind*, pp. 1, 167.
16. Arendt, *Life of the Mind*, p. 169.
17. Arendt, *Life of the Mind*, p. 198.
18. Arendt's refusal to engage with non-European traditions of thought is all the more surprising given that two of the most influential people in her life, her husband Heinrich Blücher and her

lifelong teacher, mentor, and father figure Karl Jaspers, *did* engage with them. At Bard College, Blücher taught a “Common Course” on philosophy, designed to introduce students to the “arch-fathers of the free personality.” In addition to Abraham, Jesus, and Socrates, Blücher included Zarathustra, Gotama, and Laozi. Arendt took this course at her home in New York, but it did not lead to sharing her husband’s interest in Asian thought. Towards the end of his life, Karl Jaspers had devoted himself to developing a “World Philosophy,” which would likewise give equal weight to key thinkers from Asia as well as Europe. As part of this project, he published in 1957 a short book entitled *Buddha, Socrates, Confucius, Jesus: The Paradigmatic Individuals*. The English translation of this book was edited by none other than Hannah Arendt, yet, as far as I can tell, nothing in her subsequent writings suggests that she was influenced by her teacher’s vision of a philosophical practice unconstrained by geographic and cultural boundaries.

25.

The Parable of the Snake

1. Cf. *On Cultivation* (A. 7:71).
2. M. 43.
3. This is found in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta*, M. 22.

26.

Death by Mortar and Pestle

1. Phd. 60e.
2. Cri. 44e–45d.
3. Cri. 52a.
4. Ap. 38a.
5. Cri. 54e.
6. Phd. 60a.
7. Phd. 60b.
8. Phd. 118a.

27.

Contemplative Life

1. Arendt, *Human Condition*, p. 28.
2. The traditional sequence found in all Buddhist traditions is: perspective (*diṭṭhi*), imagination (*saṅkappa*), voice (*vācā*), work (*kammanta*), survival (*ājīva*), application (*vāyāma*), mindfulness (*sati*), collectedness (*samādhi*).
3. Rhys Davids and Steele, *Pali Text Society’s Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 188.

28.

Active Life

1. A. 6:63.
2. Arendt, *Human Condition*, p. 152.

3. Dhp. 80.
4. Arendt, *Human Condition*, p. 3.
5. Aristotle's definition *zōon logon echon* is found in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1098a3–5.
6. Tib: *smra shes don go*. I memorized this definition as a Tibetan Buddhist monk.
7. See Lévinas, *Ethics and Infinity*.

29. Lucid Confidence

1. S. 55:24.
2. See Watson (1964), p. 100.
3. ~~BCA~~ 8:116.
4. Ferguson, *Zen's Chinese Heritage*, p. 197.
5. Guenther, *Life and Teaching of Nāropa*, pp. 24–25, 37.
6. On Shinran, see Dobbins, *Jōdo Shinshū*, Chapter 3. This citation is from Shinran's *Essentials of Faith Alone*.
7. Shinran, *Collected Works of Shinran*, Chapter on *Shinjin*, 51 and 55.
8. I am indebted to Don Cupitt for his concept of “solar ethics.” See Cupitt, *Solar Ethics*.
9. See McGilchrist, *Master and His Emissary*.

30. An Ethics of Uncertainty

1. S. 35:28.
2. *Cetokhila Sutta*, M. 16.
3. See *The Question Concerning Technology* in Heidegger, *Basic Writings*, pp. 283ff.
4. Häggglund, *This Life*, Chapter 1, Section III.
5. Cited in Häggglund, *This Life* (Introduction). The interview with the Dalai Lama was made by Peter Berglund and broadcast on Swedish Television (SVT), April 10, 1989.
6. ~~BCA~~ 6:123.
7. ~~BCA~~ 6:126.
8. Xen. 4.4.
9. Dhp. 80; Sn. 651–53.

Afterword

1. Obituary: Kenneth McLeish, *The Independent* (London), December 11, 1997, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary-kenneth-mcleish-1288109.html>.

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